

**GLOBALISATION, POLITICS AND PLANNING
DECISIONS:
A CASE STUDY OF KOC UNIVERSITY IN ISTANBUL**

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D)

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Abstract

This study aims to develop an understanding of local politics and planning within the context of the interplay of global-local forces. It focuses on the actors and the decision-making processes in Istanbul, using the development of the Koc University campus as an illustration.

In doing this, globalisation is shown to contain plural processes with many possible scenarios and local interests are seen to have an important role. In this context, globalisation, either as a concept or reality, was found to be too broad and vague to provide an immediate basis for analysis. Thus, it was necessary to deconstruct it. Discussions on globalisation in this study aim to contribute to the methodology of globalisation studies as well as creating a usable framework for analysing the case study.

The case study focuses on the impacts of globalisation on one important urban decision-making process - the location decision of a higher education institution, Istanbul's Koc University, as the investment of a multi-national company. In the chapters setting up the framework, the relations between globalisation and higher education are explained drawing on theory and practice. Debates on the location of higher education institutions in the literature are also introduced with examples from around the world. Then the actors and decision-making processes in Istanbul are analysed in depth to find out how globalisation impacts on behaviours, motivations and negotiation strategies.

It is concluded that the global impacts on the decision-making processes are quite vague – often only discursive and speculative. There is much continuity with the past in the way that actors behave although they have to respond to the increasing influence of civil society. However, globalisation has brought shifts in the different strengths, motivations and negotiation bases in decision-making. Consequently, new forms of local politics, planning and decision-making are necessary to respond to the new elements introduced by the penetration of global forces although appreciating that traditional local forces remain strong.

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List of Acronyms

AKP	Justice and Development Party
ANAP	Motherland Party
BU	Bogazici (Bosphorous) University
CBD	Central Business District
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
CCP	Chamber of City Planners
DCP	Democratic Republican Movement
DHKD	Conservation of Natural Life Association
DPT	State Planning Institution
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FP	Virtue Party
FU	Foundation University
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services
HE	Higher Education
HEI	Higher Education Institution
HQ	Headquarter
IBSB	Istanbul Greater Municipality
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ITU	Istanbul Technical University
KF	Koc Foundation
KH	Koc Holding
KIT	Public Economic Enterprise

KTVKK	Committee for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage
KU	Koc University
LDC	Less-Developed Country
MDC	More-Developed Country
MESS	Turkish Metal Industrialists Union
METU	Middle East Technical University
MNC	Multi-National Company
MSP	National Well-Being Party
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NYU	New York University
OSYM	Centre of Student Selection and Allocation for Higher Education
PSA	Physical Structural Adjustment
R&D	Research & Development
RP	Welfare Party
SHP	Social Democratic Party
TEMA	Turkish Association of Erosion Prevention
TINA	There Is No Alternative
TUBITAK	Scientific and Technical Research Institution of Turkey
TUSIAD	Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
VIP	Very Important Person
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organisation
YKCG	Green Belt Environment Vanguard
YOK	Higher Education Institution

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...

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Research Question

The process of globalisation is argued to restructure politics as well as many other aspects of our life-worlds [Giddens, 1990; Cox & Mair, 1990; Sassen, 1995; 1996; Broatch, 1995; Kumar, 1995; Smith, 1995; Borja, 1996; Castells, 1997; Gray, 1998; Held, 1999; Sengul, 2000]. In this restructuring, power relations come to fore once again as new actors arise both from global and local political spheres [Cox, 1990; Knox, 1995; Smith, 1995; Borja, 1996; Short, 1996; Sengul, 2000]. Thus, it is not surprising to see new decision-making processes in this context of restructured politics [Featherstone, 1993; Soros, 1998; Thornley, 1999].

The literature often argues and/or criticises that the processes of globalisation increase local political and economic autonomy in expense of the central authorities [Harvey, 1989a; Cox, 1990; Keyder, 1993; Castells, 1994; Borja, 1996; 1999; Gilbert, 1996; Mathur, 1996; Jessop, 1997; Tekeli, 2002]. However, the central governments in the less-developed countries (LDCs) are not willing to leave their authorities easily. If the globalisation processes need autonomous local governments to proceed and the central authorities do not transfer their authorities to them, the pace of the globalisation processes should present a decreasing trend because of conflicts and bureaucratic obstacles causing additional tensions in the local political arena. Moreover, impacts of the international organisations and regional unions have increased with the globalisation processes and they are said to influence, if not determine, the local decision making processes more than ever. There is also a growing body of literature emphasising the importance of civil society in contemporary politics at local, national and international levels [Kirby, 1995; Ward, 1995; Edwards & Hulme, 1996; Robins, 1996; Castells, 1997; Tekeli, 2002]. Finally, yet importantly, global investors, generally in the form of multinational companies (MNCs), are said to affect the political decisions at all scales dramatically [Murray, 1990; Dicken, 1992; Knox, 1995; Short, 1996; Castells, 1997; Chossudovsky, 1997; Soros, 1998; Held, 1999].

Hence, impacts of global forces on local politics have become a new area of interest, as decisions about localities are influenced more and more by non-local forces. In this respect, planning decisions are also affected by these non-local forces, and thus, planning should be re-thought through a more comprehensive approach [Thornley, 2002]. This new approach to planning should include global forces as new actors/dynamics of intervention and change without leaving local characteristics aside. Moreover, dynamics of planning should be considered with their immediate influences at all scales since they are said to be very fluid. Thus, a new comprehensiveness should be developed including that of global actors/dynamics and the impacts of spatio-temporalities on them in consideration of their immediate influences.

Upon this brief review, the main questions of this study will be formulated as follows:

How does local politics restructure itself under the impacts of globalisation? Can we hence talk about interplay between the global and the local, and if so, how does this interplay manifest itself in the political sphere? Furthermore, how does planning reformulate itself within this process of political restructuring?

In order to answer the main questions, a case study is conducted to detail the findings in the literature¹. The selected case is the decision-making process for the location of a private higher education institution (HEI) - Koc University (KU) - established by one of Turkey's strongest multi-nationals - Koc Holding (KH). Since the era we live in is called informational [Porat, 1978; Crawford, 1991; Castells, 1992; 1994] as well as global and the global economy is also referred to as the knowledge economy [Knight, 1989; Kumar, 1995; Gibbens, 1998; Audretsch, 2001], a HEI that is supposed to be producing knowledge would be well suited as a case-study where the impacts of globalisation on the decision making processes are analysed.

Three sets of sub-questions will be analysed and their answers will provide explanations to the main questions of this study. Even though some may seem independent, all these sub-questions are interrelationary. Answering them with respect to each other will develop an explanation of not only the "global forces", their behaviours, motivations and their interrelations with localities, but also the "local forces" - that are authorities and other actors of local politics-, their behaviours, motivations and relations with the

¹ See Yin [1994] for an elaboration of the use of case studies in scientific research.

global forces. The case study was selected in order to provide answers to as many questions as possible for the below stated sub-questions and to probe the correlations between them.

- Who are the major actors of decision making in the globalising Istanbul and how do they dominate the local political system? How much do the use of globalisation discourse and the power of determining the agenda affect the local politics? How do the major powers supporting and/or representing globalisation overcome the local oppositions?
- Did the local governments gain any political and/or economic autonomy in the process of globalisation in Istanbul? How can we describe the central and local governmental relations in this sense? How do the global/metropolitan projects of the global/national major powers affect the legislative system? Can this be considered as a partial or complete re-regulation?
- To what extent can globalisation explain the power relations and growth coalitions in the cities? Who develops, controls and makes the decisions on the built environment? How are these actions justified? How do these justifications affect the regulations and how are the regulations broken? How do these formations lead to a re-regulation in the planning system? Which dynamics and actors should be taken into account in this re-regulation? Finally, how should planning be restructured in this context?

The underlying assumption throughout this study is that “localities should matter”. At all stages, localities are analysed as active components of the globalisation processes even if their influence is not visible. This approach is necessary to discover the possibilities and opportunities for the localities. In this context, peculiarities of the LDCs and Turkey will set the limits of the case study. Istanbul, as the primate city of Turkey and as one of the emerging cities of the global urban network, will be at the intervening level of the case study. Moreover, explanations of the processes may be unique to those in the context of the peculiarities of Istanbul and Turkey and explaining these questions in this context will need explanations of some processes in these two localities, although it is not the goal of this study. In a country where legislation is not well settled because of existing patronage relations, where authority is blurred between

actors, and where attacks on environmental, historical and human values are very common, findings may not be generalised to the other geographies. Moreover, the fact that centrality has been the dominant government form in Turkey since the foundation of the Republic should be taken into consideration. All state structures and bureaucracy are organised centrally. Therefore, debates on local autonomy create stronger tensions between not only local and central authorities but also local citizens and state elites. In addition, corruption has become quite common after the liberalisation of the economy by the 1980s. Thus, the case study may lead to some unexplainable findings, which will refer to corruption at any level and form, and/or incomparable findings to that of governmental and/or political traditions of other countries. Finally, impacts of religion and nationalism may have had an effect on not only the political restructuring processes but also directly on the interviewees spoken to in relation to this restructuring. However, this is assumed not to be significantly more than in other countries with similar strong religious and national feelings. Consequently, some of the findings of this thesis may not be comparable/applicable to other countries with different political systems and traditions. Furthermore, more attention will be needed to see whether these findings are related to globalisation or are purely outcomes of a local system inclined towards centrality, corruption and containing powerful local elites.

1.2 Positioning the dissertation

Globalisation and its impacts on cities have long been part of scholarly discussions. However, in most of these studies, generalisations around the issue have either caused vagueness or created repetitions of previous studies. Difficulty in grounding the general arguments have opened up serious breaches between scholars. The first and most common categorisation arises from the globalisation literature itself, and separates scholars into hyperglobalisers², sceptics and transformationists [Held et al, 1999]. As we shall see in detail in chapter two, this categorisation is mainly based on the answers provided to the question of whether globalisation was a myth or a reality. These academics discussed the transformations occurring in contemporary times, as well as in the context, whether the process of globalisation itself fostered them or they represented a historical continuity.

² See for example Drucker, 1986; Ohmae, 1990; Fukuyama, 1989 for hyperglobalisers; Graham and Thompson, 1994 for sceptics and Giddens, 1998; Held, 1999 for transformationalists.

A second distinction appeared on the debate on “time and space” mostly among critical theorists and mainly on the following questions. How dominant were the globalisation processes in specific localities? Did the process have a homogenising impact or was it open to interactions between the global and the local? While some scholars argued that time determined space [Harvey, 1989; 1997; Toefler, 1991; Short, 1996; Elias, 2000], and thus the global homogenised the local, others replied that space had the power to affect the process dramatically [Lyotard, 1984; Soja, 1993; Massey, 1992; 2005]. Another argument that was put forth focused on the interrelatedness of time and space [Smith, 1995; 2001]. Giddens’ reflexive modernity argument [1990] can be considered as the starting logic for this. The objective of the scholars with this approach can best be explained with the following question: “How to explain the disjuncture between the widespread discourse of globalisation and the realities of a world in which, for the most part, the routines of everyday lives are dominated by national and local circumstances?” [Held & McGrew, 2000: 5].

A third categorisation was developed on an interesting debate regarding whether the process had any alternatives or not. Giddens [1998] argued that globalisation had no alternatives and Gray [1998] further stated that the process was unavoidable. Castells [1997] explained this through the concept of “singularisation of politics”. Concurrently with these arguments, increasing similarities of central political parties have been observed throughout the world with respect to the policies they make. Furthermore, radical political parties felt the need to approach the centre once they became the governing parties³. Thus, it can be argued that increasing attraction of the “centre of politics” supports the idea of a single direction for the political parties in making policies. Amin [1997] named this tendency as the syndrome of “There Is No Alternative

³ Throughout this thesis, the term “central political parties” refers to almost all political parties with various ideologies such as social democracy, liberalism and conservatism that support and implement policies in the direction of “democratic liberalism”. Spatio-temporally, this generalisation is prone to fail. Changing in every election, there are about fifteen of such political parties in Turkey and they have increasingly become similar with respect to the policies they make. Furthermore, once political parties come into force with radical pre-election-discourses, they also incline towards the centre of politics after winning the elections. Among the radicals, only the socialist alternative is yet to experience in Turkey and, therefore, can be seen as the only exception of this argument. In Turkey, both nationalists and Islamists received the harshest critics from their own supporters during their government periods because of their tendency towards the centre of politics. The most radical shift came from AKP, which is the governing political party in Turkey since November 2002. They come from a radical Islamic discourse. However, they now declare continuously that they are a conservative political party supporting “democratic liberalism”. Apart from that shift, combination of conservatism and liberalism is another issue to question. Consequently, it can be argued that although a consensus on democratic liberalism and

(TINA)". This singularity syndrome was challenged by others, who believe that there are always many alternatives, and much to do until the end of history⁴. While the conflicts between Muslim and non-Muslim countries/nations increased all over the world and radical nationalists gained votes in the capitalist west, the singularity argument was also disproved in the everyday politics throughout the world. The recent transformation of the wording of "anti-globalisation" movement to "alter-globalisation" can also be put forth in support of these scholars.

In order to assess the impacts of globalisation on localities and particularly on local politics, these three mainstream debates on the literature presented above should be well analysed with respect to each other. Answering the following sets of questions may help in the analysis:

1. Is globalisation a reality or a myth for every locality? Is it a political discourse used as a driving force for the progress of a locality at a –pre-determined- direction in the context of a global project, a totality, or is it yet another spontaneous spur of the liberal economy with illusionary effects on the LDCs? If it is a project developed on a specific discourse, what is its difference with the previous dependency arguments? If it is another spontaneous spur, then, what are its driving forces?
2. How does the "global", whether it is a reality or a myth, interact with the "local"? Does time determine space or does space have a say? Does the global work to homogenise localities or does each locality keep the power to choose its distinct way of globalisation or at least affect it? Furthermore, and in the extreme case, can we talk about any locality that is not at all affected by the "global", and is there any kind of "globality" that is not affected by the localities, which it penetrates?
3. How does local politics restructure itself within the interplay between the global and the local? What are the roles of public and private institutions and civil society in this restructuring? How and under which influences do the local and central governments re-share their authorities? Does this re-regulation satisfy the actors of the local political sphere? Moreover, what do these all mean for the future of local politics and representative democracy?

restructuring the system accordingly in between the central political parties exists at least discursively, a new distinction is apparent according to the intensity of their support towards this restructuring.

⁴ See for example; Howard, 1989; Amin, 1997; Short, 1996; Hirst, 1996; 1997; 1999.

Each answer to the above questions is expected to provide clues for the remaining questions. Moreover, each answer calls for a revision of the preceding answers as well. As they are interrelated, any study attempting to answer one or a group of the above questions is prone to fail. Similarly, any study attempting to cover all the above questions with respect to each other is once more likely to fail, this time due to the broadness of the issue.

Quantitative research is generally used to answer the first part of the first set of questions, on the reality of globalisation. Among other quantitative indicators, the amount of foreign direct investments (FDIs) in/out-flowing to/from a locality is used as the most common indicator of globalisation⁵. However, these studies carry the well-known fallacies of quantitative research⁶. Nevertheless, findings from these quantitative researches were then interpreted qualitatively, for the most part subjectively in order to explain the remaining parts of the first set. In addition to the critical studies of scholars⁷, the second set of questions was lately answered by studies focusing on civil society. Increase in the number of the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) at any given locality and their interaction with other localities via the new communication technologies and the role of civil society have all been, in general terms, exaggerated [Ward, 1995; Mathur, 1996; Castells, 1997; Tekeli, 2002]. In the critical studies, power relations and interest struggles have formed the basis of the alternative answers to the second set of questions. These studies were also targeting the third set of questions, on the restructuring of local politics [Harvey, 1989a; 1989b; Cox, 1990; Smith, 1995; Stone, 1995; Borja, 1996; Robins, 1996; Short, 1996; Amin, 1997; Berner, 1997; Held, 1999]. Moreover, regulation theory also brought new perspectives to those same questions. Usually, the debate has focused on central and local governmental relations and the role of the state in the globalising world with little attention paid to local politics [Cox, 1990; Tickell, 1992; Dieleman, 1994; Short, 1996; Amin, 1997; Jessop, 1997]. Arguments supporting the economic and political autonomy of localities were challenged by both the state elites, not intending to leave their positions and insisting to

⁵ See for example Dicken, 1992; Hirst & Thompson, 1996; Erden, 1996.

⁶ In quantitative research, knowledge is superficial, and most of the time insufficiently realistic and comprehensive. In order to reach some conclusions, an in depth and detailed study is sacrificed. It may also be unrealistic and keep a blind eye on local characteristics. Its capacity to contribute to the existing theories is limited since the method itself is limited by known variables and invariables. Forecasts and extrapolations for the future and their relevant political interpretations are prone to fail because of the universalism principle of the method. For more detailed critics of quantitative research, see for example Bryman, 1990; Creswell, 1994; Champney, 1995; Mulford, 1998.

keep their dominant roles in the new sharing of interests, and the traditional Marxists, believing that this would contribute to the elimination of national labour organisations.

The most common group of studies in the globalisation literature assumes the process as “real” with research being conducted solely on its impacts. Correctly or misleadingly, both negative consequences such as inequalities, polarisation, segregation and positive consequences such as development, growth and democracy were all declared as outcomes of globalisation⁸. A common critique of these studies is the exclusion of other contributing effects on the cause. There may be other local decisions and processes causing these results. It would therefore be unfair to accuse solely globalisation for any unwanted consequences or herald it for the wanted ones. However, since this abstract concluding habit is the easiest way of reaching a concrete result, the number of such studies is increasing by the day⁹.

The general debates that are briefly summarised above and are not yet resolved will be considered and reminded throughout the study. While its content will include all these concerns, the dissertation will not try to answer them all directly. It will provide partial answers, within the interplay between those concerns arising from both the literature and the case study conducted directly or indirectly, and position itself, as the answers to the research questions unfold. Hence, this dissertation will not avoid disputing the general arguments in the literature where the case study proves necessary.

This is a study on decision-making aiming to find out the new dynamics and actors introduced by the processes of globalisation and their potential/probable power. This analysis will also develop an explanation of the behaviours and the motivations of all these actors contributing to the studies of local political restructuring.

⁷ See for example, Harvey, 1989; Massey, 1992; Smith, 2000.

⁸ There is a large amount of studies on these issues and the literature is still to grow. As of their good examples, see Sassen, 1994; Clark, 1996; Hirst, 1996; Chossudovsky, 1997; Storper, 1997; Martin, 1997; Gray, 1998 for inequalities of globalisation; King, 1990; Hamnett, 1994; Berner, 1995; Robins, 1996; Oncu, 1997 for polarizations created by globalisation; Knight, 1989; Sassen, 1991; Hamnett, 1994; Jewson, 1997 for segregation caused by globalisation; Hall, 1993; Erkan, 1993; Gilbert, 1996; Simone, 1998; Castells, 1998 for development and growth stimulated by globalisation; Offe, 1985; Beck, 1986; Castells, 1997; Berner, 1997; Simone, 1998; Tekeli, 2002 for democracy fostered by globalisation.

⁹ See Abu-Lughod [1991; 1999] for detailed critics of these studies.

1.3 Methodology and structure of the dissertation

This section introducing the methodology and structure of this thesis will include three parts as forming the sections of this dissertation. First, the literature review will be introduced alongside its structure and methodology. Secondly, the framework for the case study will be presented, and finally the case study will be introduced in full detail with its corresponding methodological explanations. Methodology and structure will be presented in relation to each other, rather than in separate sections, in order to ensure that the study is more explanatory¹⁰. Still, in the end of this chapter, there will be a short section that will summarise the structure to guide the reader through the chapters easily.

The methodology of this dissertation is a detailed case study preceded by a two-stage literature review. While the first stage of the literature review is separated from the general discussions of globalisation, the second stage sets the framework for the case study, which introduces the decision-making process for the location of a private university in Istanbul.

1.3.1 Literature review

Globalisation has become the ‘intellectual toy’ of the contemporary times. By the end of the 1980s, literature in almost every discipline of the social sciences had already paid attention to the concept. There is now an uncountable amount of publications from various disciplines including international relations, international economics, macro and micro economics, development studies, political studies, international law, sociology, cultural studies, geography and planning, among others, written either specifically on or related to one aspect or another of globalisation. All these studies do not only reflect the impacts of globalisation on their disciplines but also attempt to prove the significance of their disciplines on the globalisation debate. Similarly, geographers and planners highlight the spatial concerns in their writings about globalisation.

In such an academic environment, it should not be surprising to see researchers looking for globalisation to support their specific disciplinary arguments. In some extreme

¹⁰ Due to the explanatory relations between the methodology and structure of the dissertation, it was not feasible to write these sections as separate parts of the introduction. Hence, they are both included in one section emphasising their relations towards each other as well. This may fail to present the structure of the dissertation as a whole. However, the advantages are more important for the intentions of this thesis aiming to contribute to the methodology of globalisation studies.

cases, authors, perhaps incorrectly, tend to relate all their arguments and/or resolutions to globalisation. This may be caused mostly due to the difficulty in determining other contributing factors to their arguments. Another reason may be the conscious effort of some authors to exaggerate the impacts of globalisation either positively or negatively on their discipline area or to exaggerate the importance of their discipline for the process of globalisation.

A general reading of globalisation literature - not specific to any given discipline- may resolve this problem of misleading hypothesising. On the one hand, it may foster the construction of new ways of understanding globalisation with theories such as advanced capitalism, neo-liberalism, imperialism, post-fordism, new international division of labour etc. On the other hand, it may be helpful to analyse it with micro-narratives such as labour relations, firm locations, efficiency in production, individual choices etc. Only then can one begin to revise, review, re-construct or strengthen ideas on her/his discipline. However, this general reading may also confound a discipline-specific and focused approach to such an extent that removing the concept of globalisation from the study's arguments may prove to be the only way to avoid this confusion.

This dissertation started to take shape on this very general and ambitious term, globalisation. Most of the time, it struggled to narrow-down its focus. However, at each successful narrowing-down it leapt back from the local to the general as the local weakened the arguments arising from the globalisation literature. Particularly during the case-study stage, globalisation often seemed a blank term that had no implication not only on the local life-worlds of individuals but also on their surrounding environments. The only way to proceed seemed possible by eliminating the term "global" from the dissertation, which in fact defined the whole study in the first place. However, at each simplification attempt a new "non-local" and probably "global" factor was met. A continuous switch from local to global and global to local occurred. This unplanned interplay between the global and local made the task of setting the framework of the dissertation more difficult. This difficulty could be attributed to the fact that neither the global nor the local could be accepted as the sole reference points. If reality is to be sought, which should be one of the objectives of any social scientist, both the local and the global should be considered and more especially the interplay between them. However, this thesis preferred to emphasise the local within the global-local interplay in

order to present the opportunities it provides with respect to global in terms of local politics.

In this regard, the literature review should have started with the debates on the global-local interplay in the second chapter. Whether globalisation was a singular process with a single direction or the sum of processes with plural ends in different localities is exposed as one of the most important questions to be answered in this chapter. Both global and local approaches are discussed for a satisfying conclusion, contributing hence to the debate on time and space. Throughout the literature review in the first three chapters, the impacts of ideologies appear as one of the most important factors that shape the ideas. If ideologies are about everyday lives and globalisation affects life-worlds as declared, their interdependence would be most evident. Thus, ideological explanations and interpretations were added to the discussion in order to clarify any misunderstanding. The second chapter also attempts to eliminate the methodological problems faced in understanding globalisation, most of which arise from the vagueness of the term globalisation. Thus, this chapter is designed to develop a methodological approach to understanding globalisation with local references avoiding generalisations, ideologies and discourses.

In general, the literature review is constructed according to localities' viewpoints in addition to the losers' because of personal ethical concerns. In this regard, losers of the globalisation processes seem to be the LDCs in the global scale and more specifically the majority of "powerless locals" in these LDCs. Thus, the dissertation will often situate itself in favour of the LDCs and their powerless locals, not only to question the "global" more critically but also to look for ways of pulling the "local" together to face the global, since they appear as the weak actors in the local-global interplay. In this sense, a special attention is paid to emphasise the voice of the ordinary citizens in both the literature and the case study. This situatedness will fill the lack of "looking 'from below' and giving a voice and a story to those normally excluded by traditional [western] emphasis on the powerful and influential" [Short, 1996: 26] within the process of globalisation.

In relation to the power issues, chapter three will cover the impacts of globalisation on cities and their built environment. By constructing a relevant qualitative approach to analyse globalisation and cities, this dissertation aims to relate the new power

formations to cities in general and to local politics in particular. A new approach is needed primarily to break down the very general term of globalisation and bring down the scale to a level that can be analysed. As Knox [1995: 15] points out "new worlds need new words and new ways of thinking".

In this context, this chapter will attempt to break down the very general term of globalisation into pieces. In one of these attempts, global flows, as targets of these metropolitan areas in competing for a better rank of global city status, will be discussed with respect to different dynamics that each flow contains. Then, the impacts of globalisation will be deconstructed and analysed in relation to local politics in particular. In a further attempt, the concept of the global city will be reviewed shortly to present the importance of metropolitan areas for the advanced capitalist system. By this token, characteristics of the global cities will become available for use in the analysis of local politics.

In the fourth chapter, the literature review continues with the impacts of "global" and "local" on each other and the restructuring of "local politics". It presents this with the use of the actors of the political arena. These actors are discussed in relation to each other together with their behaviours and motivations within the global-local interplay. Throughout the chapter, power relations are analysed, not only between the "global" and the "local" but also between the "local actors". This chapter will contribute to the explanations of the third chapter by presenting the conflicts between the actors. Identifying the contradictory political powers in the local space and the conflicts between them will contribute to the explanation of negotiation bases of the actors. They determine the local political sphere with respect to social and economic tensions. Both capability and applications of local governments can only be assessed within this framework specific to each locality. However, interventions are not limited to local governments. Central bodies still keep the power to intervene. One of the most common debates - the relations between central and local governments and their authority struggles - is also discussed in detail in relation to globalisation. Furthermore, civil society, particularly and most commonly in the form of NGOs, comes out as one of the actors with a daily increasing power. Private investments and investors as either national or multi-national companies (MNCs) should also be considered carefully, since most of the time they become the determinants of action and politics, even though their impacts are most of the time local and temporary. Last but not least, international

organisations appear as the regulating bodies of the new era. Respectively, the need of restructuring in planning in relation to the restructuring in politics will also be discussed in this chapter. This will be developed within the limits in which planning reformulates itself with respect to the built environment that is under the immense influence of the globalisation processes and restructuring of politics.

1.3.2 Setting the framework for the case-study

Section Two is set as a transition from the literature review to the case study, whereby three chapters will set the framework for the case study.

As mentioned previously, one of the most difficult tasks in this dissertation was to relate globalisation to the case study. Considerations – that will be detailed later in this chapter - on the choice of the case ended up with a rare issue that has not yet been analysed comprehensively with regard to the processes of globalisation: Higher education (HE). In fact, this was a product of the deconstructions of Section One.

Thus, the fifth chapter aims to find out the relations between globalisation and HE as a theoretical setting for the case study¹¹. The chapter will start with the significance of knowledge and information in the global era and will set a discussion of informational society with special emphasis on knowledge economy. It will then take the issue to the role of HE and HEIs in an informational society. In this respect, globalisation of HE will be elaborated comprehensively. The chapter will conclude with the interventions of both local and central governments for informational societies within a comparative approach between MDCs and LDCs.

The sixth chapter will present the concrete relationship between globalisation and HEIs by using the example of Foundation Universities (FUs) in Turkey. HE system in Turkey will first be introduced before a detailed elaboration of FUs. Then, the relationship between globalisation and HEIs will be presented on the basis of discourse, logic, politics and particularly privatisation as a political choice, taught programs in the HEIs

¹¹ It should be noted here that the relation between globalisation and HE was not selected as the subject of the case study solely to serve one of the attempts of the dissertation, which is to “break down globalisation” for analytical purposes. In the selection of the case study, prior attention was given to its service to the research questions. Nevertheless, this selection serves both of the purposes and the former helps to answer the research questions.

that graduate a specialised labour force for globalisation and finally the location patterns of these institutions.

The last chapter of this section will provide theoretical and historical elaborations of university locations in the cities and their impacts on their localities, which were among the major concerns of the opposing actors in the KU case.

1.3.3 Case-study

Each attempt to conduct a research explaining and understanding globalisation and its impacts on the city of Istanbul fell to pieces because of the generality of the term globalisation and the abstract conclusion habit of the globalisation literature. These two methodological problems create a vicious cycle between common arguments and fallacies. The only way to avoid them would be a detailed case-study evaluating ways to answer the research questions while discovering what is introduced anew with the process of globalisation to the specific locality of Istanbul.

The methodology of this research, thus, will be an intensive case study. In addition to the collected material from various governmental and non-governmental bodies, a considerable amount of newspaper articles and news about the case exists. Moreover, court decisions about the case provided objective views as well as clues on the insufficiencies of the legal system and the restructuring of planning. Aside from these secondary materials, interviews were conducted as primary sources of information.

The selection of the methodology for the case study and selection of the case in particular gave rise to difficult questions and choices. The first question to overcome was how representative a specific case would be for Istanbul. This question was as valid as how convenient it would be to adapt the globalisation discourse of the MDCs to Istanbul. This has been an ongoing discussion of methodology for a long time in trying to prove generalisations or look for locality specific findings. Thus, the choice of locality-based research should not be falsifying the globalisation research, either. It would hence open the possibility to escape from common concepts of the globalisation discourse and search anew for the particular case of Istanbul. However, looking for the evidences originating from generalisations was also necessary in order to find out and represent the specific problems of the term globalisation as vague, ideologically limited and vast. The research started with top-down approach, but after elaborating the general

issues of global-local interplay, it was reversed and turned to be a locality research in order to find out what is introduced anew. Secondly, selection of the case was important. The first parameter was that it had to encompass certain aspects that could be called “global” at a given locality providing thus the opportunity to analyse the global with respect to the local, and vice versa. More importantly, the case was to display involvement with local politics and civil society in order to enable an understanding of the interaction between the local and the global and to explain the restructuring of local politics in the context of the power relations of actors. In addition, it had to cover a decision making process in relation to planning. Moreover, its impacts on Istanbul and its planning process had to be considerable. On the other hand, since the impacts of globalisation could vary and differ greatly from case to case, it was necessary to choose a case that would eliminate their existence as a limitation. In other words, certain specific impacts of globalisation processes were not considered as parameters in the selection of the case. The case was to only present its specific findings and it was accepted in the first instance that those findings might not be generalised as the impacts of globalisation.

The case study that was finally selected was a development project for a new private HEI, KU, located in a forest area at the north of Istanbul. KU has claimed to be global with its international students, scholars and relations. KH as a multi-national company with very strong international relations since the 1950s was the investor of the project through a foundation it established. In addition to being a good example for the struggle between local and central governments, civil society’s involvement had been intensive during the decision making process for the location of the KU. Despite persistent oppositions and court decisions, the project materialized at the centrally determined location and the institution started to function in 1999 *de facto*.

The case study will firstly interpret the impacts of globalisation on the establishment of the KU. In the light of evidence, KU development will be analysed in detail, explaining the restructuring of local politics in Istanbul with respect to this project and providing evidence for the global-local interplay. In this regard, motivations and behaviours of actors involved in the process will be presented in order to put a light on their negotiation bases in establishing coalitions. This new power formation will then provide evidence on the local political restructuring and reformulation of planning with respect to the global.

It should seem reasonable that I recurrently refer to my subjectivity in this research. Apart from the localities' and losers' viewpoints that are in fact the assumptions of this study -presenting my subjectivity, I was personally involved with the KU case as a representative of an opposing body believing from onset that building the KU at that specific location was against the principles of urbanism and planning and the public interest. Furthermore, I do not support private universities to proliferate with state support in general. This does not only violate the principle of "equality in education" but also weakens state universities as private universities share their funds and transfer their successful academics¹². However, unless carried out on a predetermined direction, the problem of subjectivity, which exists for most researchers, can be neglected. The research was not designed nor any information added/subtracted in order to satisfy the aforementioned subjectivity. Overall, it can be said that it is a challenging decision for a researcher to face possible findings showing that he/she might have been unfair in his/her initial starting-point.

Being personally involved in the decision-making process of the project, as a representative of a professional chamber opposing the development¹³, had its advantages and disadvantages to the study, as access to more information was available but at the same time, a certain level of subjectivity towards some actors and their discourses was present. Possible lack of cooperation with the actors against the attitude of the Chamber of City Planners was common during the study. In fact, KU representatives, consciously or unconsciously, refused every interview requests. Minimisation of the impacts of these disadvantages on the dissertation was achieved by including secondary materials.

Interviews were conducted first to find out the best case for the study and second to understand the motivations of each actor involved in the KU development decision-making process. Before determining the case, some interviews were conducted with some academics, officials, politicians and representatives of civil society to understand their comprehension of globalisation as well as listening their experiences with respect to the decision-making processes. In this regard, these interviews were very useful in not only selecting the most appropriate case but also setting a theory that fits to the

¹² This should not be acceptable from a liberal viewpoint, either, since liberalism rejects the state intervention to the market.

comprehension of globalisation in Turkey, strictly bounded to ideology. After selecting the case, some other interviews were conducted to expose the motivations of the involved actors. In these interviews, the targeted views were not only limited to the case in particular but a deeper insight towards globalisation was sought¹⁴. Given that globalisation is an ambitious term, interviewees tended to keep their discourse at a general level despite efforts to keep them focused on the research questions. However, from time to time, some very fruitful interpretations arose from these and the conversations proved helpful in better communicating and understanding the interviewees.

Twenty-two interviews were conducted in these two stages. Interviews were semi-structured and non-structured depending on the interviewee in order to gather as much relevant information as possible. The interviews did not have a standard format¹⁵, as different actors were asked different questions according to their roles in the process.

In the LDCs such as Turkey, conducting interviews particularly with government officials may prove to be problematic either due to an exaggerated or total lack of respect for scientific studies. Apart from a few and understandable postponements, it can be said that no major problems in conducting interviews with opposing¹⁶ or neutral actors involved in the case including central and local government officials and NGOs' representatives arose. However, all the supporting actors including the Ministry of Public Works (although a new government with a new Minister was in force at the time of the interviews), the KU, the Koc Foundation (KF), and NGOs such as TEMA (Turkish Association of Erosion Prevention) and DHKD (Conservation of Natural Life Association) either refused or kept a blind eye on the interview requests. On the other hand, although having personally opposed their views on many occasions ideologically or technically as a representative of the Chamber of City Planners (CCP), Istanbul

¹³ I have been elected as an executive member of the Istanbul Branch of the Chamber of City Planners in Turkey for two terms. During my second term between 1996-1998, I was assigned to deal with this case as the representative of the chamber.

¹⁴ Most of the time, this was unavoidable, as the interviewees were so eager to talk on globalisation in general and count the negative or positive consequences of the process. Particularly pro-globalist politicians and officials avoided the details of political decision-making processes and tended to reflect the positive aspects of globalisation throughout their interviews and could not be useful for the particular research questions and case.

¹⁵ The list of interviews can be examined at Appendix A.

¹⁶ The term "opposing", relates to the actors in the decision making process who opposed the development of the KU because of various reasons. Similarly, the ones who supported the development are called "supporting" actors throughout this study. Although a few, there were also actors who were "neutral" towards the development.

Greater Municipality (IBSB) was cooperative and provided the requested information at all times and levels. Thus, the problem in the interviewing stage was more about the polarisation between those for and those against the case. All the actors were still trying to strengthen their arguments by helping or keeping a blind eye on an academic researcher. KU's attitude is worth underlining. No responsible accepted to talk on the phone with me to arrange an appointment. Furthermore, when I went to KU to find a responsible to talk to, the bodyguards at the entrance of the university did not let me in after introducing myself as a student conducting a research on the location of the KU. However, their point of view on the project is included in the study via the notes taken during a round table discussion that their representatives, myself, other NGO representatives and some academics attended in 1997, a booklet they published in the same year and the media coverage supporting them.

The case study section is formed of four chapters. It starts with an introduction in Chapter Eight focusing on the location of the KU, which could be counted as the root of the problem. First, state intervention and land appropriations to the FUs and particularly to the KU will be analysed. Geographical location and natural resources in the area will be discussed on the basis of the relevant documents and reports, of which some were prepared by experts particularly for the development of the KU. Authorities that are responsible for the area will be introduced and authority struggles in general will be discussed briefly as an introduction to the rest of the discussion. Driving forces for the establishment of the university in that specific area despite oppositions from the NGOs will be analysed further under two more topics that refer to the competition of KU with the Bogazici University (BU) –that is a well-established and beautifully located university in Istanbul- and land speculation in general. The influential factors of decision-making are counted and explained, as the decisiveness of the KH, the support of the mass media, the marketing efforts and public perception, the persisting oppositions of the NGOs and finally the land rent speculation claims. Then, KH will be analysed in more detail as the most determinant actor in the process because of its role as the investor. Finally, KU will be introduced to the reader.

Land appropriation process of the KU will be another focus of the third section in Chapter Nine. A chronology of decisions will be provided with other factors that might have been influential including the central agencies that provided the initial permissions and their changing behaviours as time proceeded, opposition got stronger and

governments changed. Pressures on local agencies, their contradictory decisions in time and the court decisions are also analysed as they provide evidence on the consequences of authority struggles between governmental actors as well as the restructuring in local politics and planning.

An in-depth analysis of the civil society and their attitude towards the KU development will form another issue of the case study section in Chapter Ten. The fourth chapter that underlines the theoretical conceptions of the issue will form the basis of this analysis. Throughout the process, chambers of various professions, NGOs, universities and some political parties affected the process via various channels. Furthermore, some individuals came forth with their efforts against this specific university development. All these attitudes and changes will be explained objectively in order to provide evidence and judge the power of civil society in their intent to take place in the governing process actively.

The lawsuits opened against the KU and other responsible bodies by both the IBB and the civil society will be the final issue to be analysed in detail in Chapter Eleven. They provide significant insight to the concept of public benefit, which had been at the core of the case from the very beginning. This chapter will also present the claims and defences of both sides and assist the reader to make a judgement by himself/herself. It is also important, as the court decisions set precedents for future cases and these precedents will set the scene for the restructuring of local politics and re-regulation of planning.

The dissertation ends with a discussion on its findings on the restructuring of local politics and reformulation of planning within the global-local interplay. The methodology of the thesis will be reminded and proposed for future globalisation studies. Findings that are worth analysing deeper in further studies will be included to the concluding remarks.

1.3.4 Structure of the dissertation¹⁷

This dissertation is formulated in three sections. Section One reviews the literature that provides the knowledge to develop an approach in understanding globalisation with

respect to local politics and planning decisions. In this context, Chapter Two aims to evaluate the literature on globalisation and avoid analysing the concept in singular terms. Explaining the plurality of globalisation processes presents the possibilities that local may affect the global as well as the impacts of ideology on the construction of globalisation discourse at a locality. Chapter Three enriches the argument of plurality of globalisation processes by revealing the plurality of impacts of globalisation on the cities. It also involves deconstruction attempts of the very general term of globalisation in order to scale down the study to analysable terms. By this token, a more concrete relationship with local politics and planning decisions is founded. Chapter Four focuses on this concrete relationship as well as the actors of global-local interplay. In this context, restructuring of local politics is explained with respect to these actors, their contradictions and negotiations. Planning is also discussed in this chapter.

The second section sets the framework for the case study, in which a transition from theory to case is established. Chapter Five relates globalisation to the knowledge economy and informational society as they form the basis of the globalisation process. It also introduces the interventions of central and local governments on this relationship. A special attention is paid to carry the discussions to the city scale. Chapter Six presents a concrete relationship between globalisation and FUs in Istanbul. This section ends with the location criteria for the universities with historical elaborations and their impacts on the cities in Chapter Seven.

Finally, in the third section, the case study is explained in full detail in four chapters. First, an introduction is made to the KU and its location decision in the eighth chapter. Secondly, in the ninth chapter, central and local authorities' roles and responsibilities are elaborated in this location decision with special attention on the planning status of the land, on which the university is located. Thirdly, the civil society including the professional chambers, the NGOs and individual citizens are analysed within their negative or positive attitude towards the location decision in the tenth chapter. These two chapters include the actors of local decision-making and thus provide the basis of restructuring in local politics. Finally, in the eleventh chapter, lawsuits commenced against the location of KU are introduced to present the basis of re-regulation in

¹⁷ Although the structure of the thesis was presented together with the methodology because of the aforementioned reasons, it is found necessary to repeat the structure briefly here in order to guide the reader easily throughout the thesis.

planning. The dissertation concludes by drawing its findings on the specific case with respect to local political restructuring and planning decisions.

SECTION I

Section one presents the main literature review of this study. It is constituted of three chapters. It will attempt to develop a comprehension of globalisation as plural. In this context, its impacts on localities, local politics and planning will be discussed. In doing so, this section will benefit from the advantages that the global-local interplay presents. It will present the plurality of globalisation processes, their impacts and actors by using this interplay and revaluing the local in this interplay. A comprehension of globalisation with respect to local and as plural will open new ways to analyse local political restructuring and planning decisions on the ground.

In this context, Chapter Two aims to evaluate the literature on globalisation and discover the ways to analyse the concept in plural terms. Explaining the plurality of globalisation processes will present the possibilities that local affects global. This explanation will also reflect the impacts of ideology on the construction of the globalisation discourse at a locality. In doing so, definitions and categorisations of globalisation will be deconstructed to replace the local into the centre of comprehension.

Chapter Three enriches the argument of plurality of globalisation processes by revealing the plurality of global flows, impacts of globalisation processes and the functions / activities that are hosted by a global city. This is achieved by deconstructing the very general term of globalisation into its relevant elements for each area of analysis. By this token, a more concrete relationship with local politics and planning decisions can be founded on the basis of the analysable terms, which will form the rest of this thesis.

Chapter Four focuses on this concrete relationship with respect to the actors of the global-local interplay. In this context, restructuring of local politics is discussed with respect to these actors, their contradictions and negotiations. Contradictions of globalisation processes are presented to emphasise the importance of restructuring in local politics with respect to the problems introduced. The chapter concludes with a discussion of planning with respect to the globalisation processes.

Chapter Two

Deconstructing globalisation: Plurality of processes

“Whilst the 19th century was dominated by “either...or”, 20th century has to put an effort on “and”. In the 19th century, there was separation, specialisation and an effort towards single meaningfulness and a computable world. However, in the 20th century, there is collateralness, plurality, vagueness, questioning of context and relatedness, experiments of change and containing the third way, synthesis and duality.”

[Interpreted from Kandinsky by Beck, 1999]

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to evaluate the globalisation literature in order to understand and analyse it as a plural process with the possibility to lead to various directions, in contrast to many descriptions presenting it as a singular process with a single direction thus aiming to prove the existence of possible other forms of globalisation in order to eliminate the related discourse based on singularity. Definitions and categories will be deconstructed to prove this plurality. Establishing plurality is expected to open new perspectives for the following chapters to analyse the underlying factors of decision-making in relation to the process.

Questions to be addressed in this chapter are as follows: What is globalisation? Does it really present a singularity syndrome or is it a plurality containing many alternatives? In this context, how should we understand the local and articulate it with the global? How does the interplay between conflicting forces of local and global take place and is there a possibility to interpret them together? How and why is the process interpreted differently by different groups of scholars? What is the impact of ideology on these different comprehensions and can these different comprehensions lead to a plurality?¹

¹ In order to answer these questions, analysis should be context-bound; avoiding generalisations if misleading hypotheses are to be eliminated. This is indeed, not sufficient. One should also be able to distinguish the ideological positions of scholars in this debate and express his/her position clearly. This is necessary to eliminate the common exaggerations about globalisation and its impacts. Decision-making analysis in relation to mega processes such as globalisation is only possible with context-bound studies avoiding abstract generalisations and eliminating ideological exaggerations.

This chapter will start with an attempt to find the reasons why globalisation is presented as a singular process towards either democratic liberalism or advanced capitalism and explain the fallacies of this discourse. Fallacies of static definitions, generalisations and categorisations that are also among the causes of the singularity syndrome will be discussed to find out how the syndrome can be turned upside down. Different definitions in the literature will be reviewed to present the broadness and vagueness of the concept. They will be discussed within the interplay between local and global so that their fallacies with respect to local will be presented. This will also form the initial step in finding evidence for the plurality of globalisation. This setting will start with the possible impacts of the local on the global, however it will end with literature and evidence supporting the singularity syndrome declaring the global as the dominant process. A discussion on how to balance these forces will follow. Differing approaches will then be reviewed within the globalisation literature, from which diverse scenarios can be derived. It will attempt to present both how ideological concerns shape these scenarios and how those scenarios can be proliferated by eliminating the ideological concerns. In other words, findings from different categories of the globalisation literature will be presented together in order to create many alternative scenarios. In doing so, a sample text will be created not to point to an alternative but only to prove this possible proliferation. This will provide further evidence for the plurality of globalisation. This section will end with an attempt to correct the categories of globalisation literature with a special emphasis on ideologies. This attempt will provide a more reliable basis to interpret the process from the local point of view as well, since the local understanding of globalisation is strictly bound to ideological concerns.

2.2 One world of the singularity syndrome

In the globalisation literature, it is often claimed that the process of globalisation is unavoidable [Soros, 1998], inevitable [Ohmae, 1995; Soros, 1998; Giddens, 1998], irreversible [Grey, 1997] and without any alternatives [Giddens, 1998]. The most abstract reflection of this determinism is seen in economics. Accordingly, economic globalisation is in danger of creating a “runaway world” [Giddens, 1998] as global markets effectively escape political regulations. In this way, governments do not have any real option other than to accommodate the forces of economic globalisation [Amin, 1997]. International institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB) and World Trade Organisation (WTO) appear as the primary actors of this

determinism (of economic globalisation) as they advocate and pursue programmes that simply extend and deepen the hold of global markets on local life-worlds² [Korten, 1995]. By this token, a single global market will be created through free trade, capital mobility and global competition as the harbinger of modernisation and development [Ohmae, 1990; 1995].

2.2.1 Singularity syndrome

While liberals usually emphasise and severely criticise the deterministic approach of the Marxist paradigm, a more deterministic approach is proposed with globalisation while celebrating the end of socialism: the syndrome of “There Is No Alternative (TINA)”³ [Amin, 1997]. Since Heraklitos, processes and things have been defined with their dualities and antonyms. Now, we observe an attempt to turn this tradition upside down. We face a very confident discourse declaring the end of ideology and history [Fukuyama, 1989] and an eternal faith in globalisation contrary to the traditional thought that everything contains its disappearance within its existence. This claim can best be explained by Kandinsky’s philosophical argument of transformation from “or” to “and” [quoted in Beck, 1986]. The contention of these scholars presents globalisation within a reductionist framework as a process with a single direction and without any alternatives but with uncountable ingredients. It can, then, be identified as inevitable, irreversible, unavoidable and moreover uncontrollable.

“[Globalisation] is an historical faith. Its basic mechanism is the swift and inexorable spawning of new technologies throughout the world. That technology driven modernisation of the world’s economic life will go ahead regardless of the fate of a world-wide free market” [Grey, 1998: 23].

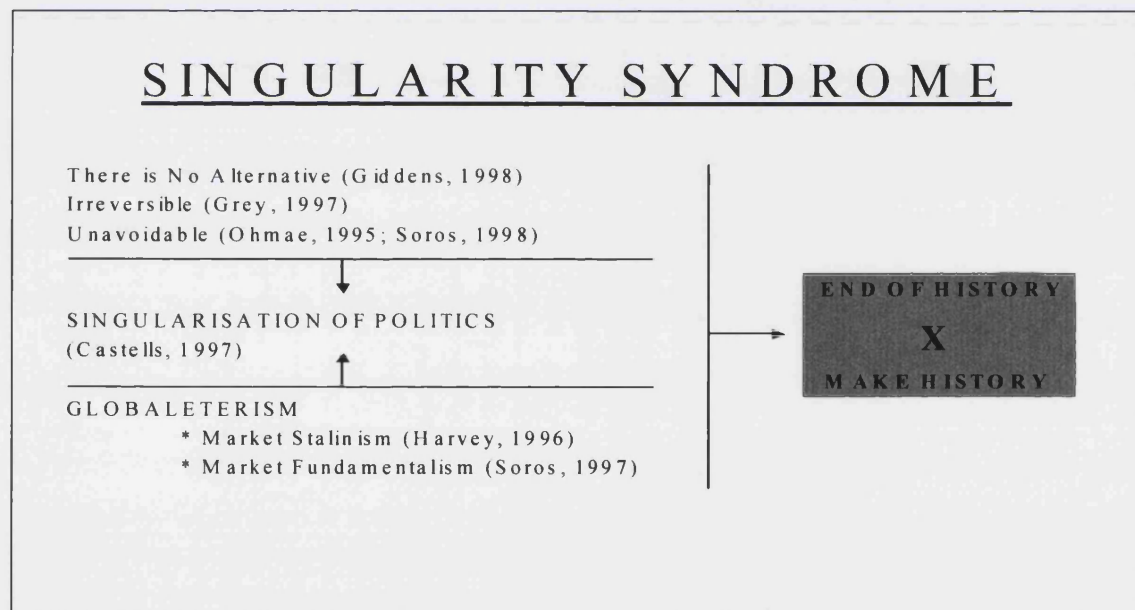
Globalisation is presented to people as if it were a consequence of natural selection and the singularity syndrome entered into people’s life-worlds. How to live, survive, behave, engage in politics and such is imposed. Thus, a singular culture is increasingly visible. This presentation is dangerous in the sense that it may lead to the destruction of alternatives not only to globalisation, but within globalisation as well [Hardt & Negri, 2002]. In other words, it has two possible consequences. First, it may eliminate any

² According to Pieper and Taylor [1998], half of the world population and two-third of its governments are bound by the disciplines of the IMF or the WB.

³ Margaret Thatcher first used the term in the beginning of the 1980s, and she kept using it to justify her neo-liberal economic policies.

political opposition to globalisation by presenting them as irrational and illogical before they mature. Second, it may eliminate any alternative policies within globalisation that can head towards one of the many possible scenarios to which globalisation may lead. In this sense, Castells' [1997] conceptualisation of the process is crucial: "singularisation of politics". Accordingly, in the information economy, there are no opportunities for alternative politics to emerge that can harm the free and unlimited flow of information, an opportunity that is only possible with liberal markets and democracy. This understanding means that it would not be possible to "make history" anymore, accepting hence the "end of history". However, such an acceptance may work against the continuous development of humanity, since, in any situation, alternatives that present the real meaning of human freedom [Amin, 1997; İlhan, 1997] and further development possibility should exist.

Figure 2.1 Singularity syndrome



Note: This figure is developed by the author on the basis of the theoretical discussions in this thesis.

Unfortunately, there is evidence arising primarily from the implications and pressures of international organisations as leading advocates of the free markets throughout the world supporting the singularity syndrome. For example, although Sweden still has one of the best working welfare states in the world, the social democrat government of the country was forced to decrease the level of social assistance funds in 1995 because their credit rating was reduced by one of the leading international credit organisations,

Moody's [Chossudovsky, 1997]. Hence, LDCs' governments that do not have any basis for resistance to these forces because of the continuous necessity of access to funds and credits for their economic survival⁴ should be considered. Examples of opposition to global capitalism in Cuba, North Korea and Iran have been under severe embargo for years. They no longer have the potential to present a threat to global capitalism as the alternative ideologies in these countries have arguably lost their capability to globalise [Fukuyama, 1993].

2.2.2 Fallacies of the singularity syndrome

Loss of capability is indeed a result of the insistence, and sometimes, inhuman efforts of global actors to include these countries in a system that dissuades LDCs from developing alternative policies. These implications and pressures on governments can be interpreted as a dictatorship of the accumulation regime. While Harvey [1996] calls it "Market Stalinism", Soros⁵ [1998], a guru of global business, prefers "Market Fundamentalism". Soros [1998: 127-128] explains how market fundamentalism "drives policy" as follows:

"[Market fundamentalism] seeks to abolish collective decision making and to impose the supremacy of market values over all political and social values... Fundamentalism implies a certain kind of belief that is easily carried to extremes. It is a belief in perfection, a belief in absolutes, a belief that every problem must have a solution. It posits an authority that is endowed with perfect knowledge even if that knowledge is not readily accessible to ordinary mortals... A key feature of fundamentalist beliefs is that they rely on either/or judgements. If a proposition is wrong, its opposite is claimed to be right. This logical incoherence lies at the heart of Market Fundamentalism... Market fundamentalism plays a crucial role in the global capitalist system. It provides the ideology that not only motivates many of the most successful participants but also drives policy".

Thus, in this discourse of market fundamentalism, all political movements against global capitalism are accepted as radical. However, the antonym of the global economy, according to Hirst and Thompson [1996], is not necessarily a closed, national economy.

⁴ From a neo-liberal perspective, this can also be accepted as an advantage for the LDCs' governments since they do not have a welfare state tradition to resist transformations. Furthermore, they can justify their inability in creating a welfare system to their voters by accusing the international organisations demanding a minimal state and free functioning of the market.

⁵ In this section, Soros is quoted more than he deserves scholarly. However, this is because of the necessity to support the arguments of left on globalisation with a capitalist guru in order to extract the arguments from ideology and present them as facts. Soros' opposition to global capitalism in the context of democracy started after he founded the Open Society Foundation.

It can be an open world market, depending on trading nations and regulated by public policies of trading states and international organisations. This scenario of a world system points to a liberal utopia, in which capital is humanised and international co-operation is increased. On the other hand, even if the argument of hyperglobalisers that globalisation is an unprecedented process [Ohmae, 1995] is accepted, there is still no reason to believe that it will last forever. Studies on the Kondratieff cycles argue that contemporary form of globalisation will decline in time by the introduction of further innovations [Howard, 1989; Healey, 1990; Hirst & Thompson, 1996; Short, 1996]. This is yet another reason not to depend on the discourses of hyperglobalisers insisting on the singularity syndrome.

On the other hand, it is now accepted that "processes of globalisation and localisation interconnect and intertwine to produce place-based political struggles" [Oncu, 1997: 3]. In the case of increased dependency on the globalisation processes, these struggles can take the form of various radical movements based on nationalist, religious, communist or socialist ideologies and they may interrupt Ohmae's [1995] dream of convergence in the world. According to the supporters of the singularity syndrome, all these political movements look for totalitarian regimes, which are not based on a democratic foundation. By this token, they strengthen their arguments that global capitalism is and will be the only existing alternative to follow for truly liberal and democratic communities. However, communism tries to ensure democracy for the future by initially providing equality, while liberalism assumes that everyone has equal rights to participate in a democracy. One may refuse this argument as the ensuring process was anti-democratic, which was observed in the pre-1989 period. However, it is now known that global capitalism may also lead to totalitarian regimes. Soros [1998] explained this pragmatically as follows:

"Economic development requires the accumulation of capital and that, in turn, requires low wages and high savings rates. This is more easily accomplished under an autocratic government that is capable of imposing its will on the people than a democratic one that is responsive to the wishes of the electorate" [Soros, 1998: 109].

Asian Tigers are the best examples of this requirement⁶. Global capitalism adds more totalitarian policies on this process by imposing the conditions of not only international organisations such as the IMF and the WB but also of international banks and MNCs. These conditions are most effective on the governments of LDCs that have been struggling with debts, disinvestment and unemployment for a long time.

"Forces within the global capitalist system that might push individual countries in a democratic direction are missing. International banks and multinational corporations often feel more comfortable with a strong, if autocratic, regime... Connection between capitalism and democracy is tenuous at best. Capitalism and democracy obey different principles. The stakes are different: In capitalism wealth is the object, in democracy it is political authority. The criteria by which the stakes are measured are different: In capitalism the unit of account is money, in democracy it is the citizens' vote. The interests that are supposed to be served are different: In capitalism it is private interests, in democracy it is the public interest" [Soros, 1998: 111].

Furthermore, market liberalism pushes humanity into a consumer democracy and weakens the possible political oppositions through either hegemony or oppression [Çavuşoğlu, 2004]. In this respect, it is difficult to talk about a true democracy under market liberalism, which has become fundamentalist. Therefore, the insistent argument of global capitalists attaching democracy to a free market is questionable. Giddens' [2000] argument of there is "no alternative for a better democracy" is also questionable when we accept the idea of a totalitarian free market. We should all be asking the question whether we really live under democracy or whether this democracy is merely constituted by the options that we are provided with by the markets.

In fact, neither the place-based struggles, nor the more radical movements can be interpreted as being against democracy. On the contrary, they are internal to democracy, unless they are forced by a dictatorship. Wallerstein [1998] argued that democracy and liberalism are not twins, and on the contrary, they generally contradict each other. According to him, liberalism was put forward against democracy. Parallel to Wallerstein, Soros [1998: 200] summarised what democracy should be like in his critics to global capitalism. Accordingly, "democracy is supposed to provide a mechanism for making collective decisions that serve the best interests of the community". Does global capitalism really provide a mechanism such as this with the singularity syndrome it

⁶ See for example Hirst & Thompson, 1996; Amin, 1997; Martin & Schumann, 1997; Gray, 1998 and

feeds? In such a system, are the decisions made collectively or should hegemony of the global be considered by compliance and persuasion as well as with aggression?

In the type of democracy, in which we are supposed to live⁷ now, we are directed with the information provided by the global markets that own the command and control mechanisms to produce, create or exaggerate this information. Signs and images of the market dominate the media. We may find ourselves discussing the genetically modified foods for weeks if a company like Sainsbury's is producing them. However, we may have no idea about the farmers' problems in rural areas when a technologically advanced production system is introduced as another factor to compete with theirs. Things and processes, which we have, know, hear, and discuss, are presented after being selected from a wide variety. Who can guarantee that this selection is better than the totalitarian selection of socialist states for collective goods? Even if it is better, what happened to democracy? Why are not the liberal states that are represented by elected representatives sufficient for democracy anymore? Since answers to these questions are not yet provided, importance of the free movement of information in the global era should not be exaggerated in terms of democracy. In this time, 'invisible hands' control the information being dispersed. However, we do not yet have any proof that the control by the 'invisible hands' is better than that of the state.

One more point about the fallacy of the singularity syndrome is that national and local governments are inundated by the global flows either materially or discursively, and as such are by no means able to determine what is right or appropriate for their own citizens [Offe, 1985; Prud'homme, 1989]. They are incapable of fulfilling the social needs of their citizens and are obliged to make decisions for global actors. As a result, the need arises to question the integrity of representative democracy as well and to consider the emerging forms of democracy throughout the world such as in Port Allegre.

Thus, one can argue that the trajectories of globalisation depending on discourses such as inevitable, unavoidable and irreversible endanger the concept of democracy by directly or indirectly eliminating alternative politics. Under these circumstances, the practice of democracy becomes a ritual. Either no real policy options are presented to

Soros, 1998.

the electorate or those offered in pre-election speeches are easily forgotten after the elected come to power. Thus, election results have no significant impact on a state's social and economic policies. Turkey is one of the best examples of this in the last decade. Islamic, nationalist, social democratic and liberal parties came to power as central governments⁸ without any significant economic or political changes from the previous ones.

We know that ideologies become more valid as they become historically inevitable [Gramsci, 1997]. In this respect, it is not surprising to see globalisation being presented together with the singularity syndrome. This behaviour, what Stuart Hall [1997] refers to as “authoritarian populism”, does not only harm democracy but also eliminates those possible spatio-temporal versions of globalisation that might bring about better results in specific localities. The following sections of this chapter will attempt to prove the existence of these spatio-temporal versions of globalisation.

2.3 Plural worlds of the local-global interplay

The main purpose of this section is to present the plurality of globalisation in contradiction of the singularity syndrome through deconstructions of definitions, generalisations and categories within the globalisation literature. The interplay between local and global and ideological concerns with regard to globalisation will establish the basis for the deconstructions.

2.3.1 Worlds in the definitions of globalisation

"They ask for definitions from you; to ruin you with the same definitions later. If you do not have definitions, they do not let you talk. They say 'person without definitions talks nonsense. We cannot deal with nonsense. We should not give anybody the freedom of talking nonsense. We cannot give the freedom of illogicality.' And when one gives the definitions, he falls down the hole, which was dug before."

(translated from) Oguz Atay

"No single universally agreed definition of globalisation exists. As with all core concepts in the social sciences its precise meaning remains contested. Globalisation has been variously

⁷ We are supposed to live because if one does not do so, the US and the UK are willing to force it happen by either embargo or military power as in Cuba, Afghanistan, Iraq etc.

⁸ Some of those governments presented peculiarity such as a coalition government of democratic left, nationalists and liberal democrats.

conceived as action at a distance (whereby the actions of social agents in one locale can come to have significant consequences for 'distant others'); time-space compression (referring to the way in which instantaneous electronic communication erodes the constraints of distance and time on social organisation and interaction); accelerating interdependence (understood as the intensification of enmeshment among national economies and societies such that events in one country impact directly on others); a shrinking world (the erosion of borders and geographical barriers to socio-economic activity); and, among other concepts, global integration, the reordering of interregional power relations, consciousness of the global condition and the intensification of interregional interconnectedness" [Held & McGrew, 2000: 3].

There are two main methodological and philosophical problems with regard to the singularity syndrome in the definitions of globalisation. The first one is that they contain continuous attempts to thingifying the process by presenting it in definite terms that unavoidably remove the processes, but at the same time contain broadness and vagueness. There have been attempts to correct the first part of this problem, however, the broadness and vagueness remain. Secondly, even if the second part of the problem is corrected as well with detailed explanations of the processes for each locality, one should still eliminate the dominance of global on local within the definitions. Almost all definitions accept the global as the reference rather than the local, which inherently declares the global as active and reduces the local to a passive role.

Held's contributions can be considered as a correction to definitions of globalisation not only with respect to the first part of the methodological concern mentioned above but also to turn the singularity syndrome upside down. Accordingly, globalisation is "a highly differentiated process which finds expression in all the key domains of social activity" [Held, 1999: 12] or "a continuum with the local, national and regional spatio-temporal processes of change" [Held, 1999: 15]. In these definitions, there is a set of processes, which contain a continuous transformation of social activities, and the direction of these processes is dependent on spatio-temporality. The processes can neither be determined nor controlled. Thus, a variation arising from spatio-temporality can be put forward. However, these definitions are still too broad and vague to say anything specific about the localities of those social activities. A varied set of processes is actually difficult to define in detail with exact terms. Furthermore, their implications on localities will be more than the number of the possible set of processes, which will be impossible to define. Therefore, methodologically, the best course of action appears

to be to explain the processes within the relationship between its counter forces, which are local and global, without any attempt to produce static formulations and with special emphasis on the local as particular occasions⁹.

For the second problem, Oncu [1997: 2] argues that local factors play "a central role in shaping the power-laden processes and outcomes of globalisation". However, most of the globalisation literature tends to ignore this argument and prefer to use the singularity syndrome. In this sense, Grey's [1998] attempt at defining globalisation by putting the local into the centre of the process provides an invaluable path to the understanding of globalisation with respect to the local. According to him, globalisation can be defined as:

"...lifting social activities out of local knowledge and placing them in networks in which they are conditioned by, and condition, world-wide events... Behind all these meanings of globalisation is a single underlying idea, which can be called de-localisation: the uprooting of activities and relationships from local origins and cultures. It means the displacement of activities that until recently were local into networks of relationships whose reach is distant or worldwide" [Grey, 1998: 57].

Grey's definition accepts the local as the reference rather than the global. He argues that global networks are constructed with increasing interactions between localities, which is to say that globalisation cannot occur without the local. Links that connect the interactions between localities are established with innovations in transportation and communication technologies, which are only means of lifting the local out of its boundaries. In support of these arguments, Gottmann [1989: 66] claims that globalisation cannot be reduced to the technological innovations:

"It is a poetic illusion to assume that the world is shrinking because communication improves. In reality the world of each of us constantly expands because, as we carry on, we find it necessary to deal with more and more people, in more places, with a greater number and diversity of problems".

⁹ In its initial years, locality studies concentrated on determining the impacts of geography on economics by exposing the differences of localities with the use of quantitative methods [Harvey, 1969]. Later on, with the development of cultural and human geography together with political and radical geography, these studies started to take socio-cultural and political aspects into consideration in addition to the economic ones by adding qualitative methods to their methodology [Urry, 1985; Eyles, 1988; Krugman, 1996; Boddy, 1999]. Thus, they became capable of adding invaluable findings to the general theories.

Explanations of local-global interplay came generally from a group of scholars, within the area of “globology”¹⁰ as named by Bergesen [1990]. The best known of these scholars, Anthony Giddens [1990], explains globalisation within the concept of “reflexive modernity”, in which the relationship between individual and global is crucial. The main idea of this approach is “action at a distance”¹¹. According to him, the global has crucial impacts on an individual’s life-world, but the individual is not as passive as she/he might be expected to be. The individual reproduces the global in the context of local culture. In this sense, globalisation may be defined as the condensation of worldwide similar social relations related to each other by networks of interactions. Consequently, “distant occurrences and developments can come to have serious domestic impacts while local happenings can engender significant global repercussions” [Held & McGrew, 2000: 3]. Held and McGrew [2000: 3] continue their argument in response to a fundamental question in globalisation literature as follows: “This does not mean that the global necessarily displaces or takes precedence over local, national or regional orders of social life. Rather, the latter can become embedded within more expansive sets of interregional relations and networks of power”. This approach is actually tied to another metaphor of globalisation, which is the ‘shrinking world’. Accordingly, as distances shrink, the relative speed of social interaction increases, too. On the other hand, Storper [1997: 179] highlights this interrelationship of local and global in the economic context. According to him, “global capitalism is being constructed through interactions between flow economies and territorial economies”. Thus, territories are still essential as destinations of flows¹² and the conditions in these territories affect those flows.

These explanations based on mutuality guided some scholars in the effort to understand how globalisation “articulates with distinctive ensembles of class and culture, power constellations and patterns of state/society relations specific to each locality” [Oncu & Weyland, 1997: 1]. This kind of research actually opposes the singularity syndrome. Instead of assuming the validity of generalisations for every locality, they tend to analyse interactions of local and global specific to each locality. This is certainly a more rational way for scientific research targeting original findings with an inductive

¹⁰ Globology is defined as sociology on a worldwide scale [Bergesen, 1990].

¹¹ It is worth to note here that Gray and Giddens, who attempt to underline the local, are also among the contributors of the singularity syndrome.

approach, if and only if, the researcher is aware of the global capitalist system and its ingredients.

The insistence of this thesis, to put the local into the centre of local-global interplay arises from the inequalities that the globalisation processes produce and/or reproduce. Taking the local as the reference point can reduce these inequalities. There is enough evidence throughout the world approving the interrelation of local and global. A decrease in the price of corn in any one country may have dramatic socio-economic impacts in different parts of the world. A plant closure in one country may decrease the unemployment rate in another country. An Asian economic crisis or strategic tension between two nations might affect the stock market in a country not directly involved in the problem. These developments may strengthen or weaken the governments of those countries immediately, and their effects might even extend to restructuring of the economy or political system in those country. However, this interdependency is uneven and exclusive¹³.

“A significant segment of the world’s population is either untouched directly by globalisation or remains largely excluded from its benefits, it is a deeply divisive and, consequently, vigorously contested process. The unevenness of globalisation ensures it is far from a universal process experienced uniformly across the entire planet” [Held and McGrew, 2000: 4].

Dicken [1992] defines globalisation as “a complex set of processes, which operate very unevenly in both time and space”. Spybey [1996] explains this inequality within the reflexive approach as a process where individuals [locals] adjust their actions with respect to the developments in the general process of globalisation, declaring the hegemony of global on local. Even if local events affect the global system, they do not produce a system of their own. The local has relatively less power to shape the pre-determined processes of globalisation. Local transformation, then, is interpreted as a consequence of globalisation since the local needs to adjust itself with respect to the global. This may end with more dependency of politically and economically weaker regions of the world compared to the stronger ones. However, if the process is reversed and allowed to be determined from the local perspective, new opportunities may arise

¹² Flows of information, capital, people, image, commodity and technology will be analysed in detail in the next chapter with respect to cities.

¹³ Among many see Yildizoğlu, 1996; Chossudovsky, 1997; Mander, 1998; Hirst, 1999.

for weaker regions. It is possible to use the existing social and physical capital of localities in cooperating with the global flows, if both sides are analysed in detail. It may then provide opportunities to use these processes to provide equality in a specific locality, region and even worldwide.

However, the interrelation between local and global is presented as if there were a condition to begin with, which is the initial acceptance of the global as dominant by the local. Consumerism can be taken as an example where the US born free market culture is replacing, or at least dramatically affecting all localities, and the refusal of the free market is said to stop most of the interactions between local and global. Similarly, enforcement of strict regulations on foreign investments is also claimed to lead to the same conclusion. According to this approach, which downgrades the importance of the interplay between local and global, globalisation is widely defined as the increasing flows of information, people, goods and capital to other localities, and their impacts on the social, economic and political aspects of those localities. This, in turn, leads to the singularity syndrome. In this context, Spybey [1996: 9] defines globalisation as “a universalised form of life that touches on everyone and causes individuals to orient their actions towards it ... [in turn these actions] facilitate and encourage the creation of social systems, which are not proscribed by geography.” This argument can, then, develop to an extreme as “society has become divorced from space” [Clark, 1996: 10].

Some scholars, in parallel to the above discourse, claim that the interplay between global and local produces a one-sided affect on cultures, which leads to an immense homogenisation throughout the world with the images, signs, meanings, and life-worlds it introduces and/or dictates [Robertson, 1999]. These are images of consumerism exported from the MDCs in general and the USA in particular. Addresses are often described according to the location of the nearest McDonalds, not to any other “*food culture*”. Youngsters are listening to “global rhythms”, not the folk music of their country; local shopping areas are transforming to or are being replaced by shopping malls, which are innate to the USA. The argument here is that globalisation today is the domination of American or western culture. In this sense, Robertson [1990; 1999] argues that the globalisation of culture is a process by which the world becomes a single place. Clark supports this argument such as that “a global urban society is being created in the form of a world-wide community of radio listeners, and television, and video-cassette viewers” [Clark, 1996: 121]. This homogenisation is mostly a consequence of

image flows. Since most of the images created, produced and distributed are of US origin, the impacts of these flows are argued to lead to an Americanisation. Although Giddens [1990] refuses the idea that globalisation causes westernisation, people should be warned that in the long-run this cultural homogenisation, if not Americanisation [Appadurai, 1990; Smith, 1990; Robertson, 1990; Berner, 1995] or westernisation [Wallerstein, 1990; Amin, 1997; Robins & Aksoy, 1996; Grey, 1998], may lead to an environment which,

“de-skills people and organisations. It does so by making the environments, in which they live and work, unrecognisable to them. It thereby renders their stock of local and tacit knowledge less and less serviceable to them...” [Grey, 1998: 76].

Cultural globalisation is the driving force behind economic globalisation in the sense that it sets people for the global economy with dominant images of the west. It prepares not only the motivation for consumption but also the labour markets that are necessary for a global economy with the image flows. Conservative values of a society, then, become the most powerful tool against cultural globalisation in order to conserve local cultures and maintain the possibility of the plurality of globalisation. A dilemma appears as the demand for more freedom against the global economy takes its voice from conservatism. This, in turn, strengthens the argument that ideologies became blurred, since some leftists and even some liberals also began to depend on conservative values to oppose globalisation.

A conclusion based on the material reviewed so far is a locally defined globalisation, which is spatio-temporally bound, and thus, can take various forms. In different locations, globalisation is realised in different paces, periods and forms. This is certainly related to local factors as much as global ones. In the mean time, it is primarily related to the conditions of the global. However, in time, the local may transform it after a possible chain of political struggles. Local elites are extensively connected to the global and the degree of these elites' integration into the global and their commitments to the localities are crucial in defining the form of globalisation. They are indeed vehicles of the influence of the local on the global, if they are aware of and value the interplay in between. Consequently, the local can become the basis of globalisation. Understanding globalisation from the local point of view is one way to avoid the singularity discourse settling in.

2.3.2 Worlds in the categories of globalisation literature

One other theoretical way to read the possible forms of globalisation that can occur in a locality arises from the categories of globalisation literature. These categories present different possibilities of globalisation with respect to its consequences. As Held and McGrew [2000: 1-2] argued: "...there are no definitive or fixed lines of contestation. Instead, multiple conversations coexist...competing assessments continue to order the discussion". One pre-warning about these categories is the impact of ideologies on these possible scenarios that should be taken into consideration in their analysis.

Theorists of globalisation are generally grouped under two main contradictory categories as sceptics and hyperglobalisers¹⁴ [see for example Giddens, 1998]. While globalists believe that globalisation is a real and significant historical development, sceptics argue that it is an ideological and mythical construction that has marginal explanatory value. Both groups try to identify the primary lines of argument and establish the fundamental points of disagreement. On the one hand, this approach provides access to the "mêlée of voices" [Held & McGrew, 2000], but on the other hand fosters the singularity syndrome at both ends. In other words, by defining the process with strict definitions of agreement and disagreement, they push the ordinary reader for either approval or disapproval of their complete scenario. Ideology has a dramatic influence on this two-edged selection. Later, Held et al. [1999] have added one more school of thought; namely the transformationalists in between these two contradictory views¹⁵. This new category does not only serve our purpose of proliferating the globalisation scenarios theoretically but also helps to decrease the tensions between sceptics and hyperglobalisers with its open-ended explanations.

2.3.2.1 Hyperglobalisers

Hyperglobalisers, with Ohmae [see 1990 and 1995] as their most significant figure, accept globalisation as a radical reconfiguration of the framework of human action. Accordingly, global economic integration has reached a historically unprecedented level. Furthermore, the core economies of the world have undergone a radical

¹⁴ Giddens [1999], later in his Reich lectures, classified this group as radicals.

¹⁵ Held preferred to use globalisers and sceptics in his preceding work with A. McGrew. This selection was necessary to compare the contradictory scenarios in the literature. However, our aim here is to present the possible proliferation of scenarios. Thus, it is preferred to use Held's previous categorisation.

restructuring. It is this transformation from industrial to post-industrial economies that establishes the difference of the global economy from its predecessors.

According to this group of theorists, we can observe an increasingly integrated and interdependent global economy, which imposes a neo-liberal economic discipline on all governments. In this composition of the world economy, regionalism has become an important mechanism facilitating and encouraging economic globalisation. Hyperglobalisers tend to exaggerate the erosion of nation-states, especially by highlighting the less-state centric new world order concept. They argue that it is not possible to sustain welfare states anymore because they are increasingly directed by international market forces that affect articulation and pursuit of domestic and international policy objectives. As Ohmae [1990] puts it, national economies are no longer autonomous systems of wealth creation since national borders are increasingly irrelevant to the conduct and the organisation of economic activity. In other words, nation-states have become incapable of determining their future since their capability of control within their own borders is limited. They point a tendency towards a single global market together with the unavoidable de-nationalisation of economies. Hyperglobalisers foresee local, regional and global mechanisms of governance as new forms of social and economic organisation instead of nation-states [Ohmae, 1995]. They focus on transnational networks of production, trade and finance in order to prove these arguments. Their emphasis on civil society reflects a true confidence in transnational elites. On the other hand, they argue that a consumerist ideology is created and that ideology provides a new sense of identity displacing traditional cultures and ways of living.

It is interesting to see neo-Marxist authors agree on this scenario of the neo-liberal ones, even though they differ from each other in their interpretations of the process. While neo-Marxists tend to criticise the process as an advanced type of capitalism¹⁶, which creates and reinforces inequalities, neo-liberals support the scenario with the argument that those developments would bring individual autonomy by putting market principles in front of state power. In this respect, liberal hyperglobalisers call for a global civilisation, global governance and a global civil society. They all accept that the process increases inequalities by creating winners and losers. However, liberal

¹⁶ See for example Greider, 1997.

hyperglobalisers argue that this would not be a zero sum game and things would be better for everybody in the long run if openness and competition are accepted as principles in managing economies [Ohmae, 1995]. Thus, they re-call the trickle-down effect by highlighting the growing diffusion of wealth and affluence throughout the world. According to them, the Third World is increasingly becoming differentiated as some of them have already started to use the advantages of global economy [Ohmae, 1995]. In brief, inequality and poverty are accepted by the liberal hyperglobalisers as well but are regarded as transitional conditions that will disappear with true globalisation. Social democrat and Marxist hyperglobalisers have a more pessimistic view of economic globalisation with respect to inequalities. They see globalisation as the sole responsible for increasing inequalities and deepening polarisations [Castells, 1997; Dicken, 1992; Gray, 1998]. However, this differs from previous structures of inequality that poverty and inequality are no longer only issues of the South and/or the LDCs. The North and the MDCs are also dramatically affected by the inequalities created by forces of economic globalisation¹⁷. As Held and McGrew [2000: 29] formulates the hyperglobalisers' view, three related patterns are evident:

“The segmentation of the global forces into those who gain and those who lose from economic globalisation; the growing marginalisation of the losers from the global economy; and the erosion of social solidarity within nations as welfare regimes are unable, or governments unwilling, to bear the costs of protecting the most vulnerable”.

Hyperglobalisers are criticised in the literature by positing a linear progression of a singular condition with a fixed end. Their scenario brings about the TINA syndrome. Furthermore, they build their scenario on assumptions such as the truly global market and the dissolution of nation-states. However, these processes are not yet completed and there is no guarantee that they will be completed. On the other hand, since there is no perfect competition in a fully integrated global market with price and interest rate equalisation [Held, 1999], their arguments for the existence of a truly global economy is flawed. Therefore, talking about the end of geography is an exaggeration as well, since the distribution of wealth and power is still significantly dependent on place and space. In this sense, the MNCs are still dependent on national and local competitive advantages

¹⁷ For example, many low skilled professions are moved to the LDCs in accordance to the new international division of labour, which caused dramatic increases in unemployment levels of the MDCs accompanied by increasing inequalities and polarisation [Amin, 1997; Castells, 1998; Chossudovsky, 1997; Clark, 1996; Gray, 1998; Martin, 1997; Rodrik, 1997].

[Porter, 1990; Ruigrok, 1995; Thompson, 1998], which do not allow them to be utterly transnational. Thus, governments should still have some bargaining power with the MNCs, at least in theory. Finally, hyperglobalisers are criticised for being reductionist in the sense that they believe technological change is sufficient for globalisation [Held, 1999]. Parallel to this critique, as we discussed earlier in this chapter, putting the global into the centre of the process has destructive effects on localities, and in this sense, defining the process with reference to the local might decrease its negative impacts.

2.3.2.2 Sceptics

Hirst and Thompson, with their book 'Globalisation in Question', became the key figures of this second category known as the "sceptics". In general, sceptics question what global is [Hirst, 1997] and is new [Hirst & Thompson, 1996] in globalisation. As we mentioned earlier, there are places untouched by globalisation. Thus, sceptics argue, it is not possible to talk about its universality, which decreases its specificity. Furthermore, on the contrary to hyperglobalisers, they argue that the process is not unprecedented. Accordingly, in the late 19th and early 20th century, the world passed through the '*belle époque*' with more integration, more international trade and more immigration [Gordon, 1988; Jones, 1995; Hirst & Thompson, 1996; Hirst, 1997]¹⁸. Accordingly, it was a period when both the magnitude and geographical scale of flows of trade, capital and migrants were higher. Their view relies on a totally economic conception of a perfectly integrated global market. If globalisation implies a "perfectly integrated world-wide economy, in which the law of one price prevails" [Held, 1999: 5], then, they argue, nobody can talk about a global economy today. Sceptics accept that there is an intensification of flows. However, rather than globalisation, they argue that what is being experienced today is heightened levels of internationalisation and regionalisation, in which the nation-state is still the primary actor [Hirst & Thompson, 1996]. Indeed, internationalisation depends on the regulatory power of nation-states¹⁹ and regionalisation does not necessarily mean globalisation. It can even be argued that they are contradictory. Therefore, a connection from these two trends to globalisation is more than questionable. According to the sceptics, a triad economy, constituted by the

¹⁸ Reply of hyperglobalisers to this argument is that scale and intensity of world trade far exceeds that of the *belle époque* [O'Brien, 1992; Greider, 1997; Rodrik, 1997].

¹⁹ Sceptics acknowledge the critical role of nation-states in creating the necessary national and international conditions for global markets to exist in the first place. In this respect, sceptics interpret the nation-states as both the architects and the subjects of the world economy [Held, 2000].

Americas, Europe and the Asian Pacific region with their own centres and peripheries, is becoming the dominant formation of the world economic system. However, this economy does not tend to integrate in between the centres of the triad. Rather, sceptics argue, the tendency is towards interdependence within each region at the expense of integration between them [Hirst & Thompson, 1996]. Furthermore, they argue that the so-called dominant actors of globalisation, the MNCs, are still completely committed to their places and origin. They remain predominantly the captives of national or regional markets on the contrary to their popular portrayal as 'footloose capital' [Ruigrok, 1995]. All these arguments are based on or end with a belief that nation-states are not eroded.

One other dimension of the sceptics' critiques of globalisation is that "the concept becomes so broad as to become impossible to operationalise empirically and, therefore, largely meaningless as a vehicle for understanding the contemporary world" [Held & McGrew, 2000: 4]. Some of them propose a way to understand the process by accepting it as a new phase of western imperialism²⁰ [Callinicos, 1994]. Increasing inequalities between regions, countries, cities and people are on the agenda of the sceptics but their emphasis is particularly on the economic marginalisation of the Third World in general, and Africa in particular. They argue that the largest proportion of the world's population is excluded from the process. In terms of the north-south polarisation of the past, they argue a new international division of labour is emerging [Krugman, 1996] and increasing the gap between north and south. Furthermore, it is argued that inequalities create and reinforce fundamentalism and nationalism in the LDCs. Their critiques on globalisation and hyperglobalisers continue with the expression that there is a fragmentation rather than a convergence in terms of global civilisation, global governance and global civil society. Consequently, sceptics argue that globalisation is a myth [Hirst & Thompson, 1996] and a thoroughly exaggerated western project to sustain their positions in the world economic system. Globalisation discourse is, thus, no more than an ideological construction that helps to justify and legitimise the neo-liberal global project [Gordon, 1988; Callinicos, 1994; Hirst, 1997]. It is their argument that globalisation operates as a necessary myth through which; governments discipline their citizens to meet the requirements of the process [Held & McGrew, 1999]. Anti and alter-globalisation movements can be accepted as reflections of this comprehension.

²⁰ In general, sceptics are strongly attached to either Marxism or realist ontology [Held & McGrew, 2000].

Sceptics are primarily criticised for relying on statistical data only, which is not nearly sufficient to analyse the global economy. First of all, the data available for use in these kinds of analyses is aggregated on a nation-wide scale. This kind of data is not useful in analysing the interactions of the MNCs, which are said to have lost their places and origin by dispersing the production processes and units throughout the world. As Knox [1995: 5] puts it, "trade figures are infrequently reported in terms of flows between or within corporations, while the global elements in many products are invisible". Furthermore, smaller spatial fixes such as regions and cities have increased their importance relative to the nation-states as geographies of analysis. Secondly, statistical data can be used misleadingly by presenting ratios instead of real values in the analyses²¹. Since, as comparisons of the *Belle époque* and the global era are actually based on ratios, they can be considered as being misleading with respect to real numbers. Another critique of this comparison is based on the organisation of the production process, which is said to be completely different from the highlighted period of late 19th and early 20th century today. In order to avoid this fallacy, critics argue, differences in the production processes should be analysed by not only quantitative but also qualitative methods. Dicken [1992], for example, criticises sceptics qualitatively, although he posits that he agrees with their quantitative findings. According to him, integration of the world economy in the *Belle époque* was a shallow integration, while what is experienced with globalisation is a deep one. In addition to these critiques, Held et al [1999] argue that sceptics are also reductionist, as with hyperglobalisers, because their assessment of causation depends only on capitalism²². In this sense, some sceptics may be causing another singularity syndrome with a single form of capitalism²³ and their negative forecasts of the future²⁴. However, Held and McGrew [1999] argue that distinct capitalist social formations continue to flourish on the models of the European social democratic mixed economy, the American neo-liberal project and the developmental state of East Asia even though socialism had almost disappeared. Furthermore, sceptics accept the global as the reference to understand local transformations and present similar fallacies with the hyperglobalisers in this sense.

²¹ See for example Hirst and Thompson, 1996.

²² In my opinion, when globalisation is accepted as an aggregate of contemporary developments in capitalism, it is very rational to do so. In this sense, this critic is the translation of those traditional critics of Marxism that declares it reductionist.

²³ The singularity syndrome of the sceptics sometimes reaches to an extreme of nihilism when the forces of globalisation are accepted as unavoidable and resistance to the process as impossible.

²⁴ See for example Callinicos, 1994; Ruigrok, 1995; Hirst, 1996.

Finally, sceptics can be criticised in the sense that their discourse is based on an opposition to hyperglobalisers and does not allow an objective and independent research agenda²⁵.

2.3.2.3 Transformationalists

The third group of globalisation theorists, transformationalists, accept globalisation as "a central driving force behind the rapid social, political and economic changes that are reshaping modern societies and world order" [Held, 1999]. Theirs is a conception of globalisation "as a set of interrelated processes operating across all the primary domains of social power..." [Held & McGrew, 2000: 6].

As with hyperglobalisers, they argue that the process is unprecedented. However, globalisation is accepted as a long-term process, which is shaped by spatio-temporal factors. They argue that states and societies will be in radical transformation with the impacts of global forces in the long term and the type and pace of these transformations will be dependant on spatio-temporal conditions. These conditions include the issues of power and authority. One of the most important distinctions between hyperglobalisers and transformationalists appears at this point: Transformationalists propose a reform-based transformation in the state systems rather than dissolution. Accordingly, states should reconfigure their power, functions and authorities with respect to the global economy. They should be reformed with the principle that "boundaries between domestic matters and global affairs may be blurred" [Held, 1999: 15]. Thus, for the state, there should be no distinction between international and domestic, external and internal because they mutually influence each other. Transformationalists highlight the non-territorial forms of economic and political organisations in the global domain such as the MNCs, transnational social movements and international regulatory agencies. In relation to these organisations, they argue that institutions of international government and law should be the determinants of the transformation in states. In this period, trans-regional interconnectedness replaces the inter-state relations and the state reforms should target this fact, too [Held, 1999]. In this sense, states should be more active than their past incarnation. Governance and partnership models are emphasised rather than the classic formats of government. The type of governance proposed by

²⁵ This critic presents similarities with that of postmodernism in the sense that its discourse is completely based on an opposition to modernism, at least in its earlier times.

transformationalists is social and economic, in which the relationship between sovereignty, territoriality and state power is the key.

They depart from hyperglobalisers by having no future trajectories of global convergence such as global society, global governance etc. They accept today's world as interconnected but highly uncertain [Giddens, 1998]. They are mostly inscribed with the contradictions created by globalisation and agree with the sceptics' view that there is a global stratification, in which some parts of the world are marginalised from the global economy. However, they overlook these facts by arguing that the core-periphery distinction is no longer merely geographic but it is also social²⁶. In relation to this, some of them argue that the new international division of labour between north and south may work in favour of the LDCs in time.

They avoid the reductionism that is evident in the other two categories by including the non-economic dimensions of social activity in their analysis of globalisation. Most importantly they accept globalisation as plural. Thus, they avoid the creation of another singularity syndrome. Central to this concept are the particular spatial attributes of globalisation:

“There is no a priori assumption that the historical or spatial pattern of globalisation within each of these domains [social, political and cultural] is identical or even comparable. In this respect, patterns of cultural globalisation, for instance, are not presumed necessarily to replicate patterns of economic globalisation... a conception of globalisation which recognises this differentiation, allowing for the possibility that it proceeds at different tempos, with distinctive geographies, in different domains” [Held & McGrew, 2000: 6].

Held and McGrew [2000] continue their argument in presenting globalisation as an indeterminate process. Thus, globalisation presumes neither a singular historical trajectory nor an end condition such as a single world society or global civilisation. It should instead be understood as an aggregate of forces and dynamic tensions -that may contradict to each other-, which may lead to different scenarios.

“Since it pulls and pushes societies in different directions, it simultaneously engenders cooperation as well as conflict, integration as well as fragmentation, exclusion and inclusion, convergence and divergence, order and disorder” [Held & McGrew, 2000: 7].

²⁶ Since inequalities between the LDCs and the MDCs increase in parallel to the inner inequalities of a country, region or city in the globalisation process, transformationalists argue that core-periphery is not 'merely' geographic anymore, but it is also social.

Last but not least, their formulation of power is also important for the purposes of this dissertation. Accordingly, power is one of the three subjects²⁷ of significant change in the global era. The scale in which power is organised and exercised is expanded. Thus, in the era of globalisation, the truth of power is not restricted to its local environment, where it is immediately experienced [Jameson, 1991], but it is reshaped in its local sphere by the strong influence of interconnected locations, which can be anywhere in the world.

It is within this group of scholars that globalisation is often presented as plural. Furthermore, this group of scholars contain those, who support the locality studies in understanding globalisation.

In a self-critique, Held et al²⁸ [1999] find transformationalists reflexive, indeterminate, more contingent and open ended about trajectories. This self-criticism contains opportunities together with threats in understanding the process. Another critique to transformationalists is that the driving forces of globalisation are presented as plural including technological change, market forces, ideology and political decisions. In this sense, it is eclectic. However, combining some theories may be essential in understanding this complex process²⁹.

2.3.2.4 What is new in globalisation?

One of the most important debates of these schools of thought is whether globalisation is unprecedented or not. This is also the basis of any need for decision-making with regard to globalisation. If it is not unprecedented, there may not be any need for decisions of radical transformation. Slight changes may be enough to adapt the process, which is not under threat in this case. Otherwise, all these structural transformations in our local environments and lives gain a solid base in politics.

In order to answer this question, it should be determined whether there is any difference between the globalisation and internationalisation of economic activity. If there isn't,

²⁷ The others are socio-economic organisation and territorial principle [Held & McGrew, 2000].

²⁸ Although they did not position themselves in any categories they presented, we can argue that Held and his colleagues are among the transformationalists in the globalisation literature. Thus, their critic should be accepted as an example of self-critic.

²⁹ Globalisation literature is full of materials based on theories of state, accumulation regime, class etc. However, neither of these theories is capable of explaining the whole process since all these subjects function together at a given time and the negligence of any may mislead the analysis.

slight changes will be sufficient since internationalisation has always existed in history. Hirst and Thompson [1996] argued that we still experience internationalisation and the requirements of globalisation have not yet been realised. His findings depend on statistical analyses –previously criticised–, which provide significant similarities between the global era and the *Belle époque*. However, Dicken [1992] separated these two eras: while the increasing geographical spread of economic activities across national boundaries refers to internationalisation, globalisation refers to a more advanced and complex form of internationalisation. Accordingly, globalisation is the functional integration between internationally dispersed economic activities, and "production is organised across national boundaries, rather than contained within them" [Dicken, 1992]. Knox [1995] added to the arguments that the nation-states are no longer closely regulating the production and marketing process of this "oligopolistic web of global corporate networks". In a more comprehensive explanation, Amin and Thrift [1996: 574-5, citing Friedmann, 1995: 27] described a move from an international to a global economy with four characteristics:

"The functioning of industries on a world scale through the medium of global corporate networks; an increase in oligopolistic, progressively centralised power; an ongoing process of corporate decentralisation through new forms of subcontracting, joint ventures, and other forms of networked organisation and strategic alliances; and finally, a new, more volatile balance of power between nation-states and corporations, resulting in the increasing prominence of cross-national issue coalitions 'uniting fragments of the state, fragments of particular firms in a world-wide network'".

On the other hand, one of the significant differences of globalisation from internationalisation is that the former is organised and controlled by some forces, which have almost complete information about the production factors and market conditions throughout the world. These forces shape the direction of mobile capital. Information is becoming more significant in economic activities because today these forces do not only use it but also produce it. Localities that are willing to attract mobile capital, should serve the requirements of these forces because there are many alternative places for those in control of the forces to consider during their decision making process for the choice of a location.

These explanations argue that the globalisation of economic activity is different from internationalisation. In brief, it can be differentiated on the basis of "*scale and added*

complexity” [Sassen, 1995: 36]. The scale of production increases with the opening of new markets throughout the world and the factors of production that are changed with in the globalisation processes are considered in a more complex and wide geography in accordance with the new accumulation regime.

However, there still remains a crucial question to be answered. Does “globalisation simply carry the tendencies of earlier forms of capitalism to greater lengths, commensurate with the greater scale of operation” [Kumar, 1995] or are these tendencies completely unprecedented? The literature argues that the answer is not unprecedented this time. Globalisation carries the contradictions of capitalism, maybe more than ever, however, this does not necessarily mean that nothing has changed. In other words, the social relations of capitalism are consistent, while economic organisation shows fundamental changes. In this respect, nation-states fell into a trouble of balancing new economic trends with traditional social relations. This, in turn, presents nation-states as weak in terms of their inability to balance these forces. However, this can still be interpreted as a transition period rather than a hollowing out for the nation-states.

2.3.2.5 Combining categories: Creating a text

Trying to explain a general process such as globalisation, first of all, has a risk of inclusion and/or exclusion. What is to be included and/or excluded from the definitions should be the basis of categorisations within the globalisation literature. However, there is confusion among the categories in this sense. When attention is paid to the categories and their explanations presented above, it can be observed that most of the concepts developed by theorists in these categories are complementary, if not equivalent, to each other except from their discourse. Or, at least it can be certainly argued that they do not strongly contradict each other except for a few extreme arguments based on ideological concerns. As previously mentioned, this confusion is primarily rooted in the difficulty of defining processes. As Harvey [1996] puts it “a process is not a thing”. It may end unexpectedly and deny trajectories. It may provide contradictory evidence to all historical patterns. There may be the dissolution of a nation-state somewhere and sometime, while there may be nationalism and a stronger nation-state created somewhere else simultaneously. History contains a lot of evidence approving plural ends as consequences of plural processes.

Evaluating two contrary approaches, Held & McGrew [1999] ask whether hyperglobalisers and sceptics were fundamentally at odds with one another and contradictory in all respects, or whether a productive synthesis was possible at any time. According to them, there are clashes involving the conceptualisation and interpretation of some of the most critical evidence. However, they argue that the kind of evidence proffered by both sides differs markedly. Thus, questions of interpretation arise. On the other hand, it would be implausible to maintain that either side comprises mere rhetoric and ideology. While the sceptical case has significant historical depth, globalists illuminate important transformations. Therefore, use of evidence and the interpretations provided by both sides would not only enrich any analysis of globalisation but also enlighten possible scenarios to which globalisation may lead.

Table 2.1 Contradictory views in the globalisation literature

	Sceptics	Globalists
1. Concepts	Internationalisation not globalisation Regionalisation	One world, shaped by highly extensive, intensive and rapid flows, movements and networks across regions and continents
2. Power	The nation-state rules Intergovernmentalism	Erosion of state sovereignty, autonomy and legitimacy Decline of nation-states Rise of multilateralism
3. Culture	Resurgence of nationalism and national identity	Emergence of global popular culture Erosion of fixed political identities Hybridization
4. Economy	Development of regional blocks Triadisation New imperialism	Global informational capitalism The transnational economy A new global division of labour
5. Inequality	Growing north-south divide Irreconcilable conflicts of interest	Growing inequality within and across societies Erosion of old hierarchies
6. Order	International society of states Political conflict between states inevitably persists International governance and geopolitics Communitarianism	Multilayered global governance Global civil society Global polity Cosmopolitanism

Source: [Held & McGrew, 2000: 37]

In order to illustrate that these scenarios of globalisation, derived from three categories, can be complementary to one other, and moreover may take many forms by the combination of those elements within the scenarios, an attempt will be made to write a text presenting a consistent scenario for globalisation using the possible trajectories of

the three categories described above³⁰. It should further be added that many other texts – scenarios- could be derived from various combinations of these ideas. In this sense, the text is arbitrarily created from many elements from within the categories. By this token, a solid step is taken towards the acceptance of globalisation as a plural process rather than singular in support of the discussions in this chapter³¹.

Text: Combining categories

What is new: We are in a global age, which is historically unprecedented in terms of global interconnectedness (*Hyperglobalisers*). In reaching this stage, its initial evidence appeared as trading blocks and weaker geo-governance than in earlier periods of history (*Transformationalists*). However, what is new is also continuity with history, and should not be interpreted as an end in itself. It is still capitalism, but more advanced and widespread this time (*Sceptics*).

Dominant features: The world is more interdependent than before in terms of both economy and politics (*Transformationalists*). Globalisation of today intensively and extensively creates a different kind of interdependency by the emergence of signs of global capitalism, global governance and global society. Competition challenges old hierarchies (*Hyperglobalisers*) and generates new inequalities of wealth, power, privilege and knowledge. There are parts of the world, which are completely neglected in this inter-connectedness and have thus fallen behind the competition (*Sceptics*).

Power of national governments: The increasing globalisation of the economy has, in some aspects, led to the decline of politics and

³⁰ Although post-modern philosophy contains a lot of unsatisfactory aspects starting from the insistence on the opposition to whatever is modern, its contributions to the methodology of social sciences aid deconstructing those general definitions and categories criticised in the beginning of this section. Since the 1980s, methods such as text, reading, writing, interpreting and meaning among many others are widely discussed and used in social sciences. These methods disturbed all generalisations, categorisations, abstractions and definitions.

³¹ I should mention here that I do not necessarily support the ideas presented within this text. Each should be accepted as logical hypothesis that needs to be proved.

culture and to the erosion of nation-states (*Hyperglobalisers & Transformationalists*). This development gave way to the reconstitution and restructuring of nation-states according to the new requirements of the local as well as the global (*Transformationalists*), and this may in time reinforce or enhance the nation-states to become influential on not only local, but also on global events (*Sceptics*).

Driving forces of globalisation: Capitalism (*Sceptics*) and technology (*Hyperglobalisers*), which have always been the interrelated driving forces of modernity, are now driving states and markets towards globalisation. Capitalism cannot be realised without technology, and technology cannot be developed fast enough without the competition principle of capitalism (*Transformationalists*).

Pattern of stratification: Although a new architecture of world order is expected with the erosion of old hierarchies following the Cold War, we can observe an increased marginalisation of the south in the initial stages of the process (*Sceptics*). Furthermore, inequalities between all levels of spatial fixes and their inner structures are increasing (*Transformationalists*). However, there are opportunities for some localities to break this structure and move forward (*Hyperglobalisers*).

Dominant motif: Although the transformation of political communities with increasing interaction witnessed the Americanisation of local cultures through the introduction of different motifs such as McDonald's, Madonna etc. (*Hyperglobalisers*), and national interest is still dominant (*Sceptics*). In addition, depending on the evidence, we can argue that local cultures have the ability to interrupt this interaction and deny the declaration of Americanisation. In this sense, the ideal synthesis would include a welcoming of global cultures while

retaining the local differences that would enrich both the global and the local (*Transformationalists*).

Conceptualisation of globalisation: As internationalisation and regionalisation increase (*Sceptics*), there appears to be a re-ordering of social relationships (*Transformationalists*). This gives way to the re-ordering of the framework of human action, which may even occur at a distance (*Hyperglobalisers*).

Historical trajectory: It is actually indeterminate (*Transformationalists*), but there are many possibilities between the two most distinct future scenarios, which are a global civilisation or a clash of civilisations according to the implications of global actors (*Hyperglobalisers*). It is also possible to see a pro-active state reformed on the basis of new requirements (*Sceptics*).

This text is created to argue that globalisation is a “plural process” rather than a “singular phenomenon”. Thus, it cannot have strict rules, trajectories or prescriptions. Its trajectories will be determined by the strengths of driving forces of and the contradictions created by the process. And, if globalisation is accepted as an interplay between the local and the global, each experience of globalisation will be different from other versions, since the driving forces and contradictions in any locality will vary in strength and timing. Thus, the plurality of globalisation as a set of processes can certainly be argued. In this respect, it can be seen as an ontological concept with possible reservations about its use as analytical shorthand.

2.3.2.6 Ideological categories in the globalisation literature

It is not the intention of this thesis to offer a new categorisation of globalisation literature in place of existing ones. However, it is necessary for this thesis and for its approach in understanding globalisation to develop a methodology on the basis of ideologies. On the other hand, in an era of disappearing ideologies, all opportunities to highlight the existing ideologies should be used to protect the concept of opposition, and thus the presence of alternatives and plurality in our political cultures. Therefore, if

globalisation theorists are to be categorised, it should be done on the basis of ideologies³².

Although some researchers from different ideologies presented similar findings relating to the process, ideologies have more frequently driven researchers to differing conclusions, declaring not only the significant impact of ideology on the explanation of globalisation, but also the subjectivity of social sciences with respect to ideologies. Here, scholars in the globalisation debate will be categorised into four groups with particular emphasis on their ideologies. This will simplify the understanding of their conceptualisations of globalisation and the related decision-making processes.

1. *Scholars who accept globalisation as a set of problems to be solved.* They are mostly neo-Marxists and traditional social democrats, which analyse the process of globalisation together with its contradictions in different localities, and try to find solutions to a set of problems created or enhanced by the process. Most of the transformationalists are in this category.
2. *Scholars who accept globalisation as an opportunity to be caught.* This group is constituted mostly of liberals, neo-liberals and neo-social democrats, who welcome the process with the new opportunities, it presents. Hyperglobalisers, excluding pessimists, are in this group. They support the driving forces of globalisation for the sake of development.
3. *Scholars who refuse contemporary globalisation as a danger to be eliminated or transformed.* This group of scholars reject globalisation in entirety. They are completely pessimistic about the process and are against its driving forces and trajectories. Traditional Marxists and nationalists constitute the majority of this group. The Marxist wing of this group accepts the first group as counter-revolutionary in the sense that they try to repair the dysfunctional elements of the capitalist system³³.

³² Lovering [1999] classified globalisation literature on the basis of positionality with respect to globalisation such as pro-globalists, anti-globalists and compromisers. He added that people in the same group might be holding different ideological positions.

³³ In Turkey, for example, Labour Party lately started to cooperate with the Nationalists against globalisation and its ingredients such as the European Union.

4. *Scholars who see globalisation as an opportunity to implement their ideologies.*

This group tries to use the opportunities provided by globalisation to realise their ideologies. This category actually covers some scholars from the other three approaches. All new political movements from environmentalists to feminists together with ethnic movements can also be identified in this group in addition to militant ideological groups.

2.4 Concluding remarks: Revaluing the local for alternatives

It is definitely reductionist to introduce globalisation as a singular process leading to TINA syndrome. More than twenty years of globalisation experience presents us that globalisation is plural and may take various forms in different spatio-temporalities. Its form in a given spatio-temporality may also change in time. Despite the difficulty of explaining, it is more advantageous for local politics to accept globalisation as plural because it produces alternatives for our life-worlds. In this regard, taking the local as the reference point for understanding globalisation and allowing the interplay of local and global theoretically, as in real life, help to avoid the misleading understandings of globalisation based on singularity. Therefore, this thesis intends to revalue the local by putting it into its centre and accept globalisation as a set or sets of processes emerging from the global-local interplay.

This comprehension will stop thinking globalisation without any alternatives. Moreover, it will open the ways to find alternatives within globalisation itself. Thus, the tendency towards the singularisation of politics can be reversed to its ideal type of plurality with a locally defined globalisation only. Then, among the many forms of globalisation that can be derived from this approach, the most appropriate alternatives to the relevant spatio-temporality can be determined via various contentions in the political sphere.

Last but not least, it is important to retain our ideologies in an era when their disappearance is celebrated. Ideologies may help to proliferate the alternatives, which are necessary for a better future of human kind. However, we should not imprison ourselves within those cells of ideological comprehensions, if we want to understand and keep the pace of globalisation processes and review/develop our ideologies accordingly.

Chapter Three

Deconstructing globalisation: Plurality of impacts on localities

"linked to the issue of globalisation as a historical process is the related matter of whether globalisation should be understood in singular or differentiated terms".

Held et al [1999: 11]

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, plurality of globalisation processes was explained. Impacts of ideologies on comprehending the globalisation processes were introduced and importance of localities were emphasised. This chapter will focus on the local, which is assumed to be the city in the context of this thesis, as the target and/or subject of the globalisation processes. It is aimed to present the plurality of impacts of globalisation processes on the localities and set the framework to discuss these impacts with respect to local.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, globalisation is generally used as a broad and vague term bringing about a vacuum, where relating the theory to the field is a difficult task. In this respect, deconstruction is necessary to make the globalisation processes more understandable and analysable in service to this thesis. By deconstructing definitions and classifications with inclusive interpretations, arguments related to the term can be grounded.

Deconstruction with respect to the cities involves three steps, in which global flows, impacts of globalisation and the concept of global city will be discussed. This will present different characteristics, conditions, driving forces and impacts for different processes, and thus, contribute to the plurality of globalisation argument of the previous chapter. More importantly, these grounded arguments will be available for the analysis of local politics and planning decisions rather than the broad and vague term of globalisation itself.

3.2 Deconstructing global flows

Revolutionary transformations in communication and transportation technologies brought about making decisions at a global scale for the issues that were used to be spatially bounded. Increased mobility introduced relatively intense flows of any kind between localities. These flows might be in the form of capital, people, information, images, commodities, technologies and such. When they start flowing into a locality, they become driving forces for other/more global flows since they are strongly connected to the working principles of the markets¹.

Global flows, which are often used in explaining globalisation, are in fact causes and accelerators of transformations in the cities. Each or combinations of these flows dramatically affect local politics. Flows of technology, finance, goods and information make the cities compete with each other to benefit from the flows more by getting integrated to the global market system. This turn from inner populist attitudes to a worldwide comprehension of the issues brings about a re-formulation of local politics. Consequently, global flows become not only the causes and accelerators of transformations but also the main targets of restructuring both at state and city scales since they are the factors that determine the materialisation of globalisation processes at a specific locality.

However, when one thinks about the pace of global flows, and particularly the pace of capital flows, it can be argued that the rapidity of flows that can enter and leave countries in an integrated system, can threaten the underlying stability of a locality [Harris, 1996]. Capital would always prefer better conditions and when it finds them at another place, it would not hesitate to move. As Storper [1997: 178] puts it “the essential condition for a pure flow economy is that a location offers only those factors of production that could potentially be substituted by a large number of other locations”. This possibility of instability because of fluidity makes the issue of global flows susceptible together with the decisions made for the sake of them.

This general pessimism pushes the critics to fall into the trap of singularity -as mentioned in the previous chapter- just like the political decisions made for the sake of the global flows. It may be true that global flows influence each other continuously and

that they may lead the localities to a certain direction if not intervened. However, each flow is almost completely different from the others with respect to ingredients, initial conditions to start and possible consequences. Moreover, their influences to each other may also vary according to the combinations of flows, their pace, periods and habitats. Therefore, we should consider plurality in the case of global flows as well, and thus decisions made for the sake of them should be criticised in consideration of this plurality. In other words, one specific type of global flow might be good to attract to a locality, while another might not be, and thus, a decision made to attract one specific flow might be beneficial while another might be harmful. Moreover, the processes of decision making with respect to these plural flows may be different from each other with different actors at each time. However, ideological concerns often come to fore and affect the critics on the political decisions with respect to global flows. These critics arising from ideological concerns are stuck into singularity most of the time in the direction of their understanding of globalisation. In order to assess these decisions objectively, one should first of all classify the global flows together with their dimensions, ingredients, paces, initial conditions to start, intentions, motivations, periods, habitats and possible consequences, and then, criticise decisions on the basis of these elements of analysis. Moreover, decisions should not be criticised without taking the decision-making processes, which may vary at each case, into consideration.

Scholars have classified global flows in a few different ways. While, a hyperglobaliser Ohmae [1995] emphasised the flow of 4 Is as Investments, Industries, Information and Individuals with a reductionist classification, a more comprehensive one came from Appadurai [1990]. He counted five dimensions of global flows as ethnoscaples, technoscaples, finanscaples, mediascaples and ideoscaples. Later, Knox added one more dimension to Appadurai's classification as commodityscaples [Knox, 1995]. Deconstruction of global flows below is based on this classification.

3.2.1 Human flows

Ethnoscaples is consisted of human flows. It is often argued that with particularly the innovations in transportation technologies, it is now easier to move in and across borders for the people [Hall, 1993; 1995; Knox, 1995; Harris, 1996; Borja, 1996].

¹ See Krugman's [1996] model on market potential how the good of "a" increases "b", and an increase of "b" in turn increases "a" again in a market.

Tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers and businessmen are counted as the main moving groups [Appadurai, 1990]. Their intentions may vary from tourism to employment opportunities, from political reasons to better life standards or to a combination of these. Attractions for different groups of human flows normally vary and volume of ethnoscape is closely related to the existence of other flows. Thus, policies made to attract and/or keep away the human flows may vary dramatically.

Policies of the LDCs tend to attract particularly tourists and businessmen to their localities with the belief that they would assist their overall development. For the sake of these two target groups, governments of the LDCs continuously work on their markets to reach world standards and invest on their CBDs (Central Business Districts) and advanced communication and transportation technologies for these markets and on the historical and natural sights of their countries for tourism. Qualified labour force can also be counted among the targets of the LDCs with their assistance to economic development. The other groups of human flows are not demanded by the LDCs at all, and though, processes of democratisation and development as initial conditions of these groups to flow are not yet completed. Lately and particularly after the strict regulations of the MDCs on immigrants, relatively more developed LDCs started to receive immigrants from different nationalities, most of who are illegal [Yenal, 1999; Cetiner, 2004].

Economic growth [Yenal, 1999; Buğra, 2000] and new employment opportunities [Hall, 1993; Erkan, 1993; Wood, 1994; Budd, 1996] but not necessarily economic development [Garau, 1989; Shachar, 1990; Harris, 1992; Gilbert, 1992; 1996; Oman, 1994; Amin & Thrift, 1996; Yenal, 2003], enhancement of the CBDs [Sassen, 1995; Robins, 1996; Townroe, 1996], historical and natural conservation [Kenny, 1992; Robins, 1996; Sennett, 1999] and liveability [Harris, 1996] can be considered among the possible consequences of tourist and businessman flows. On the other hand, democracy [Beck, 1986; Yildizoglu, 1996; Castells, 1997; Berner, 1997; Chossudovsky, 1997; Tekeli, 2002] or totalitarianism [Yildizoglu, 1996; Martin, 1997; Gray, 1998; Soros, 1998], multi-culturality [Castells, 1997; Sennett, 1999] or radical nationalism [Featherstone, 1990; Amin, 1997; Castells, 1997; Martin, 1997], unemployment [Harris, 1996] and alienation [Harvey, 1989a; 1989b] and a utopian universalised labour can be counted among the consequences of the flows of other groups that are not targeted by any country at all.

Restrictions on the human movements is often criticised in the globalisation literature, as people had no right to move while capital had no borders [Gilbert, 1992; 1995]. Human flows are controlled more than the other types of flows and the MDCs apply the “free border” principle only among each other. The higher fluidity of capital relative to labour results with the victory of capital as in the history of this battle in capitalism since capital becomes privileged in the use of benefits of the globalisation processes while the labour is strictly restricted to move. Consequently, the capital can make its decisions according to the opportunities provided by the globalisation processes, but the labour is still imprisoned to its national borders and cannot benefit from these processes, if not lose.

3.2.2 Technology flows

Technoscapes is the second dimension, which attributes to the flow of machinery. Globalisation added ‘telematics’ to the traditional forms of machinery. It is defined as the “advanced combination of telecommunications and computing technology” [Toefler & Toefler, 1991: 56]. New innovations of this kind made time more significant in the production process. The old myth that “time is money” became obsolete. “Now, each unit of saved time is actually worth more money than the last unit” [Toefler & Toefler, 1991: 56]. This in turn has brought about the need for post-fordist production techniques [Murray, 1990]. On the other hand, manufacturing activities are getting more dispersed throughout the world. This is mostly because outsourcing of production activities are now considered at a worldwide scale. One can see for example, a USA based firm manufacturing at the East Asia and marketing in Europe.

Although descriptions of new technologies and the need for them might be exaggerated for the time being, LDCs’ policies would rationally tend to attract the machinery that they do not have or that needs upgrading. Since unemployment is a major problem, it would not be important whether the investment is foreign or domestic. It is also important for the LDCs to restructure their manufacturing activities according to the postfordist production processes with the use of telematics. In fact, new technologies would always benefit a country, unless their provision is surrounded with many conditions enforcing dependency and they contradict to the mode of existing social regulation radically.

Among the initial conditions of technology flows, economic and political stability [Gray, 1998; Soros, 1998], increase in money flows and existence of a free market and unqualified labour [Appadurai, 1990] can be counted. However, critics add some negative criteria for the technology to flow in such as the existence of cheap labour, low level of unionisation, social security and environmental consciousness [Glenday, 1995; Castells, 1997; Martin, 1997; Gray, 1998]. These are said to be necessary for the MNCs/MNCs to profit from their investments. Accordingly, part of these companies' strategy to globalise is simply to externalise and/or minimise their costs that had maximised in the MDCs because of taxes and high labour costs [Massey, 1989; King, 1990; Murray, 1990; Gilbert, 1992; Clark, 1996; Short, 1996; Chossudovsky, 1997].

Among the possible consequences are economic growth and development [Wignaraja, 1979; Dosi, 1988; Hall, 1993; Erkan, 1993; Castells, 1994; 1998; Yenal, 1999], new employment opportunities [Hall, 1993; Wood, 1994; Budd, 1996], disappearance of mass production [Murray, 1990; Glenday, 1995] in parallel to privatisation [Amin, 1997; Harris, 1996; Yildizoglu, 1996; Martin, 1997; Aktan, 1997; Chossudovsky, 1997; Gray, 1998] which brings about unemployment of masses [King, 1990; Sassen, 1994; Harris, 1996; Martin, 1997; Gray, 1998], lower levels of unionisation and social security [Glenday, 1995; Castells, 1997; Martin, 1997; Gray, 1998] and environmental degradation [Beck, 1986; Thompson, 1998]. Considering these possibilities, this new era of advanced technologies can turn into a nightmare for many people, while offering opportunities for few. In this regard, Gray's [1998: 208] thesis for the future is worth to keep in mind:

“The spread of new technologies throughout the world is not working to advance human freedom. Instead it has resulted in the emancipation of market forces from social and political control. By allowing that freedom to world markets we ensure that the age of globalisation will be remembered as another turn in the history of servitude”.

3.2.3 Finance flows

Finanscapes' content is the flows of currencies, stock exchange shares, derivatives and such, which are inherently connected to the flows of people and technologies. In addition to an existing currency market, a strong national stock exchange market and commodity speculations [Appadurai, 1990], political and economic stability [Gray, 1998; Soros, 1998] and a financial centre together with the necessary institutions

[Gorostiaga, 1984; Sassen, 1995; Clark, 1996] should exist for finances to flow into a locality. LDCs would normally prefer money and other finance instruments to flow in so that they could be used for various investments. However, mobility of capital in the globalisation era introduced a new phenomenon, which is best described as “evaporating investments” [Chossudovsky, 1997; Martin, 1997]. This means that money flows would not be continuous and might stop and shift to other localities at any time when the preconditions disappear. Thus, it creates an environment, which is very vulnerable to local and global crisis.

Possible consequences, then, start with the speculative investments [Harvey, 1989; Short, 1996] that bring about fluctuations in the domestic and global economy [Soros, 1998] and consequently may lead to a rent economy [Aktan, 1997; Chossudovsky, 1997; Martin, 1997], which is quite common in the LDCs. In case those investments do not evaporate in the short term, they may lead to economic growth and development through investments [Dosi, 1988; Hall, 1993; Erkan, 1993; Castells, 1994; 1998], and thus new employment opportunities for high and low qualified labour² [Hall, 1993; Wood, 1994; Budd, 1996]. It should be added here that these flows contribute to the physical pressures on the historical CBDs [Sassen, 1995; Robins, 1996; Townroe, 1996]. Skyscrapers for financial institutions demand these areas that are under conservation as they are generally the most central areas of the cities. This pressure in turn increases the land rents in these areas [Hammel, 1999; Needham, 1999]. In this respect, real estate investments have become among the primary investment instruments. Office space has increased in almost all metropolitan cities of both MDCs and LDCs. In some cases, surplus supply of office space has affected the land rent in a negative way.

3.2.4 Image flows

Flow of images is another dimension of global flows, which is defined as *mediascapes* by Appadurai [1990]. Telecommunication technologies increased the volume of accessible information via newspapers, magazines, TV channels, movies, radio channels and most importantly via the Internet. The mode of information in these sources may vary from documentary to entertainment. Hardware used in these flows may be

electronic or pre-electronic, audience may be local, national or transnational, and flows may present the interests of state or various private initiatives [Appadurai, 1990] as well as the global forces'. It is the interrelation of mode, hardware, audience and interest that determines the impact of these flows on societies.

This interrelationship may lead to either a global cosmopolitan –consumer- culture as we can observe in some of the truly global cities of the world such as London and New York [Featherstone, 1990; 1993; King, 1990; Smith, 1990; Jameson, 1991; Sassen, 1991; 1994; Soja, 1993; Clark, 1996; Abu-Lughod, 1999] or to globally influenced but still different “glocal” cultures [Bergesen, 1990; Bird, 1993; Featherstone, 1993; Robins, 1996; Oncu, 1997; Kassab, 1997; Ghannam, 1997; Saktanber, 1997; Seufert, 1997]. In case that it leads to the disappearance of local cultures [Bird, 1993; Featherstone, 1993], various types of fundamentalism and radicalism may arise [Gilbert, 1992; Martin, 1997; Castells, 1997; Ghannam, 1997; Gray, 1998; Soros, 1998]. There are scholars arguing that dominant tendency in the flow of images is towards a global consumer culture [King, 1990; Robertson, 1990; Smith, 1990; Wallerstein, 1990], which may drive these negative consequences.

On the other hand, flows of images have become the most powerful means of –either national or global- hegemony in the global era. Although the media giants of the world are getting increasingly globalised, the nation-states work hard to keep them under their control via various mechanisms. Lately, for example a legislation proposal about the foreign ownership of the media companies was refused in the Parliament of Turkey in 2004.

3.2.5 Idea flows

*Ideoscap*es is the sphere of idea flows. It was usually dominated by the state ideology. However, with the introduction of communication technologies, it is widely challenged today. Internet has become the most powerful tool for exchanging ideas throughout the world. This makes it increasingly more difficult for the governments to misinform people [Soros, 1998].

² New employment opportunities via finanscap^{es} for the low qualified labour are usually indirect within the service sector. See Sassen [1991; 1994] for the intensity of these kinds of service employments particularly in the global cities.

The first and only condition for the flow of ideas is democracy [Beck, 1986; Castells, 1997; Berner, 1997; Tekeli, 2002]. However, possible consequences of these flows may vary from more democracy to fascism [Beck, 1986; Yildizoglu, 1996; Castells, 1997; Berner, 1997; Martin, 1997; Chossudovsky, 1997; Gray, 1998; Soros, 1998; Tekeli, 2002]. There is another threat of these flows that they may lead to the hegemony of global consumer culture [Oncu, 1997] with the singularity syndrome they drive. This, in turn, brings about the development of opposition, which again leads to either more democracy or fascism. It seems like a vicious cycle generally determined by the attitudes of the state and demands of the society. Development of science particularly by more cooperation between universities, research institutions and individual researchers should be added to the possible consequences as they are said to influence development more than ever [Dizard, 1985; Dosi, 1988; Nijkamp, 1988; Castells, 1990; 1992; 1994; 1998; Knight, 1989; 1995; Brunn, 1991; Florax, 1992; Erkan, 1993; Urry, 1998; Fischer, 2001; Fritsch, 2001; Audretsch, 2001].

3.2.6 Commodity flows

Appadurai's original version included five dimensions of global flows but later Knox [1995] added one more as *commodityscapes*. They are produced by material culture that encompasses anything from architecture and interior design to clothes and jewellery. They are strongly related to image flows. They also need human flows and formation of a "yuppie" class as initial conditions to flow into a locality.

Possible consequences, then, include a consuming society [Appadurai, 1990; Ohmae, 1995; Short, 1996; Spybey, 1996; Oncu, 1997], new local markets of the "global" [Ashwood, 1990; Smyth, 1994], new employment opportunities [Sassen, 1991; 1994; Gregson et al, 1999] in flexible work schemes for the unqualified labour with little or no social security [Miles, 1983; Sassen, 1991; 1994; Gilbert, 1992; 1995; White, 1993; Hamnett, 1994; Chossudovsky, 1997; Martin, 1997] and disappearance of local cultures [Bird, 1993; Featherstone, 1993].

3.2.7 Political implications

After deconstructing the global flows into categories and into smaller groups in those categories as ingredients, initial conditions to start and possible consequences, one should answer the following question before starting to discuss the political implications

of global flows: Is there a growing disjuncture between these six flows or are there any conflicts in between?

It is not yet determined in the literature whether there is a harmony or contradiction between these flows. This is most probably because of the different characteristics of localities and societies that these flows enter with different combinations at different paces for different periods. However, it can be argued from the above explanation that categories of global flows are dependent on each other most of the time. For example, it is presented that human flows need finance and technology flows, and similarly commodity flows has an initial condition to flow, which is the existence of image flows. On the other hand, there appears to be some contradictions in between, too, such as between technology flows that may harm the environment and tourist and qualified labour flows that demand a healthy environment and liveability or between immigrant labour flows that are stopped by anti-democratic regulations and image/info/idea flows that demand democracy. These examples can be proliferated by using the table below. However, it is important to note here that there is no fixed harmony or contradiction between any flows.

From the perspective of local politics, almost all local and central governments compete to attract a bunch of global flows into their localities. However, as we have seen above, all flows are not constructive, and even if they are, their constructive impacts are not permanent. The same applies to the undesired flows and their destructive aspects. Moreover, there is no fixed impact of these flows. Their combinations at specific times and places may bring about differing impacts. In addition, paces and periods of these flows contribute to the proliferation of impacts.

Governments should make their choices among the global flows and make policies for them in a way that they would fulfil their needs; decisions are realistic with respect to the intensity of flows and review their choices and decisions periodically according to the changing circumstances. At the same time, they should be respectful to universal values such as democracy, equality etc. It is obvious that this is not an easy task as global flows enter into localities if and only if their conditions are fulfilled. Refusing one condition may result with the stop of the whole flow(s). However, it still depends on local politics to balance these impacts with relevant facilities and restrictions. Comprehensive thinking and understanding is crucial in the decision-making process as

well as foreseeing the future. This may also open the way to cooperation according to real needs that may feed the localities rather than a competition serving the needs of whatever is global and ignoring the needs of local.

As it is seen clearly in the below table, global flows contain many ingredients. Their flow to a specific locality is bound to some initial conditions, most of which vary due to the flow in question. Moreover, each flow brings about various possible consequences that are not certain at all. The most important aspect in decision-making is that it is almost impossible for a single flow to enter into a locality intensely without the companionship of the other flows. It is to say that we should talk about the combination of flows rather than a single flow. Each combination would probably present different initial conditions and consequences that are difficult to count. When the peculiarities of a locality subject to these combinations together with the pace of the flows and their periods of stay are considered, it would be impossible to argue that globalisation is a single process bringing about unique consequences. Thus, each case should be considered with regard to its particular conditions.

On the other hand, contradictory consequences of the global flows bring about the need to question old terms such as democracy, environmental protection, state ideology, government, poverty, freedom and such. However, we cannot yet argue that they are successfully revised or replaced. Democracy, for example, which is a crucial condition for most of the flows, has transformed to a “never-ending theatre” [Martin, 1997: 164]. Concepts such as rights and responsibilities, human rights, sustainable environment, global ideology, governance and partnership, social sustainability, restricted freedom and such are either introduced or re-visited to replace the non-working ones but there are ongoing debates for each of these concepts. All these issues should be considered as the critical aspects of local politics and its restructuring in the new era under the impacts of very dynamic and differing combinations of global flows. Contradictory consequences will probably determine the future of local politics, as they will establish the new areas of political struggle.

In this regard, it is again necessary to deal with each case separately in order to produce creative ways to overcome these problems without removing the whole picture and its general consequences from sight.

Table 3.1 Global flows, their ingredients, initial conditions and possible consequences

GLOBAL FLOWS					
HUMAN	TECHNOLOGY	FINANCE	GOODS	INFO/IMAGE	IDEAS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪Tourist ▪Businessman ▪Politician ▪Illegal workers ▪Guest workers ▪Refugee ▪Immigrant 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪Flexible & advanced production techniques ▪Machinery ▪Telematics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪Money ▪Stock exchange shares ▪Other financial derivatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪Architectural buildings ▪Decoration ▪Food cultures ▪Clothing ▪Accessories 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪Newspapers ▪Magazines & journals ▪Books ▪TV & radio channels ▪Movies ▪Internet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪Int. dominant ideology ▪National dominant ideology ▪Critical thoughts ▪Scientific thoughts
INITIAL CONDITIONS					
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪Political & economic stability ▪Free market ▪Tourist value & product ▪Liveability ▪Democracy ▪Int. organisations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪Political & economic stability ▪Free market ▪Increase in money flows ▪Unqualified labour ▪Cheap labour ▪Low unionisation & social security ▪Low environmental consciousness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪Political & economic stability ▪Technology & human flows ▪Free market ▪Qualified labour ▪Strong exch. market ▪Strong national stock exch. market ▪Commodity markets ▪Financial centres & inst. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪Political & economic stability ▪Free market ▪Image flows ▪Human flows ▪Formation of a yuppie class ▪Cosmopolitan global consumption culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪Democracy ▪Media ▪Broadcasting & publishing market 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪Democracy ▪Media ▪Broadcasting & publishing market ▪Education ▪Universities, research institutions & individual researchers
POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES					
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪Economic growth/ development ▪Employment/ unemployment ▪Low social security ▪Democracy ▪Multi-culturality ▪Alienation ▪Liveability ▪Historical and natural conservation ▪Pressures on historical CBDs ▪Increase in land rents ▪Low income central housing areas ▪Pressures on natural values 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪Economic growth/ development ▪New employment opportunities ▪Disappearance of mass production - unemployment ▪Pressures on natural values – environmental degradation ▪Low social security & wages ▪Low degree of unionisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪Economic growth/ development ▪Fluctuations in domestic/ global economy ▪Rent economy ▪Pressures on historical CBDs ▪Increase in land rents ▪New employment opportunities for high & low qualified labour ▪Various investments ▪Low income central housing areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪Consumer society ▪Increase in land rents ▪New employment opportunities ▪Disappearance of local goods 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪Cosmopolitan global consumption culture ▪Hegemony / democracy ▪Alienation ▪Dissociality / different ways of socialisation ▪Disappearance of local cultures ▪Radicalism / fundamentalism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪Hegemony / democracy / fascism ▪Development of opposition/ oppression ▪Politicisation/ dispoliticisation ▪Development of local politics - initiatives ▪Development of science ▪Radicalism / fundamentalism

Source: This table is prepared by the author on the basis of the theoretical discussions in this chapter.

3.3 Deconstructing the impacts of globalisation on localities

The second deconstruction will be based on the impacts of globalisation on localities. As mentioned in the previous chapter, there are many studies in the literature about the impacts of globalisation that are observed either in general throughout the world or in particular at specific spatio-temporalities. It is difficult to argue that there is an agreement in these studies for any particular impact of globalisation³. Belief of this author is that this disagreement is again because of the different characteristics of localities and societies that are subject to globalisation as well as the various combinations of globalisation processes at different spatio-temporalities.

Still, we can count some areas of impact for the globalisation processes although they vary in terms of consequence, intensity, period and impact area. In order to serve the purposes of this thesis, impacts that will be discussed below will be limited with the ones that are on cities and are subject to local politics. Impacts of globalisation on cities, most of which are related to each other, include many aspects of our life-worlds. Even if they do not touch everybody, yet, they have the potential to do so in the near future. Cities are the bases for most of these impacts. These impacts are actually similar to the possible consequences of global flows that were introduced in the previous section. However, a different classification will be applied here, which can vary their interpretations with respect to political implications.

Before going into detail of these impacts, I would ask the reader to glimpse at the table with this question in mind: How many of these impacts can take place simultaneously at a specific spatio-temporality? And given that their combinations and intensities will also be different for each case, is there a possibility to get the same consequences throughout the world? It is the intention of this thesis to present that most of these impacts –both negative and positive- take place in the globalised localities of the world simultaneously and their differing combinations and intensities make it impossible to apply a singular politics on globalisation.

Categorising these impacts as in below table is useful to present a comprehensible picture. However, it misses the opportunity to relate them to each other. Therefore, a selected group of impacts that are most influential for the local political restructuring in

³ For these different views, see the categories of globalisation literature presented in the second chapter.

the new era will be explained below within an inter-relational approach. Without categorising them in groups

Table 3.2 Possible impacts of globalisation on localities

SOCIAL IMPACTS	POLITICAL IMPACTS	ECONOMIC IMPACTS	CULTURAL IMPACTS	ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Global versus local ◆ Migration / immigration ◆ Unequal use of global activities ◆ Fragmentation ◆ Polarisation ◆ Alienation ◆ Segregation ◆ New life styles ◆ Lower levels of social security and unionisation for labour ◆ Education / training ◆ Better / worse living standards ◆ New social movements / organisations ◆ Gentrification and replacement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ International political organisations ◆ Regionalisation ◆ Democracy ◆ National / global hegemony ◆ Weakening of nation-states ◆ Governance and partnerships ◆ Re-positioning of cities/regions in policy-making ◆ Anti/Alter globalisation movements ◆ Dramatic changes in the elections ◆ Democratic liberalism ◆ Third Way ◆ Centralisation ◆ Localisation ◆ Radicalism ◆ Fundamentalism ◆ Re-structuring of politics at local / national / international scales ◆ ... 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ International economic organisations ◆ MNCs/MNCs as new economic actors ◆ Transformation of economic sectors ◆ Concentration of service industries - producers services ◆ Maximising location options for capital - deindustrialisation ◆ Re-location of industry ◆ Flexible production techniques ◆ Informal activities ◆ New employment opportunities ◆ Income inequalities ◆ Lower levels of social security and unionisation for labour ◆ Global / regional cities ◆ ... 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Consumer society ◆ Global cosmopolitan culture ◆ Glocal culture ◆ Disappearance of local cultures ◆ Materialisation of local cultures ◆ Anti/Alter attitudes towards global culture ◆ ... 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Global warming ◆ Environmental degradation ◆ Externalising environmental costs ◆ International legislation for environmental sustainability ◆ Stricter national regulations against pollution ◆ Environmental consciousness / movements ◆ ...

Source: This table is prepared by the author on the basis of the theoretical discussions in this chapter.

3.3.1 Global cosmopolitan society

Although human flows are the most limited flows, a global cosmopolitan society is already established at specific cities such as London and New York. Evidence of this society cannot be generalised throughout the world as it is observed at a very few world cities only. However, the global cosmopolitan culture has no borders and does not essentially need the people to flow. Image, commodity and idea flows are necessary conditions for it to flourish, and by now, we can argue that almost every locality throughout the world are fed by these flows to a certain extent.

On the other hand, although they are yet limited, human flows started to endanger the concept of “nation” as economically advantaged cities and regions are increasingly invaded by different minorities. In parallel to the developments in human rights, these minorities now have almost as many rights as the locals of those countries. Space is also started to re-shape according to the needs and desires of these minorities. In the near future, this impact seems to become one of the most significant issues of local politics in the metropolitan cities that was used to the idea of a dominant nation/ethnicity.

3.3.2 Regionalisation

Regionalisation is important aspect that should seriously be taken into account by local politics when globalisation processes are the issue. Two types of regionalisation can be counted today, both of which are different from the traditional region concept flourished within the nation-states. These are economic regions and regional unions. Economic regions are developed through co-operation between localities that aim to maximise productivity. Little Italy is the best-known example for this type of regions. On the other hand, there are now political unions of nation-states such as the European Union that feeds the idea of dependency to each other with content. Surely, these unions weaken the idea of nation-states, as most of the legislation becomes a common production of the union. While the former type feeds the localities with the idea of cooperation and motivates the decision-makers to interact with the other localities, the latter has a far more dramatic influence on localities with the changing actors and regulations.

3.3.3 Global cities

Although it will be detailed later in this chapter, global cities should be counted among the impacts of globalisation processes on the local politics of urban regions. Global economy needs global cities in order to function properly and thus global cities serve as the command and control centres of the global economy [Sassen, 1991]. In addition to the global financial centres such as London, New York and Tokyo, cities such as Paris, Madrid and Rome are also counted among the global cities with their cultural characteristics that attract the global flows most intensely. Moreover, cities such as Mexico City, Hong Kong, Moscow, Lebanon and Istanbul of the non-western world have become regional centres in service of the global economy as second/third degree command and control nodes [Lathrop Gilb, 1989; King, 1990; Keyder, 1993;

Friedmann, 1995; Smith, 1995; Robins, 1996; Short, 1996; Borja, 1996; Oncu, 1997; Jimenez et al, 2002].

Advanced and diverse services, representation of international organisations are among the initial conditions of becoming a global/regional city [Friedmann, 1986; 1995]. Getting this status motivates the global flows to flow into those localities. Thus, local politics have involved with this term intensely particularly since the 1990s⁴.

3.3.4 Inequalities

Inequalities appear as one of the most dramatic impacts of globalisation on localities [Yildizoglu, 1996; Chossudovsky, 1997; Castells, 1998; Mander, 1998; Hirst, 1999]. They are said to exist in the globalisation processes inherently and increase continuously not only between countries of north and south as in the past but also between regions of those countries, cities of those regions, neighbourhoods of those cities and even individuals of those neighbourhoods. This evidence adds to the argument that globalisation carries the tendencies of capitalism, and thus the inequality problem is an old but recently triggered story [Offe, 1985; Yildizoglu, 1996; Ilhan, 1997; Sennett, 1999].

On the contrary to these settled arguments, there are some studies arguing that globalisation decreases the inequalities. For example, a World Bank report published in 2002 presented that the GNDP on the basis of purchase power of the poorest %20 countries in the world had tripled the increase observed in the wealthiest 5 countries. Similarly, statistical reports in Turkey presented that the gaps between high and low income groups decreased in 2003 [Milliyet, 7 October 2004]. These individual researches, however, could not convince many as their statistical analysis and the data series used in those analyses are questionable most of the time⁵.

When one thinks about the driving forces of inequalities in general, it is obvious that there is a privileged group that can benefit from the globalisation processes, while there are those who are challenged by them. However, this does not necessarily mean that the disadvantaged groups get poorer in absolute terms. They may be getting wealthier

⁴ See for example the master plans of Istanbul after 1990. Both of them that were successively produced in 1994 and 1995 put the objective of becoming a global/regional city as their prior target.

⁵ Choice of variables, countries in analysis, data analysis techniques of these studies are under question.

relative to their past. Most of the time, it seems like a win-win situation, where the privileged groups get the larger piece, which in turn increases the inequalities. But, there is also a minority who absolutely lose from the globalisation processes as is obvious in the poverty figures increasing every year throughout the world.

On the other hand, it should be kept in mind that particular occasions may lead to different scenarios that the very disadvantaged groups of the past may become benefiting, too. It depends on the occasion that takes place at a specific spatio-temporality and the power relations in there. For example, a poor residential area that is subject to regeneration as a result of the global flows may benefit and lose from the process at the same time. This does not only increase the land rents in the area that benefits the land owners but also provides new employment opportunities for the people living close. However, this may also push the poor people who were tenants in the area out together with some businessmen that do not function in harmony with the regeneration plans. In case that this plan is applied with some subsidies for both the businessmen and low-income households that are to move out, the balance sheet of the benefiting groups may change again. Thus, a process developed as a result of globalisation exposes its particular losers and winners and these groups may vary for each occasion. Thus, policies should be developed separately for each occasion. However, the general tendency towards inequality still exists and this example takes place here just to present the irregularities that globalisation may present and the need to make decisions on the basis of occasions rather than the general tendencies.

Similarly, it is undeniable that globalisation processes bring new employment opportunities for both ends of the income groups⁶. However, it is also now certain that lower wage jobs expand more than the others. On the one hand, they contribute to the fulfilment of the job need, which has become a crucial problem even in the MDCs, on the other hand, their impacts on the equality issue is said to be negative [Sassen, 1991;

⁶ New employment opportunities present a good example of plurality for the impacts of globalisation processes as well. According to level of income, there are high, middle, low-income jobs created by the globalisation processes. According to status, there are informal jobs in addition to the formal ones. According to continuity, there are now temporary jobs more than ever as the number of permanent ones continuously decrease. According to time spent on the job, part-time jobs are added to the full-time positions [Harvey, 1989; Sassen, 1991; Kumar, 1995; Amin, 1997; Martin, 1997; Held, 1999]. However, this unprecedented flexibility in the employment structures brought the weakening of labour unions and social security systems, which were claimed by the capital as guilty of crisis of fordism in the 1970s. There are now attempts to regulate the new employment schemes. For a detailed study of the new employment structures according to work cultures, see Gregson et al 1999.

1994; Dean, 1992; Gilbert, 1992; Wood, 1994; Martin, 1997] and is still to be discussed.

The picture is similar in terms of the attributes of a modern city that are counted as efficiency, security and amenity by Garau [1989: 69]. When one considers these attributes together with the processes of globalisation, it is clear that the gap between privileged and underprivileged groups in a city increases. Efficiency, which is referred to “conducting business, communication, transportation facilities and reliable public and private services” [Garau, 1989: 69], increases just for the ones who keep/capture the power and the capital. For security, which is defined as “guaranteeing conditions of complete, or adequate, or acceptable general and individual safety, such as political stability, political security, physical safety, health security” [Garau, 1989: 69], globalisation processes lead to insecurity in general with the possibilities of instability mentioned before⁷. Particularly with the introduction of new employment schemes, low and middle-income groups meet with the concept of temporality without any social security, and thus uncertainty, while high-income groups build security walls around themselves. Finally the amenity attribute, which means “the attributes that make a city attractive and pleasant” [Garau, 1989: 69], increasingly serves the high-income groups as everything that was used to be public is getting privatised. Although the quality of life increases in general, difference of quality of life between income groups increases, too. Cities that were used to function as integration mechanisms for the underprivileged with their diversified and less segregated structures [Prud’homme, 1989] are turning to a contrary position, in which they exclude not only the underprivileged but also the ordinary citizens that have limited access to the opportunities of globalisation.

As a result, we can argue that inequalities and polarisation in the cities seem to be among the most important problems that local politics should deal in the global era⁸. Local politics should take each occasion of the equality issues into consideration

⁷ See Beck [1986] for details on the inequalities of risk for different income groups.

⁸ For example in London, increased economic, social and spatial polarisation resulted generally from restructuring of the British economy during the 1980s. “The disappearance of well paid industrial employment has been accompanied by the growth of a proportion of more highly paid service and business occupations at the top and the increase of low paid, part time, temporary or casual work at the bottom” [King, 1990: 121]. King counted the major causes of polarisation in London as (im)migration, impact of international investment in residential property, escalating producer services’ salaries, gentrification, redevelopment, international rental market, disappearance of rental dwellings, anti policies of state housing, unemployment, growth of low-paid service jobs, homelessness. Figures of unemployment in London are also crucial in evaluating polarisation. There are different figures in

separately and while promoting the ones with the least losers, it should also develop mechanisms to protect those losers. As examples of these mechanisms, social housing [Borja, 1996; Clusa, 1996; Clinton, 1998], life-long training [Townroe, 1996] and small entrepreneurship programs [Kenny, 1992] have become common lately.

3.3.5 Transformation of urban economics and de-industrialisation

Transformation of urban economics presents itself with de-industrialisation and a growing service sector, which is in particular at FIRE (Finance, Insurance, Real Estate) sectors and producer services in the cities [Sassen, 1991; 1994]. This transformation does not only require a re-comprehension of urban economics but also a reconstruction of the built environment in accordance with the new economy. Sassen explains this transformation as follows:

“Increased capital mobility does not only bring about changes in the geographic organisation of manufacturing production and in the network of financial markets... also generates a demand for types of production needed to ensure the management, control, and servicing of this new organisation of manufacturing and finance. These new types of production range from the development of telecommunications to specialised services that are key inputs for the management of a global network of factories, offices and financial markets. The mobility of capital also includes the production of a broad array of innovations in these sectors” [Sassen, 1994: 2-3].

One of the most significant impacts of globalisation on the cities is “the wave of de-industrialisation” [Hall, 1993: 804], which is the manufacturing shift from the inner areas of the cities to outer rings and/or to completely other regions. This move unavoidably produces mass unemployment in the inner city areas. However, de-industrialisation, while bringing many employment problems, decreases the urban environmental problems, and thus increases liveability in the cities.

On the other hand, a significant increase in the service sector employment has been observed in the cities since the 1970s [Sassen, 1991; 1994; Jimenez et al, 2002]. In these sectors, new jobs are created for both ends of the social strata. However, since there is not sufficient educated workforce in most of the LDCs and moreover, these geographies

different sectors in London. While unemployment in professionals is just 1.5 %, the rate is 9. Six percent for partly skilled or skilled workers and 13 % for unskilled workers [King, 1990: 121].

are not preferred by qualified labour yet, local politics included education and training to its agenda more than ever.

Transformation in the urban sectors brought about problems such as unemployment, dramatic increases in the land value, polarisation, segregation, social security problems, high-tech infrastructure needs and such, all of which take their places as both individual and interrelational issues of local politics.

3.3.6 Questions of nation-state and local autonomy and competition between cities

Increasing importance of the cities and regions brought about a transformation in national politics as well. Economic and political autonomy for the local governments became one of the slogans of globalisation. This meant that nation-states would leave some of their authorities to localities, where restructuring of politics becomes unavoidable with the introduction of new areas to make decisions for and new actors to include to the decision-making processes [Cox, 1990; Smith, 1995; Borja, 1996; Short, 1996; Jessop, 1997; Sengul, 2000]. At first, this was interpreted as a further step to democracy as decisions for localities would be taken by those localities themselves in accordance to their needs. However, totalitarian aspect of globalisation, which was detailed in the previous chapter, brought the need to question this initial impression. Accordingly, this authority transfer would contribute to democracy if and only if global market forces are convinced. Thus, it would produce a market's democracy rather than people's, because it cannot produce real alternatives to the world system and local authorities strengthen the position of the market forces with the motivation of competition [Genro & Souza, 1999].

This need for authority transfers was interpreted as the end of nation-states by some authors [Keyder, 1993; Ohmae, 1995; Scharpf, 1998], while some others preferred the term "transformation" to what was happening in the national politics [Harvey, 1989; Giddens, 1990; Castells, 1994; Borja, 1996; Gray, 1998; Held, 1999]. Still for some, this was only an ideological attack that aimed to weaken the nation-states and leak into their territories [Amin, 1997; Yildizoglu, 1996; Ilhan, 1997; Martin, 1997, Şengül, 2000]⁹.

⁹ In this context, struggles between central and local governments to capture the authorities will be discussed in detail in the next chapter theoretically and in the case study empirically.

On the other hand, competition principle of the free market has so much affected both national and local politicians that they opened their countries, cities and regions to a free competition in order to attract a bunch of global flows and particularly the foreign investments. Incentives that politicians provided the capital for this purpose, in turn, fostered the capital's fluidity. On the one hand, the attracted capital provided new employment opportunities and increased the living standards at specific localities. However, this competition became destructive, on the other hand, as the politicians forgot all about their local needs and disadvantaged groups and prioritised attracting the capital as their main target. This political behaviour increased the inequalities, weakened the social security systems, lowered the unionisation levels and harmed the environment in the LDCs.

3.3.7 Localisation

Localisation movements usually started with civic initiatives as an opposition to the contradictions introduced with the globalisation processes. These social movements, which will be detailed in the next chapter, initially became the main opposing actors to the globalisation processes and succeeded to locate themselves in the local decision making processes without the consent of both governments and capital. In this regard, their main idea appears as putting the local into the centre of any issue and make decisions for the favour of this centre. In other words, these social movements aimed to protect the local from the destructive impacts of the global by valuing, prioritising and using whatever the local contains. In a way, they represent a position contrary to the dominant form of globalisation.

Localisation is a very wide concept with many dimensions including economic resources, social/cultural identities and governments. Thus, ideologically it may attribute to many positions from socialism to radical conservatism, from nationalism to radical Islam. Therefore, it may become as slippery as globalisation and a fair opposition to globalisation in order to preserve people's right to live may easily become a nightmare with a closed national, religious or ideological system.

Lately, localisation is being redefined within the global-local interplay rather than an opposition between the local and the global. Accordingly, it is the process in which the global takes shape in the local and in turn the local feeds the global. All those political

struggles and decisions on the global flows and/or impacts in the local political sphere determine how the global is shaped in a locality. Thus, localisation is now accepted as an interrelational process with globalisation, which contributed each other, rather than an opposition to it [Tekeli, 2005].

3.3.8 Governance and Partnership

As local politics is restructured, new methods of governing and decision-making processes started to flourish. The first emphasis was on “participation” throughout the 1970s and 1980s. However, difficulties in making people participate as equal individuals brought about the term “governance”, in which representatives of interest groups take place in the decision-making processes. By now, it can be argued that governance has become a ritual unless one asks for some specific conditions. By one way or another, all interest groups have the opportunity to say their words and at least make an impact on the decision makers. The media and the Internet have become the essential means of governance, although the media is not impartial in most of the debates. However, it should also be added here that representation of the actors are not equal. Most of the time, capital makes the decisions, governments obey and implement and the other actors try to influence them from outside. Therefore, new methods of participation are to be searched for a more democratic representation in decision-making.

On the other hand, as the nation-states withdrew from many responsibilities in the localities, the local governments faced with many new issues. Local governments have never had the financial means to execute these new responsibilities, given that they are increased with the new requirements of the globalisation processes. Thus, “partnerships” were introduced as a method. By partnerships, it is meant that investments and services could be materialised and/or provided via the partnership of various actors that benefit from these specific investments/services. Generally, and similar to governance, partnerships have been established between governments, international organisations such as WB, EU and capital, but there are limited examples of partnerships involving civil society and the NGOs as well.

3.3.9 Built environment

Transformations in economic, social and cultural structures brought about the need to re-construct the built environment in the cities. Concentration of office buildings in skyscrapers at high tech CBDs [Dökmeci, 1995; Akın, 1999], gated communities of high income groups [Swaney, 1989; Short, 1996; Keyder, 1999], regeneration works at the deteriorated central neighbourhoods [Loftman, 1992; Hall, 1993; Smyth, 1994; Ghannam, 1997; Butler, 2000], large metropolitan projects of various kinds [Sassen, 1991; Borja, 1996] and reflections of the minorities on the built environment [King, 1990a; 1990b; 1995; Abu-Lughod, 1991; Sassen, 1991; Featherstone, 1993; Smyth, 1994] can be counted among these re-constructions in accordance to requirements, demands and desires.

Although the first comprehension of “time-space compression” brings decentralisation into mind, global economy has proved to lead a concentration of the service sector in the central cities particularly because of the need for face-to-face interaction [Sassen, 1991; 1995]. This concentration started to cause serious shortages in office space, which adds to the pressures on the historical CBDs of the cities. There are also examples of excess supply for office space that cause different urban problems¹⁰. On the other hand, cultural and touristy functions developed in parallel to business in the cities. Although they seem like contrary to each other, gentrification and sub-urbanisation goes hand in hand in the cities. While sub-urbanisation is fed by the progress in transportation and de-industrialisation, gentrification grows as the historical CBDs transform and number of professionals working in the cities increases.

These are just a few examples of new concepts and transformations in the built environment of cities. Most of the time, traditional planning approaches cannot lead these developments as they need flexible schemes in short term solutions. Thus, planning started to follow these developments to either humanise or legitimise (or both) them. Local politics is then crucial in finding new methods to deal with these new concepts and transformations since it is the sphere where both these developments are decided and planning processes are shaped.

¹⁰ See for example King [1990] for the office space boom in London during the 1980s.

3.3.10 Political Implications

Consequently, what this deconstruction attempt presents is that impacts of globalisation processes are quite diverse and should be taken into consideration with their peculiarities that may change at different localities. Most of the time, they are related to each other but this does not mean that they drive to the same direction. While one impact might cause unwanted results, another one that might be caused by the former might bring about positive results. Thus, before making decisions on the globalisation processes and their impacts on the localities, it is important to make an interrelational analysis of these successive impacts and discuss them publicly with particularly the groups that would be affected most. This will contribute to make a public consensus on the balance sheet of decisions in the local political sphere. This process brings about the difficulties to target for long-term objectives and follow them since the public consensus may point to different directions at various issues and times. On the other hand, achieving long-term objectives are only possible when all these debates on the decisions and objectives are made publicly. This consensus may also create the political atmosphere to replace/revise the objectives that do not work at all. Thus, a very important issue that the local politics should deal with appears as discovering the ways that public consensus can work with long term objectives in harmony at all times since the globalisation processes are not in harmony with long term objectives most of the time and the idea of public consensus is seriously damaged by the influential actors of the globalisation processes.

3.4 Deconstructing the global city hypothesis and understanding competition

The third attempt to deconstruct globalisation in order the term to be analysable with respect to its impacts on local politics and planning will be based on the rising importance of cities in the global economy and particularly the global city hypothesis. Framing the issue, there grew a literature arguing that the global processes need cities in order to function properly. This brought about the concept of competition of cities each of which claiming to fulfil this need in the best way. Consequently, the global city hypothesis describing the perfect cities fulfilling those needs was put forward since the first half of the 1980s.

For local politics, answers to the following questions are crucial as each metropolitan city started to claim a global or regional role in terms of command and control functions of the global economy. Why and how do the processes of globalisation value the cities and drive them to a competition? What kind of a city would be preferable for the global flows to settle? How and why does the competition between cities to attract the global flows occur and what are the driving forces of this competition? What are the functions and activities within a global city and which characteristics of a city make it a global one? What could the opportunities and threats of this re-valuation and competition be for the cities and their citizens? How do central and local governments intervene on the global cities and/or how do they intervene on the cities to make them global? For the LDCs, is it an opportunity to have a global city serving the needs of the global economy or does it represent a continuity of the dependency relations?

This section will start with the need of global cities for the functioning of the global economy and then evaluate the global cities starting from the very simple idea of the city. In this context, transition from the ordinary city¹¹ to the world city and finally to the global city hypothesis will be analysed to clear the understanding on how the global processes guarantee their survival. In this respect, global hierarchy of the cities will be discussed and competition to take a better rank in this hierarchy will be analysed in detail. After counting the possible contradictions of this competition on the localities, political implications will be discussed with particular emphasis on the built environment and planning.

3.4.1 Globalisation processes need bases

When the international flows were referring to raw materials, agricultural products, mining goods and such, space of the transactions were primarily determined according to the location of the relevant natural resources. Location theories were generally developed on the factors of production including labour, capital, and market in addition to the resources. However, as the post-fordist restructuring of economics has proceeded since the 1970s, location criteria of economic activities have changed. Thus, the geography and composition of the world economy have transformed according to these new criteria by the early 1980s parallel to the communication and transportation revolutions [Marshall, 1986; Healey, 1990; Castells, 1994; Sassen, 1995; Short, 1996;

Storper, 1997]. At the same time, there was another development feeding this transformation. Finance sector has grown rapidly with many innovations and new financial instruments. Types of investments were flourished [Harvey, 1989; Sassen, 1991; Budd, 1992; Borja, 1996]. Consequently, these two processes have fostered the dispersion of economic activities.

Spatial dispersion of economic activities and reorganisation of the financial industry contributed to new forms of centralisation: “a spatially dispersed, yet globally integrated organisation of economic activity” [Sassen, 1991: 3]. An economy of this kind would need command and control centres with strong financial institutions and services. In turn, this global control capability would bring an expansion and more centralisation in command and control functions and in the demand for specialised services that facilitate these functions¹².

“The increasing information content of production, coupled with a trend away from integration and mass production, and toward flexible networks of producers, means that command and control functions become ever more important, and these activities are apparently becoming concentrated in a decreasing number of cities and regions” [Brotschie et al, 1995: 34].

As the globalisation of industry has made the transactions more complex and deregulation have promoted the invention of many new and complex instruments [Sassen, 1995: 51] and as the location of global functions tended towards high degrees of agglomeration particularly at the downtowns of major international centres, importance of the leading centres insofar has increased because only they have the capability to handle such levels of complexity. In other words, developments in the world economy brought about;

¹¹ See Amin and Graham (1997) for a discussion of ordinary cities.

¹² These are mostly the producer services such as insurance, accountancy, real estate, law, advertising, research and development, public relations, management consultancy, office services (stationary supply, cleaning, security) and international employee services (hotel accommodation, car hire and etc.) and etc. [Clark, 1996]. They are said to be an important part of an economy's supply capacity with their potential to facilitate adjustments to the changing economic circumstances [Marshall et al., 1986]. King [1990: 17] criticises the growth of producer services in the MDCs such as that “the competitive advantage of western advanced industrial countries in the production has declined, they have turned to alternative sources of profit”. In the last 20 years, producer services and financial activities have increased in almost all metropolitan cities throughout the world. See Storper [1997] for US cities and Jimenez et al [2002] for a comparative study of Mexico City, Istanbul and Guangzhou.

“A renewed importance of major cities as sites for certain types of production, servicing, marketing, and innovation. In addition, the internationalisation of mergers, acquisitions, and financial transactions makes cities ‘neutral’ centres for management and co-ordination, for the raising and consolidation of investment capital, and for the formation of an international property market” [Sassen, 1991: 87].

Gottmann defined the city as a product of “an efficient organisation of space achieved by and for the people inhabiting the area of which it was the centre” [Gottmann, 1989: 58]. The term centre was used to refer to the inhabitants and their immediate environment. Thus, the city was primarily for its inhabitants. There has been times and places in the history that the city increased its importance as a centre for a larger population and a wider area. This happened when the cities had geo-strategic importance in terms of either military or economic purposes. Today, definition of the city evolved to “places of articulation, where people and products link to the wider world” [Clark, 1996: 9]. This definition can be interpreted by either ways as the inhabitants need to interact with the wider world or as the other parts of the world need to interact the inhabitants or both. When one thinks the later definition of the city together with the very simple definition of globalisation, which is the increasing flows of any kind, the city takes its place in the centre of the globalisation processes. However, given that human flows are the most limited among all flows, the second interpretation of the definition, in which the outer world’s needs are essential, comes to fore as the inhabitants do/can not generally move outer world. Thus, the new city becomes increasingly a product both for and of the efficient organisation of the global processes and the global economy. This, on the other hand, starts a dilemma for the cities: Who are they for? Are they for their inhabitants or for the global flows? Do the inhabitants lose part of their cities each day the globalisation processes proceed?

When one considers the plurality of globalisation processes together with the central role of the cities in these processes, it is obvious that participation in networks is vital for a city to survive. From daily needs to employment, inhabitants of major cities became dependent on the global flows. Thus, the globalisation processes should be maintained just like the local ones providing the needs of inhabitants. In other words, globalisation processes have become the contributing means of meeting the inhabitants’ needs, if not the essential ones. Even when the overall impact of a global process is negative, there are interest groups that are fed with it and unless there is an alternative to

replace it, it is almost impossible to drive it away. In a way, cities have first faced a situation that they are obliged to connect their economy and politics to the other parts of the world in order to catch the so-called opportunities of the globalisation processes, and when they did so, they found themselves dependent on them. This view can be interpreted as the delocalisation of the cities and is largely promoted in the literature:

“Cities have been delocalised, first by the expansion of the hinge function due to the greater technical facilities of transport and communications, then the more intensive exchanges of people, goods, and information, and last but not the least by the general yearning...for peace, comfort and co-operation ... in an era of expanding horizons, every large city wants to develop a world role” [Gottmann, 1989: 61-62].

It was asked before in this chapter how many of the global impacts and/or flows could take place simultaneously at a specific spatio-temporality? In fact, there are some of them, where the frequency of these simultaneous impacts is higher than the other spatio-temporalities. As Sassen [1994] puts it, dynamics of the globalisation processes materialise particularly at some specific places. These are called the global cities.

3.4.2 World / global city¹³

Goethe was the first, who referred to Rome and Paris as the world cities, “Weltstädts”, in 1787 because of their cultural eminence. Later, Scottish planner Patrick Geddes presented some metropolises as the world cities in his book “Cities in Evolution” in 1915 [Hall, 1966; King, 1990].

Peter Hall’s study in 1966 was the first one detailing the world city concept. Although Hall [1966] defined them in a reductionist way as the cities, “in which a quite disproportionate part of the world’s most important business is conducted” [Hall, 1966: 7], he counted their characteristics with a more comprehensive approach. Accordingly, world cities represented demographic, political, economical, cultural, institutional characteristics in addition to their built environment including their infrastructure and transportation systems. Demographically, they were great centres of populations. Politically, they were usually major centres of political power, seats of central

¹³ In this section, both “world city” and “global city” terms are used. It has two purposes. One of them is to reflect the studies in the literature as they are. Thus, if the study mentioned in this section preferred to use the “world city” concept, it is used here in the same way. The same applies to the “global city” concept. Secondly, the use of both terms would help to emphasise the differences in their usage in the literature.

governments, international authorities and governmental agencies of all kinds. Economically, they were the image of continued economic strength. They were national centres of trade, banking and finance; development sites of luxury industry and shops, great department stores, and specialised shops; and they hosted significant proportion of the richest members of their community. They were flexible production sites based on skill, design and fashion, and sites, where white-collar jobs grew faster than the manufacturing jobs. They hosted institutions whose main business was with the government and the professional organisations (trade unions, employer's federations, headquarters (HQs) and etc.). Furthermore, world cities were usually great ports, intersection points of roads and railways and sites for international airports. They provided private and public services such as great hospitals, distinct medical quarters, national courts of justice, great universities and specialised institutions for teaching and research in science, technology and arts. In gathering and disseminating, they were information centres, sites for publishers, journalists and regular contributors, HQs of the great national radio and TV networks. Culturally, they hosted national libraries, museums and entertainments (traditional opera houses, theatres, concert halls, a wider audience, etc.). It is important to note here that the characteristics counted above serve both the world economic processes and the ordinary inhabitants of the cities.

After Hall's study in the late 1960s, the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s witnessed a boom of the world/global city studies. Friedman and Wolf [1982] claimed in their well known article that world cities were the material manifestation of the world economy's control. Ross and Trachte [1990], then, argued that they were the location of the institutional heights of worldwide resource allocation. Moreover, they argued, the world cities concentrated the production of cultural commodities that knitted global capitalism into a web of symbolic hierarchy and interdependence. Braudel (1977) defined them as centres of specific world economies, an urban centre of gravity as the logistic heart of its activity. One of the most shortcut definitions of global cities was Feagin and Smith's [1987]: "cotton pins holding the capitalist world economy together". Friedman's [1986] study was an invaluable one in defining the criteria to indicate a world city. Accordingly, a world city should have been a major financial centre, a site for regional and general HQs of the MNCs and international institutions, observing rapid growth of business services, an important manufacturing centre, a major transportation node and hosting a considerable population size. Together with the contributions of Rimmer

[1986] and Thrift [1985] as research/education centre and convention/exposition centre, material frame of the world city concept was then constructed.

Later, Gottmann [1989] argued in parallel to the plurality of characteristics counted by Hall [1966] that specialisation on one kind of product for the world market would not be enough to become a world city. He emphasised the need to host a variety of activities.

“The world city is expected to contribute to various facets of the life of human kind, to be a great cross-roads attracting people from different parts of the world for some sort of transaction or other reasons. It must have a whole gamut of functions that compliment one another” [Gottmann, 1989: 63].

Among the others, King’s [1990] definition of factors to achieve a world city status in his critical piece is worth to mention here as the factors start to exclude some parts of the world. Accordingly, size, strength of the national economy, relations with growth and/or stagnation zones of the international economy, its potentials to attract the international capital, political stability and historical and cultural connections to the other world cities were counted as the factors of a world city.

Political stability aspect of King’s criteria can be accepted as a major departure from that of Hall’s, with which most of the LDCs are excluded because of their continuous political and economic instabilities. Emphasis on the international economy is another criterion of King that again works against the LDCs’ cities claiming a world city status, since the international economy is controlled and commanded by the MDCs. Last but not least, the criterion for the strength of national economy inherently and traditionally excludes the LDCs.

Another significant departure from Hall’s [1966] definition is about the nation-state. Although, he continued to count some of the factors in relation to nation-states, King [1990: 145] pointed an important issue introduced with the globalisation processes such as that “the world city is increasingly unhooked from the state where it exists, its fortunes decided by forces over which it has little control”. When one considers the initial criteria developed by Hall in 1966, it is obvious that the nation-state and the national economy are crucial aspects of a city to achieve a world city status. However, as the globalisation processes proceeded and consequently the nation-states weaker, the global economy with its institutions and actors has replaced the former.

Later, these transitions became more apparent as Clark [1996] characterised the world cities such as that they dominated the urban world. They were the command and control points of global capitalism; they were distinguished not by their size or status but by the range and extent of their economic power; and finally they hosted the key individuals, institutions and organisations. It is to say that multinational corporations (MNCs) and the international elite “manage, manipulate, dictate and determine the formation and reproduction of capitalism all around the world” [1996: 137] via the world cities.

In the thirty years since Hall’s definition, key characteristics of a world city transformed dramatically. Today, world cities are generally called global cities and have become sites for the accumulation and concentration of capital; and places, from where distribution and circulation of capital is organised and controlled. They are “the decision making points of the world economy” [Clark, 1996: 138]. In this sense, the early reductionist definition of Hall has come to being after 30 years. World cities are now defined with their economic aspects only. Priorities have become economic. All the other aspects are either devalued or attached to the economic ones. Consequently, this new approach directly excludes many cities of the LDCs from the system.

Today, the world city hypothesis has completed its transformation to the global city and the most widely accepted definition of it is Sassen’s [1991]. Beyond their long history as centres for international trade and banking, Sassen described the functions of global cities as follows:

“Highly concentrated command points in the organisation of the world economy; key locations for finance and specialised service firms, which have replaced manufacturing as the leading economic sectors; sites for production, including the production of innovations in these leading industries; markets for the products and innovations produced” [Sassen, 1991: 3-4].

Briefly, significant global city functions appear as financial services, specialised producer services, media, research & development, headquarters (HQs) and back-office functions [Brotchie, 1995], which almost completely serve the economic globalisation processes. These are all economic functions and their location criteria are counted as access to information, economies of scale, attractions of prestige locations, exceptional global accessibility [Clark, 1996].

Table 3.3 Characteristics of the World/Global Cities (including both the criteria to become and evidence after becoming)

DEMOGRAPHICAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A metropolitan city with a high population (preferable with its potential consumer and labour markets but population criterion has become less important than before). • A cosmopolitan population from different nationalities and ethnicities.
GEOGRAPHICAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relationship with the growth and/or stagnation regions of the world economy. • Potential to attract the international capital.
HISTORICAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical and cultural connections with the other world/global cities.
ECONOMICAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic stability. • Manifestations of continuing economic power of the nation-state. • Command and control points of the global economy. • National, regional and global centres of trade, banking and finance. • Centres for the HQs of MNCs. • Concentrated centres of specialised producer services. • Centres of innovation. • Centres of flexible production based on creativity, design, fashion etc. • Surrounded by a high-level of manufacturing production in its region. • Places where white-collar employment grows more than the blue collar. • Specialised luxury consumption centres. • Places hosting the most powerful and wealthiest individuals of the society. • Centres for the labour and employer unions. • Centres for both business and leisure tourism. • Growing centres of real estate economies.
POLITICAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political stability. • Concentrated centres of political power. • Centres that host the national and international political and governmental institutions. • Places where the transformations in the political agenda take place first. • Generally but not necessarily capital cities.
SOCIAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing income inequalities and polarisation. • Segregation.
CULTURAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manifestation of multi-culturality. • Concentrated centres of national libraries, museums, traditional opera houses, theatres, cinemas, concert halls, exhibition centres etc. • Concentrated centres of entertainment. • Centres for artists, actors, actresses, novelists, poets and etc.
BUILT ENVIRONMENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A central business district with manifestations of power and prestige. • Manifestations of multi-culturality. • Gated housing areas.
TRANSPORTATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Places of global accessibility. • Generally intersection point of international motorways and railways. • Hosting international airports. • Hosting international ports. • Efficient and comfortable inner-city public transportation.
COMMUNICATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Places where high tech communication infrastructure works.
INFORMATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Centres for gathering and distributing information. • Centres for the media including publishers, newspapers, national TV and radio channels. • Centres for universities and research institutions. • Centres for researchers, journalists, intellectuals and etc. • Centres for international meetings of all kinds.
SOCIAL SERVICES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Centres for public and private hospitals, specialised hospitals and health facilities. • Centres of courts. • Centres for universities.

Source: This table is prepared by the author on the basis of the theoretical discussions in this chapter.

In a more recent article, Hall [1995] determined the functions of global cities again after almost thirty years from his first study. Accordingly, global cities were global centres for financial services (banking, insurance etc.) and HQs of major production companies; seats of the major world power governments; sites attracting specialised business services (commercial, law, accountancy, advertising, public relations etc.), business and leisure tourism and real estate functions; traditional points of concentration for specialised information generating and exchanging activities; and finally key nodes for national and international transportation.

When we compare these criteria with Hall's world city criteria in 1966, we find out that there is no place for demography anymore. As Clark [1996] explained, they are distinguished not by their size or status¹⁴ but by the range and extent of their economic power. A reason for this transformation is that markets throughout the world are more accessible now by means of the advanced transportation and communication facilities. Politically, while the former included all governmental units of the state as well as the international organisations, the latter does not even mention to the national governments and their units. For transportation and information, the criteria look like the same as it is emphasised again that the world cities should be the key nodes. However, they are now defined as centres that are specialised for the needs of global economy. All the other criteria are economic in the latter. They are the centres of finance, HQs¹⁵, specialised business services, business and leisure tourism and real estate functions.

What characteristically differs the world city from the global city concept which is strongly related with the global economy is the former's inclusive nature on the contrary to the latter's exclusive nature. While the world city concept include social, cultural and political aspects as well as the economic one, the global city hypothesis concentrates on the economic aspects.

In the above table, all characteristics/functions of the world/global cities counted in the relevant studies are categorised into groups. Most of these can be attributed as positive in terms of both their existence in and impacts on the host city. However, it is crucial to consider their existence and impacts within a more comprehensive perspective, in which

¹⁴ Status in terms of capital city etc.

¹⁵ In the former definition of Hall, the HQs were mentioned together with trade unions and employers' federations. However in the latter, even employer organisations have lost significance. And there is no mention of the labour unions.

local political, economical, social and cultural spheres are included. Peculiarities of these spheres may cause negative consequences. On the other hand, decisions on these characteristics/functions may be excluding other aspects and/or actors of that locality, which in turn may end with contradictions. Moreover, the number of these characteristics and functions are quite a lot and their all-together existence may cause serious urban problems that may result with a more difficult life for the ordinary citizens such as environmental problems, traffic congestion, unemployment -because of disharmony with the existing social capital- etc. Therefore, a comprehensive and yet long term planning process is necessary if it is aimed to build a global city that works efficiently.

This deconstruction is fruitful in the sense that it presents the plurality of global city functions/activities and the difficulty to gather all in one city in harmony. Thus, competing cities should make choices among these functions/activities and this choice is a matter of local politics and planning.

3.4.3 Urban hierarchy

There are studies ranking the cities according to their attractiveness both for the global economy and as places to live in¹⁶. The first group of these studies consider the facilities to meet the requirements of the global economy. This type of rankings are generally based on quantitative analysis such as gross domestic product per person, unemployment rate, supply of space (rent, floor space completion etc.), proportion of the workforce employed in higher order occupations etc. The second group of studies, on the other hand, focus on the liveability of the cities. They tend to include qualitative variables as well such as the presence of cultural or leisure facilities, environmental variables (air pollution, age and quality of housing) and quality of local services such as

¹⁶ According to Ashworth & Voogd (1990), there are four different competitive situations for the cities to take place in these rankings.

- Popularity leagues according to residential desirability, environmental quality and personal safety.
- Image and branch office location: "Weightings attributed by decision makers to particular urban change in influencing the choice of location of branch plants of multinational corporations" [Ashworth & Voogd, 1990: 5]. Important characteristics are suitability of the local urban image to the company, local cultural and linguistic change, local amenities and facilities, local financial support, land cost and availability and finally local labour [Dunning and Norman, 1987].
- International league tables.
- National plan for international competition (Holland example): General planning principles of the national strategy to guide local authorities to create their plans. They try to stimulate economic growth rather than directing its spatial distribution and mitigating its undesirable consequences.

education and health care [Lever, 1993: 937]. Taking a high rank in these studies, which are considered by the MNCs in their location decisions, has become a target for the local governments and thus investments are oriented to this purpose directly or indirectly.

Hall [1995] classified the international urban hierarchy in the global economy such as capitals or non-capitals below the global rank (potential global cities), sub-global provincial capitals, regional centres, sub-global cities and global cities. Cities below the global city rank refer to a second/third ring of cities immediately below the global cities¹⁷ with similar roles at smaller scales. Their common characteristics is that they are high-level service providers for their spheres of influence and they attract information service industries in both private and public sectors. Below the scale, there are regional centres assisting the global economy to function efficiently. They are cities that are well integrated into global flows of capital, services, information and people, fulfilling global city functions and working more and more as a bridge between the national and the global economy [Jimenez et al, 2002]. They have major ports and international airports, which provide wide access to cheap labour and domestic products. They are places for profitable investments. They have mass production in manufacturing, hospitals, universities, media services and facilities of sports and arts. They host corporate managers and specialist workers who are mostly foreigners and local elite [Clark, 1996].

Thrift [1986; 1989] has another classification of the world cities. Accordingly, *truly international centres* (New York, London, Paris, and Zurich) include many head offices, branch offices, regional HQs of large corporations and representative offices of many banks. *Zonal centres* (Singapore, Los Angeles, Hong Kong) are important links in the international financial system and they are responsible for particular geographic zones. And finally, there are *regional centres* (Sydney, Dallas, Chicago, Miami, and San Francisco) that host corporate HQs and foreign firm outlets but they are not essential links in international financial system.

Within a different approach, Hall [1993] described the emergence of an urban hierarchy on the basis of national and international relations of the cities and their locations with respect to the regional growth belts. In this hierarchy there are global cities, city regions in global fringe or corridor zones, remote regional cities, national and regional capital

cities, county towns and specialised service centres. In this classification, the regional growth belts that benefit from broader growth dynamics are crucial. Major beneficiaries of this process are the immediate peripheries of the mega-city regions. However, they usually affect the farther periphery negatively in a process what Hay and Cheshire (1989) called “*the peripheralisation of the periphery*”. This exclusion can obviously be interpreted as a disadvantage for the LDCs’ metropolitan areas that are generally located in the peripheries of the MDCs. In addition to the issue of command and control possession, another underlying argument is that “cities in the core derive considerable scale economies and access advantages whilst cities in the periphery do not and must bear substantial distance costs” [Lever, 1993: 936].

All these studies point to competition between cities. Cities should not compete to become global cities only, which is a status reserved for a few cities of the world only. They should also consider becoming second, third and auxiliary centres of the global economy. This motivation driven by these urban hierarchy studies makes competition unavoidable for all the cities claiming a in the status global urban networks.

3.4.4 Competition between cities

“Every substantial city nowadays aspires to a world role, at least in some speciality. This makes them expand linkages abroad, participating in more networks. All these trends contribute little by little to building up and intensifying the global weave of urban networks” [Gottmann, 1989: 64].

Among the most important impacts of globalisation on the cities is that there is a growing competition to attract the global flows. Either as a reaction to a spontaneous process arising from the locality itself or as a motive for not missing the opportunities, local and central governments feel the need to prioritise this issue to the other urban issues and intervene directly. In this competitive environment, cities reshape their image and become nationally and internationally significant. Huge projects are developed such as international airports, highways, office spaces, communication ports, five-star hotels and such. together with high income housing, gentrification and various other service projects (on shopping, restaurants, residential, tourism and etc.). Central and local governments market their cities as simple products [Hall, 1995: 891].

¹⁷ Global cities are defined (in the same study) as London, New York, Tokyo and Paris.

LDCs take this competition as an opportunity for immediate development. This comprehension generally drives them to compete in the guidance of the competition motive only rather than competing in accordance with the necessities and peculiarities of their localities. Most of the time, consequences of the investments on the ordinary citizens are not considered at all. Competition is generally driven with the projects copied from the higher ranked cities without any consideration of the localities' needs and peculiarities and their compliance with the citizens.

Rapid growth of the MNCs in the last two decades intensified this competition, since they have reached to a wide-ranging geographical perspective in their location decisions for their new plants and offices. Attracting foreign direct investments (FDIs) have become a priority for local politics. Promotions by advertising and public relations have been common just to catch a glimpse of the MNCs [Lever, 1993: 935]. Moreover, many projects were developed and many investments were done in service to this target.

Since the global integration of financial activities is the key factor in the formation of a trans-national urban system, competition for hypermobile¹⁸ financial activity is the most difficult [Sassen, 1995: 52]. The most important condition for a city to take a major role in the globalisation processes is said to be a financial centre. Financial centres are places, where "large amounts of foreign financial assets and liabilities are merged, FDI capital is supplied to the rest of the world and the organisational and operating norms that govern internationally active financial institutions are established" [Clark, 1996: 150]. However, fluidity of the capital threatens the stability of financial centres that are not tied to strong national economies, namely the LDCs.

Social capital of a city and its liveability¹⁹ are other critical factors in attracting the MNCs. A city should offer a quality of life competitive to the other world cities in order to get a high rank in the urban hierarchy and should also be cosmopolitan [Knight, 1989: 329]. When the LDCs' cities are considered, it is obvious that they do not have highly educated labour and cannot offer the quality of life that the MDCs' cities are able to offer. Moreover, it is difficult to talk about a cosmopolitan society since most of the LDCs are nation states. That's one of the reasons why HQs of the MNCs generally prefer to locate in their country of origin [Clark, 1996] whatever the LDCs' cities do to

¹⁸ Although there is hypermobility, the financial activity still tends to concentrate on some centres. This is explained with the requirement of face-to-face interactions and closeness to service providers.

attract them. According to King [1990], global cities were located in the core countries of the capitalist world economy and only zonal and regional centres are in countries of the semi-periphery. Despite this strong argument, it is still presented as if the cities of the weaker countries could also succeed in the competition. Lever [1993: 947], for example, argued that:

“whilst a ranking of European cities from best to worst is still strongly influenced by the economic strength of the country in which each city is located, there has been through the 1980s an increasing tendency for cities to break out of the national identities”.

However, Lever [1993], in an earlier study, described the implicit and explicit hypothesis for European cities to explain their economic success in the recent past, which provides no promises for the cities in the semi-periphery:

- Capital cities gained advantage in growth according to the other cities after the Second World War. The underlying assumption in this faster growth is the desire of the MNCs to be closer to the seats of national governments.
- Geographical centrality for a city is a serious advantage. Thus, central-periphery relations continue.
- Characteristics such as dependence on coal/steam power, good maritime connections to world trade and extensive colonial networks have lost importance while preferential trading links, infrastructure and human capital have become more favourable. These shifts tend to break down the classic north-south dilemma.

King [1990:52], on the other hand, counted some evidences of the third and fourth order (according to Friedman’s classification) world cities that have advantage in the competition. Accordingly, state policies oriented towards, or not opposed to market oriented growth; a minimum country population size of 15 millions providing potential market growth and the largest city in the country, with a minimum size of 1 million providing a potential market for consumer goods and a continuous average growth rate in the region of 2 % would be advantages for a city in the competition. Chesire [1990] added some other evidence of competitive advantage in his study. Accordingly, high

¹⁹ Its ability to develop and attract talent.

population; closeness to the main transportation axes; a labour force that is not engaged with agriculture and manufacturing intensely, but with services, and especially producer services and not being located on a coal field or a port would be among the competitive advantages of a city.

In this regard Preud'homme [1986: 46] argued, "competition between cities will probably intensify. Each urban area will have to fight to retain people and jobs, and to be innovative and attractive to suit that purpose". And Garau [1989] concluded that, the LDCs cities should not have felt excluded, as there were emerging cities in the competition with traditional problems of underdevelopment:

"located in the developing world; above a certain population threshold of, say 2 million; growing in role and population; prominent on the national scene, although not necessarily the nation's capital; with significant and growing ties with neighbouring countries of the region, within its continent, and or world-wide; and with a reasonable record in terms of efficiency, security and amenity... They share the fact that they are becoming more prominent in their regional contexts and more and more a term of reference for international business and trade. In addition, they share all the problems associated with most other developing cities of smaller size and more localised functions: high population growth, and a large share of their population classified below the poverty lines, sheltered in slums and squatter settlements and engaged in vulnerable and informal sector activities... The promise is that there are no fixed places at the table, and that there is room for everybody, even the least unexpected guests" [Garau, 1989: 71-72-77].

On the one hand, there is the argument that globalisation is an advanced type of capitalism and the old rules apply. Thus, the north-south and/or central-periphery explanations are valid for the competition of the cities as well. On the other hand, there is a strong drive to attract the LDCs' cities into competition. In such a situation, it is normal to observe the optimist view, which is the intensification of competition between the cities, throughout the world more common.

From a completely different perspective, world cities can be considered as complimentary to each other rather than competing. Sassen [1995: 41], for example, provided some clues for such comprehension: "Cities have emerged as important producers of services for export with a tendency towards specialisation... There are also tendencies towards specialisation among different cities within a country". Accordingly, cities are usually specialised on some particular issues. For example, New York has

always been the principle locus of global corporate power, the main centre of global political power and hosted the controlling functions of global production and consumption. London, on the other hand, has been the principle supplier of financial and producer services to global markets and has also preserved its place as the cultural centre of the English-speaking world. Tokyo has had a strong orientation towards both its domestic sources and the world markets and has been the main centre of national financial wealth. Finally, Paris has been the most popular location for the HQs of international organisations and international conventions particularly because of its cultural aspects [Clark, 1996].

Thus, for the cities with global ambitions, competition via copying the good examples should not be the only way forward. Co-operation between cities may benefit them in the long run more and this can also contribute to direct the resources according to the needs and abilities of the ordinary citizens.

Moreover, particularly in the LDCs, central governments have not taken their hands completely off the cities, although it has been argued on the contrary in the globalisation literature [Thornley, 1999]. In most of the LDCs' cities, it is observed that central governments either lead or influence the competition process directly. Thus, co-operation between the local and the central governments can be considered for the development of these localities since the local governments are still weak to undertake this mission alone.

Last but not least, a competition on the basis of specialisation, and thus feeding co-operation, directs the investments to the potentials and problems of a city rather than the translations of the global corporate requirements. It should be kept in mind that there is no way to create a copy better than the original.

3.4.5 Political implications

It is now clear that when a locality is chosen for the direction of global flows, both preparations for and impacts of global flows cause and require transformations on the urban economy, society, culture and morphology. And when there are transformations in a locality, local politics gets busier.

In the LDCs, the local politicians generally interpret both globalisation and becoming a global city as a new development paradigm. They are seen as immediate development opportunities and thus limited resources are put in service to them. While structural adjustments are applied to the national economic systems, physical structural adjustments continue on the built environment for the efficient organisation of the globalisation processes. By becoming globalised, the city is said to gain new assertions of regional identity and autonomy, new outlets for exports of goods and services and such, which point to new opportunities for foreign investments. Moreover, new civic and educational linkages and relationships would develop, by taking part in the grand transportation projects such as Euro high-speed rail linkages, a new tourism potential could be created. Consequently, social visions of urban life is said to change with the impacts of the “high tech, high touch, high tension global society” [Gappert, 1989] and the city is said to develop together with a trickle down effect in the country.

What is happening on the ground, then, reminds the singularisation of politics, re-called from the second chapter. Local politics is restructured to serve the requirements of globalisation without any serious consideration of costs and benefits since the process is accepted as an immediate development opportunity. However, there still continues a debate on whether the globalisation processes are discursive or real at least for some geographies of the world. If the sceptics are right, even partly, what will be the rationale of all those investments, most of which are cut from the routine expenditures for the basic needs of citizens?

On the other hand and related to the issue, authority struggles are a concern particularly in the LDCs, where state power has been unquestionable not because of their social welfare systems but because of their aggressive attitudes towards citizens. State, with its bureaucracy and military, is accepted as an untouchable. Thus, questioning how much the development of a city is dependent to a country's development or asking more autonomy may easily be interpreted as an attack on the holy state. And when the globalisation project is implemented by the state, this won't be in harmony with the ideal project of hyperglobalisers, in which market determines the investments and local governments facilitate them. This authority problem may then bring about unexpected consequences.

Acceptance of the global city concept brings about the rejection of regional development paradigm most of the time. Governments then feel obliged to invest primarily on the attractions for global flows and particularly to the global cities for national development. They should keep and market all the positive characteristics (qualified labour force, service facilities, luxury neighbourhoods etc.) and dismiss the negative ones (low skilled labour force, manufacturing facilities, cheap public housing etc.). All unwanted actors, characteristics, activities within the global city should look for another place to survive and if they are really disadvantageous for a city, they would unavoidably cause a deterioration wherever they go. Thus, the gaps between cities in the regional, national and also global urban systems will become wider. In this respect, King [1990: 53] asked “what about the other parts of national urban systems, with which world cities are connected, and which are equally subject to global economic forces?” When the authority issue is added to this argument, the problem becomes more complicated as the central state determines where to attract the global flows and leave the other destinations with their faith alone. For a welfare state or for a state that claims to be a welfare one, this attitude is unacceptable. It is neither acceptable for the liberal paradigm that allows each unit to compete according to their own will and strength.

Moreover, industrial sites lost their importance and ground in the MDCs’ metropolitan cities. However, they are still important for the development of the LDCs. Thus, most of the time, these sites with concentrated industrial activities keep their places as regional centres of the less-developed geographies. If manufacturing industries should be avoided to become a global city, wouldn’t it mean another bounce for the LDCs without completing the development stage they are in²⁰? If this is the case, peripherilisation of the periphery argument would not be far from truth with the globalisation processes as the less-developed geographies would continue to develop survival mechanisms on the basis of illegality in the forms of informal sector, housing and such. This may either create adaptive globalisation processes to the peculiarities of these localities or strengthen the contradictions between the global and the local. This can then be interpreted in a way that globalisation processes have different implications on different

²⁰ In most of the LDCs, urbanisation started before industrialisation and therefore urban fabric was built very low quality. This process is called as “unhealthy urbanisation” and caused a “postponed modernisation” in Turkey. Another bounce from industrialisation to globalisation without completing the former development stage may introduce terms such as “unhealthy globalisation” and “re-postponed modernisation”.

localities, thus, just like modernity, globalisation cannot be accepted as a universally unique project made up of a pre-determined set of processes.

When considering the political implications of globalisation processes, it is most important to ask for whom globalisation processes work. Although it may be possible to transform these impacts into an inclusive nature, all definitions and explanations of both the globalisation processes and the global city concept refer to the same point; exclusion of the “others”. Others can be countries, regions in those countries, cities in those regions, neighbourhoods in those cities or even individuals in those neighbourhoods that are not valued by the globalisation processes at all. This exclusion that should be among the most important issues of local politics makes the global cities places of social and economic polarisation.

In this sense, it is crucial to underline the subject of both globalisation processes and global city functions. Thrift [1986] counted these subjects as multinational companies, banks and central governments, which are all formed by national and international elite. Most of the time, these people are highly qualified, educated people with a high-income level. Re-visiting the global city functions presents that these functions are possessed, controlled and used by these groups²¹. Today, there are “proletarian free yuppie zones” [Harvey, 1996: 409] in the global cities. Economy is the crucial dynamic in a global city and economically powerful is the strongest. Excluded, on the other hand, are the ordinary people that have actually created and experienced the city. Rimmer [1986] pointed out this issue such as the world cities “downplay the importance of internal forces” [Rimmer, 1986: 120]. King [1990: 146] added that:

“increasingly, the city becomes an arena for capital, the site for the specialised operations of a global market. Forced to compete with its major international rivals, obstacles to that competition are, dependent on state policies, progressively removed. It is here where the interests of local population are directly in conflict with, and are sacrificed for, the interests of international capital”.

²¹ Another version of this possession and control problem works against the LDCs in general. Global cities are command and control centres for global economy, which is born from the MDCs in general. Therefore, MDCs possess and control almost all mechanisms of the process to work efficiently and it would be naive to expect them to turnover their possessions to the LDCs. This means that centre-periphery divide will continue with a few exceptions.

Consequently, “there are inevitably winners and losers both in terms of favoured and disfavoured cities, and equally between particular social and economic groups and individuals within cities” [Ashworth & Voogd, 1990: 11]. Functions of a global city generally exclude and sometimes harm the disfavoured. The built environment, which is a product of all these processes, strengthens the contradictions with the disfavoured via regeneration, replacement, re-functioning, rebuilding etc.

As the built environment of the cities are increasingly shaped by the globalisation processes, city marketing comes to fore. City marketing is a process “whereby urban activities are as closely as possible related to the demands of targeted customers so as to maximise the efficient social and economic functioning of the area concerned in accordance with whatever goals have been established” [Ashworth & Voogd, 1990: 11]. This approach is criticised from many aspects but primarily because it considers the citizens as customers. However, the problem appears on the ground as city marketing directly targets the global flows rather than the citizens. Thus, the critics should also be directed to this direction of the approach. It should be underlined that city marketing is not a concept for the global actors only and it can be designed primarily according to the needs of the citizens.

If the LDCs are far away from the criteria that this competition demands from them, there is an alternative, which is to support the peculiarities of a locality rather than facilitating the global flows desperately. This does not mean an opposition to the global flows. A locality with the peculiarities of its own will unavoidably be among the targets of the global flows in time.

3.5 Impacts of globalisation on the built environment

Superimposition of social and cultural activities on the built environment is called ‘Palimpsest’ by Harvey [1996: 417]. Accordingly, it is “a composite landscape made up of different built forms superimposed upon each other with the passing of time”. It is apparent that the accumulation regimes have significant impacts on the built environment and palimpsest is added a new form by each accumulation regime settled in a locality. This strong relationship between the accumulation regime and the built environment is because most of the economic activities take place in the built environment. Thus, the built environment should be organised in a way that allows the

economic activities to work in the most efficient way. Globalisation processes representing the new accumulation regime, then, affect the built environment by adding another layer to the palimpsest. In this respect, even though it is often argued that economy is divorced from space in the global era because of the transportation and communication facilities, impacts of the global economy are evident in the cities. On the other hand, ideologies are said to be very influential on the reconstruction of space at all times. Space functions not only to legitimise the ideologies but also to maintain them. Thus, global capitalism as an ideology should have put its signature on the built environment since it is said to be a global ideology using space in the most efficient way [King, 1990].

When the main goal of a city is determined as attracting the foreign investments, local and central governments unavoidably start to invest on huge projects and/or allow the private entrepreneurs to make their investments in order to attract the desired flows. This process is generally carried via deregulation since comprehensive and long-term planning does not allow these partial investments that are huge and have possible dramatic impacts on the cities. These projects take their places in the localities as the new elements of the built environment, as a new layer of the palimpsest. They represent the 'physical structural adjustments' (PSAs) of a locality. They are the consequences of the structural adjustments in a country to adapt its economy to the global economy. They initially aim to attract the global flows and then facilitate the activities of the attracted.

Although it is evident that the globalisation processes influence the built environment, their degree of influence and products are yet to determine. Elements of the deconstructions in this chapter can be used as a starting point to determine them. When one thinks about the global flows –as that was the most comprehensive and thus inclusive deconstruction in this chapter- and their impacts on the built environment, some initial observations can be made.

What would the human flows that are constituted of tourists, businessmen, politicians, illegal & guest workers, refugees and immigrants [Appadurai, 1990] need to flow in? Moreover, how would their existence affect the built environment in the cities? In this respect, accommodation will be a prior need including hotels [Smyth, 1994; Harris, 1996; Robins, 1996], pensions, regenerated luxury housing [Sassen, 1991; Hall, 1993;

Robins, 1996; Borja, 1996; Harvey, 1996; Keyder, 1999] areas as well as cheap housing when all groups of human flows are considered. Office space seems like another urgent need of the human flows [Thrift, 1989; Ashworth, 1990; Sassen, 1991; 1994; 1995; Clark, 1996; Short, 1996]. New office areas with high tech equipment flourish in most of the urban regions claiming a global/regional role and consequently they establish the new CBDs of the cities [Sassen, 1995; Robins, 1996; Townroe, 1996]. Skyscrapers are the fashionable building types of the era as they do not only provide the necessary functions for business but also present the strength of companies and contribute to their public image. Offices are not only necessary for business but also for the branches of international organisations, embassies and such for the local politicians to interact. For accommodation and office purposes and more, restoration, regeneration and renewal projects for neighbourhoods, facilities, buildings and such have become common in addition to the new constructions. Moreover, historical conservation adds to the tourist attractions in a city [Harvey, 1989; Harvey, 1996; Robins, 1996; Sennett, 1999]. Entertainment buildings including restaurants, bars, clubs, concert halls and such seem to be a must for both tourists and businessmen as well as the highly qualified labour [Sassen, 1991; Hall, 1993; Robins, 1996; Townroe, 1996; Clusa, 1996; Barkin, 1996]. Cultural buildings such as museums, historical monuments and such should also be considered in this regard [Harvey, 1989]. Transportation is one of the most important means for a location to attract the human flows, and in this regard, buildings and facilities including airports, bus depots, and large railway stations are necessary [Cox, 1990; Kenny, 1992; King, 1995; Harris, 1996a; 1996b; Budd, 1996; Harris, 1996; Kassab, 1997]. Moreover, inner city transportation is important as it contributes to the quality of life dramatically. Underground appears as the primary system to invest in this area unless the city presents a better transportation system [Knight, 1987; 1989; Sassen, 1991; Castells, 1992; 1994; Budd, 1992; Mohan, 1994; The Greater Istanbul Municipality, 1995; Short, 1996; Borja, 1996; Samaniego, 1996; Berner, 1997; Gregson, 1999]. Another driving force of global flows is communication and thus buildings and facilities including fibre optic cable connections, large receivers, and such should be present in the city in connection with the information centres such as media centres and radio stations [Clark, 1996; Oncu, 1997]. In order to attract more businessmen and politicians into a locality, there appears another need for gathering facilities and buildings including congress halls, exhibition centres and such [King, 1995; Budd, 1996; Harris, 1996; Short, 1996; Kassab, 1997]. Most of these facilities

and buildings are said to increase the liveability in a city, which will in turn increase the human flows. However, as these products take their places in the built environment, public areas increasingly lose space because most of them demand a central position in the city, where has once been used by the public most intensely [Short, 1996]. Pressures on the public areas and historical CBDs of the cities are threatening [Harvey, 1989; Knight, 1989; Taylor, 1989]. Increase of rent in these areas drive many people out of their houses and work places. Another choice of the human flows appear as the very beautiful pieces of the natural environment surrounding the city with either huge facilities such as universities, research institutions and media centres or luxury housing [Smyth, 1994; Robins, 1996]. This creates another contradiction with the locality, as these areas are necessary for the locals both for environmental quality and recreation facilities. Thus, it is yet discussable whether these new elements of the built environment will contribute to liveability or not. And even if they are, for whom and in what respects?

Technology flows is another aspect that we should consider for the impacts on the built environment. As it was explained before, they are constituted of flexible & advanced production techniques, machinery and telematics [Appadurai, 1990]. The most important issue in terms of the built environments in the flow of these elements appear, as the need of place for manufacturing since manufacturing is not wanted in the cities anymore [Dicken, 1986; Knight, 1989; Healey, 1990; Friedmann, 1995; Sassen, 1995; Budd, 1996; Townroe, 1996; Butler, 2000]. In this respect, most of the metropolitan areas have already transformed into urban regions, in order to externalise the negative impacts of manufacturing activities but still keep these activities close to their centres of control [Sassen, 1995; Sonmez, 1996]. Although this need of closeness seems irrelevant because of the advanced telecommunication technologies, this trend is apparent throughout the world and particularly in the LDCs. This motive of decentralisation of manufacturing and other facilities such as docks brings about the issue of how to use the old manufacturing sites in the cities [Knight, 1989; Sassen, 1995]. Most of the time, these areas are regenerated with projects of public, private or public-private partnership initiatives [Mathur, 1996]. In the LDCs, where there is no financial means to invest in these areas publicly, they are transferred to private entrepreneurs and this trend has become one of the main issues of local politics. Decentralisation of manufacturing unavoidably causes a housing need for the labour working in the decentralised facilities.

Thus, in the areas where decentralisation is directed to, cheap housing projects take place [Deshpande, 1996; Keyder, 1999]. Research institutions and universities are also among the important products in the built environment as they feed the technology production more than ever in the global era.

Finance flows are constituted of flows of money, stock exchange shares and other financial derivatives [Appadurai, 1990]. Necessary elements in the built environment for them to flow can be counted as a financial centre with a relevant amount of office space –usually in the CBD-, buildings/skyscrapers for the bank HQs and other finance institutions and a stock exchange market building [Appadurai, 1990; Sassen, 1995; Clark, 1996]. The ones counted previously for the flow of businessmen do apply for the highly qualified professionals working in the financial centres.

One other type of flows is commodities, which include architectural buildings, decoration styles, food cultures, clothing, accessories and such from other parts of the world [Appadurai, 1990]. Commodity flows is all about consumption and their place of exhibition is generally the shopping malls and regenerated shopping areas [Kenny, 1992; Robins, 1996; Chossudovsky, 1997]. Shopping malls come together with the culture of car ownership and this of course affect the development of the city dramatically [Hall, 1993]. On the other hand, number of the local shops in the neighbourhoods has been decreasing since the introduction of shopping malls.

Information and image flows flourish with the newspapers, magazines & journals, books, TV & radio channels, movies and the Internet [Appadurai, 1990]. Media centres, publishers, cinemas and such are necessary in the built environment in addition to the infrastructure necessary for the information and images to flow [Appadurai, 1990; Featherstone, 1990; Amin, 1997; Borja, 1996; Clark, 1996; Castells, 1997; Gray, 1998].

Finally, idea flows including the international and national dominant ideologies, critical and scientific thoughts [Appadurai, 1990] need HEIs and research institutions in addition to those counted for the information and image flows [Lathrop Gilb, 1989; Taylor, 1995; Butler, 2000; Audretsch, 2001; Fritsch, 2001; Başkaya, 2002; Ünal, 2002; Tural, 2004].

Below table presents that each flow needs facilities in the built environment and these facilities vary in terms of their functions. Each function has its alternatives such as the

accommodation for tourists can be provided by different elements varying from 5-star hotels to pensions or by a combination of all. Their construction processes may also take different forms due to the characteristics of the existing built environment. In an historical setting, restorations and regenerations can be considered, while a complete reconstruction process can be chosen in a deprived area.

Impacts of these construction elements on the built environment and lives of the citizens may vary due to the existing built environment and social and economical life in the city. In this regard, the same project may result with different impacts. Still, it is possible to make some generalisations with respect to their possible positive and negative impacts.

Each of the new elements in the built environment are said to bring some positive impacts on the cities. First of all, these construction elements and their construction processes are said to create jobs for the unemployed. Moreover, the built environment and the infrastructure are renewed and upgraded. These two impacts are said to adapt the built environment and the labour to the changing urban economy. Interventions on the CBDs help to organise the new urban sectors more efficiently both for the individual companies and the whole urban economic system. Historical areas are invested in this processes whether to create prestigious locations for the HQs or luxury housing for their highly qualified labour. Thus, those historical areas that have been waiting for funds to be restored found a way to survive. Introduction of alternative housing types to the cities are also said to increase the quality of life in the cities. On the other hand, decentralisation of manufacturing accompanies this restructuring of urban economy, which ends with a sectoral shift from manufacturing to service activities in the cities. Decentralisation contributes to the quality of life in the cities as well by externalising the polluting industries. Transportation and communication investments are said to affect the lifeworlds of the individuals dramatically. They are said to increase the access of the citizens to the outer world. Thus, people would make more business with the other parts of the world in addition to the cultural interaction necessary for a world understanding each other. Gathering facilities would also contribute to this aim by bringing many businessmen, scholars and artists from all over the world to a locality and facilitate their interaction with the local businessmen and citizens. Entertainment investments are said to increase the quality of life in a city by introducing new alternatives. R&D facilities and HEIs would surely have positive impacts other develop

Table 3.4 Impacts of global flows on the built environment

GLOBAL FLOWS	ELEMENTS	NEED	CONSTRUCTION ELEMENT	CONSTRUCTION PROCESS
Human Flows	Tourists, Businessmen, Qualified labour, Politicians, Unqualified labour, immigrants, refugees...	Accommodation (for technology & finance flows as well)	Luxury hotels, Hotels, Pensions, Luxury Housing, Cheap housing ...	Regeneration, Re-functioning, Restoration, New constructions ...
		Office Space (for technology flows as well)	New CBD, Regenerated old CBD, Office buildings, Skyscrapers, Restored old buildings...	Regeneration, Re-functioning, Restoration, New constructions ...
		Entertainment & Culture (for commodity & finance flows as well)	Restaurants, Bars, Clubs, Concert halls, Museums, Historical monuments...	Conservation, Regeneration, Re-functioning, Restoration, New constructions ...
		Gathering (for info, image & idea flows as well)	Congress halls & buildings, Exhibition centres...	New constructions, renewals, Re-functioning...
		Transportation (for image, technology, commodity flows as well)	Airports, Bus depots, Large railway stations, Underground...	New Constructions, Renewals, Extensions...
		Communication (for finance, info, image & idea flows as well)	Fibre optic cable connections, Large receivers...	New constructions...
Technology Flows	Flexible & advanced production techniques, Machinery, Telematics...	Manufacturing areas	Factories, Docks, Technoparks, R&D Facilities, Universities...	Decentralisation, Privatisation, Re-functioning, New constructions, Extensions...
Finance Flows	Money, Stock exchange shares, other finance derivatives...	Financial activities	Financial centre, Bank & office buildings, Skyscrapers, Stock exchange market building...	Re-functioning, New constructions...
Commodity Flows	Architectural buildings, Decoration styles, Food cultures, Clothing, Accessories...	Consumption	Shopping malls, Regenerated shopping areas...	New constructions, Regeneration...
Info & Image Flows	Newspapers, Magazines & Journals, Books, TV & radio channels, Movies, Internet...	Dissemination	Media centres, publishers, cinemas, theatres...	New constructions, Renewals, Restoration, Re-functioning...
Idea Flows	International and national dominant ideologies, Critical and scientific thought...	Dissemination	Universities, Media centres, Publishers, Research centres...	New constructions, Renewals, Extensions, Re-functioning...

Source: This table is prepared by the author on the basis of the theoretical discussions in this chapter.

technologies and ideas etc. Proliferation of media groups and publishers would also have a positive impact, as they would contribute democracy in a locality. Shopping malls, on the other hand, would facilitate the lives of citizens by supplying cheaper products with a huge variety and many alternatives.

However, there is also a dark side of the story. In terms of employment opportunities, privatisation and decentralisation of manufacturing activities cause mass unemployment in the cities. On the other hand, sectoral shift in the cities is not supported by the labour since they do not have the qualifications to work in the new sectors. Moreover, new jobs created in the built environment via new sectors are not secure as they provide none or partial social security and are low-paid. In parallel, renewal and upgrading of the built environment work against the ordinary citizens as most of these construction elements demand space from the central areas and this pressure usually ends with the loss of either their own working and living spaces or the public spaces of all citizens. This pressure increases the rents in these areas and people that cannot afford to live in have no other option than leaving these areas. Most of the time, renovations in the historical areas damage the characteristics of the area as needs and historical buildings/patterns are not in harmony. Housing projects, on the other hand, cause segregation and polarisation as owners of luxury housing prefer to live isolated with minimum interaction with the ordinary people. One of the most dramatic contradictions comes out when these new elements are to be constructed on the existing housing stock, where low-income households live. Major transportation projects aim to connect the CBDs with the other parts of the cities, which would not benefit the ordinary citizens that live at the outskirts and generally do not work in the CBDs. Most of the people living in the cities have still not gone abroad, thus, investments to connect their cities to the outer world do not contribute their lives. In terms of communication investments, it is still a minority that uses these facilities and for example has access to the Internet.

It is important to discuss what these new elements of the built environment represent and whether they enforce a different societal structure. Initial evidence suggests that they represent a global culture in terms of both production and consumption and the new forms of the cities increasingly enforce this culture on local societies.

Consequently, we can argue that there are new elements that are introduced to the built environment in the global era. Although they are said to have positive impacts on the

localities and their societies, their negative impacts are more apparent at the present time. Most of the time, these new construction elements are prioritised to the needs of the ordinary citizens and this increases the contradictions in between. It is obvious that a comprehensive approach is necessary that considers both negative and positive impacts of these constructions and their processes and moreover that integrates the needs of the ordinary citizens to those of global flows in order to serve both at the same time. This is possible since there is a plurality of these elements and a choice can be made among them.

3.6 Concluding Remarks: Plurality of impacts on localities

When functions/activities of the global cities are counted or impacts of global flows on the built environment are considered, the finding is again plurality as it was emphasised for the globalisation processes in Chapter Two. However, this is not the case for local decision-making processes with respect to them. Local decision-making processes lead to a singularity by making the prescribed decisions for their localities. Prescriptions for becoming a global city and competition are taken for granted without considering the plurality aspect of globalisation. This tendency strengthens the TINA syndrome and produces similar built environments at different localities. Plurality also includes a threat –enforcing the TINA syndrome again- that these flows may prefer one of those numerous competing localities.

In fact, globalisation processes are consisted of a number of global flows that have different ingredients with different conditions to start. Moreover, combinations of ingredients/flows are too many. Thus, pace, habitat and period of stay of these ingredients/flows/combinations determine their impacts on a locality. Similarly, it is determined that there are numerous impacts of globalisation on localities. Consequently, it becomes impossible to talk about their fixed impacts on different localities. An interrelationary analysis of these flows and their successive impacts is then necessary in making relevant political decisions.

On the other hand, impacts on localities are not permanent. A negative impact may turn into a positive one in time. Thus, aforementioned analysis should be carried on continually in order to determine these shifts. Moreover, all impacts of globalisation are difficult to be negative or positive for a locality. Thus, determining a position for or

against globalisation is irrelevant in terms of local decision-making processes. Accepting globalisation as plural and not taking a position for or against it will then contribute the plurality in the built environments reflecting the peculiarities of localities as well as producing alternatives in our life-worlds.

However, it is apparent that consequences of the contemporary globalisation are generally negative for the ordinary citizens. For them, an exclusion from the decision-making processes is apparent. Multi-national capital seems to be the dominant subject of the era. In this regard, it can be argued that local politics has lost its ground as states and capital insist on applying those prescribed projects of globalisation to their built environments without considering the needs and potentials of their localities. In explaining this attitude, this thesis suggests that LDCs accept globalisation as an immediate development opportunity and make their decisions accordingly. This attitude represents a turn from populist attitudes to globalist. By this token, globalisation becomes not only the driving force of urban transformation but also the target of it. This statement includes the possibility that transformations might be executed for a target that would never materialise.

However, the literature presents that central governments of LDCs apply the projects of capital with the efficient use of local and central elites and local actors are excluded from the decision-making processes. Local politics, which should be restructured to be more inclusive, should then make decisions with respect to the needs and potentials of their localities considering the combination, intensity, period and pace of the flows and their possible impacts. Public consensus is necessary on the decisions if the target is to conserve the ideal of “city for people” [Laborit, 1990]. Comprehensive thinking and understanding is necessary together with foreseeing the future. This is a matter of choice and it is the task of local politics to determine its preferences with respect to globalisation. Choices made with the ignorance and negligence of local needs and potentials are prone to fail since adaptive globalisation processes to the peculiarities of localities will live longer compared to the contradictory ones. Moreover, a locality with strong peculiarities for the global flows will become among their primary destinations in time.

Last but not least, deconstruction attempts in this chapter provided us with invaluable elements of analysis that can still be proliferated with further attempts. Analysis of one

element would surely not present what globalisation means and what its processes bring about. However, decision on that single element can only be made after a detailed analysis of that element in an interrelational approach with the others and the locality itself within a comprehension of globalisation as plural putting the local into its centre. A collection of these analyses would certainly serve local politics with regard to its decision-making processes on globalisation.

Chapter Four

Deconstructing globalisation: Local politics and planning

4.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to develop a theoretical understanding on how local politics is restructured within the global-local interplay. In this context, actors of local politics including international organisations, central and local governments, multi-national companies and civil society will be introduced first. Their negotiation bases will be discussed as well as their capabilities in order to find out both the motives of behaviours and relations in between. This setting will not only present the plurality of actors in the local political sphere but also provide the possible contradictions between these actors. These contradictions will partially explain the political negotiation base and put a light on the new power formations in the cities. Finally, impacts of globalisation processes on planning will be discussed in the context of this local political restructuring.

Questions that will be addressed throughout the chapter are as follows: Who are the actors of the global-local interplay, what are their roles and how do they negotiate? Is there a new power formation in the local political sphere or is it only a continuity of the past? Can we talk about the plurality of actors in the decision-making processes in the global era? If so, does this require a restructuring of local politics? In this respect, how does planning reformulate itself?

4.2 Actors of the global-local interplay

This section will present the actors of local politics in the global era. It will start with the international organisations linked to the issue of global governance, and then move to the nation-states as the so-called weakening actors of the era. MNCs will be presented with their investment capabilities throughout the world and their impacts on localities. Finally, rising actors of the globalisation literature, local governments and civil society will be introduced. The section will conclude with the plurality argument of both the actors in the local political sphere and their relations with each other.

4.2.1 Global governance and international organisations

International organisations have become among the most important actors of the globalisation processes in the last two decades. Among many, United Nations (UN), IMF, WB, WTO, G7 and G20 have been familiar to the ordinary citizens in the last two decades. Furthermore, regional blocks such as the European Union (EU), North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and Asian Free Trade Agreement (AFTA) were established with the initial claim to strengthen and regulate the economy in their regions. EU has then moved on to establish a regional political governing body. Rising importance of these international and regional organisations represents a need for the global and/or regional regulation of some activities, most of which are economic, together with a need of control over the nation-states that are supposed to re-orient their policies towards the globalisation processes.

In this respect, IMF is the most familiar international organisation to the LDCs. It sets stand-by programmes for them to recover their national economies. Lately, an intention to adapt their national economies to the global economy has become a requirement of the IMF to “stand by”. In return of the agreements on these programmes, central governments receive long-term, low-interest credits. These agreements increase the possibility to access the funds of other international organisations such as the WB, international lending organisations and private banks as well because IMF programmes are said to increase the confidence of global market towards the LDCs. On the other hand, there is always a threat of placing the LDCs to the black list of the lending organisations unless stand-by programmes are not implemented [Chossudovsky, 1997].

Purpose of the IMF is to establish a system that facilitates the flow of goods, services and capital between the countries [Article 4 – Section 1]. This purpose apparently serves the globalisation processes. In this respect, IMF is an international institution that prepares the conditions for economic globalisation and supports the process after it starts to function. Since economic globalisation is widely accepted as an advanced type of capitalism, IMF can be identified as a driving force and provoker for global capitalism. That is to say, that IMF is a capitalist institution. Therefore, it would not be realistic to expect the IMF to apply policies for economic and social equality. In this respect, IMF has always been one of those institutions that Marxist critiques are

directed. It is interesting that liberal and social democrat critiques have also intensified in the 1990s¹.

Despite its programmes that are problematic in terms of their functionality, wide acceptance of the IMF can only be explained with the vulnerable situation of the LDCs. Because of their domestic and foreign debts in addition to their budget deficits, LDCs desperately need IMF credits and other funds that will possibly follow them. This is to say that LDCs should accept any condition of the IMF if they are to maintain their debts and budgets. This is how the global economic system dictates the LDCs via the IMF and enforces them to apply its policies with content. In other words, this is how the hegemony is built in the global era [Çavuşoğlu, 2004].

Conditions on the credits have often been criticised in the LDCs because LDCs' governments are put pressure on orienting their critical investments towards the areas/sectors that MDCs would prefer. They involve the maximum amount of available funds for each investment category, restrictions on investments to the public services such as education and health, some priorities, privatisations, involvement of the international companies to the relevant adjudications and decreases in the social welfare funds that are not well-established in the LDCs at all [Chossudovsky, 1997]. Moreover, critiques argue that interests of these credits make the MDCs richer, whilst debts of the LDCs increase and they can only be paid back by the sacrifices of the middle and low-income groups². It is added that debts are increased more by re-structuring, re-timing and debt exchange schemes of the international organisations as they conserved the interests of the lending organisations [Chossudovsky, 1997]. On the other hand, as conditions on these credits are partially removed, their lack is criticised, too, because these credits are then distributed to various local private investors, who are close to the governing bodies in the LDCs and do never invest the money on the key areas/sectors of development. Without conditions, these credits are said to feed corruption.

¹ For example for these critiques, see Soros, 1998; Kolten, 1999; Stiglitz, 2003.

² Soros argued that, IMF treats lenders and borrowers in an asymmetrical way. "It imposed conditions on the borrowers but not on lenders... In this indirect way, the IMF was assisting the international banks and other creditors... There are several interrelated reasons why the asymmetry in the IMF's treatment of debtors and creditors has developed... Finally, the IMF is controlled by the countries at the centre of the capitalist system; it would go against the national interests of the controlling shareholders if the IMF penalised the lenders. The IMF ought to make its intervention conditional on the lenders shouldering their share of losses. The IMF imposes conditions on a country in trouble: it should also impose conditions on the creditors, particularly when the trouble is caused by the private sector... The asymmetry gave rise to an unsound international investment boom; in its absence, it will be very difficult to generate sufficient international investment flows" [1998: 180-181-182].

IMF is also criticised because of the similar, if not the same, programmes that it imposes on different localities. IMF's traditional medicine for the LDCs in crisis is that they should "raise interest rates and reduce government spending to stabilise the currency and restore the confidence of international investors" [Soros, 1998: 146]. Critiques argue that every locality has its own peculiarities and problems and unique programmes should be developed for each of them. Moreover, essence of these programmes is criticised in a way that it offers too simple solutions to very complicated problems [Soros, 1998].

Even if there grows opposition against the international organisations and agreements, LDCs seem to be decisive to go for them. This does not only represent the power of these organisations and the new global economic system but also the weakness and helplessness of LDCs, which are due to financial crisis because of continuously increasing debts in a very volatile financial environment. This weakness prepares the TINA syndrome. There is evidence throughout the world supporting this argument. Even a well established welfare state, Sweden, had to make reductions in its social assistance funds, after Moody's –a well known credit institution- declared that unless Sweden made the necessary reductions, they would decrease their credit grade [Chossudovsky, 1997].

Turkey is among the top 10 countries that have signed stand-by agreements with the IMF most. By the year 2000, Turkey signed 17 of them and this number is expected to increase in the near future. The 17th agreement was signed by the Turkish government in 2000. The credit that would follow the signatures would be used to pay the foreign and domestic debts of the country. The below table presents what the 17th stand-by agreement asks Turkey to do in some economic sectors and how Turkish Parliament fulfilled these requirements.

This process represents the weakness of the nation-state in terms of alternative policy making because the proposed legislations were made despite the strong opposition of the civil society and negotiations were carried on just after the earthquake catastrophe without even giving a break. Turkish central governments are well known with their populist policies. This resistance and insistence of the central government to carry on the negotiations with the IMF and apply the policies and reforms accordingly presents

the pressure of global economic system on the nation-states and the strength of this pressure [Güler, 1996].

WB's structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) are also among the well-known credit schemes of the international organisations. Turkish governments have always been in relation to the WB, which supports the IMF policies and reforms with its special programmes, credits and technical aids. If the WB credits to the Turkish central governments after 1990 are analysed, it appears that the WB has mainly preferred to support the governments in liberalising and globalising the Turkish economy. Development of radio frequency receivers credit, national energy network project credit, general financial administration technical aid, oil pipeline project credit, privatisation practice technical aid, general economic administration technical aid and technological development of the manufacturing infrastructure credit are among those that were issued to the governments. These credits and aids are directly related to economic globalisation. WB's web page does not provide any clue on the conditions of these credits and technical aids but the comments on the daily papers point to the issue of agreement with the IMF as the initial condition to start negotiations. This, in turn, strengthens the TINA syndrome and hegemony building argument.

Table 4.1 Negotiation process of the 17th stand-by agreement between IMF and Turkey

Reforms that are asked by the IMF (July 1999)	Reforms that took place in the Intention Letter of Turkish Government (September 1999)	What the Turkish Parliament and Government had done (July -November 1999)
Development of the banking act	New Banking Act was made and relevant regulations were on the way	Banking Act
Reform of the Social Security system	New Social Security Act was made	Social Security Act
Privatisation	Privatisation Programme was prepared to be put into practice in 2000	Arbitration Act
Accelerated privatisation in energy and communications sectors	Arbitration Act was made and supporting privatisation legislation was being prepared	Arbitration Act
Legislations to attract foreign investments	Arbitration Act was made and supporting legislation for privatisation and decreasing bureaucracy were being prepared	Arbitration Act
Removing the agricultural supporting purchases	-----	Supporting purchases were not made in the usual rates

* This table is prepared from the official documents of the IMF on the Internet.

Another large portion of the WB credits go directly to the private sector and these credits provide some clues on the direction of policies. Nevertheless, these credits affect the decisions of both central and local governments [Güler, 1998]. The most significant of these credits for Istanbul was the one that was issued for the construction of Conrad Hotel to a developer, Aksoy Group. Location decision of this hotel was discussed in the public widely because the hotel would affect the silhouette on the Bosphorous, which was under strict conservation. It was known that the WB and Aksoy Group had already signed the credit agreement before the central government declared the area as a “tourism centre” in order to issue exceptionally high construction rights for the hotel. Moreover, the Group itself requested the tourism centre declaration from the Ministry of Tourism. Then, the Ministry asked the local government to amend the plans in accordance with the declaration³.

Photo 4.1 Conrad Hotel



Source: Erdem Erbas archive.

This example and the other evidence above are quite significant on how the international organisations affect the decision-making processes of both central and local governments. It proves the epistemological arguments on both TINA syndrome and weakness of the nation states that were discussed in the second chapter. Briefly, global economic system dictates its policies and reforms to the LDCs via international organisations and credit and finance institutions, which are funded, commanded and

³ It is the local governments authority to issue construction rights via master and application plans and high-density construction was not allowed by the plans of this area. However, central governments have some exceptional rights in determining these rights in an area. This authority is provided by various legislations including the Tourism Incitement Act, the Privatisation Act and the legislations for the Foundation Universities (FU) as we shall see in detail in the case study section. When decisions are centrally made via these legislations, local governments lose their authorities on the relevant areas and are obliged to do whatever the central government asks them.

controlled by the MDCs. International agreements such as GATT and MAI are the final stage of this hegemony building process, in which the LDCs that have the potential to oppose these policies and reforms are fallen into a trap. On the other hand, countries such as Cuba, North Korea and Iran that declared different ideologies face with severe embargos and these embargos are supported by those international organisations that claim humanised global governance.

As the critiques on the existing international organisations intensify and the MNCs fool around the LDCs, there arises strong support for the existence of a transnational system. Giddens [1990] justified this trend such as that necessary arrangements and interventions could not be made in time in the local scale since resources and services of a locality were no more under the control of central governments. In this regard, regulation of global economy appears as an urgent requirement for particularly the LDCs.

In this respect, as Grey [1998: 18-19] pointed out “no political responses against the consequences of free market policies will be effective that does not grasp the technological and economic transformations that such policies are able to harness”. Local politicians usually are not even aware of these technological and economical transformations. Therefore, a global governance mechanism capable of understanding and directing these transformations is necessary.

“We are not the masters of technologies that drive the global economy: they condition us in many ways we have not begun to understand. Institutions that could monitor or counteract their dangerous side effects are lacking ... a regime of global governance is needed in which world markets are managed so as to promote the cohesion of societies and the integrity of states. Only a framework of global regulation – of currencies, capital movements, trade and environmental conservation – can enable the creativity of the world economy to be harnessed in the service of human needs” [Grey, 1998: 206 & 199].

However, Grey added that existence of global governance depends on its acceptance of “a diversity of regimes, cultures and economies as a permanent condition” [1998: 203]. This is difficult for the supporters of the TINA syndrome that declared democratic liberalism, western culture and market economy as the superior forms of living. In this respect, clash of civilisations [Huntington, 1996] has been going on for some time and that is partly why international organisations and unions are willing to cover more localities with the motivation of international investments.

On the other hand, global governance idea is criticised from its very beginning particularly by the dependency theorists⁴ because of the possibility that interventions on the LDCs' development processes would increase⁵. According to the dependency theory, underdevelopment in one part of the world is a corollary of development in another. Thus, building the global governance would result with the strong representation of the MDCs, as it is the case in the existing international organisations, and decisions would inherently be made according to their interests. In this respect, global governance would represent the continuity of existing power structures.

Wallerstein [1974] pointed out the need for a global governance years ago, but with an emphasis on equal distribution of rewards:

“Since a capitalist world economy essentially rewards accumulated capital, including human capital, at a higher rate than raw labour power, the geographical maldistribution of the occupational skills involves a strong trend towards self maintenance...absence of a central political mechanism for the world economy makes it very difficult to introduce counteracting forces to the maldistribution of rewards” [Wallerstein, 1974].

In fact, that is among the claims of both international organisations and regional unions to decrease the inequalities and poverty throughout the world or in their regions⁶. However, this is also an issue, for which international organisations receive many critiques⁷. Therefore, if global governance is to be established, it should be democratic with respect to representativeness of both MDCs and LDCs and should set its priority as development throughout the world rather than growth at individual localities⁸.

⁴ Dependency theory “explores and attempts to account for the links between development in core regions and underdevelopment in the periphery” [Clark, 1996: 9]. Thus, a critical approach towards an idea of global governance that would be established according to the existing world order is in its essence.

⁵ Despite serious critiques on dependency theory and world-system theory and particularly on their static positions within processes, they are still on their feet and revised continuously. In my opinion, this continuity does not depend on their scientific reliability. Their starting points and assumptions are the same with the neo-classical international theory. They have inadequacies, missing concepts and solutions, and even they are sometimes wrong with their arguments [Bergesen, 1990]. These theories validity, I believe, is because they tend to explain and highlight the shameful story of uneven world capitalism and imperialism in the international scale and its tendency to continue. By this token, they open a perspective for the intellectuals of the LDCs' with their critical approaches. Most of the intellectuals in the LDCs, on the contrary to their governments and media, are not only sceptic but also pessimistic about the processes of globalisation. This is in part because of the arguments of these theories, which are approved by the evidences such as increasing debts etc. [Corbridge, 1989; Chossudovsky, 1997; Amin, 1997].

⁶ For these claims, see, for example, the principles of EU and WB at their web sites.

⁷ See for example Amin, 1997; Yildizoglu, 1996; Chossudovsky, 1997; Martin, 1997; Pieper, 1998.

⁸ We know that the overall growth of a country's GDP does not necessarily mean the growth of each member of the same country. Growth policies without the support of the egalitarian ones do collapse in time with unavoidable social movements. On the other hand, competition between countries based on the

4.2.2 Multi-national companies

There have been multi-national companies (MNCs) since the 15th century. In the past, "their main *raison d'etre* was trade and exchange rather than production" [Dicken, 1992: 20]. Today, number of the MNCs is more than ever and they have not only added production but also globalisation of production to their *raison d'etre*. Moreover, volumes of both trade and exchange executed by them have increased dramatically [Thrift, 1989; Lyons, 1995; Ruigrok, 1995; Spybey, 1996].

In the globalisation literature, it is often claimed that global economy is controlled by the MNCs [Thrift, 1989; Gray, 1998]. They dominate and orient the global production processes by exporting their production activities from their countries of origin by means of communication and transportation technologies. Thus, localities throughout the world have become their potential locations. As LDCs usually struggle with unemployment and disinvestment problems, they compete each other to attract the production activities of the MNCs. It is important to remind here that there are no MNCs of the LDCs in the Forbes top 50 list of the MNCs throughout the world and just a few in the top 500 list.

Local governments, on the other hand, generally accept the MNCs' investments as irresistible in terms of creating jobs in their locality and developing their local economy. Thus, competition is the most intense between local governments with the potential to attract these investments. In the competing localities, physical structural adjustments are always on the agenda.

Moreover, MNCs have the ability to orient the consumption patterns of localities by penetrating their markets with advertisements and promotions. They generally own their financial and investment institutions to manage and manipulate the mobile capital. Producer services that MNCs often have in their organisational structure facilitate their activities in the form of manufacturing, legal, personnel and marketing consultancy on an international basis [Clark, 1996; Krugman, 2002].

GDP per person does not necessarily provide the reliable information to assess the quality of life. A lower level of income per person may mean a better way of living in some societies because of imperfect competition and local characteristics.

Their existence in a local economy is definitely for the benefit of some local companies that support their functions with their goods, labour and services. Thus, a group of local companies take their position for the MNCs' existence in a locality. However, most of the remaining companies are not happy with their existence as they generally replace their functions cheaper with a variety of alternatives and consequently push them to bankruptcy. For example, local shops can be categorised in this group, as the increasing number of supermarket chains, most of which are owned by the MNCs, threaten their existence. Thus, in the local political arena, there is a distinction of local business interests with respect to the MNCs.

4.2.3 Nation-states

Sassen [1994: xiii] argued that global economy had two general respects:

“firstly the formation of transnational spaces for economic activity where governments play a minimal role... secondly, these transnational spaces for economic activity are located in national territories and are ruled by sovereign nation-states. There is no such entity as a global economy ‘out there’, in some space that exist outside nation-states”.

In this regard, there are different arguments for the role of the states. Hyperglobalisers argue that the welfare state is dead [Ohmae, 1995], while transformationalists argue that it is just being transformed [Dicken, 1992; Sassen, 1991 & 1996; Held, 1999] and sceptics insist that it is –should be– still there on its feet [Hirst & Thompson, 1996]. From an ideological point of view, on the other hand, liberals ask for a minimal nation-state as the global economy do not like borders, while social democrats ask for some transformations on its working principles generally towards a Schumpeterian state and Marxists insist on the existence of the welfare state as a protection mechanism against capitalism.

On the ground, “governments have become increasingly unclear as to what their local economy is, what the local interest is, what the local necessity is since they appear to be administering no more than a fragment of a larger whole, which is outside their control” [Harris, 1996: 2]. As mentioned above, internationalisation of the state has gone out of its way to attract foreign investments with the supporting policies of IMF, WB and the other international organisations [King, 1990]. Increasing regionalisation in the context of unions of countries such as the EU, NAFTA and AFTA is partly an attempt to re-

regulate this trend by enforcing nation-states to leave some of their sovereignty and collecting them under an umbrella union.

The former president of the US, Clinton's speech on the 27th of January 1998 pointed out to a need for a strong government in the information age. This speech is important not because Clinton is an authoritative source for globalisation but because he was among the most powerful leaders that had affected the globalisation processes throughout the world. Moreover, the speech highlights that even the USA, as the strongest supporter of the global economy, felt the need of state interventions for social issues. Tax cut for middle and low income families, tax credits to businesses, strengthening the social security system, raising the minimum wage, a new state funded education system, extending student loans for the private education, job training, lifetime learning credit, 5000 new public school constructions, after school programmes, new job creating and training for the ones who are losing their manufacturing jobs, tax cuts in private housing constructions to provide cheap housing, extended child care, assisting families to move closer to available jobs, partnerships with companies by challenging them, increasing child support collections, providing extended health care were all included to the US governmental action plan that was declared by Clinton in 1998. In this governmental action plan, there are many lessons for the LDCs, which are pushed into deregulation, particularly through privatisation. New taxing, social security, education, housing and health systems appear as the urgent requirements that should be supported with special programmes targeting to adjust the society to the economic transformations or vice versa, and thus, to preserve it from the threats of the new era. In this regard, this speech disproves the hyperglobalisers' argument that the welfare state is dead.

Here, it is important to highlight the distinction between the LDCs and the MDCs with respect to the globalisation processes. First of all, there has never been a true welfare state in the LDCs. Therefore, leaving the existing few social security measures may lead to social explosions, as it was the case in Argentina recently. Secondly, the very complicated relations of dependency of the LDCs will certainly make life more difficult for their governments in terms of controlling and planning development. Losing control and leaving planning mean the acceptance of the roles assigned to the LDCs by the

possessors of command and control mechanisms, which means more dependency for the LDCs.

On the other hand, in the local political sphere, central governments of the LDCs have always been aggressively dominant, since they have insisted on keeping most of the authorities in collecting and allocating the resources as well as making strategic decisions about the localities. Recent debates on the authority transfers of central governments to local governments for the efficient organisation of globalisation processes created a tension in between because state elites are not willing to leave their power of determining the fate of localities. Indeed, there are examples, where localities are being globalised with the comprehensive plans and projects of central governments [Thornley, 1999]. However, it should also be kept in mind that pressures of international organisations and MNCs on the nation-states are more than ever and some of the central interventions are usually related to these pressures.

4.2.4 Local governments

In the globalisation literature, it is often declared that local governments become increasingly more autonomous in terms of economics and politics as the nation-states gradually lose their power. This argument is supported widely mostly because both competition and cooperation have been included to the primary agenda of local governments and these would not be organised efficiently without adequate authorities. Another important reason for this need of authority transfers is strengthening the local democracy. Representativeness by means of local elections are said to be sufficient. Thus, new ways should be developed in order to establish a local democracy that allows the involvement of all relevant actors to local politics. Since this is not possible through the hierarchic and bureaucratic structures of central governments, local governments should lead this restructuring of local politics. Therefore, they are in need of more authorities. Moreover and related to the issue of representativeness, it is even argued that representing the local citizens would not be sufficient anymore in the global era since there were many non-local actors that have had interests at different localities. Thus, arguably, these non-local actors should have been represented in the local political sphere as well.

Local governments are presented as the most important actors that have the capability to enforce this local political restructuring. They have the capability because they already have an organisational structure that can handle this process and they know their localities and the actors in their localities more than the central governments. Moreover, they are motivated to lead this restructuring, as they are generally eager to benefit from the opportunities of globalisation. In the LDCs, this eagerness is so much that they accept the globalisation processes as immediate development opportunities for their localities⁹.

On the other hand, central governments start to recognise that they can no longer control the development process of their countries as a whole from the centre and issue more authority and responsibility to the local governments even in the LDCs. Even though local governments are usually not ready for such a role in the LDCs, this fact does not stop the metropolitan cities to become the administrative centres of command and control functions of their localities and regions. In this scenario, it is argued that by using the social and natural resources efficiently to attract foreign investors, those localities would become the centres of welfare for their populations and this welfare would be distributed to the whole country in time. However, this argument is usually not the case. For one or another reason, local governments fail to do so. Even if they partly manage, welfare of that specific region does not tend to diffuse to the other regions.

In this process, as central governments are forced to leave their authorities on the localities, local governments become increasingly autonomous in terms of economics and politics. They now develop international relations more than ever and these relations affect their decision-making processes unavoidably. Global flows have become among the most important factors that are considered in these decisions. However, this autonomy and its driving forces push the local governments to an extreme, which is globalism. The other extreme, populism, was recently left in the past decades with the argument that it prevented economic growth and development¹⁰. This time, globalism

⁹ As mentioned before, global free market accepts globalisation as a necessity for economic modernisation throughout the world. It interprets the globalisation as the spread of industrial production into interconnected market economies. It is introduced as a development agenda of the new era.

¹⁰ Populism and globalism are taken as two extreme policy alternatives. While populism, fosters investments that are directed to the basic needs of ordinary citizens, globalism directs the investments to the attraction and facilitation of global flows. In this regard, populism has departed from its roots dramatically. "Populism is a political movement that was not very much developed as a consistent

makes the local governments pretend not to see the basic needs of their citizens as they have to orient their budget and priorities to attract and facilitate the global flows. Physical structural adjustments are taken for granted and huge amounts required for those investments leave the local budgets broke when it comes to invest in the basic needs of the citizens.

In this respect, globalisation processes are blamed to affect the redistribution policies of local governments negatively. This is not only because of the investments from the budget but also the other policies and planning decisions that prioritise whatever is global. For example, replacement of jobs and housing are said to increase inequality [Sassen, 1991; Gilbert, 1992]. Transportation policies supporting these new location patterns are known to contribute this negative development [Harvey, 1973; Budd, 1992; Samaniego, 1996]. On the other hand, property rights usually work against the low-income households particularly in the metropolitan areas, where squatting and other forms of illegal housing are quite common [Berner, 1995; Smith, 1995; Keyder, 1999; Guloksuz, 2002]. Squatting areas in the central areas of the cities are determined as regeneration areas, in which the idea of globalism is dominant [Hardoy, 1989; Berner, 1995; Ghannam, 1997; Keyder, 1999]. Thus, housing rights of the squatters are generally sacrificed to the property rights. They are asked to move to the outer skirts of the cities, where social housing projects are developed [Hardoy, 1989; Berner, 1995; Short, 1996; Keyder, 1999]. However, most of the time, they are not willing to do so as their daily lives including their jobs, relatives and social activities are all around their neighbourhoods.

One can argue that local governments have always served the needs of local elites primarily, and in this respect, this era is not different at all. It is true that local elites have always been the dominant actors in local politics and they are now among the strongest supporters of globalist investments. They have strong relations with the international actors and mediate their interests in the local political sphere. However, it

political ideology. It is more a political discourse articulating popular political identity in contrast to the politics of interest representation. Populism is a pattern of top-down mobilization that bypasses or subordinates institutional forms of political mediation. It can best be understood as a reaction to the political climate, a politics of resentment, a response to a generation of political experience. It aims to revise the prevailing methods of politics with paternalistic relationships between leaders and heterogeneous masses. Populism generally asserts the will of the "people" against a mutually perceived social evil such as concentrated economic power, mundane power of monopoly, elites, privileges of the better off, establishment, political corruption, entrenched political class, traditional oligarchs, compromise, weakness of institutionalised channels of political representation etc." [Yalcintan, 2005].

is also true that left of politics was stronger in the past and this strength, through either government or opposition, resulted with positive consequences for the interests and/or protection of the ordinary citizens and particularly the low-income households. What is changed in the new era is that left of politics is not as strong as before and this decreases the importance of equality issues in the local political sphere. Thus, local governments feel the freedom to make decisions against the low-income groups. Moreover, alternative protection mechanisms for these groups in the cities are not established yet after the welfare state has started to draw back from its relevant responsibilities. Moreover, the existing alternative, which is informality¹¹, is started to seem as a threat for economic development in the LDCs [Portes, 1989; Harris, 1996; Sonmez, 1996; Gregson, 1999; Keyder, 1999] on the contrary to the global cities of the world [Sassen, 1991; 1994; Tabak, 1999; Yenal, 1999]. This temporary situation leaves the disadvantaged groups naked in the city and any decisions can be made against them easily without any strong opposition.

In this respect, it is the responsibility of local governments to find a balance between populism and globalism in the LDCs, where social welfare policies could have never been applied comprehensively. Policies that are developed to be competitive should be considered in terms of their socio-economic impacts on particularly the disadvantaged groups and measures to protect them from negative impacts should be taken. Policies that ease the contradictions between populism and globalism should be developed rather than taking a definite position for either of them. However, one should also be aware of the dominance of the globalists in local politics as they command and control the financial means that restrict the local governments on what to do primarily. The options that decision-makers hold today are more limited than ever.

Ward [1995] proposed six principles to the local governments of world cities and large cities: Democracy (in terms of elected governments); transparency and accountability; one authority responsible for the whole city at macro issues; decentralisation to local municipalities for micro issues; maximum opportunity for individual and local participation; maximum fiscal authority. In Turkey, only two of these principles, which

¹¹ Informality in the LDCs has been developed as an alternative protection mechanism by the disadvantaged groups in the metropolitan areas. This concept is about not only informal jobs and housing but also the informal social relations. In Istanbul, there are boroughs that were developed completely on informality from their buildings to jobs such as Sultanbeyli, where the population is around 1 million today.

are democracy and decentralisation, take their places in the legislations. All the others are still problematic, although there are intentions to put them into practice.

In order to analyse the aforementioned theoretical arguments on the ground, the last 20 years of Istanbul local government history will be put under light in this section. After the 1980 military coup, three different political parties and ideologies were elected for the local government of Istanbul in 1984, 1989 and finally 1994 local elections¹². Plans and policies of these different local governments can be attributed to pragmatism in ANAP (economically liberal party, socially conservative oriented) period, to idealism and populism in SHP (social democratic party) period and to realism in RP (Islamic oriented party) period¹³. However, there was one obvious common attitude of these three periods, which is globalism [Türe, 1999].

ANAP period's mayor, Dalan, did not recognise the master plan of Istanbul, which was approved in 1980 just before the military coup and did not even intend to prepare a new plan for his policies. He presented his urban management approach in a tragic-comic way by answering a question about planning whether it was “plan or pilav”¹⁴ they were asking. Dalan prepared and implemented small-scale projects due to his policies on the popular regions of the city without a comprehensive plan. These projects can be accepted as the beginning of fragmentation in Istanbul because Dalan obviously ignored some parts of the city while awarding some others continuously [Kokturk, 1995; Robins, 1996; Oncu, 1997; Cansever, 1998].

SHP period with the mayor Sozen is mostly remembered with its dualistic approach: idealist and populist. There were short term populist policies to receive short term consequences necessary for both the next elections and the needs of ordinary citizens

¹² After 1994, the same political tradition has continued its government. For details of local elections in Istanbul, see Yalcintan and Erbas, 2004.

¹³ Planning laws in Turkey asks the local governments to have master (1/25000 - 1/50000) and application plans (1/1000 - 1/5000) for the following 20 years of their locality. However, the period of government is five years for those local governments, which means that four (20 years / 5 years) different local governments should follow the principles of the plan prepared by the first one. Thus, when different political parties win the local elections, their immediate agenda is to change the plans or alternatively the policies they produce do not refer to the existing plans. Local governments can change the plans in two different ways: they can make amendments on the plans, which make the plans lose their comprehensiveness or they can prepare a thoroughly new plan, which takes much time. Thus, importance of the plans is carried above the urban policies with the planning laws in Turkey. In its ideal form, urban policies of the political party in force should determine the objectives and goals of the plans. However, in practice, plans determine the urban policies.

¹⁴ Pilav means steamed rice in Turkish. What he was doing was a word-game, which is positing his non-interest with plans.

such as distributing free milk and bread to the low-income groups and inviting squatting directly beyond the overlooking policy of the other local governmental periods. In addition, there were idealistic policies and projects, which nobody dared to start until this period. It was courageous because they were long-term projects such as underground and natural gas projects and would not affect the following local elections [Robins, 1996]. In addition, master plan of the city was also prepared after a very detailed analysis of the city. It took more than four years to complete it because of the idealist attitude of Sozen and his professionals¹⁵. Unfortunately, he was not elected in the next elections to implement his plan.

With the mayor, Erdoğan who is the prime minister of Turkey, RP's period was the most realist one. While continuing some of the populist policies and the long-term projects of Sozen, Erdoğan prepared a new plan just in one year in 1995 to implement his policies without any obstacles¹⁶. In 1999 and 2004 elections, the same political tradition, political Islam, was elected again¹⁷.

These three periods of local governments in Istanbul were different with their not only approaches and methods that they preferred in governing the city but also with their ideologies. However, there was a very important similarity: target of globalisation and becoming a global (world) city.

It was expected to observe Dalan as the mayor of ANAP to produce policies supporting the globalisation process and the global city image. In the same period, the central government was also represented by ANAP and the country had experienced a radical liberalisation process. Thus, a new CBD with skyscrapers was introduced to Istanbul, 5-star hotels were proliferated together with the shopping malls and luxury housing areas started to isolate themselves from the rest of the city.

¹⁵ In the beginning of 2005, Istanbul Greater Municipality was granted with 40 trillion (more than 1,600,000 £) to prepare the new master plan of Istanbul in 9 months only. It is actually impossible to prepare this plan in this period by using the ideal methods of analysis and planning. However, the grant was also impossible to refuse and an appointed office with more than 400 personnel is now working on the plan.

¹⁶ Although Sözen's plan was prepared in an idealist attitude rather than political just one year ago in 1994, Erdoğan preferred to prepare his own plan after he won the elections. His plan was actually not very different from Sözen's plan except from some emphasises on traditional values.

¹⁷ It was not the same political party because the political parties of this political tradition have been continuously banned by the Constitution Courts of Turkey due to their activities against secularism. However, after each decision of the Court, a new political party was founded on the same political values.

However, it was unexpected to observe that Sozen (mayor of SHP), who has developed a critical discourse against capitalism beyond the policies of his social democratic party, could or did not stand against the globalisation processes. Rather than opposing these processes that increase inequalities and polarisation in Istanbul, he applied populist policies in order to balance these negative consequences on the low-income groups [Dorsay, 1993]. The new CBD continued its development, many huge shopping malls and retail centres were constructed together with some other 5-star hotels in the city, while Sözen had been distributing free milk and cheap bread in the squatting areas. He only stood strongly against the Park Hotel, which was a product of multi-national capital in one of the historical sites of Istanbul, Taksim. There was a great civil movement against this construction. Indeed, Sozen's opposition was specific to this case since he continued and encouraged the globalisation of Istanbul by providing permissions to other metropolitan projects. Objectives of his master plan included globalisation and the concept of global city as the primary requirements for urban economic growth.

RP started its political activities after the 1980 military coup as continuity of an Islamic politic tradition, which is anti-secular and against the project of modernisation in western style. Their successors, MSP (National Well-Being Party), had a traditional vote potential of about 5 %. RP started to increase its influence in parallel to the liberalisation policies of the country in the 1980s. In this period, RP, with its traditional local arguments based on sacred values, gained support from the people who could not benefit from the liberalisation policies and become more committed to the sacred values and traditions. Liberalisation processes made the middle-income groups narrower and increased the gaps between low and high-income groups in Turkey. Under these circumstances, RP became an alternative with the slogan of "just order" and with their representatives who were elected directly from the disadvantaged groups. In their programmes and pre-election speeches, RP was against western style modernisation and globalisation, which was argued to be the continuity of western modernisation project. RP claimed to distribute the economic resources in a more equitable way. They argued to leave a distance with the western world that had always taken from "us" but had never given anything in return. Moreover, they strongly pronounced to orient Turkey to

the Islamic world¹⁸. Finally, they became the first party in the 1994 local elections in Turkey and Erdogan, was elected as the mayor of Istanbul.

Erdogan called attention with his realist urban policies and projects that targeted a balance between populism and urban growth. In doing so, he was accused of favouring the Islamic bourgeois and his voters via adjudications, investment decisions, recruitment, overlooking squatting and such. He justified these policies partly by a new master plan for Istanbul in a short period. He continued the underground and natural gas projects of Sozen, but he slowed the processes by allocating less funds. Unexpectedly, he supported the globalisation processes, which he criticised continuously before the elections, for urban economic growth. Reason of this re-orientation of economic policy was claimed to be the Islamic bourgeois that had strong connections with the global economy. Robins and Aksoy [1997] argued that he had to choose either the urban poor or the Islamic bourgeois in this process and they argued he had chosen the latter¹⁹. In this respect, Erdogan's period is not different from the other two periods with respect to the globalisation processes.

Continuity of urban policies that are in relation to the physical structural adjustments during the government periods of these three political traditions with completely different ideologies points to the singularisation of local politics with respect to the globalisation processes. Citizens of Istanbul can be found successful in their democracy assessment by supporting different political parties due to their dissatisfactions in 1984, 1989 and 1994 local elections. They behaved mature enough to subvert the traditional tendencies towards leaders and political parties. However, their democratic choices could not be strong enough to change the dominant urban economic growth policies that are dependent on the globalisation processes.

Urban policies do not represent the voters' choices because net of economic relations and interactions has become increasingly complex in the global era. Local governments need to respond not only to their citizens but also to the actors of the global economy. However, they usually leave their citizens' needs to be met by the spontaneous opportunities of globalisation, while orienting their resources and decisions to the

¹⁸ However, in the end, they were the first Turkish political party that signed an agreement with Israel and received protests from the Islamic world.

¹⁹ The balance between populism and growth policies is not accepted as sufficient in terms of protecting the urban poor.

service of globalisation processes. This is mostly because national, multinational and transnational capital forces have become stronger and they can affect the local decision making mechanisms more than ever via the local elite, who is strongly connected to them.

In the light of these arguments, we can posit that globalisation decrease the power of not only nation-states and central governments but also local governments in the decision-making processes. Giddens [1990] explained this such as that since resources and services of a locality were not under control of local governments, necessary arrangements and interventions could not be made in time in the local scale. Moreover, less powerful governments with singular type of politics make representative democracy dysfunctional. Determining the actors that affect urban policies and planning and balancing their pressures with equalitarian policies and planning solutions are also necessary.

4.2.5 Social movements and the civil society

Local and central states have always been in the centre of political good and public interest discussions in the political theory. However, as they have lost their capability to obtain political good and public interest [Beck, 1986; 1999], concepts such as direct democracy, participation and lately governance were developed and introduced. In the cities, these concepts find their reflections in urban policy making and planning processes. Physical structural adjustments have also been subject to these concepts with their very complicated and plural implications on the cities²⁰. This incapability of the states has also eroded their legitimacy and confidence of their citizens in their historic legitimacy.

Citizens started to take more responsibility to fulfil this incapability and to articulate both political good and public interest within the framework of liberal democracy [Held, 2000]. Thus, it is argued that political good and public interest are increasingly determined by an emerging civil society directly or indirectly linked to their similars

²⁰ Implications and relations are very complex in the cities and this has been presented by the pluralists for long. A recent contribution of this group of scholars has been the regime theory, in which it is accepted that urban areas are represented by very complex and disorganised groups as a response to the plurality of issues in the cities. Thus, a long-term coalition of these groups with the facilitations of both local and national state is unavoidable [Stone, 1995; Stoker, 1995]. Lately, Marxist studies started to pay attention to this process of complexity and plurality by sacrificing from some of their main ideas and attempted to insert the civil society and governance concepts for the use of equality [Sengul, 2000].

throughout the world [Wald, 1998a; 1998b; 2001]. Moreover, local, national and international politics are said to be increasingly affected from these networks of civil society. Consequently, political good and public interest are removed from the idea that the sole responsible is the state.

Social movements have become among the most influential dynamics on politics particularly after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989. They had always been on stage in the history of the world. However, they have transformed and become more transnational lately with the facilities provided by the information networks, the Internet and the media. Their content has also proliferated. They simulate new images of community, new avenues of political participation and new discourses of identity. Moreover, they create new communication and information patterns and a dense network of relations linking particular groups and cultures to one another. Thus, they transform the dynamics of political relations, above, below and alongside the state [Tekeli, 1999; Held, 2000].

Separatist ethnic movements were fostered after 1989 as mass movements of our times. However, more international and transnational movements are the ones on environmentalism, women rights, gay and lesbian rights and human rights, most of which gathered lately under the umbrella of anti/alter-globalisation movements. These movements have established their own networks throughout the world and developed co-operation between each other. These networks of civil society initiatives have given pace to their local similars in their activities. Their forms, dynamics and activity portfolios have extensively altered. Together with the gradual disappearance of the totalitarian states, these local initiatives have started to be more influential in local//national/international politics and their decision-making processes.

Lately, environmentalist movement has become so strong that it has added one more category to the traditional political distinctions. Today, there are environmentalist political parties all over the world. It is so much influential that Castells [1994] argued environmentalism as one of the two central social movements of the informational society²¹. Accordingly, it is “at the origin of the ecological consciousness that has substantially affected urban policies and politics” [Castells, 1994: 24]. It represents a

²¹ According to Castells [1994], the other one is feminism.

new type of developmentalism putting the environmental concerns into its centre²². Furthermore, for the other ideologies, environmentalism has become one of the most confusing issues. It often causes contradictions in policy making. A quick development process is not compatible with strict environmentalism [Somersan, 1993]. Thus, political parties in the LDCs often experience pressures arising from this contradiction.

There are now NGOs working actively on various issues throughout the world as well as those ones with local interests only²³. Number of the NGOs increases everyday. Unless they are extremely radical, NGOs either take place in the decision-making processes in their localities or at least affect the decisions with their activities. In the international level, they organise alternative movements to those of the dominant global actors and alter the agenda in addition to those global reports they produce irrespective to the borders.

However, there are also many critiques for these rising actors of the global era²⁴. In this respect, there are questions to think about the new social movements and the civil society: Do the new social movements develop at the expense of the labour movements and do they have the potential to replace them? In this respect, should this be interpreted as a victory against the totalitarian states or as the elimination of a threat for the well functioning of the new accumulation regime? Are NGOs influential on the decision-making processes as they are claimed to be? As a totality, do they represent anything? Moreover, maybe most importantly, how do they provide their funds and does this create a dependency?

Although it cannot be directly related, it is true that new social movements develop while the labour movements decline. However, since the new social movements do not have a common target and represent anything as a totality, it is difficult to claim that they have the potential to replace the labour movement [Çakmak, 2002; Munck, 2003]. The best example of this is the plurality of groups in the anti/alter globalisation movement. A nationalist or anarchist group can come together with a socialist one for one specific purpose but this does not necessarily mean that they have a common comprehension of the future. Civil society tends to gather or dispute based on cases

²² Accepting this argument of Castells, the case study will demonstrate that environmental movement is still oriented by either ideology or capital in the Turkish context, and thus, it could not establish its own separate political movement yet.

²³ For a detailed discussion of NGOs, see Edwards and Gaventa [2001].

rather than grand totalities. On the other hand, civil society should not be interpreted as a threat to labour movement since they can survive together and serve their own purposes. What the labour movement is threatened by is the global capitalism and it should be reminded here that social movements of the civil society against global capitalism have been the most successful ones until now.

However, it is difficult to argue that civil society has involved in the decision-making processes effectively. There are cases, where they are invited to these processes and thus contributed, but there are more cases, where they are left out. Still, they have the opportunity to oppose and support any decisions with the use of communication means and there are many cases that they affect the decisions externally. They have been successful in creating a consciousness towards many issues within their societies. Some has achieved this throughout the world such as the Greenpeace.

There are many views claiming that they create an illusion on representation as they can easily be guided and manipulated by the capital, state and international organisations. In this respect, their funds have always been in question with respect to their independency, and thus, consistency with their purposes.

Somehow or other, civil society has taken its place as a new actor in the political decision-making processes but it is still difficult to argue that it is strong enough to affect those decisions and more importantly there is a problem of confidence towards them.

4.2.6 Plurality of actors in the local political restructuring

Globalisation processes introduced at least three important actors to the local political arena. They are the international organisations, MNCs and civil society. In this respect, plurality of actors in the local politics and its decision-making processes points to two main issues: More democracy and more threats/risks arising from more democracy.

When the nation-state was the sole authority, people were used to the idea that elected representatives would do their best to govern their localities and provide political good and public interest. However, as the information became increasingly publicised, people's confidence on their representatives decreased, particularly in the LDCs, where

²⁴ For possible concerns on the NGOs, see for example, Edwards and Hulme [1996].

corruption has always been a common issue. This brought about the need to monitor those representatives and influence their decisions more actively. This is how civil society has become an important actor of local politics lately pursuing accountability, representability and morality in governmental issues. Involvement of the civil society to the decision-making processes would mean more democracy.

However, this was accompanied by other active involvements that threat the local democracy: International organisations and unions and the MNCs have also become more active in local politics and its decision-making processes. International organisations and unions are now so influential that they put the rules of democratic liberalism²⁵. Their reports are accepted as the “bibles” of the global era and the countries that do not apply them are excluded from the global economic system, which is most of the time unaffordable. Local politics is then limited to the frame that is drawn by these international organisations. Actors of local politics including the civil society cannot exceed those limits if they are to take place in the decision-making processes. There are of course radical groups that oppose to that frame but they do not have a real influence on the decisions. Moreover, MNCs have become so influential with the introduction of competition to the localities as the new development paradigm that they can affect any political agenda with their capability of investment and employment.

Recommendations of the international organisations are regarded as given and are applied most of the time. Moreover, investment proposals of the MNCs are strong enough to overrule the regulations and policies and change the planning decisions in the cities [Tekeli, 2001]. Thus, we can argue that local democracy has become a ritual, although it seems as if it works better with the involvement of the civil society. In other words, decisions are often made according to the directions of the international organisations and motivations of the MNCs and the civil society can only be influential in the cases, where it is very well organised and where the interests of other parties are not so strong. Need for a permanent voice of the civil society with a successful organisation model is apparent. It is not to say that civil society should take a permanent

²⁵ For example, in the case of Turkey, European Union has put the standards of democracy with the Copenhagen criteria and asked these criteria to be accepted and applied to the regulations without any exception that may arise from local oppositions. Moreover, IMF has been more than active in determining the macro economic policies of Turkey for more than 20 years. One may argue that Turkey has the right to refuse those recommendations. However, if Turkey does so, it cannot receive the funds necessary for its national economy to sustain and/or will not be accepted as a member of the EU for sure. Thus, there is no real alternative such as refusing those recommendations.

position in the local politics but it is necessary to involve in each decision-making process of local politics influentially. It should be noted here that civil society is a very wide and variable concept that includes different interest groups and is not responsible to represent the people as an integrated political mechanism, which means that this plurality of civil society will cause different impacts at different cases at different spatio-temporalities.

On the other hand, the need for responsible central and local states is more than ever now since not only opportunities but also threats/risks on localities have increased with the globalisation processes. However, in the LDCs, they seem to be trapped by the international organisations and MNCs. They follow the orders and recommendations of the actors in command and control of the global economy and forget about their local responsibilities and the disadvantaged groups. In this respect, the role of civil society gets more important as they should not only pursue their specific purposes but also control the local and central states with respect to their purposes.

4.3 Contradictory forces of the global-local interplay

Regulation theory, which is a political economic approach to the “theorisation of capitalist restructuring” [Tickell & Peck, 1992: 191], considers the problem of contradictions in the contemporary world as the consequences of Fordist crisis. In this sense, these contradictions are introduced as structural crisis of the existing capitalist accumulation. These crises occur when the mode of social regulation is no longer suitable for the accumulation regime and solutions in that specific mode of social regulation are not available [Tickell & Peck, 1992]. This approach may provide an explanation to the technologically created contradictions in social, economic and political spaces of our life-worlds. These contradictions may also help to determine the roles of governments in specific localities.

On the other hand, identifying the contradictory political powers in the local space and the conflicts between them may contribute to the explanation of political negotiation bases of the actors. In general, contradictory forces in the local political sphere take their position according to the global flows or transformations and the relatively stable aspects of the local. They determine the local political sphere with respect to social and economic tensions. Both capability and applications of local governments can only be

assessed within this framework specific to each locality. However, interventions are not limited to local governments. Central bodies still keep the right to intervene. Furthermore, civil society, particularly and most commonly in the form of NGOs, comes out as one of the actors increasing their power daily. Private investments and their investors as either national or multi/trans-national companies should also be considered carefully, since most of the time they become the determinants of action and politics, even though their impacts are most of the time local and temporary.

Shift of the decisions and investments to those issues related with competition increases the social tension in the cities. Instead of insisting on and investing for long term plans and intentions to solve the existing problems of their cities, local governments tend to prepare the infrastructure to attract and facilitate the global flows. Thus, the attracted global flows introduce more transformations in the organisation of societies and finally lead to more contradictions. This process does not work as a vicious cycle for the losers; it is more like a spiral that gets worse continuously.

We experience a developing accumulation system via the globalisation processes, which is disturbed by the existing modes of social regulations in different localities. In other words, existing modes of social regulations resist the developing accumulation system, which inherently excludes them because “the possibilities and abilities to deal with risks, avoid them or compensate for them are probably unequally divided among the various occupational and educational strata²⁶” [Beck, 1986: 35]. Its exclusion is primarily because regulation is taken to supra-national levels and supra-national regulations can easily avoid populism. They do not avoid destroying the existing modes of social regulations to reconstruct them according to the requirements of the developing accumulation regime. In some cases, balance between these contradictions and global flows may even be interpreted as necessary driving forces of globalisation. Strong resistances appear as these contradictions between accumulation regime and social regulation mode increase. However, if the contradictions increase to an unacceptable level, global flows may stop for that spatio-temporality.

²⁶ Beck argues that environmental risks have a boomerang effect in their diffusion. Eventually all the classes in a society will be caught by risks. He reduces it to a formula “poverty is hierarchic, smog is democratic.” Therefore, risks have an equalising effect when they become disasters. However, Beck [1986] also posits “there is a systematic attraction between extreme poverty and extreme risk”. Global environmental risks are not the subject of this study and we can easily argue that risks are not distributed equally for social, economic and political risks.

Cities and particularly the world cities are the most important stages presenting these contradictions between global flows and relatively static aspects of societies. On the one hand, cities, with their new roles introduced by globalisation, transform radically and global flows, which are often used in defining globalisation, are causes and accelerators of these transformations in cities. These transformations generally result with the restructuring of the cities, primarily with their economies and administrations, which points to a new accumulation regime. However, there are social and political structures that are affected by these global flows dramatically but are unable to adapt themselves to their impacts immediately since they are relatively static. What they need to adapt the transformations is long term plans and programmes, which have not been very fashionable in the global era.

In the LDCs' metropolitan cities, these contradictions are sharper because relatively stable aspects of the societies feel difficulties to adapt the global flows. Education level is lower, inequalities are more, infrastructure is not sufficient and identities are still determined according to religion, nation, ethnicity etc. In such circumstances, adaptation takes more time and needs contention that is more continuous.

Among those contradictions are the degradation of labour movement by breaking the unions into pieces [Martin, 1997; Grey, 1998], introduction of new forms of employment and unemployment [Sassen, 1991; Martin, 1997; Grey, 1998; Gregson et al, 1999], privatisation [Harris, 1996; Yildizoglu, 1996; Chossudovsky, 1997; Ilhan, 1997; Borja, 1999] and increases in informality²⁷ [Harris, 1996; Chossudovsky, 1997; Simone, 1998; Keyder, 1999; Yenal, 1999].

The best example to these contradictions is the changing structure of employment in the metropolitan cities. In the Schumpeterian version of capitalism, declines of older and rapidly obsolescing industries in a never ending and competitively driven process of creative destruction follow periods of rising waves of technology and product innovation [Storper, 1997]. In this regard, sectoral shift from manufacturing to tertiary

²⁷ A similar consequence was observed in the student movements after 1980 in Turkey. The strong student organisations of pre-1980 era were disbanded with totalitarian practices of the army, and then gradually replaced with student clubs of different interests from local economic development to biking, from dancing to Darwin. On the one hand, these clubs assisted students to increase their intellectuality, however, on the other hand, they could never represent a totality as an influential pressure group. There are now small groups of students organised based on ideologies and their numbers are insignificant. Even the Internet and the media coverage could not succeed to increase their numbers in their latest demonstrations.

productions in the service sector caused an inevitable adjustment process of the existing employment structures. Shift of urban economy from one sector to another is far faster than the shift of workers' qualifications. When shifts are dramatic, this problem becomes a structural crisis.

When risks are defined as "the probabilities of physical harm due to given technological or other processes" [Lash, 1992: 4], it captures these contradictions, too. Although Beck [1986] highlights the environmental risks, he mentions to some of these contradictions as well in his book *Risk Society*. He argues that one of the most important missions of nation-states, which was the distribution of welfare is replaced with the distribution of risk in the global era. Governments are continuously in search of acceptable risk distribution, if not standards, among their societies for sustainability in a daily transforming world. Policies are increasingly designed according to this approach. Beck asks the fundamental question of our times: "How can the risks and hazards systematically produced as part of modernisation be prevented, minimised, dramatised, or channelled? How can they be limited and distributed away so that they neither hamper the modernisation process nor exceed the limits of that which is tolerable?" [Beck, 1986: 19] What is tolerable in the sense that not only as Beck argued "ecologically, medically, psychologically and socially", but also economically, traditionally and politically?²⁸

Wallerstein [1998] argued that democracy and liberalism are not twins, and on the contrary, they generally contradict each other. According to him, liberalism was put forward against democracy. New technologies would always benefit a country, unless their providence is surrounded with many conditions enforcing dependency and they contradict to the mode of existing social regulation radically. The global era presents this contradiction very clearly and it should be resolved in order to reach an efficient economy with a liveable society.

²⁸ I believe that these risks include social and economical risks as much as environmental ones, although, environmental ones are global in scale, while social, political and economical risks are generally local. Therefore, risk society cannot be accepted as a distinct alternative to a class based society just because environmental risks may affect everybody in the long term. The class-based approach is still on its feet since economic, social and political risks are more than ever in the global era.

4.4. Impacts of globalisation on planning

When urban economic growth is dependent on the globalisation processes, physical structural adjustments come to fore. Thus, analysing the elements of this adjustment provides crucial evidence for the behaviours and decision-making processes of the local governments as well as their planning approaches. What we observe in the metropolitan areas with naked-eye today are the metropolitan projects that are usually not locally decided and that are constructed by foreign funds; the ignorance of planning, which increases the inner-city inequalities; a dense and out-of-human scale construction process -mostly in the CBDs, which leads to a decreasing city-centre use of the ordinary citizens; the immense construction of transportation facilities for these services, which links the service-concentrated centres with each other; the construction of communication infrastructure for the use of a small percentage of citizens; the re-generation of central areas, which pushes the poor people to the outer skirts of the cities or homelessness; the housing projects in suburbs, which increases the daily travel time, consumption of energy and social isolation²⁹. These developments all together refer to the "physical structural adjustments", which is a necessary aspect of the structural adjustments in a country associated with the promotion of the global economic activities and their impacts on the ordinary citizens are generally negative. The only way possible to deal with the problems introduced with this totality is comprehensive, participatory and long-term planning, which is out of the agenda in the global era.

Urban policies present the principles, objectives and goals, with which local governments are willing to govern their city for the period they will be in force [Keleş, 1994]. In this respect, planning is a tool to implement those urban policies. On the other hand, aforementioned elements of the built environment that are introduced to the cities in the global era to attract and then facilitate the global flows are huge projects/investments that can affect cities dramatically. Therefore, allocation of land for these projects/investments appears as a new area of interest for planning. However, their plurality and uncertainty make the planning process difficult in terms of choice and consistency. Comprehensiveness becomes almost impossible for these projects / investments as realising even one from a basket of them is accepted as an achievement. This means putting all in one basket as potential investments and then expecting

²⁹ See Newman & Thornley [2002] for a detailed analysis of pressures on planning.

one/some of them to be realised with the investments of private and public initiatives. Planning is not a tool suitable for such an approach. Thus, deregulation becomes common in the cities in order to start the construction processes of these new elements immediately despite the planning processes. This partial approach brings about fragmentation, segregation and polarisation. Plans are generally inapplicable with their long-term aims in this turbulent and very mobile environment. This often results with the ignorance of planning.

Physical structural adjustments (PSAs) to adapt the city of Istanbul to global networks started in the ANAP period with the mayor Dalan between 1984 and 1989. "They have sought to upgrade transportation and communication systems; to build hotels, conference centres and executive housing; and to create cultural attractions, theme parks and shopping malls" [Robins & Aksoy, 1996]. According to Dalan, physical structural adjustments were necessary to transform "Istanbul from a tired city, whose glory resided in past history, into a metropolis full of promise for the twenty first century" [Keyder & Oncu, 1993]. ANAP and the following local government of Istanbul, social democrat SHP, made the initial PSA decisions of Istanbul and started to implement them. Development of the CBD at Maslak³⁰ was promoted despite the master plan that did not allow high-density construction in this area. Specialised business centre projects such as Perpa³¹ and Ikitelli³² were developed; construction of shopping malls and centres such as Akmerkez, Galleria and Capitol and cultural and entertainment installations such as Culture and Congress Centre, Fame City, Park of Heaven were allowed with the amendments on the master plans; construction of motorways such as Tarlabasi Boulevard, TEM Motorway³³ combining the two sides of Bosphorous were implemented and the construction of five star hotels in the conservation sites of Istanbul such as Conrad, Swiss Hotel and Park Hotel³⁴ were allowed within the period of these two political parties. The last political tradition that has been in power in the Istanbul

³⁰ Manhattan of Istanbul with more than 50 skyscrapers today.

³¹ Reportedly, Europe's largest small business centre [Robins & Aksoy, 1996: 9].

³² Aiming to gather all the printing and publishing activities together in a satellite district of Istanbul.

³³ This project was funded by the central government in accordance with the existing legislations. However, during the process had also many things to do directly or indirectly related to the project.

³⁴ Park Hotel was then demolished due to the construction rights by the social democrat mayor, Sozen. Reason for deconstruction was the demonstrations of civil initiatives against the hotel because of its negative impact on the Istanbul silhouette.

Greater Municipality for three periods, RP/FP/AKP³⁵, surprisingly continued these physical structural adjustments even though their pre-election speeches have always been against globalisation. They practically experienced a dilemma with the urban poor who have voted for them and the Islamic bourgeois from whom they need material and intellectual support [Robins & Aksoy, 1996]. As it was observed obviously in the last master plan of Istanbul that was approved in 1995, Islamic bourgeois won.

The first objective of the latest master plan of Istanbul, which was prepared in RP period, November 1995, was: "attributing Istanbul a world city status in accordance with its historical and cultural identity while embracing the historical, cultural and natural values that the city carries" [(translated from) Greater Istanbul Municipality, Planning and Zoning Control and Construction General Dept., City Planning Directorate, 1995: 14]. This objective may provide some signs of negotiation between the global and the local. In a sense, this is necessary for all cities claiming a world city status when one considers the tourist attractiveness condition of the world cities. However, making speeches against globalisation in the pre-election period and preparing the first objective of the master plan according to globalisation is the real dilemma. The second objective was "making Istanbul a centre where governing and decision making mechanisms are brought together within economic relations, that integrates with economic structure of the world and regional countries (Middle East, Balkans, Europe and Islamic countries), and that utilises the regional opportunities well" [(translated from) Greater Istanbul Municipality, Planning and Zoning Control and Construction General Dept., City Planning Directorate, 1995: 14]. This objective presents that Istanbul Municipality is humble in terms of economic relations as they claim a regional role only. However, the dilemma is still there even though Islamic countries are included to the list of regional reach. Objectives for the ordinary citizens were secondary in the plan. Although many projects were developed and some were applied, this plan could not reach most of its objectives in the past 10 years³⁶.

Resources and their distribution in the city were problematic. Expenditure patterns usually represented the needs of the local elites supporting the globalisation processes.

³⁵ Both FP and RP were banned by the Constitution Courts because of their anti-secular activities. AKP is one of their followers and their president, who is now the prime minister of Turkey, was the mayor of Istanbul between 1994-1997 until he was sent to prison because of an anti-secular speech he made.

³⁶ By 2005, the process for a new plan of Istanbul is started with the insistence of the Prime Minister R.T.Erdoğan, who in fact had no authority in the government of Istanbul.

PSAs were used as mechanism to favour the local elites. PSAs should not be considered as individual constructions since they need many services and infrastructure once they are constructed. Thus, service and infrastructure expenditures have intensified around the PSAs rather than the ordinary citizens. In this respect, they have a negative impact on the redistribution policies of planning. Non-representativeness, the problem that was determined for local politics, applies to planning as well, since the process excludes the needs of ordinary citizens while prioritising the global flows and whatever they need.

“What characterises the global economy is its extraordinarily – and simultaneously – inclusive and exclusive nature. It includes anything that creates value and is valued, anywhere in the world. It excludes what is devalued or undervalued” [Borja, Castells et al., 1996: 9].

It was also interesting to see that the political party in power has amended its own plan many times because of the projects that are indeed in relation to the plan’s objectives. Number of the amendments to the master plan increased every year on the contrary to the below statement setting the principles of an amendment:

“Within the text of the plan, individual property owners are assumed to share group interests who will be negotiated and represented in the adopted planning document. Where their interests are not adequately addressed, the plan can be modified through a plan amendment process. Such a modification however requires that the change conform to the public's interest. The individual applicant bears the burden of developing that argument and proving that the amendment is in conformity with community goals” [Kenny, 1992: 183].

RP’s master plan (1995) received 322 objections from different interest groups until 2000. Two hundred and sixteen of these objections were proposals to change the function of an area from a public service such as school, hospital, and recreation to housing, most of which will probably be luxury since they are generally located at the very popular areas of Istanbul. Thirty-four objections asked for a change to tourism function.³⁷ These amendment proposals via objections represent the interests of individuals or groups and do not conform to the public interest.

One of the most important impacts of globalisation processes on planning is time. Long-term planning objectives appear as vague since the plan has to be amended many times because of either individual oppositions or investment opportunities. Thus, planning

follows the developments, which is familiar to LDCs. In this respect, time and timing for planning appear as an apparent problem in front of planning in the new era.

Finally, yet importantly, when the plurality of impacts of global flows and the globalisation processes are considered together with the plurality of actors, it is apparent that a comprehensive approach is necessary for planning more than ever. However, contemporary planning has become more fragmented and targeted specific issues in the global era.

4.5 Concluding remarks: Globalisation of local politics

“Adjustment to the international economy, -above all, to global financial markets- becomes a fixed point of orientation in economic and social policy. The ‘decision signals of these markets, and of their leading agents and forces, become a, if not the, standard of rational decision-making... The terms of reference of public policy are set by global markets and corporate enterprise. The pursuit of the public good becomes synonymous with enhancing adaptation to this private end. Accordingly, the roles of the state as protector and representative of the territorial community, as a collector and (re)allocator of resources among its members, and as a promoter of an independent, deliberatively tested shared good are all in decline... Globalisation decisively alters what it is that a national community can ask of its government, what politicians can promise and effectively deliver, and the range of people(s) affected by governmental actions. Political communities are re-programmed.”
[Held & McGrew, 2000: 34-36].

As perfectly summarised in the above quotation, contemporary political strategies are obliged to concentrate on easing adaptation to global markets and transnational economic flows. In fact, these strategies are determined within economic formulations at the international level. There are also international political and environmental formulations that affect the local decision-making processes. In this respect, international organisations that are criticised to favour the MDCs formulate the processes and present them to the less-developed geographies via MNCs, with their indispensable characteristics as generators of jobs, nation-states and local elites. After all, there remains a limited space for the localities to make alternative policies.

This limited political sphere makes the governments of less-developed geographies ignore the needs and potentials of their localities and act as they are enforced. However,

³⁷- This data is taken from an official but not printed document of the Master Plan Dept. of the Greater Municipality of Istanbul.

there are controversial consequences of the new accumulation regime that are to be resolved by local politics. These occur particularly when the accumulation regime contradicts with the social regulation mode. They appear to be increasing at the LDCs' localities with a majority of population that have no or little access to the opportunities of globalisation. Despite these contradictions, governments left the re-distributive policies and inclined/are obliged to globalist ones. They, then, serve a minority of people that are in strong connection with globalisation. This statement can be opposed such as that less-developed states have been neither welfare states nor truly independent. Thus, this tendency should not be affecting the majority much as they are used to not being served by their states properly. However, globalisation processes do not only lead to more dependency and less social security but they also intervene on the life styles of that majority by formalising their economic activities, increasing competition, replacing their houses, changing their traditional values etc. Thus, traditional support mechanisms, which are not necessarily positive attitudes for an ideal type society³⁸, collapse as globalisation proceeds. For those people negatively affected from globalisation, the issue is then a matter of being in the city.

On the other hand, so-called opportunities of globalisation create a renewed tension between local and central governments arising from the centre. State elite is not willing to leave their authorities even though local governments are said to increase their authorities in the global era. This insistence of state elite is because of the political and economic interests that those authorities contain. In fact, local governments are not equipped efficiently to deal with the globalisation processes. Thus, even if they oppose the central governments at specific occasions, they usually seek for cooperation in between because they are no longer responsible to only their citizens but they should also fulfil the requirements of the globalisation processes. As they allocate most of their limited budgets to the latter, they need the funds of both central governments and international organisations for the rest of their duties. This increasing dependency, in turn, increases the singularisation of politics while decreasing the intervention capability of local governments.

In this respect, restructuring of local politics appears as a requirement in order to develop mechanisms that balance populist and globalist policies. Local politics should

³⁸ See for example Erder [1996; 2001] for detailed discussions of these traditional support mechanisms.

exceed the limits set by the international organisations, MNCs and states, if they are to serve their citizens. In this restructuring, civil society that has not been involved in the decision-making processes effectively, have an important role. They are necessary in watching the governments in terms of accountability, responsibility and morality as well as enforcing them for a balance between globalist and populist policies.

International impacts on local politics are not restricted to limit the alternatives that local politics may produce. Their investment proposals have become so attracting that they can easily overrule regulations and planning via the central governments in need of their investments. By doing so, they not only affect the social and economic processes/structures in the localities but also harm their environmental values. In this regard, comprehensive and long-term planning have become the enemies of decision-makers. Moreover, participation is impossible to realise since all priorities are given to globalism. Planning, then, becomes a ritual. Generally, it does not have any real implications on the localities as globalist policies and investments run over it just as the populist policies had done for long.

Section One

Conclusion

Introduction

Since the findings of all three sections will be interpreted in light of, and will depend on, the comprehension in this thesis of globalisation, and thus of the author's intentions, it is relevant to present this comprehension here, at the beginning of the conclusion of this first section, in which globalisation is discussed theoretically as a whole. After this general discussion, the findings of the first section will be presented.

A comprehension of globalisation

In order to understand something complex, it is important to find out "what it does not mean", at least as much as "what it means". In this context, explaining "what globalisation is not" provides an invaluable flexibility in thinking about and discussing the possible comprehensions of globalisation. Since the intention of this thesis has never been to define globalisation, because of the potential of a definition to lock up new ideas, this approach will be very useful in understanding and explaining globalisation.

In this thesis, globalisation is not accepted as a negative, completed project, supporting a certain group of people. Neither is it seen as something to take a position for or against. Globalisation is accepted as a conjectural situation. It is a conjunction or a totality of interrelationary processes arising from the top and down. It is a totality made up of complex and contrary processes and structures and their intensive relationships. In this context, there is no such thing as a single and continuous globalisation. It is the contention of different designs and demands for the future. It is also the global consciousness that covers all discourses of that contention. In this respect, globalisation is not about "something", but about "everything". In other words, it is the synergy of opposites as well as similars. It represents Kandinsky's argument of transformation from "or" to "and". Therefore, alternatives can be found in globalisation itself, in addition to the alternatives to globalisation. Thus, accepting globalisation with a single direction would be the biggest disrespect to the human mind. Despite the unevenness of globalisation processes throughout the world, their various impacts are felt more or less in every locality. Thus, globalisation is not a myth.

On the other hand, the contemporary form of globalisation is not a process independent of capitalism. Understanding it as a continuity or an advanced stage of capitalism eases its comprehension. In this regard, it is not unprecedented and cannot be understood as independent of history. However, it is also important not to limit globalisation with capitalism and history, in order to allow a platform for free discussion on its possible forms. This comprehension avoids certainties that are mostly rooted in ideological imprisonment and prejudices, such as declaring the contemporary form of globalisation and its actors to be permanent. In a comprehension such as this, globalisation has the potential to become something contrary to capitalism¹.

Most importantly, globalisation is not a process but a set of processes. This acceptance changes the comprehension of globalisation dramatically, since it can no longer lead to singularity. On the contrary, a set of processes that are not necessarily dependent on each other leads to plurality. This, indeed, points to a very different comprehension of history compared to that of modernity, and avoids the TINA syndrome that imprisons our thinking in pure criticism. In other words, understanding globalisation as plural opens new perspectives for considering various globalisation forms in different spatio-temporalities, and avoiding singular prescriptions. This comprehension is definitely more useful for explaining the transformations in our lifeworlds, rather than making forced generalisations. It also opens perspectives for alternatives in politics and particularly in decision-making with regard to globalisation.

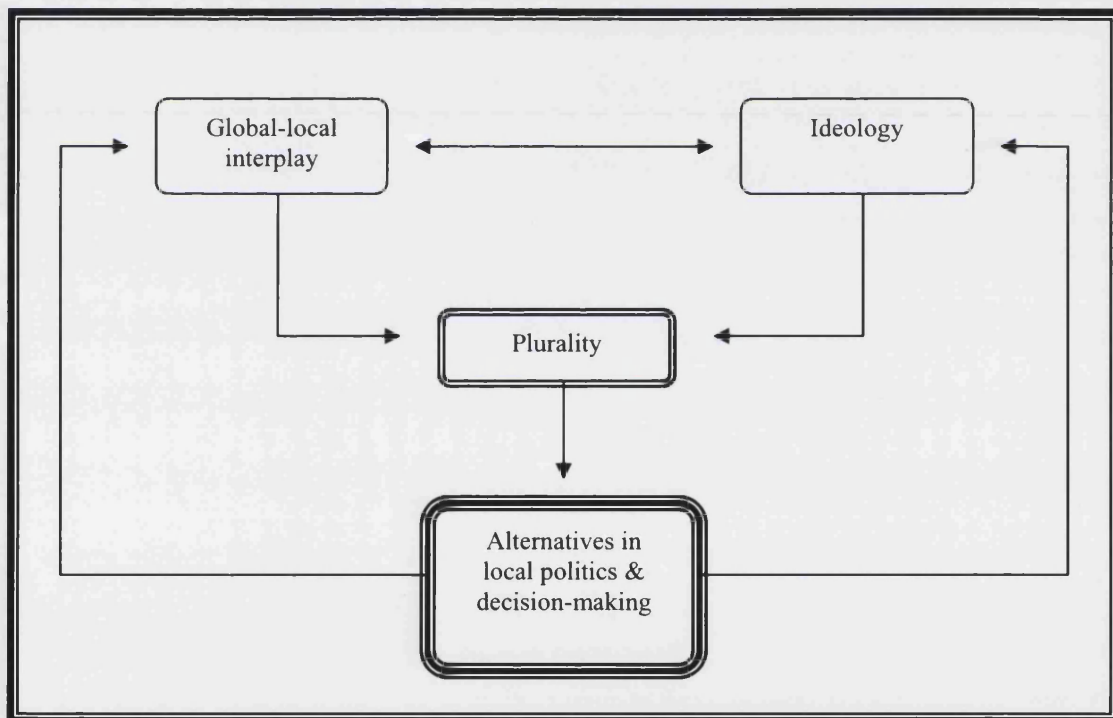
Last but not least, and as a consequence of the above discussions, the global-local interplay is crucial in understanding globalisation. In this regard, this thesis argues that globalisation cannot be understood by placing the global in its centre of analysis. If the global-local interplay is to serve people in localities, the local, which not only is transformed by but also transforms the global, should be placed in the centre of analysis, and the global should be referenced when necessary. By this token, it is possible to understand and evaluate the impacts of globalisation on localities from the local point of view, and to present the opportunities that the local presents rather than accepting the given opportunities of globalisation. This will make globalisation serve the majority of people by avoiding the singular politics of global actors.

¹ It is important to underline here that this questioning approach is not absorbed in order to normalise the negative aspects of the contemporary form of globalisation, but rather because of a belief that the positive aspects of anything cannot be obtained by simply and easily rejecting it completely.

Singularity in decision-making despite the plurality of globalisation

Chapter Two, in which theory and evidence on globalisation and its impacts on localities and local politics with respect to globalisation were presented, points to the TINA syndrome on the ground. This acceptance is rooted in the comprehension of globalisation, which places the global in its centre and ignores the local as much as possible. However, the comprehension necessary for a better future for humankind is suggested on the basis of the plurality that can be obtained by global-local interplay and by retaining ideologies. This comprehension opens the way for a restructuring in local politics by creating new alternatives to/within globalisation, and consequently removes local decision-making processes from singularity.

Figure S1.1 A comprehension of globalisation creating alternatives in local politics



Note: This figure is developed by the author on the basis of the theoretical discussions in this thesis.

Globalisation of local politics

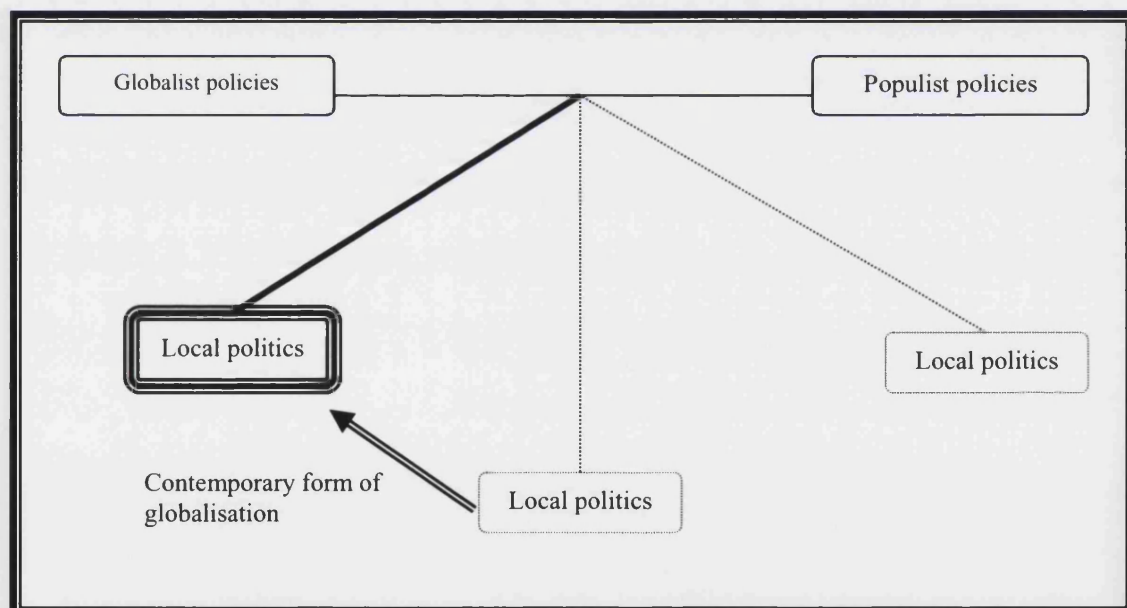
The evidence and theory presented in Chapter Three strengthen the findings of the second chapter, which argues that global city functions/activities and competition criteria for cities are a driving force for singularity in local political decision-making processes, and that similar built environments are produced throughout the world. This form of built environment is exactly what the global markets ask for via MNCs.

However, it usually conflicts with ordinary citizens because of its negative consequences on them.

In fact, there is a temporary space made up of flows, ingredients of flows and combinations of flows/ingredients with different paces, habitats and periods of stay in different localities with different peculiarities. This complex environment determines the impacts of globalisation on localities and these impacts may lead to either contradictions or harmony.

It is now known that the TINA syndrome usually leads to contradictions in localities. Adding to the pendulum analogy of Harvey [1999] for the political left and right in capitalist history², local politics approaches globalism as the contemporary form of globalisation proceeds, and simultaneously becomes alienated from ordinary people by removing populism from its agenda. Since various contradictions throughout the world have increased, it is now time to shift the pendulum in the other direction.

Figure S1.2 Pendulum for local politics



Note: This figure is developed by the author on the basis of Harvey [1999] and the theoretical discussions in this thesis.

This thesis suggests that if the complex environment of globalisation is allowed to pluralize, more harmonious processes with localities and local people can be obtained from the alternatives produced by local politics. In this regard, choices are important in

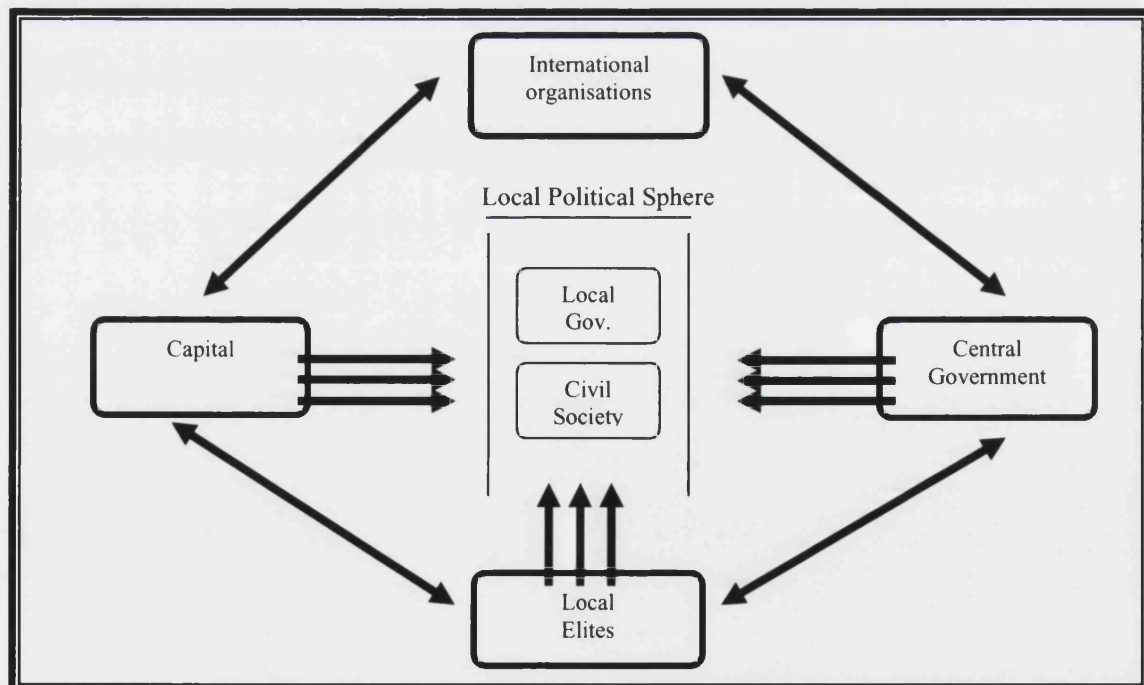
² Accordingly, each time the pendulum approaches the right of politics, it is then time for a shift towards the left because of the contradictions of capitalism and vice-versa. Contentions in the political sphere determine how much the pendulum will approach the left or right.

local politics. These choices should be made on the basis not only of a continuous interrelational analysis of those complex environments and their successive impacts, but also of the needs and potentials of the localities. In this regard, Chapter Three presented some attempts to deconstruct globalisation in order to present elements of analysis among which local politics may make choices and decisions.

Narrowness of the local political sphere

It is also necessary to discuss the decision-makers in this context. According to the findings of Chapter Four, international organisations formulate the processes, capital furthers these via MNCs, and central governments facilitate them through an efficient use of local, central and international elites. Although some literature prefers to present them as the rising actors of the global era, local governments' position is not definite, as they may either oppose or facilitate these processes due to their economic and political interests. Most of the time, and particularly in the LDCs, ordinary people conflicts with these processes and oppose them via civil society organisations. The strength of opposition, and thus of influence on local decision making processes, is limited to the

Figure S1.3 Local Political Sphere in the contemporary form of globalisation



Note: This figure is developed by the author on the basis of the theoretical discussions in this thesis.

organisational capability of civil society. In this respect, this thesis presents another departure from the literature, in which civil society is counted among the decision-

makers. We can argue that local politics is globalised because the decision-makers are non-local, if not global.

In this context, the sphere of local politics is narrowed down by international organisations, capital and the central state, mostly because elites remove themselves from the local political sphere as much as possible and have started to benefit from global politics as much as the central politics. This narrow political sphere leads to ignorance/negligence of local needs and potentials. This, in turn, causes contradictions in localities both because of the opposition of the existing social regulation mode to the new accumulation regime and of the life style introduced, which destroys the traditional support mechanisms of societies in the LDCs.

What is required, then, is a local politics sensitive to the balance between globalist and populist policies, in accordance with the comprehension of global-local interplay. In order to achieve this, local politics should exceed the limits set by international organisations, capital and nation-states, with the active involvement of organised civil society. In order to foster this active involvement, new participation methods should be developed, as well as increasing organisational capacity. Moreover, planning and relevant regulations should be reformulated accordingly as comprehensive and long-term but flexible, processes.

SECTION II

The second section facilitates the transition from the literature review, in which the term globalisation and its impacts on cities and local politics are explained and deconstructed gradually, to the case study that focuses on one of the many possible variables of those deconstruction attempts. In this regard, this chapter is not necessarily be related to the theoretical discussions of the first section since the intention is just to connect the theory to the case. Still, selected variable is analysed in such a way that serves the explanation of research questions. The section is constituted of three chapters.

The variable that will be analysed with respect to globalisation - in other words, element of the deconstruction that will be used in service to answer the research questions- is selected on the basis of the case. As mentioned in the introduction chapter, case study of this thesis is the decision-making process of the location of a new semi-private HEI – KU- as the investment of a multi-national company in Istanbul. The process involves central and local governments as well as the civil society and provides an invaluable example of local decision-making processes representing traditional conflicts between environmental and economic interests on the one hand and society and capital on the other. It is also possible to interpret these conflicts, as between local and global with the use of KU representing the global and opposing bodies the local, and this is what the case study intends to focus on.

In this context, one of the targets of the second section is to prove the possible relations between globalisation and HE in order to justify the choice of KU as a product of the globalisation processes. Proving this relationship will present a simulation of analysing the deconstruction elements of section one and help to step further in constructing a methodology for globalisation studies.

More importantly, this section aims to prepare the reader to the case study by providing the relevant information that sets its framework. It is necessary to make the reader understand the facts behind the scene, on which the decision-making occurs. Thus, the relationship between globalisation and HE and the role of HEIs in this relationship will be explained as well as the case specific decision-making issues such as the location of HEIs and the impacts of HEIs on the cities. Where relevant, these analyses will be

carried on the basis of semi-private FUs in Turkey and actors of the process will be elaborated.

It is important to note here that this thesis intends to elaborate the decision-making process of a multi-national investment. This is a political study. Therefore, separate literatures were not reviewed for the environmental and economical issues of the case. It is also not the intention of this thesis to provide neither a detailed theoretical discussion of the role of information / knowledge in a global economy nor the restructuring of HEIs. These issues were discussed within the limits of this study to set a guide for policy-making issues and discuss the global-local interplay. The only exception of this is the discussions for the location of HEIs and their impacts on the cities in Chapter Seven. It was necessary to elaborate these issues in more detail with a literature review because they were fundamental in elaborating and judging the decision-making processes, which will be detailed in the next section, scientifically.

In this context, Chapter Five elaborates the theory of globalisation of HE while setting a simulation of an analysis of the deconstruction elements of section one and thus contributing the methodology construction as well as connecting the case to the theoretical discussions of Section One. In doing so, the concept of “information” and its derivatives as “informational society” and “informational city” are used as the initial theoretical linkages of globalisation and HE. Internationalisation and globalisation of HE are discussed and the impacts of these tendencies on the HE systems and HEIs are presented. Role of HEIs in an informational society is also elaborated in connection to these. Finally, and most importantly for the linkages between sections one and three, governmental interventions and their rationales to make a country / city / society informational are discussed at both central and local levels within a comparison of LDCs and MDCs.

The sixth chapter grounds these theoretical linkages of globalisation and HE by using the example of FUs as semi-private investments and their functioning in the Turkish context. Turkish HE system is also introduced in this chapter together with the central policies of Turkish governments with respect to the informational society target. After highlighting the FUs and their rationales, the relationship between globalisation and FUs is grounded with the use of discursive, logical, political/ideological and spatial relations and the thought programs.

Finally, Chapter Seven will focus on the theoretical and historical explanations of those concepts that form the scenery of the decision-making process of KU including the university locations and their impacts on the localities. This will also form a setting on the importance of land for the HEIs and their developments, which will appear as an influential factor in the decision-making process of KU location.

Chapter Five

Globalisation, information society and higher education

“The HE sector was impacted by some of the most powerful forces of globalisation including the domination of the market ideology, the process of massification¹, the technological revolution and the emergence of a socially distributed knowledge production system. All these trends are expected to have a profound influence on the manner, in which a democratic country achieves its goal of reconstruction and development while aiming to be a global player in the new world order. Whether ‘we have our destiny in our own hands’ will depend on how we manage the forces of globalisation to meet the basic needs of the country” [Kishun, 1998: 58].

5.1 Introduction

The case study that will be detailed in the third section will focus on the location decision of a HEI in Istanbul promoted by the nation-state and invested in by a multinational company. The land appropriation and the location of this land to the HEI from the forest areas were publicly discussed. Local governments and some NGOs together with some professional chambers opposed the appropriation decision of the central government with various concerns. During the decision-making process, supporters of the project emphasised possible positive impacts of the project on both globalising the city and its economic prosperity. In this process, there are reflections of what Scott [1998: 110] argued:

“Rightly or wrongly, politicians believe that Higher Education (HE) can be translated into comparative economic advantage. A belief encouraged by theories of post-industrial society, which suggests that knowledge has become the primary resource in advanced economies.”

In this context, knowledge economy, HEIs and their locations are argued here to be among those areas that are in relation with the global-local interplay in local politics and planning. In this context, the relationship between globalisation, knowledge economy and HE should be established first so as to present the choice of the case as relevant.

¹ Massification demands an inward orientation, widening access for underrepresented social groups and meeting the needs of local economic community. This may cause either a tension or synergy with internationalisation, which is outward oriented and enhances international networks of scholars and scientists [Scott, 1998].

This relationship will initially be established theoretically in this chapter and then this theoretical relationship will be grounded in Istanbul on the basis of FUs in the following chapter.

In relating globalisation to HE theoretically, the role of knowledge and information in the global economy should be elaborated. The concepts of informational society and city will be used as the products of this relationship since the scale of this study is the city. Role of HEIs will be discussed in the context of both the globalisation of HE and their service to the globalisation processes. Finally, the governmental interventions to create an informational society that constitutes an important part of the case study will be elaborated on both central and local levels within a comparison of MDCs and LDCs.

5.2 Knowledge and information in the global economy

As Marx pointed out long ago, capitalism is a commodity accumulation process and cannot work in full capacity and cannot globalise unless it had commoditised information knowledge as well as labour. Commodification of information/knowledge is the pre-condition of their commercialisation. Thus, information/knowledge is treated as a tool for capitalist advancement rather than being a purpose of its own. It is directed by the capital and restructured accordingly in order to serve its requirements [Özsoy, 2002].

We have reached a point, where Marx's arguments have been proven once again. In the literature, globalisation is commonly referred to information and knowledge². It has been argued that the critical production factors are consisted of them in the global era not only for economic but also for social processes and organisations. They have been declared as pre-requisites of international competition for economic and social development [Bell, 1973; Dosi et al, 1988; Reich, 1992; Castells & Hall, 1994; Castells, 1994; 1996; 1998].

Castells & Hall [1994] defined three major factors underlying the information economy as technological revolution and new information technologies; formation of a global economy³; and a new form of economic production and management⁴. They argue that

² Information is a socio-economic fact. It can be grouped into two categories such as systematic and empiric information. While systematic information is the deductive scientific knowledge, empiric one is the applicable information. The former transforms into the latter in a certain time and the transfer of information to economic units is called the information process [Erkan, 1993].

³ "By global economy we understand one that works in real time as a unit in a world wide space, be it for capital, management, labour, technology, information or markets" [Castells & Hall, 1994: 3].

what we end up is a new industrial space triggering a restructuring process of gigantic dimensions that affects cities and regions around the world [Castells & Hall, 1994: 7].

Audretsch [2001: 1] detailed this economic transformation with special emphasis on knowledge as follows: "Knowledge as an input in a production function is inherently different than the more traditional inputs of labour, capital and land. While the economic value of the traditional inputs is relatively certain, knowledge is intrinsically uncertain and its potential value is asymmetric across economic agents. The most important, although not the only source of new knowledge is considered to be R&D. Other key factors generating new economic knowledge include a high degree of human capital, a skilled labour force and a high presence of scientists and engineers". Andersson [1985; as quoted in Audretsch, 2001], in parallel, maintained that the fourth logistical revolution had been succeeding the third one. Accordingly, knowledge handling jobs and knowledge intensive commodities induced the global integration of industrial complexes. This, in turn, caused a new hierarchy of cities with their surrounding regions. Regions at the upper levels of this hierarchy were called "C-Regions": C representing competence, culture, communication and creativity.

In a way, this transformation of economies and societies represent similarities with the radical changes and transformations of industrial revolution. However, contemporary transformations occur faster than the former as new technologies develop faster and human beings are more adaptive to the innovations [Erkan, 1993].

Innovations are the sources of information. Application of technological, material, institutional and intellectual innovations to socio-economic issues results with more efficient processes and leads to development. As technological innovations are created in the production processes, they are materialised with the products. Institutional innovations, on the other hand, present themselves with the changes in the values and attitudes through legal and organisational regulations. Finally, intellectual innovations are created within both scientific efforts and everyday life. Innovations need qualified personnel and institutional substructures in addition to the physical infrastructures to

⁴ It is informational and flexible. Productivity and competitiveness are increasingly based on the generation of new knowledge and on the access to, and processing of, appropriate information. New factors of production are inputs from science, technology and the management of information in the production process. Recombination of factors rather than simple additions is necessary [Castells & Hall, 1994].

materialise. Transportation and communication infrastructures and institutional substructures are crucial in diffusing them [Erkan, 1993].

Telecommunication technologies have become one of those terms that can be found in the introduction paragraph of any literature explaining the transformations of our era. It is the combination of microelectronics and communications. While developments in microelectronics have created new products and technologies, developments in communications have increased the economic efficiency by establishing the manufacturing infrastructure. They both increased and facilitated any information flow, and by this token, increased efficiency and productivity in manufacturing by offering advantages in the use of time and space [Erkan, 1993].

It is worth to mention here that technological innovations, which is said to be the central factor of social development and change, do not affect economic, social, political and cultural areas simultaneously. While economic and management areas use the advantages of technological innovations almost immediately with their dynamic and flexible structures, social, political and cultural areas are affected belatedly with their more stable structures. In the systems theory, each of these areas has a different “flexibility of change”. From another point of view, countries with more flexibility of change respond to technological innovations quickly and get advantaged on the way to the informational society [Erkan, 1991].

Grounding these arguments to humanity and human settlements, concepts such as “informational economy” [quoted from Machlup by Erkan, 1993], “technetronic era”⁵ [Brzezinski, 1970], “post-capitalism” [quoted from Dahrendorff by Erkan, 1993], “post-modern” [quoted from Etzioni by Erkan, 1993], “post-industrial” [Bell, 1973; Kumar, 1999], “post-business society” [Drucker, 1994], “informational society” [Porat, 1978; Masuda, 1982; 1990; Castells, 1994] and “informational city” [Castells, 1994; 1996] had been introduced at different times. Lately, they are pronounced more often in relation to the processes of globalisation and technological revolution, with which it is fostered.

Simply, an informational society is the one that researches, develops and uses the information technologies. In such a society, information becomes the real capital as

⁵ This is a post-industrial zero growth plan designed in part to cripple U.S. industry in order to prepare us for the New World Order. Technetronic means relating to or characterized by the changes effected by modern advances in technology and electronics.

well as the primary resource for wealth. Castells [1994] defined informational society as follows:

“[informational society is] a social structure where the sources of economic productivity, cultural economy and political military power depend, fundamentally, on the capacity to retrieve, store, process and generate information and knowledge.”

Masuda [1990] argued that in an informational society, “homo sapiens” would transform into “homo intelligens”. He claimed that the birth of homo intelligence would be visible with the changes on the human body. Thus, a new type of human being would be evolved. In the Masuda’s utopian scenario, computers were the essence of the informational society. The basic function was put forward as the substitution of intellectual labour and the strength of production roots from the strength of information produced. Information would offer optimum movement capability together with an increase in the options. Thus, intellectual industries would become the leading industries of societies. Masuda highlighted the importance of locally based volunteer information organisations as the socio-economic subject of the informational society. These organisations would not only be producers of information and facilitators of its diffusion, but also the driving force for social change. Finally, Masuda determined the values of such a society as time, self-discipline and social participation and globalisation.

Although the ingredients of the scenario are similar to that of Masuda’s, Crawford [1991] concluded differently, where individualism has become the basic value. In his formulation, human capital was put forward as the primary resource and thus individual was at a central position. Self-help and individual institutions came to fore. Social values emphasised differentiation, equality and individualism at the same time. Education was suggested to become individualised as a continuous process.

The driving force of the informational society is the information, which is the product of telecommunication technologies. Basic characteristics of information in an informational society are its continuous increase through continuous production, its transfer, division and distribution capabilities through communication nets and its substitution of classical production factors (labour, capital and land). Organisation of production is a flexible one. Thus, efficiency and productivity of the information industries will dramatically affect the efficiency and productivity of agriculture, manufacturing and service sectors. Since both the basic input and output are

information, growth is defined as the increase at the national information level [Erkan, 1993]. Flow of information presents the development target easier to reach and the globalisation trend unavoidable. It points to an integrated global economy, in which basic economic activity is the procurement of information services that combines consumers and producers more [Crawford, 1991]. The service sector cannot be subject to international trade without a global communication system. Innovations in the communication technologies ensured this necessity of the service sector by overcoming space and time obstacles. This development created the conditions to diagnose and cure from a distance in the health sector, e-education in the education sector, e-trade and work from home [Tural, 2004].

Use of new technologies in the production processes means the creation of a new division of labour and new specialisations. In other words, new professions are formed, which have transformed the division of labour dramatically in the last three decades. For example, with the introduction of computers to businesses, computer engineering, computer specialists, programmers, repair and maintenance personnel and such have become professions that are demanded most [Erkan, 1991].

Porat [1978] argued that the USA had already become an informational society in the 1970s. Accordingly, in 1970, half of the working population could be called “informational labour” in the USA. Among the informational products of the manufacturing sector, computers, communicational and electronic tools, measurement and control tools, broadcasted and published materials could be counted. Moreover, electronic communication, advertisement, education, communication development research and services, librarianship and partly finance, insurance, consultancy and R&D could be counted as the informational products of the service sector. In 1977, half of the GDP of the USA grew out of the informational sector.

Today, a parallel shift to this theoretical and empirical emphasis is observable throughout the economies worldwide. Accordingly, service sector employment that uses knowledge and information in its production processes intensely, has been increasingly replacing with the once dominant manufacturing jobs particularly in the globalised geographies of both MDCs and LDCs [Sassen, 1991; Jimenez et al, 2002]. Castells [1994] strengthened this argument by not accepting the service sector as a truly distinctive feature for the knowledge economy because of the ambiguity of the notion of services. He presented in more detail that growing majority of employment was related

to knowledge and information processing jobs. Erkan [1993] also argued that almost half of the working population and GDP in the information societies of the MDCs were constituted of the information sector (together with the industries that feed the sector). In fact, Masuda [1990] offered a fourth sector as information related industries to the existing agriculture, manufacturing and service sectors. In this context, information sector was constituted of the use of information in all functional areas such as production, consumption, distribution and marketing through the information processing and communications equipments and services [Erkan, 1993].

This shift from manufacturing to service employment brings about many transformations in the cities not only economically but also socially and physically⁶. Erkan [1993] argued that these transformations could only be succeeded by an approach called integrated socio-economic development. Accordingly, this approach required substructures such as natural resources, social capital, institutional organisation, human capital and physical infrastructure. These substructures, in turn, needed the renewed interventions of state at both central and local levels and they would generally be located in the cities. In this regard, cities equipped with these substructures, called informational cities. Castells [1994] defined the informational cities as follows:

“[Informational city] do not refer to the urban form resulting from the direct impact of information technologies on space... (It) is the urban expression of the whole matrix of determinations of the Informational Society as the Industrial City was the spatial expression of the Industrial Society.”

Erkan [1993] argued that localities that gathered the super and sub-structures of an informational economy would be the sceneries of socio-economic development. Industries would not tend to concentrate at a specific locality anymore. Instead, they would use the communication networks for the relations. In this regard, the giant cities might lose their economic advantages except from the ones that are the production places of innovations and new telecommunication technologies. These cities would not only maintain but also increase their importance in the informational era. Informational society would give priority to the innovative cities that had adequate and quality telecommunication networks and research institutions. Cities that were able to control mass communication and information centres would come to fore. According to Erkan

⁶ See Chapter Three for a detailed analysis of these impacts.

[1993], metropolitan cities were not supposed to be the centres of innovation. He added that university cities would gain a renewed importance. Erkan continued his arguments by building a utopian scenario for the future of the cities. Accordingly, by means of the positive environmental impacts of universities and research institutions, a more liveable city would be formed. Moreover, as the informational society decreased class differentiations and increased social justice, segregation and polarisation would not be the problems of cities anymore. Basic factor for development and growth would become the information rather than the accumulation of capital. Investments and capital would become ordinary inputs to the application of innovative technologies.

5.3 Higher education and its institutions in an informational society

It has been widely and traditionally accepted that contribution of human capital to economic input is vital. Human capital can be defined as the skills of people to contribute the level of activities and integration in an economy with respect to both quantity and quality of the division of labour [quoted from Jochimsen, 1966 by Erkan, 1993]. The central presupposition of the human capital theory is that education leads to productivity differences, for which income differentials are an adequate proxy. It covers efforts and functions such as people factor, entrepreneurship, specialised labour, unqualified labour, management, training and research, development, planning and economic policy for organisational and technical development. Human capital can be created in the processes of education, training, research and specialisation and these processes, at the same time, create the basic norms and value systems and organisational styles of the institutional substructure [Erkan, 1993]. On the other hand, the individualist attitudes of the people such as getting better jobs, earning more income and competing with the others on education increase the demand to education and particularly to HE. Economic sectors and politicians support these individual demands of the youngsters and their families. Economic sectors supports the idea of HEIs that meet the qualities of the labour market, develop the technologies for efficient production processes and providing global competition opportunities [Tural, 2004]. In this regard, continuous growth of education level inherently increases the education investments and expenditures.

Accepting the relationship between knowledge and economic success, Audretsch [2001] suggested governments a policy alternative to shift the economic activity thoroughly from traditional industries to knowledge based economic activities to avoid struggling

between unemployment and low wage rates. Competitiveness, in this context, “is regarded as being, primarily, dependent upon the skills of the labour force” [Elliott, 1998: 36]. Accordingly, it is apparent that education is a condition for the existence of a highly industrialised, capital-intensive economy and will contribute to future advances in the field of knowledge, which has become the basic input for economic activity [Florax, 1992].

“The HE sector was impacted by some of the most powerful forces of globalisation including the domination of the market ideology, the process of massification⁷, the technological revolution and the emergence of a socially distributed knowledge production system. All these trends are expected to have a profound influence on the manner, in which a democratic country achieves its goal of reconstruction and development while aiming to be a global player in the new world order. Whether ‘we have our destiny in our own hands’ will depend on how we manage the forces of globalisation to meet the basic needs of the country” [Kishun, 1998: 58].

Significance of HEIs as knowledge producers is also increased parallel to the dramatic rise at the knowledge intensity of both societies and economies. Bell [1973: 116-7] suggested long ago that:

“In the post-industrial society, the chief problem is the organization of science and the primary institution, the university or the research institute, where such work is carried out.”

HEIs and research institutions are advanced and special production factors that create knowledge and qualified labour [Porter, 1990]. These are institutions that should be managed with modern administration techniques and has to adapt the market economy and its supply-demand conditions. HEIs, on the other hand, should educate students in accordance with the labour profile that is necessary for globalisation and informational society [Gürüz et al, 1994].

In this context, Castells and Hall [1994] argued that HEIs might have three different roles. Accordingly, they might generate both basic and applied knowledge; train the necessary labour force of scientists, engineers and technicians; and assume a direct entrepreneurial role, supporting the process of spin-off of their research into a network of industrial and business ventures.

Castells & Hall [p: 248] continued that sources of innovation “need not be identical in

⁷ Massification demands an inward orientation, widening access for underrepresented social groups and meeting the needs of local economic community. This may cause either a tension or synergy with internationalisation, which is outward oriented and enhances international networks of scholars and scientists [Scott, 1998].

every place. University or research institute may provide the basis in one country or region, not in another”. In other words, installation of a HEI to a locality does not always contribute to the innovation capability of that locality. In order the HEIs to contribute the innovation capabilities, they should be supported with a bunch of other policies.

In the same volume, Castells and Hall [1994] added that despite all the efforts of governments on implementing policies to support the HEIs at different localities, most of the innovations and high-tech production throughout the world were yet to come from only a few metropolitan areas of the MDCs. They illustrated that Stanford University at the origin of Silicon Valley and Cambridge University or MIT in their areas of influence started a spin off process and provided examples of excellence. However, they added that number of these institutions were limited. They argued that there should be “a very special kind of university, and a very specific set of linkages to industrial and commercial development, for a university to be able to play the role it often claims to play in the information-based economy” [Castells & Hall, 1994: 230]. It seems that it is not possible to create this environment with neither private investments alone nor short-term projects and investments of the state. Though, even long-term ones within public-private partnerships may not succeed.

Castells and Hall [1994: 242] made a proposition that implies a detailed policy framework for the localities in question.

“...entail either expansion or upgrading of existing institutions, or the creation of entirely new ones. In either case, priority will need to be given to the chosen universities, which will be more generously funded and will enjoy higher prestige than the more run-of-the-mill institutions.”

Supporting comprehensive schemes rather than installing individual HEIs, there is a debate about the restructuring of HEIs. Although Gibbens [1998: 72] argued that HEIs have “successfully styled themselves as producers of primary knowledge and taken the high ground of basic research as their own”, Urry [1998: 3] opposed this argument such as that traditional HEIs have become incompatible in the globalisation era because of their “slow moving curricula and traditions of scholarly work”. According to Urry, HEIs had to be restructured in order to be productive and competitive. He continued that HEIs were not alone in the field of knowledge production as before:

“There are now many other providers as information becomes much more widely produced, circulated and of course traded... including the media, private research establishments, companies and so on”.

Thus, the restructuring should be designed according to cooperation and competition not only between HEIs but also with these new institutions as well. Therefore, we can argue that proliferating the old style HEIs and expecting them to create a miracle will not be realistic in the information age. A restructuring in the HEIs and the creation of organisational networks seem to be a must, if they are to fulfil the need of specialised labour and to provide linkages with industry on the way to an informational society. This involves a multi-dimensional restructuring, including the academic, administrative, organisational and financial aspects of the HEIs and cannot be materialised by the initiatives of them only.

However, this restructuring of the HEIs is criticised by scholars as the meaning of HEIs is transformed into economic functionality and success. International and national culture and civilisation targets are not prior to pursue in the HEIs anymore. It is all about the economic sectors and catching up with their need of specialised graduates. So much that HEIs are now established on the model of business organisations. They compete to become centres of excellence for economic success but not for pure universal science. Even the humanist and liberal aspects of education philosophy are being re-considered for and by the market, not to mention the equality aspect. These critics emphasise that HEIs are not places for vocational education [O. Yenal, 1999].

Restructuring of the HEIs is also criticised from an ideological perspective such as that HEIs have started to undertake the duty of educating the “qualified labour”, which is necessary for the capitalist production and reproduction processes, in addition to their function of ideological legitimisation. Accordingly, knowledge is used as a tool of sovereignty and served to construct it. Accordingly, knowledge that is produced and diffused in the education institutions is essential for the reproduction of the dominant ideology in the material and ideological areas. Moreover, narrow specialisation in the HE is criticised as it restricted to understand the social reality and it is impossible to understand the pieces without the comprehension of the whole picture [Başkaya, 2002].

Similar critics have always been in the history of HEIs as they are accepted either as isolated learning zones or as the intersection point of politics, work life and relations, culture, law and even family life [Boggs, 1993]. However, as it was explained in chapter

two, economic globalisation processes are so dominant that it is possible to observe their dominance in the HEIs as well. This issue will be detailed in the next chapter with an analysis of thought programs in the FUs.

5.4 Globalisation of higher education

In an informational society, investments that are considered important are to the areas that produce information and human capital such as, HEIs, academic institutions, research centres and health centres. These institutions produce, develop and transfer most of the necessary functions of the informational society. By doing so, they become the driving forces of the globalisation processes. In a way, these institutions function to both facilitate and legitimise the globalisation processes. In parallel to the service of HE to globalisation processes, it is now evident that HE is being globalised in terms of its relations, curriculum, academics, students etc. In this regard, innovations in telecommunications have occupied and affected the education sector dramatically.

GATS (General Agreement on Trade in Services) included education as one of the 11 main categories of trade in services. By this token, education was not only commoditised⁸ but was also accepted as a subject of economic globalisation. McBurnie [2002] suggested technology as one of the four dimensions of globalisation and continued that globalisation ensured the accumulation, processing and transfer of information by means of the information and communication technologies and emphasised that international commercialisation of education could be executed via these technologies.

Tural [2004], in parallel, argued that computers and information technologies accelerated and developed the research processes. Moreover, technological innovations increased the intellectual interactions between academics and facilitated to access and distribute information. Finally, these facilities supported the marketing of education services from the MDCs to the LDCs. It is now possible to move the classroom to anywhere in the world by means of the information technologies.

There is a considerable literature on the internationalisation of HE, which can be interpreted different from its globalisation. Internationalisation of HE can simply be defined as the integration process of HEIs with the international perspective. Scott [1998] attempted to describe the internationalisation of HE with student, academic staff

⁸ According to GATS, “education institutions are entrepreneurship providing education services”.

and idea flows as well as with the increasing collaborations between institutions. Callan [1998], similarly, but in more detail, counted the following factors in relation to the internationalisation of HE as curricular reform, research cooperation, discipline based networks and associations, open and distance learning across frontiers, regulations and cross-border institutional partnerships, international work placements, international credit recognition, transfer and promotion of multi-lingualism.

Processes of globalisation may affect the internationalisation of HE from various aspects depending on the active globalisation processes in a locality. If the active and dominant processes are economic, privatisation of HEIs will be the inevitable outcome of the process. However, processes of social globalisation may end with the facilitation of idea, student and scholar flows, increased co-operation between HEIs and such, which will definitely feed the idea of cooperation for universal knowledge.

Globalisation of HE can be observed at different levels. Apart from the student tourism that has become very common lately, knowledge exchange between researchers, commercialisation of thought programs internationally, opening up of university agents, sister universities, franchising practices and other international cooperation mechanisms can be counted as the main indicators of globalisation of HE [Özsoy, S., 2002].

In fact, HEIs themselves have become part of the global branding and place marketing strategies of competing cities such as London, New York and Sydney [Urry, 1998] without any need to relate them to globalisation via knowledge economies. Yet, uncertain contribution of HEIs to the formation of informational cities and societies is strengthened indirectly with the idea of student tourism. Competition between the HEIs to attract international students and academics is significant. HEIs have added globalisation to their missions and develop various policies to realise it. Sadlak [1998: 105] argued “foreign students have now become a part of competitiveness in the global economy”. Accordingly, influx of students contributed the local economy with tuition fees and expenditures, which was accompanied by flows of knowledge. Elliott [1998] counted 300.000 British alumni at Malaysia only. In the USA, it was estimated to be around 500.000 foreign students present and the income that only New York made from the international students was more than 1 billion \$ [<http://haberler.blogspot.com> - 22.3.2005]⁹. This tendency of student tourism forced the governments to make the

⁹ In 2000-2001, there were 20.400 Turkish students studying their undergraduate and graduate degrees abroad [www.meb.gov.tr/Stats/Apk2002/67]. In the past decade, the number of Turkish students studying

necessary policies to attract more international students. For example, France, which has been at the top league of student importing countries with the USA, the UK and Germany, established an agency from HEIs and government officials in order to increase its share in the international education market [Özsoy, 2002].

However, there are sceptics about student flows in the literature, too. Gibbens [1998] argued that level of mobility of students was still low and the existing mobility was towards a few institutions in a few countries only. In this regard, it is interesting to observe the common equality tendency of globalisation in HEIs as well. Gibbens added that it was difficult to predict whether the student flows would be enhanced or contracted if the economic globalisation has gone further. He highlighted the volatileness of middle-income families under the impacts of economic globalisation, advancements of national education systems and finally widespread Internet usage as possible factors that might reduce the student flows. Although the number of international students at prestigious universities have increased every year, exceptional periods were observed at the times of global or local economic crisis in parallel to Gibbens' arguments. For example, 1997 South East Asia economic crisis was argued to decrease the number of South East Asian students studying at the MDCs dramatically [Pokarier & Riding, 1998; Lee, 1999].

In fact, one potentially dramatic influence of globalisation on the HEIs and number of international students is that technological revolution made the "virtual university" concept possible. Learning through the Internet has become increasingly widespread throughout the world. There are now virtual classrooms based on home learning. Number of the virtual students in the USA by 2000, had already exceeded 3 millions in more than 1000 HEIs. Even in Africa, where globalisation is said to ignore, 17 African countries under the sponsorship of the World Bank have founded the African Virtual University [Kishun, 1998]. Audio-conferencing, video-conferencing, CD-ROM, new

abroad has increased gradually mostly because of the lack of sufficient HE opportunities in Turkey. By 2005, YOK argues that there are more than 50.000 Turkish HE students studying abroad. According to a report prepared by the World Bank, Turkey is the 11th student exporting country in the world [Sabah Newspaper, April 6, 2005]. In the USA, Turkey takes the 8th rank among the countries exporting students [<http://haberler.blogspot.com> - 22.3.2005].

Especially after the terrorist attacks of September 11, the number of international students studying in Turkey has increased considerably as the US started to apply strict measures on even the students of Islamic countries. Students particularly from Africa, Central Asia and Middle East started to prefer Turkey as the number of universities teaching in English has increased and some countries in the Central Asia region have very similar languages to Turkish. It is estimated to be around 15.000 international students in Turkey and efforts are made to reach the target of 25.000 in 3 years [<http://haberler.blogspot.com> - 22.3.2005].

PC software's, webucation, e-learning, e-education and Internet are among the tools of distance education. The Californian University in the USA together with the "Home Education Network" has been providing about 50 courses to 44 American states and 8 countries on the Internet. Western Governors is another interesting example for the virtual universities as it has its supermarket in it in cooperation with companies including IBM, AT&T, Cisco and Microsoft [Özsoy, 2002]. In total, 2215 American universities were active in distance learning in 1997. The Forbes magazine publishes the top 20 cyber universities list every year. This use of technology may reduce the student and academic flows dramatically in the near future.

There is another strong trend in HE as many of the top business schools started to establish programs, research centres and branch campuses in particularly the countries that export students most. The University of Michigan, Harvard Business School, Chicago's Graduate School of Business, North-western University, University Pennsylvania, MIT are only the leaders of many other HEIs functioning independently or as joint ventures in other geographies of the world and particularly in Asia [Pacific Bridge, 2000].

Last but not least, in order to attract more students, HEIs at both their homelands and marketplaces offer a broader pool of knowledge. Disciplines that are relevant to the rising service sector and particularly to the knowledge intensive jobs have become quite popular. Management, finance, insurance, real estate, communications and IT are a few of the many popular programs in the global era¹⁰.

5.5 Government policies and projects for an informational society

"...education and training as tools of economic policy. Individual citizens must be empowered with cultural and educational capital to meet the challenges of increased (local, national, regional, global) competition and the greater mobility of industrial and financial capital. States no longer have the capacity and policy instruments they require to contest the imperatives of global economic change; instead they must help individual citizens to go where they want to go via provision of social, cultural and educational resources." [Held, 2000: 34]

Although the nation-state is said to lose its strength within the globalisation processes, central governments need to intervene on the general issue of information and knowledge since economic policy and thus national development are argued to be

¹⁰ In the next chapter, this issue of popular programs will be detailed on the basis of the foundation universities in Turkey.

increasingly depending on them. As Foray and Freeman [1992] argued “an adequate level of education in general and of technical education in particular became essential for design and productive use of new technologies”. Castells [1998: 2] pointed out that in this process there are not many alternatives for the nation-states to choose from and in this –compulsory- choice, -restructuring- the education systems are *a priori* for development:

“Crucial role of information and communication technologies in stimulating development is a two-edged sword. On the one hand, it allows countries to leapfrog stages of economic growth by being able to modernise the production systems and increase their competitiveness faster than in the past... On the other hand, for those economies that are unable to adapt to the new technological system, their retardation becomes cumulative. Furthermore, the ability to move into the Information Age depends on the capacity of the whole society to be educated, and to be able to assimilate and process complex information. This starts with the education system, from the bottom up, from the primary school to the university.”

Supporting these arguments, Florax [1992] invited the central governments to meet the demands of emerging knowledge intensive economy in order to catch up with the strategic opportunities for enhanced economic growth. Kishun [1998] recommended a central policy framework for the education system to cope with the unprecedented national and global opportunities and challenges of the new era. In parallel, Castells and Hall argued [1994] that all cases of successful rapid development in the history presented that state intervention is crucial. Thus, states should provide the right environment and the right basis for the development of an innovative milieu.

As an example, Elliot [1998] presented that internationalisation had been a systematic, sustained effort of the UK government to make the HEIs responsive to the challenges of economic and social globalisation. According to him, education is one of the four rationales of the UK international policy in the era of globalisation. France has also developed similar policies recently to become more competitive in the international education sector. Third Way can be presented as the most popular paradigm of the recent times, if not informational society, with its special emphasis on education, research and training programs [Blair, 1996; Giddens, 1997; Clinton, 1998; Yalcintan, 2000]. Improving the quality of labour force by non-compulsory adult training programs including middle and upper level professional training, enhancement training, job switching programs and in general by vocational education has become quite common throughout the world with the encouragement of international organisations

such as the World Bank and etc. Increasing the number of available places in HEIs has also become obligatory as the labour market of the knowledge economy is very competitive and individual demands have increased dramatically [Pacific Bridge, 2000].

Apart from these general policies of central governments and international organisations, there are many individual projects that are developed by the MDCs within comprehensive schemes. These are mega projects developed and financed by their governments such as Japan's Technopolis Program¹¹ together with multi-sponsored science cities at the outskirts of Lyon, Randstad, Taipei and Tokyo¹² that have significant impacts on both their national economies and their physical environments.

In order to benefit from the increasing importance of knowledge in the economic restructuring by becoming more competitive at the international scale, local governments have begun to pay more attention to flows of information and production of knowledge as well [Borja, Castells, Belil & Benner, 1996]. The main argument here is that policies and projects of local and central governments do not vary much with respect to the spatio-temporal characteristics of their localities and there is a single prescription for these flows, although globalisation processes are found to be plural. As quoted from Castells and Hall [1994: 8]:

“a hasty, hurried study by an opportunistic consultant was at hand to provide the magic formula: a small dose of venture capital, a university (invariably termed a ‘technology institute’), fiscal and institutional incentives to attract high technology firms, and a degree of support for small business”.

Target of these policies is to create a “milieu of innovation”¹³. Differences of these prescriptions generally arise from budgetary limitations and thus related to the scale of the projects rather than their contents. In this set of policies, HEIs, research centres and - in a more comprehensive sense- technopoles that generate the basic materials of the informational economy, have become the primary objectives of each and every city together with the technological infrastructures necessary.

Just like the IMF prescriptions in macro economic development [Amin, 1997;

¹¹ For detailed analysis see Castells and Hall, 1994.

¹² For detailed analysis see Barkin, Hack and Simmonds, 1996.

¹³ Castells and Hall [1994: 9] define this term such as “the social, institutional, economic and territorial structures that create the conditions for the continuous generation of synergy and its investment in a process of production that results from this very synergic capacity, both for the units of production that are part of the milieu and for the milieu as a whole. Developing such milieu of innovation has now become a critical issue for economic development, and a matter of political and social prestige”.

Yildizoglu, 1996; Ilhan, 1997], these policies are also prone to fail unless they take the local differences into consideration. Every locality may be generating its information and knowledge in its own way. There is no one-way of doing this. There are various characteristics of human capital and different tacit knowledge at each and every locality. HEIs seem to be crucial, as they have no equivalent alternatives in the LDCs, yet, since research institutions are not developed as in the MDCs. However, their locations and administration criteria may still vary according to the locality's needs and characteristics.

In this process, LDCs are in a different and difficult situation. Since they have not completed their industrialisation processes yet, they have to cope with the difficulty of simultaneous processes of both industrialisation and informationalisation. Erkan [1993] argued that the LDCs neither have the telecommunications infrastructure nor adequate personnel, institutional and material infrastructure necessary for the informational society. He continued that this might increase the gap between MDCs and LDCs. However, he added that the more developed cities and regions of the LDCs would be a part of the globalised informational society. Thus, dual structure of the industrial societies, as agricultural and industrial, would continue as a triad structure of agricultural, industrial and informational societies.

As the specific investments of LDCs governments for the informational society are considered, LDCs can only go for individual HEIs or research institutions without providing the adequate organisational environment because they do not have the financial means to implement mega projects within comprehensive schemes. Their limited budget arises from both the triad structure, each of which expects considerable amount of investments and the general situation of underdevelopment. Most of the time, they concentrate their limited budgets to the physical infrastructure including telecommunications¹⁴, which is necessary for an innovative milieu and the informational society. Smaller scale land uses such as HEIs and research centres are preferred rather than mega-projects such as technopoles because of the limited budgets and funding opportunities. Governments in these countries are most of the time obliged to facilitate private initiatives by offering land and infrastructures required for installations. Thus, appropriating land to the private and semi-private initiatives to

¹⁴ Telecommunication infrastructure is constituted of all the physical means for telecommunications technology to gather, transfer, process, evaluate, distribute and diffuse information. These generally need public investments, as they are huge in volume and long-term projects [Erkan, 1993].

establish HEIs has become common as well [Barkin, Hack & Simmonds, 1996]. There are also efforts towards constructing private-public partnerships in order to enhance investment opportunities to materialise these policies and projects.

For the restructuring of the HEIs, governmental intervention is particularly necessary if the system does not support this process efficiently. Good quality research traditions cannot be built overnight as Castells and Hall [1994] posited. It may take a long time to mature these investments. However, long-term projects and programs are not likely to be chosen by the governments of the LDCs because of the “uncritical acceptance of the globalisation agenda” [Kishun, 1998] that urges them to act in the short-term with limited budgets. A critical approach to the individual HEI instalments, which do not cover all these issues, is necessary in order to build a comprehensive long-term scheme.

5.6 Concluding remarks: Knowledge and the city

This chapter presented that knowledge and information are the basic requirements of a global economy. They do not only lead to economic development/growth but also establish the informational society that is capable of benefiting from the global opportunities as well as creating them and the informational city that hosts the informational society. In turn, these two products of information, the informational society and the informational city, produce more information via HEIs, research institutions and other industries. In fact, these are accepted as units and institutions that contribute the economic development significantly. In this respect, it can be characterised as a cycle that feeds the system at each rotation. Since the system gets evolved and developed after each rotation, these industries and institutions should be restructured to be able to feed the new rotation.

HEIs, as one of the most contributing institutions of this information cycle, should be restructured as well. In this respect, governmental interventions are necessary to correct the system and put it in service to development. However, individual projects or short-term programs of the governments do not contribute much to the whole system. If the intention is to develop the system via HE, a long-term comprehensive scheme and integrated investments are required. Thus, LDCs seem to be quite disadvantageous in this process, as they neither have the tradition of an informational society nor the funds to implement long-term comprehensive schemes. What we observe in the LDCs are individual projects and investments together with the privatisation of HE. Governments support them by providing the minimum necessary infrastructure and, most frequently,

land. In this respect, it presents similarities with the previous section, in which central governments were presented as the facilitators of the projects' of capital.

We can conclude such as that information and communication technologies that are the pre-conditions for globalisation and an informational society have affected HE systems dramatically as well. This is because sustainability of the system is dependent on them. Thus, investments of both state and capital intensified on HEIs. However, comprehensive schemes are only possible with a strong state and thus individual projects are common in the LDCs. Moreover, these investments are applied similar throughout the world with the uncritical acceptance of the globalisation agenda and do not vary due to the peculiarities of localities. This reminds the singularisation of local politics with respect to globalisation, which was highlighted in Section One.

Chapter Six

Globalisation and higher education institutions in Istanbul

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the relationship between globalisation and HEIs will be established in the context of the restructuring of Turkish HE system and the FUs. In other words, theoretical linkages of globalisation and HE that was established in the previous chapter will be grounded in Istanbul by using the example of the FUs as semi-private investments in the Turkish context. The chapter will start with an introduction of the Turkish HE system. After introducing the FUs and their rationale, relationship between the globalisation processes and the FUs will be grounded with the use of discursive, logical, political/ideological and spatial relations and the thought programs.

6.2 Higher education in Turkey

From their early times until now, HEIs in Turkey have always been one of the official bodies consulted by the central governments in decision making, executing and hegemony building processes. Concepts of “university” and “professor/lecturer” have traditionally been used as an efficient and convincing tool to implement the governmental policies. HEIs have also been fruitful resources in educating the required personnel for both public and private sectors in parallel to the national policies. It can be argued that the HEIs and the political regime have been in harmony except from a few short periods [Demirer, 2000]. These institutions have never been very successful in terms of knowledge production and teaching capabilities apart from a few distinctive ones because of financial problems, authority restrictions, restrictions on academic freedom etc [Şahin, 1997].

In the post 1980 era, in which radical transformations have gone through in the country, education system in general and HE in particular have been a part of the transformations and supported them as well. If 1960s can be accepted as the starting point of the economic influence on the Turkish HE system with the national plans introduced¹, 1980s and 1990s can be referred to the peak of this influence as HEIs established and

¹ In an education system that is directed according to the economic priorities, the number of qualified labour force required for economic development/success is sufficient to educate. Excess number of students is accepted as extravagance. This strategy brings about the prioritisation of economics to any other areas including social requirements, democracy and the right for education [Ünal, 2002].

closed many programs in parallel to the economic developments throughout the country and the world. In this transformation, restructuring of the capital in the country and the IMF's SAPs have been dramatically influential.

Chossudovsky [1997] explained how SAPs reorient the education systems of any country with the policies below:

- ❑ Decreasing the public resources for education (at least, not increasing them).
- ❑ Privatisation of education.
- ❑ Rationalisation of the entries to the HEIs.
- ❑ Making the tie between the HEIs and the market stronger.
- ❑ Transferring the technological innovations to the education sector without any delay.
- ❑ Re-regulating the education system and administration.

These policies and their implications have been observed in Turkey in the last 20 years and the HE sector has started to restructure itself accordingly. In the last five-year development plan², it was proposed to encourage the private sector to invest more on the education sector. Recent cooperation between industry and HEIs should also be considered in this context.

Tekeli [2005] analysed the scientific research strategies in Turkey and determined four stages since the 1960s, when he accepted as the starting point of these strategies. The first stage started with the military coup of 1960, after which DPT (State Planning Institution) and TUBITAK (Scientific and Technical Research Institution of Turkey) were established. In this stage, limited resources for science were oriented to technological development. Since this period between 1960 and 1980 can be referred as the most planning oriented period in the history of the Turkish Republic, this target was partly achieved. The second stage started, Tekeli argued, with the 1980 military coup. The strategy was determined as to develop the R&D potential of the country. In this respect, the Committee of Science and Technology was founded. However, neither this committee could be functional nor the targets with respect to R&D development could be achieved. The third stage cannot be attributed to a break point such as a military coup or to new institutions and their targets. It is more a totality of documents prepared by different institutions and the strategy comes to fore as increasing the number of

² DPT is responsible of preparing country development plans for five years since 1960. Lately, they prepared the 8th plan.

international publications of the scientists. It is obvious that the third stage is derived from the second stage and it is not sufficient to develop a country's scientific environment. Tekeli [2005] argued that it was then time to determine the fourth stage in the public space interactively and suggested a strategy constituted of three propositions:

- ❑ Research within a scientific approach that has domestic and foreign history;
- ❑ Organisation of research not on individuals but in groups that are established freely within research programs;
- ❑ Development of human resource that can value domestic and foreign research opportunities scientifically and financially.

Thus, Tekeli [2005] argued, scientific production would be socialised, its integration with the EU research would be facilitated and developed, quality and quantity of the “perfection centres” would be increased and domestic research activities would become released from the foreign paradigms. He concluded that a scientific environment that has such an ontological pattern would develop better than an atomistic scientific environment.

There are 77 HEIs in Turkey, among which 53 are public and 24 are private (FUs). All 24 FUs have been established in the last decade. The number of students in these institutions are about 1.5 millions and FUs can only 50.000 of these students [www.yok.gov.tr].

In Turkey, responsible authorities of HE are all central and HEIs are not autonomous. There is a central institution called YOK (Higher Education Institution), which is the responsible authority for all HEIs in Turkey. It is an institution responsible to regulate the HE system and manage the HEIs [Higher Education Act, No.2547, 4.11.1981]. Although most of its members are appointed by the President and the Cabinet, in execution, it is an autonomous institution independent of the central government. YOK was founded in 1982 according to the Article 135 of the 1982 Constitution just after the 1980 military coup and it represents the general centralisation tendency of the coup. It has always been an oppressive institution for the HEIs. Its mission was to uniform all HEIs, academics and students in harmony with the state ideology by imposing sanctions and disciplinary rules. Its policies and regulations have always carried the concern, if not a fear of the strong opposition environment of pre-1980 that had mostly rooted from the HEIs. In time, YOK has become more flexible and democratic. There is now a new

Higher Education Act proposal being discussed in Turkey and this proposal restructures the HEIs in Turkey on the basis of entrepreneurship paradigm [Ünal, 2002]. It issues more autonomy to the HEIs.

Ministry of Education has some responsibilities on HE that are asked by the Higher Education Act, although it is primarily responsible of primary and secondary education. The Ministry has a unit called the General Directorate of Higher Education that is authorised to make the relevant work to determine HE policy, its purpose and principles and its continuous development in the direction of national policies, principles and targets for education in coordination with the HEIs. It is the responsible body to execute the duties that are assigned to the Ministry with the Higher Education Act [Act No.3797, Article: 19].

There are also supporting institutions that feed both the scientific environment and the HE system of the country including TUBITAK³ and TUBA⁴. DPT (State Planning Organisation) is also an important actor as the organisation's main responsibility is to propose national policies with the purpose of efficient use of resources and accelerating development with the five-year development plans they develop [KHK/540, 19.6.1994]. In the last two plans, globalisation and HE have been two very important issues that are generally combined to each other in proposing policies.

In the 8th 5-year development plan, it is argued that developments in globalisation and information technologies bring about the need to educate qualified labour, the priority of productivity and use of advanced technology in production and the opportunities to get a larger share from the welfare. It is continued that Turkey could only become a MDC by increasing its scientific and technological capabilities and this could only be realised by increasing the funds supporting R&D, training sufficient number of researchers and harmonising education with the industries. In this respect, it was found necessary to give more administrative, financial and scientific autonomy to the HEIs and release them from the bureaucratic and central structures. In this respect, YOK

³ TUBITAK is a central institution that was established to regulate, coordinate and encourage scientific research and technological development on various issues of natural sciences in the direction of national economic development targets. Its missions are to develop scientific and technology policies, contribute the establishment of infrastructure and instruments to materialise these policies, support and execute R&D activities and lead to establish the culture of science and technology. It is directly responsible to the prime minister [<http://www.tubitak.gov.tr>].

⁴ TUBA is another central institution directly responsible to the prime ministry. It has scientific, administrative and financial autonomy. Its main purpose is to encourage scientific development in the country [<http://www.tuba.gov.tr>].

would be restructured as an umbrella institution that would execute planning and coordination functions. It was also argued that new HEIs and new units of the existing HEIs could only be established according to objective criteria and an accountable decision-making process. Moreover, the plan emphasised the need to develop a labour force that has the characteristics demanded by the global economy. This labour force should be trained in accordance with the requirements of an informational society. In this purpose, information and communication technologies would be used efficiently and mechanisms for learning from a distance would be developed. This strategy offered the human being as a strategic resource for economy and education policies were oriented mainly towards the economic activities. In order to develop the technological capacities of industries, cooperation between HEIs and industries would be encouraged, technology aid and development centres, new technoparks and technology institutes would be supported to establish a scientific environment and R&D subventions would be increased. Moreover, small and medium sized entrepreneurship would be oriented to R&D and encouraged to interact with the HEIs in the technoparks. Industrial parks on advanced technological fields such as biotechnology and gene engineering, information and communication technologies, new material technologies and clean energy technologies would be promoted to establish. Finally, it was argued that FDI's that would contribute to technological development would be incited. In this plan, it is obvious that developments throughout the world are followed well and policies are developed to catch the target of an informational society. However, it cannot be argued that these policies are prioritised by the central government. There are still many missing links with the informational society on the ground.

Local governments, on the other hand, are only authorised to determine the requirement of education facilities in general in accordance with the pre-determined standards and locate these educational institutions via master plans (1/5000 or upper scale) and implication plans (1/1000 or lower scale). Their general policies and objectives with respect to education are in essence no more than recommendations to the central government, YOK and the potential investors in the HE sector. Local governments' master plans are accepted as legal regulations on land use and these land use decisions must be applied. However, their recommendations in the master plans on the type of

education⁵, the number of students to accommodate and such are not obligatory to apply, although these aspects of HE affect the future of a locality dramatically in not only land use terms but also economically and socially.

Authority restrictions of local governments arise from the purpose of the Constitution to maintain unity in education throughout the country. This situation unavoidably causes contradictory policies and practices between central and local governments, particularly when they are not from the same political party. Together with ideological concerns and interest conflicts, this issue of clashing authorities has made each elected administrative actor at different levels engage in a power struggle. And this power struggle affects the physical, economical and social development of not only HE system and its institutions but also their habitats as well. In fact, these struggles restrict co-operative attitudes between authorities, which are the key for a comprehensive scheme that was determined as necessary before.

A crucial factor for this cooperation is the governing political party. When the political party in force is the same in both central and local authorities, it is hard to observe a struggle but slight policy variations at most. However, starting particularly with the Islamic local government of Istanbul, this had changed dramatically not only because of political and economic interest struggles but also because of ideological concerns and polarisations such as secular-Islamic, east oriented-west oriented and etc. Lately, these struggles are expected to settle again with the victory of AKP at both local and central governmental elections in the early 2000s⁶. However, there appeared a clash between state officials and AKP representatives at both central and local governments arising from ideological differentiations. There are also other political struggles on the issue of HE such as between Ministry of Education and YOK on the debate on the prohibition of wearing turban⁷ in the HEIs. These struggles affect various issues of HE negatively including administrative and financial issues. As important developments in the HE sector have been observed throughout the world, these struggles do not bring anything but a waste of time and slow down the restructuring in the Turkish HE system.

⁵ For example, in the 1995 master plan of Istanbul, HE was proposed to specialise on graduate studies rather than proliferating the number of HEIs offering undergraduate programs. However, as it will be presented in the next chapter, central policies promoted HEIs to proliferate and most of these new HEIs preferred to locate in Istanbul.

⁶ See Yalcintan & Erbas [2004] for a detailed analysis of local elections in Istanbul.

⁷ Turban is a kind of headdress that women are asked to wear by Kuran. It has been a long debate in Turkey whether turban should be worn in public areas such as HEIs and hospital or not. In the mean time, it is not allowed.

Recently, one of the main justifications of these struggles has become the use of globalisation discourse irrespective to subject, as it will be presented in this section in detail. Its wide use at almost every academic discipline together with its abstract use in the popular literature and politics made it an easy way of justifying economic struggles and ideological positionality. It is presented as if opposing globalisation was opposing development and this creates a negative public perception for the opposing bodies. This general tendency is also apparent in the HE issues, as it will be explained in the following chapter.

6.3 Foundation Universities

According to the Article 130 of the 1982 Constitution, HEIs are established and administrated by the state via relevant regulations. Foundations⁸ are also allowed to establish HEIs:

“Institutions of higher education, under the supervision and control of the State, can be established by foundations in accordance with the procedures and principles set forth in the law provided that they do not pursue lucrative aims... The law shall provide for a balanced geographical distribution of universities throughout the country...Institutions of higher education established by foundations shall be subject to the provisions set forth in the Constitution for State institutions of higher education, as regards the academic activities, recruitment of teaching staff and security, except for the financial and administrative matters.”

This can be interpreted as a step towards the truly private and autonomous HEIs. For long, state HEIs have been presented as inefficient and non-competitive. It was argued that state was not able to meet neither quantity nor quality aspects of HE demand anymore. Furthermore, existing public HEIs are said to be not compatible with the

⁸ At this point, the term “foundation” in the Turkish context should be explained. In its common meaning, foundation is the appropriation of a good or property or the income obtained from that good or property to some specific purposes. Foundations as semi-public (or semi-private) institutions have a long history in Turkey rooting from the Ottomans and Islam. In its very original state, they were established as charitable institutions in order Muslims to donate via. It had become widespread during the Ottoman period. Since there were no property rights in the Ottoman law, wealthy people preferred to donate their properties to foundations in order to guarantee their use by their inheritance when they die. Today, their purpose of public benefit continues as well as those purposes “behind the scene”, this time with different individual benefits.

For the case of FUs, the specific purpose is higher education. In Turkish law, foundations are accepted to be semi-public/private institutions because their establishment is dependent on their objectives, which must seek the public good. In some cases, they are considered to be in the status of association/society since they root from civil society, in some others, they are considered as public institutions since they serve a kind of public service. Recent examples in Turkey present Associations that were transformed into Foundations in order to benefit from some advantages such as tax exemption, difficulty of its abolishment and continuous influence of its founders [Sanver, 2000].

global era. Hence, private funds that do not seek commercial benefits could be transferred to HE via the foundations in order to overcome these problems.

However, there are doubts on these justifications⁹. Pre-requisites for the establishment of the FUs are controlled by several regulations. In the first instance, we can argue that proliferation of the FUs was aimed since the requirements are not hard to fulfil, if not flexible. Still, there are two main requirements for the FUs to establish, which aim to prevent them to function at the metropolitan areas and with profitable programs of excess demand such as economics, administration, management and such only. These two main requirements aimed to proliferate both their locations and field of studies. For the later, FUs are asked to establish science and literature programs before starting their education activities. For the former, their education and research levels are asked to be comparable to the existing state HEIs at their locality. It is to say that if they cannot compete with the existing HEIs at a specific locality, they are not allowed to locate there. By this token, it should be aimed to distribute the HEIs throughout the country and prevent them concentrate in the metropolitan areas that will demand their service most. However, it is not clear in the regulation how the education levels would be compared. This weakness of the legislation brought about the concentration of the FUs at the metropolitan areas, where they consider the more advantageous. We can argue here that if this condition was applied strictly, none of the FUs could have been founded in Istanbul, Ankara and even in Izmir, where very traditional and strong public HEIs do exist.

Article 26 is about financial support to FUs by the state after completing two academic years in education. Accordingly, state support cannot be more than 45 % of a FU's annual budget and should be determined by the Cabinet according to the proposal of

⁹ Ihsan Dogramacı was the most important actor behind the recognition of this right to foundations. He had been in charge at YOK as president for many years after the 1980 military coup and was also the president of the Hacettepe University Foundation, which established the first FU in 1985. It is interesting that although Hacettepe University was a strong state university, its foundation preferred to found a FU instead of supporting its original university. This operation was justified such as that a state university was so much bounded with bureaucracy and there was no way to improve it. However, Dogramacı was also the founder and president of YOK for years, which was the origin of all those sanctions and bureaucracy, and he never attempted to reduce those obstacles the development of state HEIs.

On the other hand, Bilkent University has become one of the leading universities of Turkey in a short period of time. However, their success cannot be generalised to the other FUs. It was supported by the state not only with land, buildings and cash but also with relevant legislation. Today, Bilkent University is surrounded with a huge development of Bilkent villa sites, Bilkent housing developments, Bilkent hotel and Bilkent plaza (office and shopping mall). Most of the revenues of these developments are arguably transferred to the university via the foundation. This development presents an example to the speculative scenarios developed for KU that will be analysed later on.

Higher Education Institution (YOK) and the opinion of the Ministry of Education [Regulation 1B]. In 1996, this article was re-regulated after the initial observations of the geographical concentrations at metropolitan areas (see table 6.2) and the range of programs thought in these universities (see table 6.1). Accordingly, FUs were promoted to establish universities out of the metropolitan areas and to establish programmes in natural sciences, engineering, architecture and medicine with the new regulation. By 2000, yet, there are only two FUs established out of Istanbul and Ankara¹⁰ and the thought programs of FUs are parallel to the demands of market forces.

6.4 Relating globalisation and foundation universities

In this section, globalisation processes will be related to the FUs with the use of theoretical findings of the previous chapter. In this regard, logical, discursive, political, economical and location patterns will be founded.

6.4.1. Logical Relations

Florax [1992: 35] argued, “single main output of the university’s production process is knowledge... University can be classified as a multi-product firm with three types of output: human capital, research based knowledge and knowledge-related external services.” When compared to the requisites, needs and characteristics of the globalisation processes, similarities are apparent. Globalisation needs a specialised workforce and HEIs are the institutions providing them. Innovation and creativity are the leading factors of globalisation and they are still mostly produced at the HEIs¹¹. Sadlak [1998: 101] argued that:

“All societies, whether modern or modernising, post-industrial or developing, are experiencing increasing demand for access to HE, foremost in order to respond to an increasing requirement for trained citizens for an economy, which more and more depends upon knowledge-related skills and the ability to handle information.”

Globalisation processes require external services from knowledge producers in order to integrate knowledge with production more than ever and HEIs are among the leading actors of this integration. Moreover, restructuring of the HEIs reflects this integration.

¹⁰ For the academic year 2001/2002, KU is granted with 939.402.000.000 TL, which is about 600.000 US\$. Another important point is that Fatih University, which is known as an Islam oriented institution, could not get any financial support from the state once again [Hurriyet, 27/07/2001]. Date of this information refers back to the coalition government of central political parties of DSP, ANAP & MHP. In the AKP period, Fatih University is expected to have access to the funds they were kept away for long.

¹¹ According to the data from OECD in 1988, HE has % 58.4 share in the overall R&D activities in Turkey. This is the highest share among all the OECD countries.

HEIs are accepted as part of the physical and organisational structures of the informational society. In this sense, they are either adaptation institutions for the informational society or outcomes of the globalization processes. Since the era of globalisation is often labelled with information and knowledge and since HEIs are still important producers of these products, both demand and supply of HEIs would be higher. It is also because of the new professional and knowledge related jobs that require highly skilled and specialised labour force. Liberalisation policies attached to the globalisation processes together with the so-called insufficiency of state universities in the global era (Castells, 1998), then, provide the framework for the privatisation of the HE system, which is represented by the FUs in Turkey.

6.4.2 Discursive Relation

Depending on the interpreter's philosophical and political outlook and personality, there are different meanings of HE in general and its institutions (HEIs) in specific. Meyerson [1968] summarised some of these possible meanings in an earlier study. Accordingly, a HEI might be defined with the following:

- ❑ detached, removed, rational, questioning, non-practical centre of knowledge and research, particularly esoteric, specialised;
- ❑ both a symbol and embodiment of tradition and stability of values and culture;
- ❑ seedbed of revolution either in politics or behaviour;
- ❑ ladder to success, the way to status and career satisfaction;
- ❑ tool of the military or industrial complexes, supreme manipulator of individuals;
- ❑ idea frontier of technology, social and economic changes, source of vitality in these areas;
- ❑ not –too- efficient handmaiden to society.

These meanings are quite different from each other and it is impossible for one person to agree on all of them. In addition, some of them are quite conservative, thus cannot be necessarily linked to the characteristics of the new era. The meaning concerned with tradition and stability of values and culture, for example, has no place in our increasingly multicultural and post-modern life-worlds surrounded with dynamism and liberalism. Interpretation as the tool of military complex will receive critics since HEIs

are generally accepted constructive rather than destructive. Furthermore, even though it is sometimes the case, people and particularly scholars, would not tend to accept the inefficiency problem. However, there are a few meanings that majority can or would like to agree on. These are its rationality, questioning structure and specialisation; its acceptance as a ladder to success; and its leadership on technological, social and economic changes. These are also the points that we should start looking for or founding relations between globalisation processes and the HEIs.

Economic rationality has surrounded the world with the invasion of global markets. HEIs have always been the places for rationality, however, they have not forgot to question the new developments urging for rationality. Specialisation is exactly what those markets are looking for and that is the ladder to success in the new era, too. The most specialised work still comes from the HEIs. Governments' special emphasis presents them as a ladder to success not only for individuals but also for the localities. Questioning, on the other hand, can easily be related with the increasing democratisation of the world. Finally, universities and research centres are accepted to be the leading actors of the informational era to create and transmit knowledge via new technologies. However, their leadership on technological, economic and social changes is somehow under threat particularly with the introduction of technopoles, R&D activities, independent research centres, etc.

In this regard, a discursive relation between the FUs and the globalisation processes is observed apparently in Turkey. In the advertisements of FUS, it is very common to read terms like “globalisation”, “global competition”, “global”, “information society”, etc. FUs tend to present themselves as HEIs of the information age, which implies that the state HEIs are not and use this discourse widely. Some advertisements demonstrating this relationship are counted below [Radikal Newspaper “University Guide Supplement”, 26/07/2000]:

“...Doğuş University aims to graduate youngsters, who can cope with the global competition of the 21st century...”

“...Işık University will be Turkey’s global university in the 2000s, too...”

“...Kadir Has University presents opportunities to youngsters, who would like to realise the global fantasies of the 21st century...”

“...Haliç University educates human beings for the information society...”¹²

A more detailed analysis of this discourse will be presented in the KU case in the next section.

In this regard, there is confusion in understanding whatever is global and/or local. Another discursive relation can be found in a statement of Rothblatt [1988]. Accordingly, the HEIs in general are called urban “if their location is in a city, if their student body is recruited locally, if improved access is emphasised, if professional or specialised programs of study are featured, and if the institution repeatedly shows itself sensitive to urban social and economic problems” [Rothblatt, 1988: 130]. The antonym of urban university was probably rural or traditional university. “Urban” in this statement is very similar to the “local” in the meaning it takes place in the globalisation debate. Not only because the students are local but also a special sensitivity to local social and economic issues are emphasised together with specialised programs of study on these issues. However, today, universities tend to emphasise internationalism and globalisation. They offer specialised programs on these issues. They also look forward to hosting international students rather than the local ones. Thus, the acronym of “urban” in the sense of “local” became “global” today. What is still not explanatory of these evidences is that “locality and universality are not antithetical. The aspiration of a university toward universality and its partial attainment owes much to local community” [Shils, 1988: 211]. Bender [1988: 294] added to this argument that:

“The university has always claimed the world, not its host city, as its domain. Whatever its local roots, the university historically has striven for learning that at least reaches toward universal significance. Clearly, however, the relation between provincialism and locality on the one hand and universalism and translocality on the other has not always been direct. The local in some cities is at least cosmopolitan, if not universal”.

The HEIs can have international students and scholars and still be interested with local problems. Specialisation can be led according to the needs of that specific locality and internationalisation may indeed be more beneficiary for a locality with increased funds

¹² However, on the contrary to these advertised claims, one of the columnists from a best-selling newspaper *Hurriyet*, Oktay Eksi [Hurriyet, 10/05/1998] analogised foundation universities to “one director-one seal” type governmental buildings, which were often opened symbolically at rural parts of the country by the politicians before elections in order to get more votes from the region. In fact, most of the FUs started with a few officers and academics at transitory buildings. However, in general, they began to develop quickly with their funds available.

and international experience. However, evidence suggests that the FUs prefer to emphasise global rather than local at least in their marketing discourse.

6.4.3 A political choice: Privatisation

Impacts of globalisation processes have been crucial in the political choices and decision-making recently. Preference of growth to equality is now an established liberal economic policy, which can be labelled as global. However, growth is sometimes preferred under economic and political conditions, which are not truly globalised. Turkish government preferred growth to equality in the case of HE in the beginning of the 1990s. By then, FUs are introduced to the Turkish HE system. This can be interpreted as the initial step towards truly private HEIs¹³, which has become commonplace throughout the world. In most of the MDCs, HEIs are increasingly seen as business like institutions [Florax, 1992]. The idea of privatising HEIs is taken from the MDCs. It is often emphasised in the Turkish media that most of HEIs in the MDCs were already privatised. But as Shils [1988] argued the states have always been the primary sponsor of the HEIs even in the USA because HEIs were not only very costly to manage but also local interests of the businessmen were decreasing lately. This trend was presented as even stronger in Europe, where social welfare state is settled more.

Barkin et al (1996) explained the privatisation of the HEIs such as “market for consumer goods become global, individuals in many city regions are also beginning to rely on those markets to deliver what were once semi-public services, such as education and recreation”. Urry [1998: 5] added to the debate that for the HEIs, “attempts to defend their position as publicly owned and funded bodies will mostly fall on deaf ears and one can expect further uneven privatisation”. He concluded such as “there is an increasing dependence of HE upon imperial patronage” [p. 6]. Castells and Hall [1994: 232], on the other hand, opposed the private HEIs trend in the following manner:

“universities can only play their innovative role if they remain fundamentally autonomous institutions, setting up their own research agendas, and establishing their own criteria for

¹³ The first and only truly private university experience of Turkey was in 1965, when Private Education Institutions Act No.625 was put in force. Its 1st Article recognised the right to the private sector to establish universities. However, these establishments could not succeed to become proper academic institutions, and consequently the Constitution Court cancelled the Act in 1971. During those six years, many private universities were founded on apartment and office building floors without sufficient physical infrastructure for higher education. If one had money, he could easily get a diploma without getting the most basic knowledge of his profession. There were interesting slogans that those universities had used such as “your diploma is ready at the seaside” or “give the money get the diploma” [Saner, 2000].

scientific quality and career promotion. ‘In-house’ universities, or research programs entirely dependent upon an external funding source, are critically vulnerable to special interest pressures, and will in the long term undermine their own research and training quality”.

However, Castells and Hall [1994] also posited that private HEIs would link the industry and research in a way that would end with economically useful research.

Furthermore, it is obvious that private HEIs affect the equality of opportunity in HE negatively, which is a constitutional condition in Turkey. However, it is also argued that private HEIs would provide higher quality and quantity in the long run, which is not yet proved, at the expense of equality of opportunity. In this choice, politicians preferred the lucky quantity and yet uncertain quality for the sake of growth rather than equality. This is a common feature in the contemporary times to sacrifice from equality in return of any growth. Consequently, privatisation in general and private HEIs in particular can be linked to liberalisation and growth trends that are attached to the globalisation processes.

6.4.4 Specialised labour and thought programs

Global economy introduced some specific professions to our lifeworlds. Among them are the producer services that provide various product-related solutions for their specific market edge, FIRE¹⁴ activities that are very important for the functioning of the global economy and communication and information related jobs that do not only form the basis of but also are the driving forces of the globalisation processes.

As these professions have become popular and the market increasingly demanded them, individual demands for these professions in the HEIs have also increased. In other words, it is observed that youngsters prefer these professions to specialise on to make a better living since these are the most popular and rewarding professions of the era. This conjunction of need and preference increased the number of departments and their quotas in the HEIs in relation to these professions. In other words, composition of thought programs and distribution of students in the programs are re-designed according to the particular needs of globalisation processes.

¹⁴ Finance, insurance and real estate are abbreviated as FIRE activities.

On the other hand, it is estimated that in the next 40 years %40 of all jobs in the MDCs would require 16 years of schooling and training¹⁵. Countries that do not provide HE to at least %12-18 of the relevant age group would arguably have no future (Sadlak, 1998). As policy options, life-long training programs are introduced to transform the existing workers into new professions, together with a restructuring of education in general and HE in particular and proliferation of education institutions in the MDCs. Part of this restructuring and proliferation has been achieved by the privatisation process mentioned above.

We now observe the proliferation of globally popular thought programs in the HEIs targeting the producer services, although the links between HEIs and professional labour market have become looser in the age of flexible employment [Scott, 1998]. In this respect, restructuring of the HEIs with respect to the composition of thought programs and the distribution of students to these programs has come to fore. Kishun, [1998] related this restructuring process with the market forces such as that:

“The market ideology influences the nature of the university towards what has been termed the ‘market university’. The primary characteristic of the market university is the commodification of knowledge which can be manufactured, bought and sold.”

In this sense Humboldt’s ideal of “living for science” is history now. For example, some Russian HEIs have declared in the last decade that they would close their philosophy departments. This is surely not a coincidence to take place after the dissolution of the socialist regime. Under capitalism, HEIs and the market have always been in relation to each other. However, what we observe in the global era is “HEIs for the market”. Scott [1998: 117-8] developed this argument to a further point by suggesting that:

“Student flows are now driven by the market rather than by the state. It is not accident the most popular subjects among overseas students, certainly in Britain, are business, management and accountancy. This is a marked contrast with 10 or 20 years ago when science, engineering and public administration were the most popular subjects... There has been a dramatic shift in the pattern of economic development. There is far less emphasis on big infrastructure and engineering projects, often World Bank sponsored, and far more on stimulating the business, entrepreneurial economy.”

According to the below table that presents the significance of these thought programs in the FUs, almost 40% of the students studying in the FUs are enrolled to programs related to economics, management and administrative studies. This percentage is

¹⁵ This figure is yet % 11 in Turkey.

considerably lower in the state HEIs that either cannot adapt the market needs quickly or function with other principles as well or both. Graduates of these subjects and their specialised focuses are what the global market exactly needs. These graduates are most likely to become professionals of the global economy. They usually aim to work for multinational companies and banks that can afford to pay high salaries. In this sense, the relationship with the economic globalisation is direct.

Engineering and architecture is coming second both in Istanbul and Turkey with about % 21 of the total number of enrolled students. This is not particularly related to the country's still developing economy and its need of engineers and architects since the last 5-year development plan presented no need for these professions. It is more likely to be the parents' choices for their children's prestigious future. It is still believed in Turkey that engineers and architects are high status professionals together with medical doctors and they are highly respected particularly in the less developed parts of Anatolia. On the other hand, since engineering is essential for an innovative milieu and architects are necessary for

Table 6.1 Number of undergrad students enrolled to the field of studies in the FUs in 2000

Name of the FU	Communications	Economy, Management & Administration	Engineering & Architecture	Fine Arts	Law	Medicine & Health	Music	Natural & Human Sciences & Literature	Total
Atilim		481	125					56	662
Bahcesehir	98	102	45					15	260
Baskent	105	711	1087		388	395		23	2709
Beykent		143	140	151				78	512
Bilkent		2317	980	1215			251	1239	6002
Cag		277			138			244	659
Dogus		451	385					43	879
Fatih		1087	317			0		1180	2584
Galatasaray	171	593	366		182			19	1331
Halic		163	30					24	217
Isik		468	596					73	1137
Istanbul Bilgi	1128	1314			301			426	3169
Istanbul Kultur		320	483		118			92	1013
Kadir Has		113	95			40		6	254
Koc		692						259	951
Maltepe	209	37	212		187	38		12	695
Sabanci		87	163						250
Yeditepe	257	696	502	269	115	233		289	2361
Total	1968	10052	5526	1635	1429	706	251	4078	25645
%	7.67	39.20	21.55	6.38	5.57	2.75	0.98	15.90	100.00
Istanbul Total	1765	6266	3334	420	903	311	0	2783	15613
%	11.30	40.13	21.35	2.69	5.79	1.99	0	17.82	100.00

- Cankaya University's data was not available.
- Source: TC Cumhurbaşkanlığı, 2000a.

the reconstruction of the cities, this trend does not create any contradictions with the processes of globalisation¹⁶.

Another field of study to be mentioned here is the communication studies. Share of the students enrolled to these faculties in the FUs is about % 8 of the total. This percentage rises to 13 % in the case of Istanbul. This is a significant rate for a very specific field of study, which is directly related with the revolution in communication technologies that drives the globalisation processes¹⁷.

As most of the other aspects of globalisation, the need to HEIs to meet the qualified labour force demand of the market is not unprecedented. Findings above recall a quotation from the 19th century from Professor George Jardine of Glasgow University [quoted by Rothblatt, 1988: 124]: “A university should produce useful men, not great men”. In this regard, useful education has always been attributed to the development of a country. On the other hand, cities are used to demand some specialised services required by the development stage they are in. This varying demand reflects the dynamism of the cities. Consequently, FUs seem to dedicate themselves to produce useful men and education for the cities in the global era.

Foundation of medical department in the London University can be accepted as one of the first examples of promotion due to the particular needs of a city -which was sanitation and physical condition for London in the 19th century. Similarly, Kings College founded an engineering faculty in London, where has always been the hub of the Kingdom’s communication networks [Rothblatt, 1988]. 1960s, as Florax [1992: 26] reported, had a similar need for educated manpower and this had resulted with an enhanced geographical decentralisation of the university system. During this period, labour shortage boomed and central governments had to fulfil the market demand by new HEIs. It is worth to mention here that this shortage was also the result of a restructuring driven by technical change, which is not unfamiliar to the globalisation reader.

¹⁶ For the Expo 92 project of Spain, one of the design principles was to transfer the engineering school of Seville University to Cartuja together with its research labs and training centres in telecommunications, electronics and computer sciences. It is also important to note here that Castells and Hall [1994] argued that designers of the project achieved to leave the HEI’s humanity faculties, which would not be useful for the project.

¹⁷ More relation can be founded with a detailed analysis of the departments in those faculties.

There is one other aspect of this issue worth to mention here. Long ago, in the 14th century, there appeared the need for an educated elite to be employed in specialised functions such as parliament, chancellery, courts of justice and etc. Existing HEIs could not meet this demand and new ones should have been established. Politically, these HEIs strengthened the governments of that age prestigiously. And this political credibility, in time, has become one of the major driving forces to establish new HEIs without any planning and such [Florax, 1992]. This evidence from the history presents similarities to our era. Intervention of politics on the establishment and location decisions of HEIs, on the other hand, brings an inflation of HEIs, some of which end up with just a few students and academics. This populist behaviour of governments is still on the agenda in Turkey. Each central government starts working with the promise of proliferating the HEIs in the country. Members of the parliament struggle with each other to decide where to construct the HEIs. And the lucky city gains a “one stamp-one administrator” type HEI building¹⁸. In Turkey, there are more than 10 urban HEIs that can be categorised in this group. The state has to support them with various subventions initially until they develop to become a functioning HEI. This period varies according to the demand of HE in that region. In the case of private HEIs, the result would certainly be the closure of those HEIs that cannot function efficiently. In fact, they would not be established in the first place as they do not promise any profitability. It is then a matter of political choice. Although the parliaments insistence to establish HEIs in their city of origins has no legitimacy, they contribute to the development of those cities and their regions in the long run. Thus, the subventions of the state seem to be a need for the balanced development of the country, however, the establishment and location decisions of the HEIs would better be carried out in accordance with the needs and demands. Consequently, privatisation of the HEIs cannot be supported totally as they would tend to concentrate on the localities, where demand is the most and this would harm not only the balanced development of the country but also the equality of opportunity in education throughout the country. Furthermore, private HEIs would not meet the needs and demands of the underdeveloped localities in a country and would tend to concentrate their thought programs at popular ones in the developed localities.

¹⁸ This is how these HEIs are named in Turkey as they only have a building with a few officials and academics initially. In their early years, they lack academics and students to function. However, this trend of establishing HEIs in the parliament’s city of origin continues, as it is believed that HEIs bring wealth together with different cultures to the cities.

These historical evidences present that there have always been a new need for educated manpower for specialised services in each stage of development. And each time, this brought an inevitable restructuring in the HE systems as either revision of the existing or introduction of new thought programs. This trend is, thus, not unprecedented and cannot be presented as a special relationship between globalisation processes and HE. This is more a relationship of HE with its era. And in this era, the requirements of the globalisation processes affect the restructuring in the HE system. Politics, on the other hand, determines the direction of these attempts. It can go for either do populism or efficiency.

6.4.5 Location pattern of the foundation universities

Another relation between globalisation processes and the FUs can be established through their location patterns. Theory of local public goods suggests that central governments should try to establish a geographically well spread distribution of the HEIs [Florax, 1992]. However, it is now questionable whether HEIs are truly public institutions, as the privatisation of HE gets widespread. In this regard, expecting the FUs to behave according to this principle would be unrealistic. Below is the table presenting the locations of the FUs in Turkey.

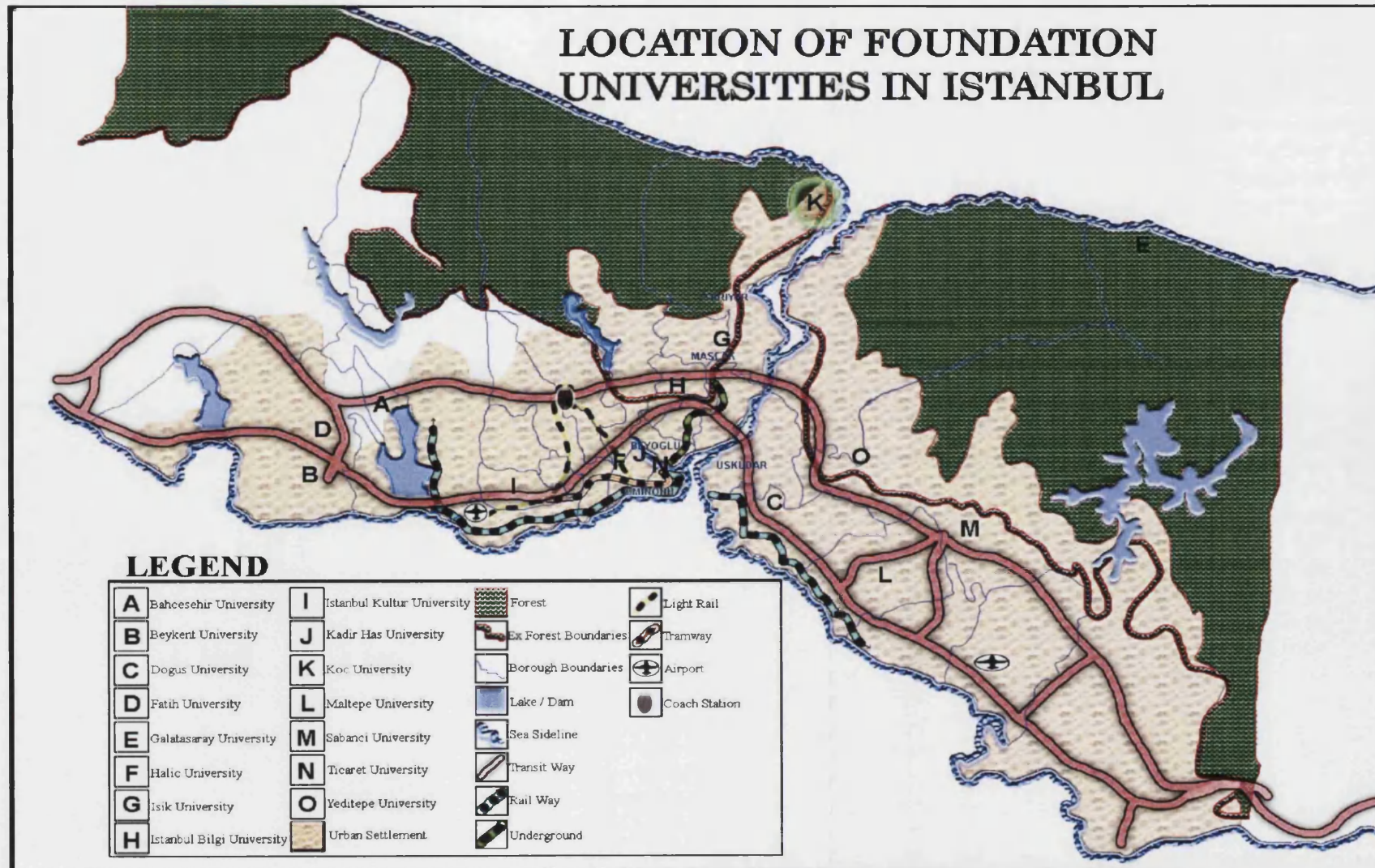
Below table illustrates that most of the FUs were located in Istanbul and almost all in three metropolitan areas of Turkey. Thus, we can argue without further investigation that concentration of the FUs in the metropolitan areas, and particularly in Istanbul, is apparent for some reason. Florax [1992] argued that HEIs tended to locate in the major central cities when there was a central HE and research system -such as YOK in Turkey. Moreover, HEIs themselves desire to be in the metropolitan areas. This preference has many reasons that most of them will be discussed in the next chapter. However, one of the location criteria of the HEIs is important at this point. Their desire to be in the centre of economic, administrative and managerial issues represents that HE and capital have a mutual relationship, according to which each wants to locate close to the other. This trend is not unprecedented. However, providing some additional information may open the ways to link the trend with the globalisation processes.

Table 6.2 Location choice of the FUs

University	Location
Atilim University	Ankara
Bahcesehir University	Avcilar – West of Istanbul
Baskent University	Ankara
Beykent University	Buyukcekmece – West of Istanbul
Bilkent University	Ankara
Cag University	Tarsus
Cankaya University	Ankara
Dogus University	Istanbul
Fatih University	Buyukcekmece – West of Istanbul
Galatasaray University	Sile – North of Istanbul
Halic University	Beyoglu – CBD of Istanbul
Isik University	Ayazaga – CBD of Istanbul
Istanbul Bilgi University	Sisli – CBD of Istanbul
Istanbul Kultur University	Istanbul
Izmir Economy University	Izmir
Kadir Has University	Cibali & Selimpasa – CBD and West of Istanbul
Koc University	Rumeli Hisari – North of Istanbul
Maltepe University	Cevizli – East of Istanbul
Sabanci University	Kurtkoy – Northeast of Istanbul
Yeditepe University	Kayisdagi – East of Istanbul

Source: This table is prepared on the basis of the data collected for the case study.

Map 6.1 Locations of FUs in Istanbul



Note: This map is produced from a number of maps; taken from the web site of IBB & IETT, IBB Urban Generation Directorate and from various sources

In this respect, Fischer [2001] related the profound restructuring in the world economy with the system of innovation, in which HEIs have a significant role. Accordingly, system of innovation was defined as “a set of actors such as firms, other organisations, and institutions that interact in the generation, diffusion and use of new -and economically useful- knowledge in the production process” [Fischer, 2001: 200]. He continued that it had four key building blocks: manufacturing sector, scientific sector, sector of producer services and institutional sector. HEIs were accepted as the main institutions of scientific sector with their teaching and research functions. Fischer emphasised that territorially based systems were built on spatial proximity, which could be accepted as an explanation for the concentration of the HEIs in the metropolitan areas. Supporting this argument, Fritsch [2001] also found out that efficiency of innovation activity increased in easy accessible locations with high density of economic activity. Existence of education and research institutions as well as easy availability of information was put forward among the few key reasons of this increase. In this sense, increase in knowledge spillovers was the key determinant. As Audretsch [2001] put it, the most prevalent model of innovative activity was the knowledge production function, which linked knowledge inputs to innovative outputs. He made a distinction between information and knowledge and depending on this distinction, he explained the importance of geographical location with respect to classical transportation costs approach:

“Information... can be easily codified and has a singular meaning and interpretation. By contrast, knowledge is vague, difficult to codify and often only serendipitously recognised. While the marginal cost of transmitting information across geographic space has been rendered invariant by the telecommunications revolution, the marginal cost of transmitting knowledge, especially tacit knowledge, rises with distance” [Audretsch, 2001: 7].

Audretsch continued that knowledge was best transmitted with face-to-face interaction through frequent and repeated contact. Thus, geographic proximity matters in transmitting knowledge. He also highlighted the concept of strategic management for regions, which contained development and enhancement of knowledge and ideas at its heart. This has also, he argued, “harnessed the propensity for knowledge and innovative activity to concentrate geographically as a locomotive of regional economic development” [p. 24]. And then he re-scaled the very abstract expression of “What is good for General Motors is good for America!” into “Detroit!”. Thus, we can argue that

location of a HEI into a locality with an established innovative industry will increase the efficiency of that local economy together with the HEI itself. This argument is also useful in explaining the state intervention.

However, Castells and Hall [1994] found out that “spatial concentration of research activities has little effect on scientific innovation in the absence of a deliberate program to favour synergy, and of specific mechanisms to implement such a program” [1994: 81]. They stated that building a new HEI would develop a milieu of innovation. However, it would do little to help national industrialisation or regional development in the short and medium term. It could only work if the locality was already dynamic or was able to develop its own dynamism. Then, Istanbul and other metropolitan cities can still be accepted as good locations for the HEIs with their dynamic economies to create innovative milieu. Castells and Hall [1994] emphasised the existing HEIs as they would be more profitable to invest in the metropolitan areas rather than creating new scientific cities. Florax [1992], on the other hand, suggested that closing down or opening of a new HEI would not have a dramatic impact on the economic growth of core regions. However, he continued, it would definitely do so in a peripheral region, if it had a profound industry.

This mostly quantitative part of the literature is not thoroughly explanatory for the location choices of private HEIs although it provides important information on the state intervention issue. Still, a more qualitative analysis is necessary to understand the location choices of HEIs more comprehensively.

Urry argued that what had become significant in the global era was the “relative, as opposed to the absolute, location of a particular social group or town or *university* in relation to the scapes” [1998: 2] so that the subject could become a node in the wider network. Istanbul is the first destination of finance, people, ideas, goods and technology in Turkey. A private HEI, as most of the other commercial activities, would inherently wish to benefit from these flows by locating itself close. Therefore, together with other factors such as existing capital and population, level of income and academic environment, global flows should be counted as one of the major factors affecting the location decisions of FUs, if not the primary, since global flows affect the other factors dramatically and continuously as well. Urry [1998: 7] explained the dependence of HEIs to the global flows as follows:

“Any one institution of HE is wholly dependent upon the systems of global communications and transportation since its contribution to the global stock of information is tiny. HEIs are hugely dependent upon each other and many other knowledge providers. No ivory tower remains... HEIs are forced into global co-operation both with other HEIs and with numerous other information and image producers.”

In this sense, we can argue that concentration of the FUs in Istanbul is closely related to cooperation, too. One example of this co-operation aspect is the part time lecturers of the FUs, who are originally employed by the public HEIs that are located in the metropolitan areas and hired with short-term contracts. Since Istanbul and Ankara are the cities where most of the academics are settled, it is normal to observe the FUs tend to locate in these cities. On the other hand, coordination with the HEIs abroad is only possible if you settle on a node of communication and transportation, for which Istanbul and Ankara are again the most advantageous cities in Turkey.

Furthermore, students would also prefer to accommodate in Istanbul because of the facilities it provides. It is the centre of entertainment, art, music as well as the academic debates in Turkey. Although it is also the most expensive city in Turkey, this choice of students is apparent from the HE entry examination score league that presents the HEIs in Istanbul at the top.

In sum, a HEI, either public or private, would prefer to choose locating in Istanbul in Turkey in order to benefit from many benefits arising from agglomeration economies, innovative systems and cooperation. However, this tendency would not only harm the equality of opportunities aspect in HE but also feed the unbalanced development in the country. Thus, state intervention appears as necessary and privatisation should be kept limited.

6.5. Concluding remarks: Globalisation, Turkish higher education system and foundation universities

If Callan's [1998] criteria for the internationalisation of HE, which were counted in the previous chapter, are revisited, we can see that some of those criteria are already provided by the FUs in Istanbul. The FUs with the advantage of being new and flexible semi private institutions can easily achieve the curricular reform, which takes time in the state HEIs because of their bureaucratic and static structures. There are cross-border institutional partnerships, which will most probably proliferate quickly, such as the one

between Bilgi University and LSE¹⁹. International work placements are a critical aspect of the FUs since there is not sufficient number of academics in Turkey. They do attract Turkish and foreign academics with advantageous work schemas, thus, bringing the scholar competition back to the country²⁰. This will inevitably increase the quality of scholars working in Turkish HEIs. However, it should be emphasised that unequal conditions of this competition will definitely harm the public HEIs that cannot compete with the flexible work schemes offered by the FUs because of either restrictive legislations and bureaucratic obstacles or limited financial budgets. Another important criterion is multi-lingualism. Most of the FUs offer HE in English or in one of the other European languages in addition to their wide range of special language programs including Japanese, Russian, Arabic, and Spanish etc. Consequently, in their initial years, FUs have already provided half of the criteria that Callan [1998] introduced for the internationalisation of HE. Providing the rest, such as research co-operation and discipline-based networks, will take some time since these relations need longer periods and a priori recognition.

In this chapter, it is found out that there is strong evidence to relate globalisation to the FUs in Turkey. These relations start with a logical one presenting HEIs' restructuring as a requirement in the global era and supported with a strong discursive one that can be observed in the FUs' existence as well as their advertisements. Furthermore, strong relations between HEIs and privatisation in the liberalisation process of Turkish economy are established. A more direct and quantitative relation is found between the taught programs of the FUs and requirements of the global economy. Last but not least, location patterns of the FUs are found parallel to the logic of globalisation. A strong evidence of concentration in the metropolitan areas is also apparent just like the global activities / functions. Moreover, they tend to locate in or close to the CBDs, at beautiful sights and on the main transportation axes in the metropolitan areas.

Moreover, this chapter presented the authorities for HE in Turkey. A central authority is apparent. YOK and Ministry of Education are the utmost important ones. There are other supporting state agencies with autonomous structures such as TUBITAK and TUBA but the cooperation between these institutions is insufficient. Ideological struggles introduced by the Islamic oriented AKP added on this uncooperative attitude

¹⁹ There is a Turkish studies chair at LSE administered by Bilgi University personnel in addition to the exchange of students and scholars.

²⁰ This aspect has already become a slogan as "reversing the brain immigration".

and slowed down the restructuring of Turkish HE system. Local governments have little to say in determining the faith of their localities with respect to HE. Their only authority is to determine the location of HEIs via master plans. The case study will demonstrate that even this authority was removed from the local governments.

FUs, as products of capital, are promoted by the central authorities to restructure the HE system in Turkey in accordance with the informational society target. In this approach, a transfer of responsibilities to the private sector is apparent because of various insufficiencies and pressures arising from international organisations and capital.

These findings present that the case is appropriate to answer the main questions of this thesis. However, it is important to note here that any huge scale metropolitan development can be related to the globalisation processes in a similar way. Thus, these two chapters, at the same time, demonstrated a single example of how deconstruction works in analysing the globalisation processes in localities.

Chapter Seven

Location of higher education institutions

“Every institution exists in an ecological setting. No institution or any part of an institution is free from the necessity of interaction with its immediate locality. Its physical existence is located in a particular place; its members live in particular places; they often live near each other; their survival as physiological organisms depends on local institutions to supply food, maintain lines of transportation, and ensure public order”

[Shils, 1988: 210].

7.1 Introduction

Significance of the KU case is its specific location in Istanbul. Oppositions mainly arose from its location due to environmental concerns. During the location decision, local actors, including the authorised local governments, were excluded from the process as much as possible with the use of legislations that favour the central bodies. Consequently, the relevant central authorities and the investor made the location decision that has the potential to influence the future of the city dramatically. This will be detailed in the next section. Before that, we should find out why the oppositions of local actors arose. In this regard, historical and recent criteria to assess the locations of HEIs should be put forward. Moreover, impacts of the HEIs and their locations on the cities should be discussed to find out whether the oppositions are scientifically right or not. Throughout this chapter, it should also be kept in mind that HEIs increasingly act as developers in the localities and land has then become one of the most important factors for the development of HEIs.

7.2 Location of higher education institutions

“The university has a very strong sense of place. It is a place where students come (& from which others are excluded). Its physical presence, whether spread around a city or on a Brave New World campus, is still very powerful. And the university is more than a place, it is also a space, a relatively autonomous space protected from the transgressions of politics or the market, a place in which free inquiry and critical learning can flourish. (Although many universities are not like that, it remains a powerful idea)” [Scott, 1998].

There are not many recent studies on the specific issue of university locations. This may be related to the increased impact of market forces that makes the classic location factors blurred. Thus, new and qualitative analysis of location is necessary.

“... All societies are faced with location choice problems for the facilities that provide goods and services. The unfettered, unregulated free enterprise milieu is widely recognised to be unacceptable. Now, the search is on for new political paradigms, possibly along the lines of the Regulatory State, ...which appear to combine the advantages of the market while offering sufficient protection to accommodate the views of collectivity” [Massam, 1993: xii].

In materialising the collective choice described by Massam, principles should be established first. That is the area, where the regulatory state is expected to be active. For example, a public facility may create diseconomies. The users are expected to sacrifice from them in return of using the facility. However, unless each member of the society is allowed to use the facility, sacrifice cannot be expected from all. Instead, an opposition arises. One way to avoid opposition or at least to minimise it is to make a consensus decision. For a consensus decision, one will need accountability and alternatives [Massam, 1993]. Alternatively, the facility may be asked to compensate for the diseconomies it creates. The case of KU, as will be analysed in detail later, is lacking from both consensus and compensation and that is probably why a great opposition arose against it.

There is a categorisation of HEIs by Verger [as quoted in Florax, 1992], which is useful in making distinctions that may help to analyse their locations. Accordingly, there are three types of HEIs: that might have emerged spontaneously (such as Paris, Bologna, Orleans and Valladolid), put up by migration (such as Vicenza, Padua, Angers, Yale and Cambridge) and deliberately created (such as Naples, Toulouse). Our focus should be on the last category since it is a conscious attempt of both governments and business to create new HEIs in the informational era and HEIs had always been, to a certain extent, planned and created by the governments in the modern Turkey.

7.2.1 Historical evidence

In the 12th and 13th centuries, university was accepted as a veritable revolution and an integral part of the new urbanism [Baldwin, 1972]. It was known as a guild or a corporation founded by scholars. A stadium on the other hand was a place of study, a city where there were several schools, that is, masters offering instructions. If the

stadium was capable of drawing its students only locally, it was called a *stadium particulare*; if it could attract students from a wider geographical area, it was called a *stadium generale* [Ferruola, 1988: 24]. Most of the stadiums of those times had the ambition of becoming a *stadium generale*. However, after the University of Paris founded in 1229 and HEIs proliferated, stadiums gradually disappeared. Strong ties of stadiums with the place were also loosened. Ferruola [1988: 25] described this transformation as follows:

“Perhaps, then, implicit in the very fact that the term *universitas*, and not *stadium*, came to be the standard name for this new institution is the sort of placelessness and abstraction that has been so often typical in its history and that seems all the more pronounced today”.

Most of the European HEIs in the middle ages were located in medium sized cities such as Bologna in Italy and Oxford in the UK. Paris was the only exception. Paris University was embedded in politics and governmental and commercial interests of the city were assimilated into education and research. It was the first time in the history that scholars started to think teaching as a business, as a way of making their living in Paris [Bender, 1988]. Paris masters were at those times accused of being “the merchants of words” [Ferruola, 1988: 37]. Thus, being in the centre of politics and economics had the tendency to direct the efforts of academics from ideals to those daily problems. Bender [1988: 5] formulated this tendency as follows:

“Then as now, it was difficult to balance the ideals of disinterested pursuit of ideas with the material facts of life surrounding academics in cities. There is a constant danger of corruption, of succumbing to the lures of power and wealth”.

Paris University played a significant role in the development of the city as well. One of the three main quarters of Paris, Left Bank was developed as an educational quarter, which was affected mainly from the university [Ferruola, 1988]. It is important to emphasise here that HEIs had always been a driving force for the development of cities and their locations have affected the direction of this development.

Slightly different from Bender, Hyde [1988: 14] argued in the same volume that the spontaneous HEIs of Italy in the medieval ages were founded in “growing cities, distinguished by fat agricultural regions with a food surplus, which meant that relatively cheap living was possible for an idle student population”. He added that attempts to migrate and transplant HEIs to smaller cities such as Vicenza, Vercelli and Reggio

never succeeded. The only way to succeed in a smaller town was to be under the artificial protection of a prince or king as is the case today with the state. In the 1300s, HEIs in the cities of middle rank were successful such as Sienna, Perugia and Ferrara, where the population were between 20 and 40 thousand. In the free economy of Italy, university cities were in competition. It is interesting to read from Hyde [1988] that super-cities of medieval ages such as Milan, Genoa and Venice were not successful, either. This rule –that HEIs can succeed in neither small nor big cities- was so much accepted at those times that in the 15th century Milan supported the establishment of a HEI in Pavia, where is a second rank city close to itself, instead of establishing its own HEI. Florence, similarly, transferred its HEI to Pisa and Venice took over the existing HEIs of Padua. Given the philosophical framework of the university at those times, one idea supporting this trend was that a super city did not necessarily require a HEI since the city itself was accepted as a university [Rothblatt, 1988]. On the other hand, civil movements arising from the HEIs were an ultimate threat to the host city governments. It happened several times in the 13th century and Padua University was one of the famous outcomes. University of Paris had also started a civil movement in the 13th century in order to get better terms [Hyde, 1988].

Following Italy, competition started in the 15th and 16th centuries in Europe. Eagerness of regional and city authorities to establish HEIs in their localities drove them to a competition to attract HEIs, students and scholars. Promotions and incentives for this purpose were observed everywhere. An interesting example comes from Holland where the local municipality granted the University of Leyden freedom from taxes on wine and beer in order to stimulate non-local students and scholars to choose their university. Friesland and Utrecht also refrained the university members from levying taxes and provided them other privileges as well. Reasons of these promotions were simply the belief that HEIs would generate important local and regional benefits. However, this competition resulted with the over supply of HEIs and a re-centralisation had occurred in the 17th century [Florax, 1992]. A similar trend was observed in the UK during the 1960s. University Grants Committee decided to locate new HEIs based on the applications of sponsoring local authorities and it was believed that despite its spontaneity, this method contributed to regional development [Florax, 1992]. Consequently, it will not be misleading to argue that competition between localities to attract HEIs is not unprecedented.

The USA experience is different. After the foundation of the first American University, Harvard, “on a one-acre lot surrounded by cow fields” [Florax, 1992: 23], an interesting bunch of factors was used in the location decision of the Berkeley University in the 18th century. George Berkeley, the founder, considered the below criteria [Meyerson, 1968]:

- Good air,
- Plenty and cheap provisions,
- No great trade (which might tempt the academicians to become merchants to the neglect of their proper business),
- Neither richness nor luxury,
- Few scholars with diverse interests in order not to make them uneasy and dissatisfied,
- Innocent and simple inhabitants.

The tendency was to avoid the brutalising effects of the surrounding. Accordingly, a bucolic settlement would be least destructive for a university. Quite contrary to the global market conditions of today, scholars were expected to concentrate on pure science and not to involve in practice. In 1957, plans of Akademgorodok in the USSR were prepared on the same principle, which was to preserve the social integrity of the settlement as a scientific community. Accordingly, there was no train connection. A public bus service on a tiny road was the only connection of the settlement with the outer world [Castells & Hall, 1994]. Another interesting factor of Berkeley was on competition, which is accepted to be the driving force even in the scientific world today. By employing few scholars with diverse interests, Berkeley thought that scholars would be more productive on their specific purpose with ease and satisfaction rather than competition.

After the foundation of Berkeley University, Charter for the University of Northern Carolina in the 19th century added politics as another factor to be avoided. Accordingly, a HEI would better not be settled within 5 miles of any seat of government, any place where law and equity courts meet [Meyerson, 1968]. Apparently, any contact with the politicians thought to be harmful for the process of free scientific production. This argument is difficult to apply to today’s world, in which partnerships between HEIs and governments are quite common.

With the recentralisation tendency that had started in the 17th century in Europe, metropolitan universities proliferated in Europe such as the London University. These institutions started to educate their graduates according to the needs of their metropolitan areas. Metropolitan areas were invaluable social laboratories for the HEIs. These unique settlements were providing interesting research issues such as social inequalities, crime, etc. Cities had become the focus and forefront of social thought. Students were accepted as participants of the public life. In other words, centralisation of HEIs brought a specialised way of education that focused on the needs of their locations. As it was mentioned earlier, this aspect was similar to the private HEIs of our era.

University of London was founded in 1826. It was a period similar to our times with many debates on urban issues such as housing, sanitation, poverty, crime, popular education, rise of urban elites etc. After long discussions in England, London was selected as the location of a new HEI. It was appropriate because as the capital city, it hosted various interests, whose combined strength would be effective against the Anglican university monopoly and could compete with Oxford and Cambridge. Londoners would also enjoy a HEI, which could facilitate to define their collective identity and purpose, as residents of one of the most prestigious cities of the world. London was also a source of social and intellectual emancipation, which was closer to the vision of an interconnected HEI. On the other hand, there was a Victorian debate going on about whether cities could provide the nurturing environment from which strong and self-confident personalities came forth.

In this regard, Rothblatt [1988: 140-2] put forward the ideal university location of those times, given the Oxford and Cambridge examples, as follows:

“Among giant horse chestnut trees and fields of asphodel, and in quiet cloisters were heard the sound of chapel bells thorough the soft nights of summer... The English idea of a university was that it was insulated from external influences, that it was self-contained or a milieu... Without lawns, rivers, and quadrangles, without a campus, without separate space, there was no such thing as a university”.

A commentator from the Spectator argued that retaining a kind of aesthetic environment would be essential for educating young people while adopting research function. Despite these views, designer of the London University asked for a prominent place in the cityscape for a reorganisation by being effective on the image of the city. However,

it would be difficult in a metropolis such as London where great public buildings, hotels, banks and insurance companies were all gathered. The university would not be more visible than these giant edifices. In the end, buildings of the London University were scattered throughout the capital [Rothblatt, 1988].

On the other hand, location choice of the University of Berlin was conditioned by the pre-existence of academic personnel and major institutions such as medical schools, libraries, collections and hospitals. It was not a consensus either a metropolis would advantage higher education or not. In 1810, the King ordered to name an area in the central Berlin as the university quarter and the university was constructed [McClelland, 1988]. This can be accepted as a good example on how the ruling/governing bodies determine the location of HEIs in the history.

7.2.2 Contemporary evidence

There are not many studies on the contemporary location patterns of the HEIs since quantitative location studies are not as reliable as before. The market brings about many unexpected behaviours that is impossible to calculate with any statistical formula. Still, a bunch of contemporary factors in order to determine the location of public services were counted by Massam [1993] in the past decade. These are construction and operating costs, utilisation patterns, environmental costs, distribution of social costs and benefits among individuals. Apparently, these factors are very different from the classical location factors.

Cheshire [2001] commented on the issue of university locations during a personal meeting. He argued that location criteria such as catchment area and accessibility are not reliable in the university context anymore. Today, the better the university, the wider the catchment area is. In addition, we can argue that accessibility of a university does not matter much since they usually provide accommodation in their campus area. Even they do not provide any accommodation; students tend to rent private housing close to the university, if they think that it is worth to study there. London School of Economics is a good example for these two concepts. The catchment area is worldwide and accessibility problem is sorted out with the students' willingness to study there. On the other hand, Wolverhampton University, for example, is a local HEI that does not compete internationally. Therefore, it has a local catchment area. In this case, accessibility can be accepted as a criterion for the universities with low demand. Cheshire [2001] added that opportunities provided by the local economy also influence

the university choice of the students. The more recruitment opportunities in a locality, the more likely students prefer to study there. Other factors that he counted are as follows: Construction costs that may differ with construction permissions, land rent etc.; recruitment of university lecturers (It is always easier to recruit lecturers in a metropolitan area, where universities are concentrated together with other urban functions.) and environmental impacts.

Cheshire [2001] also commented on the locations that should be avoided. Chicago University, for example, is located in a slum area, which can be scaring for the students and scholars. Safety criterion evidently affects the university choices of both students and scholars. Even if that location may affect the regeneration of its surrounding area positively, it may cause problems for the university's self-development.

Cheshire [2001] added the reaction of the local community as another important factor to consider. Accordingly, HEIs could be accepted as urban (local) goods. However, community might or might not like the idea of a HEI for a variety of reasons. The negative image of a HEI might be due to taxation problems, rising prices for housing, student unrest, etc [Florax, 1992]. Positive image, on the other hand, can be established by opening libraries, gymnasiums and playing fields; offering medical, legal and social services; performing research for and advising for the local community [Shils, 1988].

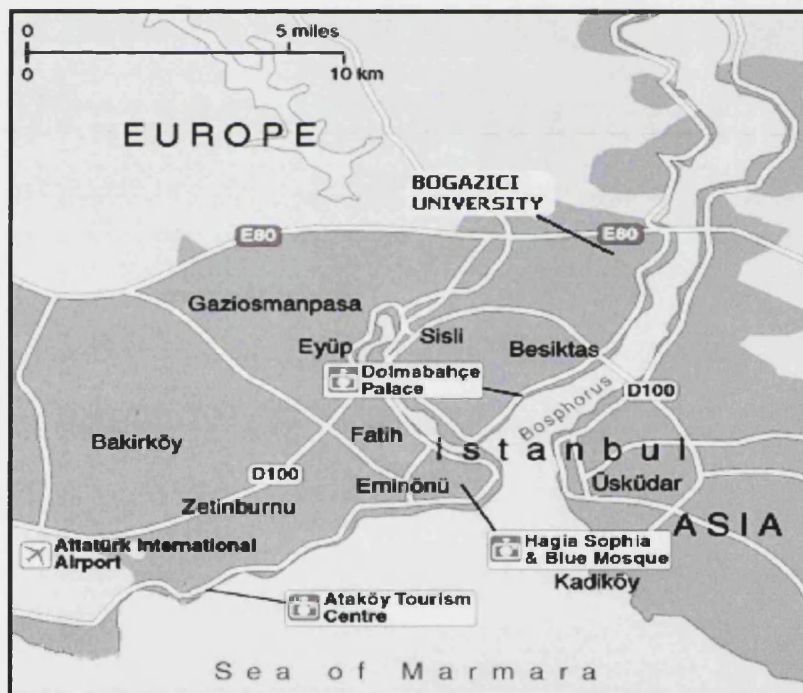
On the other hand, Dalborg's [1974] study on the location of R&D activities presented that specific agglomeration advantages were very important. Therefore, information centres and particularly big city agglomerations would be favourable for R&D activities concerned with basic research and new products. Moreover, increasing importance of communication and high-speed transportation technologies in the global era made HEIs dependent on them with the necessity of immediate knowledge and information processing between HEIs and other actors. Thus, HEIs tend to locate on the hubs of telecommunication and high-speed transportation networks.

As already mentioned in the previous chapter, it is important to note here that other investments are likely to follow the location patterns of HEIs in the information era. High-tech and knowledge intense industries, headquarters of companies and other public services tend to locate close to the HEIs that perform basic research. If the infrastructure of the area is not sufficient, governments are convinced to invest with the intense use of the globalisation discourse. In turn, these investments increase the

attractiveness of the area. There are examples in the USA, where HEIs even act as developers.

Lately, location of the HEIs are affected from prestige factor more than ever as prestigious locations such as very central areas or naturally beautiful areas with amazing views are found to influence the university choice of both students' and scholars'. London School of Economics with its very central location in London, Istanbul Bosphorous University with an amazing view of Bosphorous can be counted among the good examples that prove the influence of this factor on the choice of students and scholars. Koc University has also preferred a location with a very nice view in the forest that can compete with the Bosphorous University in Istanbul.

Map 7.1 Bosphorous University in Istanbul



Source: www.bu.edu.tr

7.2.3 Location criteria of higher education institutions

Possible factors that are explained in both historical and contemporary evidences sections cannot form a compatible group of location criteria as they differ due to spatio-temporality. Social and political context is as important as economic, environmental and physical concerns. Historical evidence presented that HEIs preferred to settle in different places in different eras, ranging from medium sized cities to the metropolitan areas depending on the social and political context they were in. One criterion was

relatively cheap living for the students, which is not valid anymore considering that students prefer to study at the most expensive cities of the world such as London, New York and Paris for various reasons including better education, cosmopolitan societies, entertainment etc. Richness of the localities was initially declared as distracting but later on, this was accepted necessary in order to create applicable knowledge. Competition of academics, similarly, was thought to bring unease and dissatisfaction, and thus, decrease the academic success. However, it is now accepted that academics as the other professionals should compete in order to be more productive. Moreover, they should interact with each other and the society they are living together in order to create socially acceptable knowledge. Given that HEIs make their environments benefit from their existence socially and economically, there has always been a competition between localities to attract them, accompanied with different promotions and incentives. Environmental quality had been accepted as one of the most important criteria. However, it has lost importance in time and visual quality such as having a nice view has become an important factor today. In the early times, existence of political and commercial activities was declared as harmful to the academic environment. However, in time, this has shifted to the other extreme with the idea that without politics and trade, there cannot be a socially and economically acceptable development. This is a shift supported by a departure from idealism to realism in the academia [Burke, 2001]. Today, HEIs do prefer to locate as close as possible to both capital and political organisations. A similar approach was to prefer bucolic settlements rather than cities in order to avoid the brutalising effects of the environment, may still be relevant given the number of campus universities throughout the world. Community reaction should also be highlighted here. Environmental, economical and social costs in return of benefits are the concerns that local communities consider. A welcoming community has always been preferred, which is sometimes hard to find particularly in conservative societies. An ambition to be effective on the image of the city came to its extreme points with university cities but in the second half of the last century this trend has shifted to multi-functional cities. Publicly or privately, HEIs tend to control and shape their environment, as we shall discuss later in this chapter. This ambition has become a remarkable aspect in the locations and environments of the HEIs. Pre-existence of academic personnel and major institutions to co-operate have always been counted as one of the main criteria. Construction, including permissions and operating costs is also counted among the independent criteria regardless of socio-political context. Lately,

existence of communication and high-speed transportation technology has also become an important criterion. Development opportunities, on the other hand, are increasingly becoming important as the HEIs start to deal with development themselves.

Criteria came out of the above discussions are not exactly the same with those location factors of the classical economy, which are resources, accessibility, infrastructure, labour force and market. One reason of this difference is the changing meaning of HE in time depending on social, political and mainly economic transformations. In the second half of the 20th century, meaning of HE has shifted towards an economy based one, just like everything in our life-worlds. Hence, location analysis of HEIs did also start to depend initially on economic factors. However, in these studies, assumptions were usually similar to each other: leaving the final decision open to any other effects. In this sense, location factors merely help to identify the clues that a decision is triggered. In addition, the decision might be the result of a series of decisions apart from those location factors and made over a long period concerning a variety of aspects.

In conclusion, we can argue that there is not only one basket of criteria but many and the best decision can be made by considering all of them together with the participation of all actors to the decision making process. Without payoffs, it is almost impossible to make a location decision. Determining the pay-offs that are acceptable for each actor is again only possible with a consensus decision of all relevant actors.

7.3 Impacts of higher education institutions on their localities

The final point to analyse before starting to introduce and analyse the KU case is the impacts of HEIs on their localities. A common justification of proliferating HEIs is that they would facilitate development. There is a considerable amount of literature on this issue, especially focusing on regional development. Florax [1992], in an attempt to find out the impacts of HEIs on regional development and economic growth counted the following as economic impacts: creation of jobs; increases in regional income; more sophisticated production structure; mobilised labour; additional spending during the construction phase; impacts of expenditures by students and university employees on the income and employment generation such as retail trade, car sales and entertainment; and their influence on the provision and quality of the public services¹. Florax [1992] continued with the socio-cultural effects such as increased demand for education among

¹ Input-output analysis is the most common method used to evaluate these effects. Other techniques that can be used are economic base, Keynesian multiplier and Caffrey-Isaacs approach [Florax, 1992].

the regional population; increase in the quality of life; a boost to regional self-identity; need for cultural facilities and leisure time outlets for young people; increase in educational participation rates and increase in the quality of education. He also added demographic effects (increase in population size and mobility and changes in population structure with the influx of students and academics), effects on infrastructure (local housing, traffic, medical facilities, shop density etc.) and effects on politics (more participation, change in the political structure, better organisation, more leftist orientation etc.). Most of these effects can be accepted as positive except from a few such as traffic congestion. On the other hand, Florax [1992] found out the possible negative effects by using the Keynesian multiplier model: decreases in real estate revenues due to student usage, reduces in local commercial activity due to the supply of similar services by the university and the financial burden of increased demand for public school education. He finally proposed a multidimensional framework to be used to find out the impacts of a HEI on its environment because dimensions may be affecting each other. This approach is also relevant for the location decisions of the HEIs.

Given that innovative industries become more productive and therefore tend to locate close to a HEI, Castells and Hall [1994] argued that there would not be so many location options in the initial phases of development; thus, all eggs would be collected in one basket. An established base of infrastructure and skills would be vital with an adequate platform of transportation, communication and specialised facilities. This argument can be used to explain why there are traditionally very strong six state HEIs in Istanbul, although it is not the capital city as they assumed. However, Castells and Hall [1994] argued, that place, in time, might start to experience massive externalities such as traffic congestion, long and arduous work journeys, housing costs, air pollution and other environmental problems. Then, the target location would be the periphery of that metropolitan area well connected to the city and its airports with highways. More favourable is the closer to the city and the more potential to grow on its own, As it is presented in the map 7.1 that locates the FUs in Istanbul, most of the FUs and particularly KU preferred to locate as described by Castells and Hall.

Castells and Hall [1994] depended on the traditional regional development theory to explain the inequalities between regions. This is to say that regional disparities would widen during development but would narrow again as the country attained economic

maturity. They concluded that innovative milieu of the global era tended to locate in or close to the major metropolitan areas rather than dispersing to provincial cities. Accordingly, when space was accepted as a factor, HEIs could be used as efficient policy instruments for regional development. "As far as equity considerations are concerned, it was generally believed that a more balanced dispersion of regional welfare could be achieved *inter alia* by equilibrating the geographical spread of the HEIs. Another, frequently used, equity argument concerns the supposedly positive influence of the geographical decentralisation of the HEIs on the equality of educational opportunities" [Florax, 1992: 5]. University of Limburg, for example, was founded on this principle, given that locality was experiencing a huge revitalisation of industry with the closing down of the coalmines. By founding a HEI, highly qualified labour for the revitalising industry would be provided [Florax, 1992].

During the 1960s, Norway, Holland, Italy, the UK, Sweden, Finland and Austria opened new HEIs at remote localities in order to achieve regional development and/or equality. Competitions to attract HEIs among localities were common to observe at that period as well. For example, there had been a competition among various regions of Holland to host two new HEIs. The provinces emphasised the need for a positive socio-economic impetus that a HEI would generate. The importance that the local and regional governments attribute to HEIs is, thus, large and long standing. And it has been common to read arguments saying that HEIs could have a positive impact on technical change or alter the availability and mobility of labour (neo-classical growth theory); it could serve as a basic sector of the regional economy (export base theory); it could constitute a shift in the production environment changing location conditions (location theory); it could enhance industry (growth pole theory). The rise of the informational society brought a new concept based on the idea that regional dynamics were primarily dependent on the potentials and self-organising capacities of regions. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, existence of knowledge and communication infrastructure became an essential condition for local economic growth [Florax, 1992]. This provides the idea that more development in the surroundings of the HEIs will be expected.

"Finally, it should be noted that the presence of knowledge infrastructure, including universities and professional colleges, has been an important criterion with respect to the choice of nodal cities in the recent proposals on physical planning. The nodal cities get preferential treatment by the national government with respect to the location of large scale

cultural and health facilities, and investment in telecommunication, telematics, physical infrastructure, and environmental projects” [Florax, 1992: 72].

What we experience today is an addition of international treatment to the process, with MNC headquarters, branches of international organisations, international banks, hotels and such locating their facilities in these node cities, which are now called global. Although technological revolution brought a discourse, which is not bounded to place anymore, we can still argue that as places matter for the HEIs, HEIs matter for places, too. HEIs have always been attraction points in the cities for further development. Interaction with business, politics and local community increased this attractive capacity.

One more point to highlight here is the impacts of regeneration processes. Particularly in the central districts of many cities, HEIs are used as efficient instruments to trigger regeneration as well as to facilitate it with research, advice and training. University of East London is a good example for this impact. The new campus area was constructed in a deprived area and it had a considerable impact on the regeneration process particularly via pushing the middle-income groups to take initiative [Butler, 2000].

Columbia University, after being founded in New York in the middle of the 19th century, have always controlled and shaped its environment with its central location. Location of Columbia University and its impacts on the city were welcomed by the citizens as quoted by Glazer [1988: 270-271] from the “1957 Report of the President’s Committee on the Future of University”:

“The location of the University in metropolitan New York helps its role as a national institution by providing unique resources in many fields of instruction and research... Columbia’s most important service to the City of New York and its people is to maintain its availability as a university of wide repute, marked by high standards of admission and instruction, and contributing through a distinguished faculty to the city’s prestige as a cultural centre.”

In the 1960s, great apartment buildings in the environment were transformed into welfare hotels or studio flats for students. As the principal member of this renovation process, the university was quite active in this period. They bought deteriorated buildings, relocated the tenants and remodelled the flats for students and scholars. There were accusations on the university because of the removal of ethnic groups such as blacks and Puerto Ricans from the area. The rents had increased dramatically and the low-income groups were driven out of the area. More importantly, these happened

under strict rent regulations and laws protecting the low-income tenants. One effect of this wide transformation was that Columbia could not invest on its faculty members and students as the other universities did because of budgetary limitations. The new look of Manhattan began to attract the office buildings towards the area after the 1960s. This had increased the rents to enormous levels and finally Rockefeller Centre offered four hundred million dollars to the Columbia University building². This would indeed help the university to compete with the others. In short, geographical location of Columbia University meant more than predicted.

New York University (NYU) experienced a similar process and sold its campuses in Manhattan for sixty one million dollars. In the NYU case, they need not to act against a downward trend. The area was transforming simultaneously upward with attractive artist lofts and galleries, new condominiums, remodelled offices, boutiques and restaurants. Particularly after selling some of its campus buildings, the NYU became a major figure in its new area as employer, property owner and developer. They also performed some public services via working together with employers and property owners in the area [Glazer, 1988].

Particular parts of a city may establish different relationships with a HEI. Therefore, attention should be paid to the absolute location of the HEI in the city. Which part of the city is chosen? What does the environment consist of? Is it at CBD, residential or industrial areas? Does it have any suitable development areas? These questions, however, should not be answered from an absolute physical point of view. Social, economic and environmental concerns should also be considered. Land in particular appears as one of the most influential factors with its capacity of rent.

7.4 Concluding remarks: Higher education institutions in the city

HEIs are not only the rising actors of the informational era but they are also among the concrete physical structures of the reconstruction in the cities. As large physical constructions, they have the capacity to affect the urban form with their gravity force. Therefore, their locations are not of their interest only and the issue brings about a renewed concern for city planners and local authorities. This concern influenced the local politics in Istanbul as will be detailed in the KU case.

² This story is also fundamental in considering the location of the KU. It is at the far edges of the existing office building axes in Istanbul and can be very critical and prestigious in time.

Accordingly, location of HEIs has shifted from isolated campus areas to metropolitan cities that are the scenes of complex relations. A compatible group of location criteria could not be gathered because factors affecting these criteria vary due to the spatio-temporality. In this regard, social and political contexts appeared as important as economic and physical ones.

On the other hand, various examples present that there are dramatic impacts of HEIs on their localities. In addition to socio-economic development of the area, there are also demographic, physical, economic, social, cultural and political consequences, some of which contain externalities. These impacts may vary due to spatio-temporalities. However, in the above examples, land appears to be important with its potential of rent in the development of universities.

In this regard, a multi-dimensional framework should be developed to determine the location of HEIs including the location criteria, the factors affecting those criteria and most importantly the possible impacts of HEIs on localities. This framework should also consider the alternative locations and their development status in order to make fair decisions, since HE fosters social and economic development in an area, which may result with the underdevelopment of another area.

Section Two

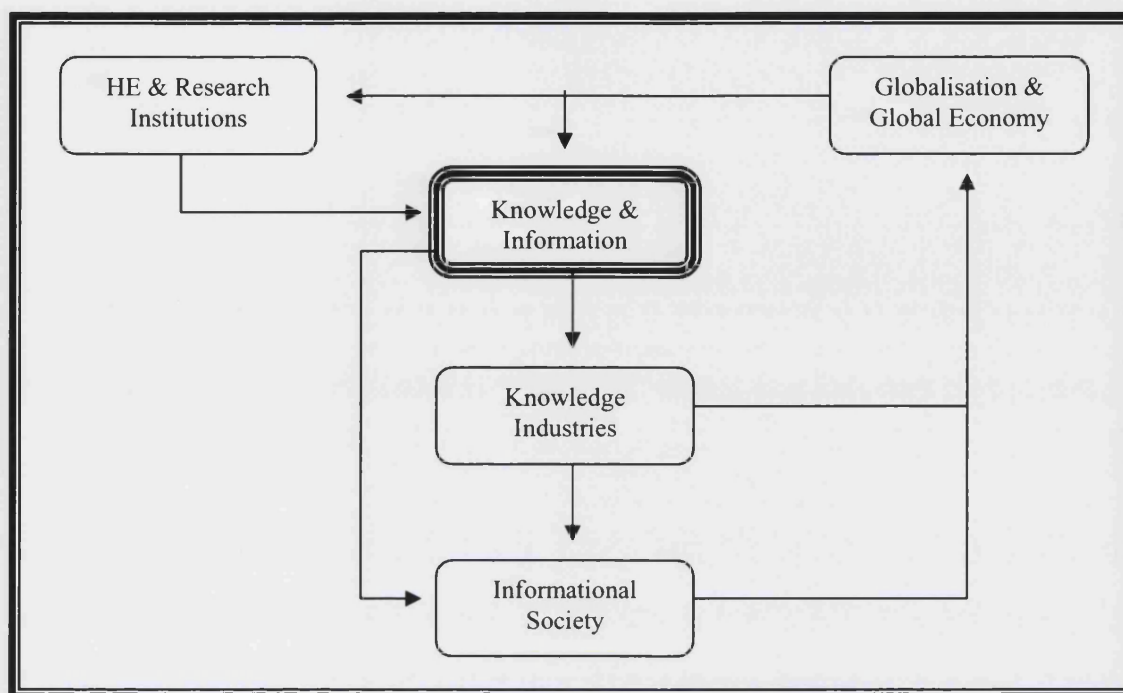
Conclusion

This section not only related the selected case to the globalisation issue but also sets the framework for understanding the issues that will be raised in the case study section. In doing so, it presented an example of analysing the deconstruction elements of globalisation and took a step forward in developing a methodology for globalisation studies. More importantly, it presented the interventions of governments in making a country / city / society informational, which will guide the case study section with the evidence it presents.

In this context, the second section started, in Chapter 5, with the theoretical description of the information cycle in a global economy. According to this, knowledge / information that is produced in the HEIs and research institutions is spread via the knowledge / information processing industries in order to create an information society. The information society then feeds globalisation and the global economy, as these are inherent to its existence, and globalisation and the global economy, in turn, promote further production of knowledge / information. This cycle is expected to result in the development of the locality, where it occurs.

In this context, central governments are expected to intervene in the process, since development/growth is said to be dependent on this. Due to their strengths, they can intervene in the cycle through either long-term comprehensive schemes and integrated mega-projects or short-term programs and individual projects. LDCs, because of their financial difficulties, can only pursue individual developments and/or the promotion of those individual developments via land, infrastructure and legislation for the private sector. This tendency of governments in LDCs presents similarities with the findings of the first section, in which capital's projects were facilitated by central governments. On the other hand, prescriptions for the information society that produce similar environments were criticised by Castells & Hall [1992], who argued that these would not necessarily bring about development/growth, in a similar way to the critics of singularity in policy-making mentioned in Section One.

Figure S2.1 Cycle of Knowledge / Information



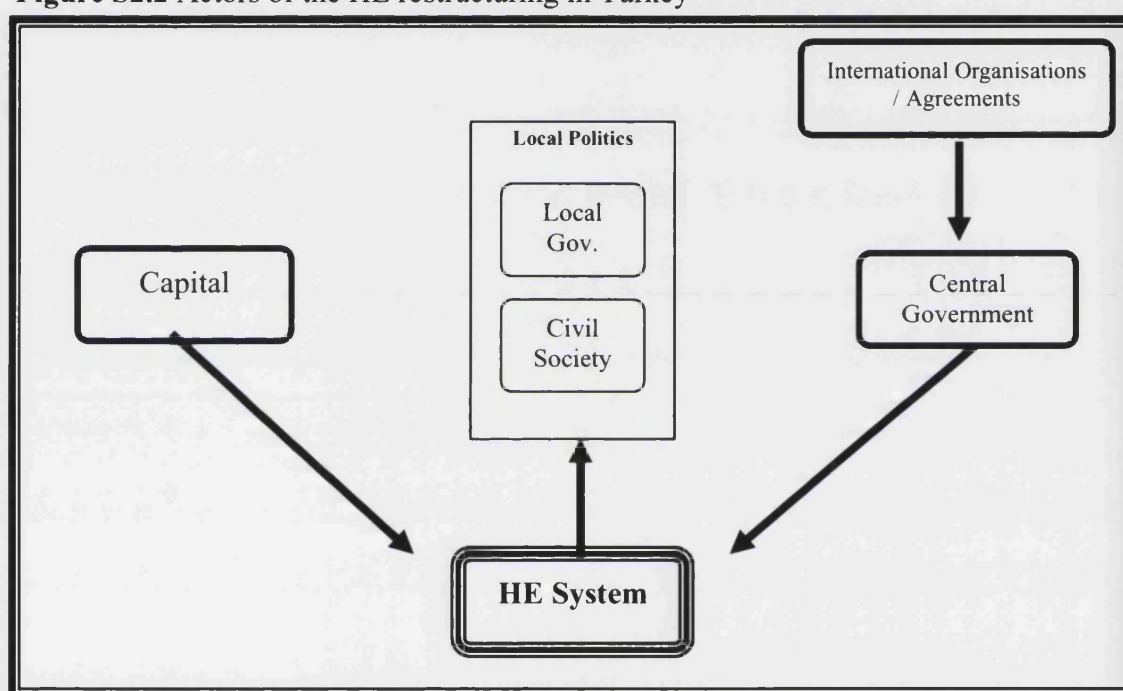
Note: This figure is developed by the author on the basis of the theoretical discussions in this thesis.

Chapter Six concentrated on grounding the theoretical arguments in Chapter Five with an illustration of FUs in Turkey. According to this, FUs are found to be internationalised with respect to curriculum reform, international work placements and multilingualism. FUs have logical relationships with the globalisation processes, since the restructuring of HE systems appears as a requirement for globalisation and the information cycle is necessary for development/growth. In this respect, they are also necessary to the efficiency of the global economy. There is a discursive relationship, in which the use of the term globalisation in their discourses is attractive to FUs. It is common to see the word in advertisements for FUs and/or to hear it in speeches by their representatives. Moreover, they represent the privatisation trend in global politics. Their thought programs show the most concrete relationship with the globalisation process, since they primarily and intensively opt for the specialised programs that are fostered by globalisation. Finally, they tend to be concentrated in metropolitan cities, which is also a characteristic of global activities / functions.

An abstract conclusion could have been drawn from this finding, such as that FUs are global institutions contributing to the globalisation of their localities and the information society target. Thus, they contribute to the development of their localities. However, when the issue is considered comprehensively, the findings are different. Most of the

FUs are still local institutions with little or no connection with the global. They have no intention of contributing to local development, as they are primarily interested in tuition fees. Thus, they are truly neither global nor local. Moreover, their proliferation, with state support, reflects the neglect of public HEIs, rather than a comprehensive restructuring and development in the Turkish HE system. This is a strategic choice of the central governments in accordance with globalisation processes. They neglect public HEIs because they either could not or are not willing to restructure them and by doing this they present the typical behaviour of LDCs.

Figure S2.2 Actors of the HE restructuring in Turkey



Note: This figure is developed by the author on the basis of the discussions in this thesis.

The actors in the restructuring of the HE system in Turkey present similarities with the findings of Section One. According to these, the coalition of central state and capital is apparent. In the decision-making processes of HE restructuring, the central state is represented by the YOK, the Ministry of Education and some other supporting institutions. Capital is the most influential actor in the restructuring, since it invests in FUs. It is also worth recalling here that GATS contained a statement accepting education as a tradable service and that the Turkish government of the time signed this statement. In this regard, we can argue that the formulation was made by an international agreement, capital invested and central government facilitated the investments just as shown in the findings of Section One. On the other hand, local

governments, together with other local actors, are excluded from the restructuring of HE. The only authority of the local governments is to determine the location of HEIs. Civil society, on the other hand, is completely left out. The positions of the actors in the restructuring of HE and in the local decision-making processes described in the first section are almost identical.

The section concluded with a theoretical elaboration of the location of HEIs and their impacts on localities. In this respect, the location criteria of HEIs vary with respect to spatio-temporality. Thus, an interrelationary analysis of these criteria with the locality is necessary. Comparative studies can also be fruitful in this regard. On the other hand, their capacity to affect urban forms is found to be considerable, with their capacities for attraction and potential impacts. Moreover, it was found out that HEIs acting as developers have become common in the late 20th century. They foster the development of their surrounding areas, as well as generating externalities. Then, the land that is chosen to locate the HEIs appears as an important factor for rent and urban issues. Thus, it cannot be concluded that impacts of HEIs are positive or negative for a specific locality. In this context, their location is a concern of the whole city and city planning remains the most influential tool in making the relevant decisions.

SECTION III

In this section, 15-year location story of KU and its relevant decision-making processes will be explained in detail in the following four chapters. This will allow to analyse the motives and behaviours of various actors and their negotiations between each other with respect to KU, which is introduced as representing the global. This analysis will present the power of actors in the local decision-making processes. In this context, restructuring of local politics will be presented with special emphasis on planning.

KU provides an excellent example to all processes and concerns that are mentioned in section one and two. KU is founded with private investment and located in a forestland in Istanbul. Its foundation and location decisions are approved by the central government and during this process of approval, the local government –Istanbul Greater Municipality- was completely ignored, unless there were legal obligations. Civil society in general opposed the location decision of KU and strongly demanded a new location, where is more sensitive to the environmental values. In this regard, it is a very important example for the difficulties experienced to confront the environmental challenges arising from the investments of MNCs. However, it is not only an example of environmental versus economic interest, which is not intended to elaborate within the limits of this thesis. The process involves the contention of actors that are supposed to take place in the local decision-making processes. This contention generally rooted from the economic and political interests of different actors with respect to this specific location and/or case. In addition to the central and local governments, the involvement of a multinational capital group (Koc Holding) as the investor and the civil society with the discourse of protecting the public interest and insisting on the principles of planning make the case more interesting to research.

All these actors had different references to the processes of globalisation, although their targets and means for globalisation were very similar in general. In other words, all actors of the case used their specific discourse of globalisation in order to create their own political space despite their similar strategies and policies. They did this so freely and randomly that their discourse had contradicted with their ideology from time to time. The most obvious example was IBSB with an Islamic government targeting

economic globalisation. They were completely against globalisation in their pre-election speeches. There were others that experienced similar contradictions such as a leftist professional organisation, Chamber of Engineers and Architects. While publishing critical approaches to environmentalism as an obstacle to development, they opposed the construction of KU on the basis of environmentalism, of what increased consciousness had indeed become a characteristic of globalisation [Beck, 1991; Barkin, Hack and Simmonds, 1996; Giddens, 1997]. These contradictions present that there is not only one discourse for globalisation but many. These discourses, however, cannot be attributed to the plurality argument suggested in the first section of this thesis because they presented a misleading interpretation of variety, as there were internal contradictions in each. As the case will demonstrate, decision-making process could not be removed from the singular prescriptions of the TINA syndrome. Thus, the case could not open new perspectives for the restructuring of local politics. However, invaluable findings of the contention in the local political sphere will definitely contribute the future formulations of local politics and decision-making processes.

In a way, the case study will be a demonstration of territorial battles between “social movements and elite interests” [Castells, 1994: 25]. It will provide the explanation of power struggles in relation to globalisation about a concrete physical structure, which symbolises the political space in addition to the invaluable information about the use of globalisation as a locally politicised discourse or alternatively the understanding of local politics globalised in discourse.

In the eighth chapter, land appropriations to the FUs will be introduced first. This will present not only the intervention of the central government to the restructuring of HE but also how local governments are excluded from the decision-making processes. Then, KU will be introduced to the reader with its facilities, targets and motivations. Its location will be analysed in detail with respect to its geographical location and natural values, responsible authorities, competition with the Bosphorous University (BU) and land speculation. Influential factors of the decision-making process as KH, media, marketing and public perception, organised civil society and land rent speculation will also be introduced. This chapter will be concluded with a separate analysis of KH in order to present its historical growth together with its traditional and recent motivations and behaviours.

The ninth chapter will focus on the land appropriation process to KU. Central intervention will be emphasised with its decisiveness on the appropriation. Exclusion of local governments and other local actors from the decision-making process will be explained in detail. Pressures on the local authorities for the approval of KU location will also be an issue of this chapter.

Following the land appropriation, civil oppositions arose and the tenth chapter will analyse them in detail. In this regard, professional chambers, NGOs and individuals will be presented together with their motivations of opposition. Their relations with each other will also be elaborated.

Finally, the case study section will end with an analysis of lawsuits commenced against the KU development in the eleventh chapter. These lawsuits are important for not only presenting the juridical decisions and the insisting opposition on the issue but also putting a light on the re-regulation process in planning.

Chapter Eight

An introduction to the case of Koc University

8.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the state intervention to the restructuring of HE and location of FUs by appropriating land. Moreover, it will focus on both the location of KU and the influential factors of its decision making process. By this token, it is aimed to present the motivations of actors with respect to KU location and elaborate their positionalities in the local political sphere. Finally, KH, as the investor of KU will be presented with a historical setting to underline the group's behaviours, motivations and perception in the public.

8.2 State intervention: Land appropriations to the foundation universities

In the past, public HEIs, which were accused of being inefficient, applied for many land or building appropriations to the central governments, in order to increase their space for education and provide facilities such as student accommodation, social and cultural facilities to be more efficient. However, they were rarely awarded with appropriations. On the other hand, huge amounts of land appropriations were generously granted to the FUs by the same central governments.

Article 25 of the relevant Regulation states that lands and buildings that are belonged to the Treasury and other public judicial bodies, can be appropriated to the FUs by the decree of Cabinet with the condition to construct or use as education and research buildings, academic employee and student accommodation, social and cultural buildings. More important from the urbanism, environmentalism and planning aspects is that these land appropriations were often made from forestlands¹ and without the approval of local governments that are responsible for planning and other local actors. Below is the list of land appropriations to FUs in Istanbul.

¹ See Appendix C for Constitutional and legal practices as well as a brief historical analysis of forest regimes in Turkey.

Table 8.1 Land appropriations to FUs in Istanbul

FU	Amount of land (ha)	Location of land	Status
Koc University	192	Rumeli Feneri – North of Istanbul – Forestland	De facto Construction finished despite court decisions against
Galatasaray University	863	Beykoz – North of Istanbul – Forestland	Appropriation cancelled
Sabancı University	93	Tuzla - Northeast of Istanbul – Forestland	Construction finished – in use
Istanbul F. Bati University	133	Catalca – Northwest of Istanbul – Forestland	Appropriation cancelled****
Istek F. Yeditepe University	90	Pendik Kurtkoy – East of Istanbul – Neighbouring forestland	Construction finished – in use
Isik Foundation University	49	Sile – North of Istanbul – Forestland	Construction finished – in use
Bilgi University*	0.4	Sisli – CBD of Istanbul	In use
Has University*	25 + 130	Selimpasa – West of Istanbul Tuzla – East of Istanbul	De facto Construction finished despite judicial decision against
Banking School**	23 + 10	Sile – North of Istanbul – partly forestland	Not completed, yet.
Bilkent University ***	3200	Bilezikci Ciftligi – North of Istanbul	Appropriation cancelled

* Has University and Bilgi University are two examples that relevant local governments appropriated lands.

** Turkish Banks Association, not a foundation, founded Banking School.

*** Bilkent University is originally in Ankara. They demanded this forestland in order to develop a luxury housing project.

**** Land appropriation to Batı University was cancelled because the university would be established on the basis of a special agreement between Germany and Turkey and this agreement could not be signed because of various reasons including the nationalist oppositions.

Source: This table is prepared on the basis of several sources including the relevant documents of Chamber of City Planners, Sanver [2000] and daily newspapers.

.....

Seven of ten appropriations to FUs in Istanbul had been from the northern areas, which are in or close to the forests. This is the primary reason of civil oppositions to these appropriations and these oppositions had already resulted with two cancellations as seen in the table. In a period when illegal constructions and squatting have been discussed widely in the public and when central governments do intend to stop this illegality with concerns of environmentalism and liveability, these oppositions should be welcomed since these appropriations can also destroy the environment.

A common question in relation to the appropriations is why to appropriate hundreds of hectares of land although a university could well be established on 20 ha at most [Acun, 2000]. There are some practices of foundations that increase the suspicions hidden in this question. For example, Istek Foundation, which was established and managed by one of the former presidents of Istanbul, Bedrettin Dalan, had been selling 600 ha of its forestland, which was appropriated long ago, by newspaper advertisements [Acun, 2000]. Buyers were definitely not foresters but developers. On the other hand, Bilkent University in Ankara used the appropriated lands for housing developments, shopping malls etc. Thus, this practice could be interpreted as allocating the environmentally most quality lands of Istanbul to wealthy groups after taking serious steps to stop lower income groups' illegal occupations.

After a few forestland appropriation practices did produce juridical samples, other foundations began to demand forestlands, too. For example, Yeditepe Foundation has been in demand of 90 ha forestland. On the other hand, state-owned HEIs such as METU (Middle East Technical University), ITU (Istanbul Technical University), War Academy, Cavalry School and a few private institutions such as Tuzla Koc College (another institution of KF) have grown their own forests. Thus, they contributed to the constitutional of increasing the quantity of forests in the country aim.

Northern areas of Istanbul have been subject to the developers' interest for long. This was because of both natural characteristics of and construction prohibitions on the area. In addition, the area is close to the new CBD of Istanbul. It is located through the northern Bosphorous and Black Sea. Forests add to their natural value and beauty, and they have long been used as the recreational areas of Istanbul. Since they are also the lungs of the city, there are construction prohibitions throughout the northern forests, understandably. The suspicion that these land appropriations will be used as an

exception to those prohibitions has been the focus of discussions on the issue. This would inevitably cause deforestation. It would initially be, for the development of the university only as campus buildings, roads and infrastructures; but later on for other various developments that would like to be close to the university such as recreation, entertainment and accommodation and that would try to benefit from the infrastructure of the university such as squatting and informal constructions.

Even though granted institutions were private, appropriations of land to FUs would not cause any problem in a country like Turkey, where almost half of land throughout the country is still owned by the state. But the specific characteristic of the appropriations and particularly their being in the forests of Istanbul has made it a problem for anybody with environmental concerns.

There is one other aspect of these land appropriations. Since there was not any co-operation with the local governments and other local actors during these grants and location decisions, they made dramatic implications on planning and local infrastructure investments as well as causing civil opposition arising from non-cooperation. The evidence from a comparative analysis of global city-regions is worth to note here [Barkin, Hack and Simmonds, 1996: 4]:

“Generally infrastructure follows development rather than truly shaping it. Private investors are able to respond more quickly to planned growth intentions within their regions than are the public agencies responsible for implementing major infrastructure projects. Thus, private development puts pressure on the public sector to provide services to areas that are already undergoing urbanisation. This process has serious implications for long term regional planning if it continues to be development driven with government playing catch-up.”

In this respect, land appropriated to KU and investments on and around the land will definitely have an attractive influence for further developments. In addition, budgetary priorities of the relevant administrative bodies will have to be reconsidered together with the planning decisions. The question, then, is the location of this development.

8.3 Koc University

KU was founded in 1993 according to the Act No. 3785 by KF. It is dependent on Higher Education Act and has public corporate entity. Initially, it was composed of two

faculties and an institution: Faculty of Science-Human Sciences & Literature, Faculty of Administrative Sciences and Institute of Management².

According to its representatives, the main objectives of KU were counted as³:

- ❑ To provide HE at the level of leading HEIs throughout the world,
- ❑ To produce scientific research at international standards,

When met, these two main objectives are expected to provide scientific and personal development for students. Devotion to Atatürk principles, which has been a slogan on KU's struggle with the Islamic local government since 1994 in order to attract the secular groups of civil society to its side, is declared as its strategy in education.⁴ The university would be the centre of perfectness.

A USA architect Mozhan Chadem designed the campus. The buildings were designed in the old Turkish architecture style with 3 to 4 floors⁵. Warm and natural materials were used in the construction.

Students would be provided with the most recent information via the use of most recent scientific technologies. Every three student would have one computer and limitless Internet opportunity. In addition, video conferencing, cable TV and close circuit TV would be available in the campus. Education language would be English, however special attention would be paid to students' use of their mother tongues. The undergraduate students could also select a second language, including French, German, Italian and Russian. Students who were not proficient in English would have to attend to the language programme offered by KU English Language Centre for one year.

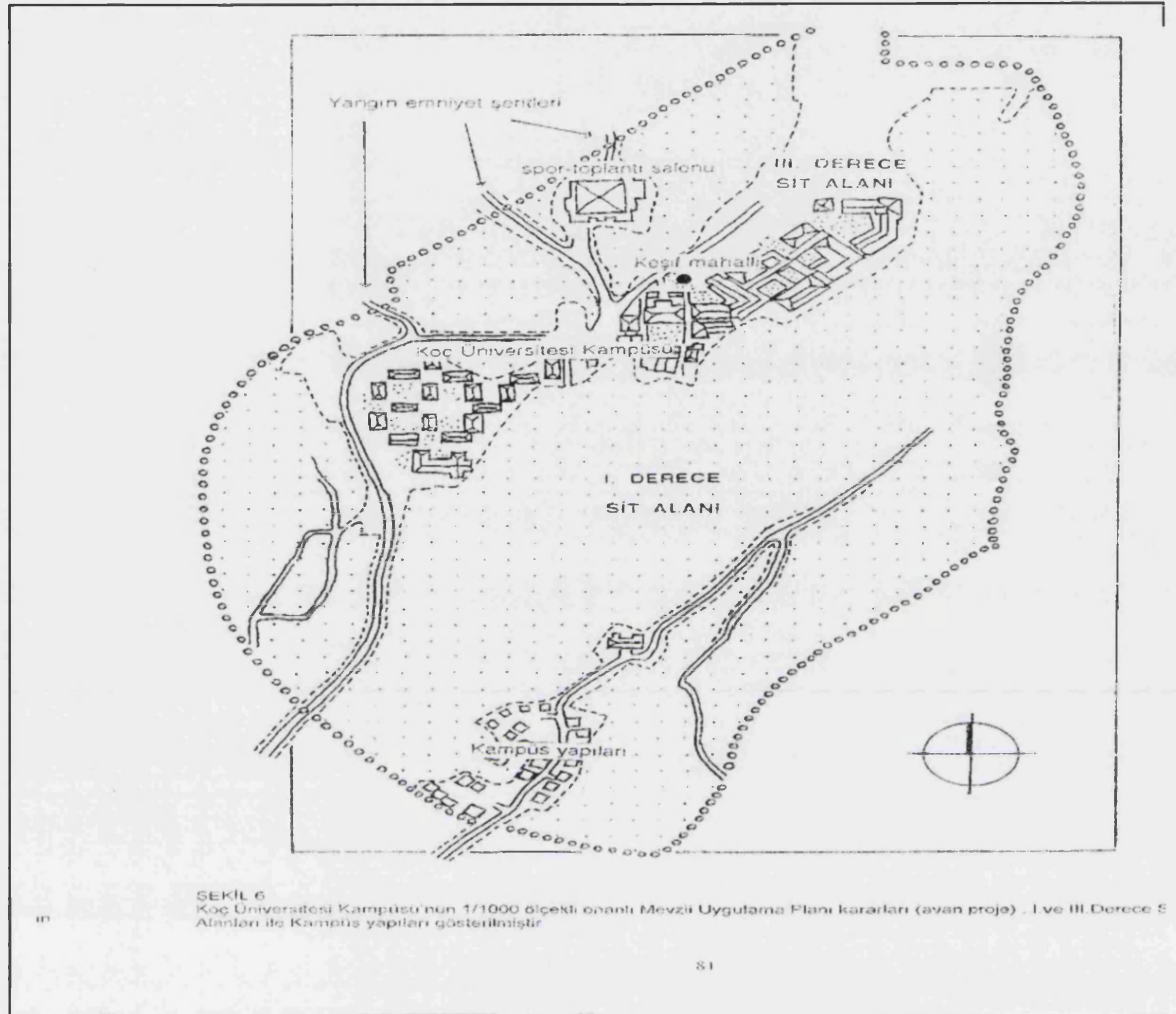
² Referenced from the written defense of the KU during the lawsuit, 1997.

³ Referenced from the written defense of the KU during the lawsuit, 1997.

⁴ In the interview, the lawyer of IBSB Ms. Guven was stating, "in any case we were very unhappy and injured because of the outcry of the public that IBSB was opposing to the establishment of a university because of ideological reasons. Some columnists praised KU and accused us with preventing the citizens' civilisation. Whereas there is law, there are principles of urbanism and there is the issue of public interest. There are many regulations in addition to intelligence and conscience. When one adds all these together and accuse us of behaving according to ideology, it is obvious that there is intention of aspersion."

⁵ It is a good representation of the postmodern global world that old Turkish style of the buildings was designed by an architect from the US.

Map 8.1 Construction Plan of KU

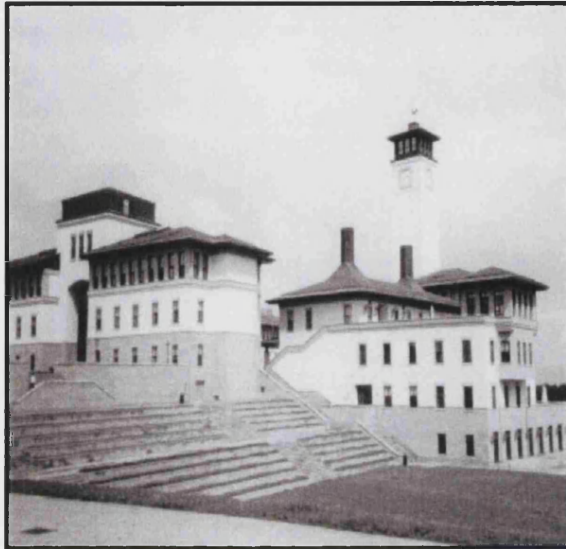


Source: Chamber of Architects booklet on the location of KU - 1997

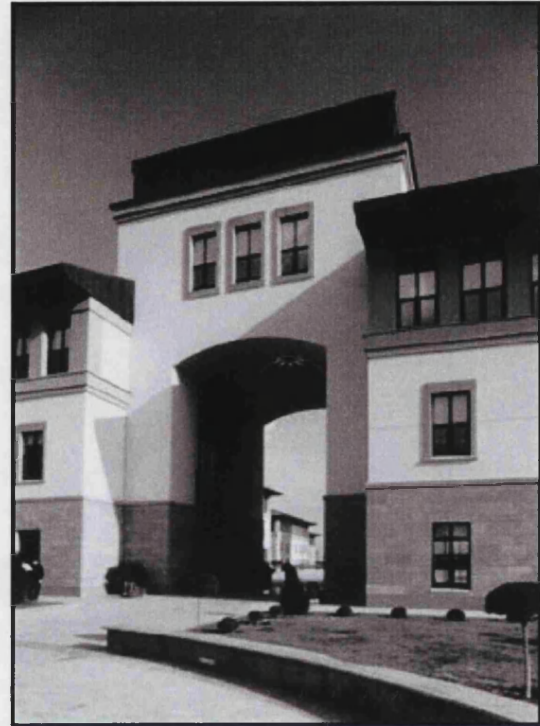
KU was composed of College of Arts and Sciences, College of Administrative Sciences and Economics, College of Engineering, the School of Health Sciences, Graduate School of Business, Graduate School of Natural Sciences, Graduate School of Social Sciences and English Language Centre by the year 2000. Departments under these colleges are as follows: History, sociology, psychology, economics, business administration, international relations as BA degrees; computer engineering, electrical and electronics engineering, industrial engineering, mechanical engineering, mathematics, physics, chemistry and nursing as BS degrees. There would be every facility that one can ask for in a university. Even a radio channel and a newspaper were ready for the students to start publishing and broadcasting. Most of the students studying with a scholarship in the university have succeeded to be in the 1 % range of

the central university examination OSYM. Graduates from the school would be competitors to their comparatives throughout the world. They would be eligible to work all over the world and were expected to lead the 21st century.

Photo 8.1 Views of the KU buildings designed by a star-architect



Source: www.ku.edu.tr



Eighty six percent of the academics were employed full time either graduated or originated from abroad. Lecturers and professors were selected carefully according to their achievements in their specific fields. There were 129 academics working in the university and their scientific studies ranked 4th in Turkey in 1998. KU would aim to reverse brain migration⁶.

Until 1998, KU gave 511 graduates and undergraduates, per whom number of job offered has been almost 2,5 in average and most of the offers were from foreign multinational companies [Hurriyet, 01/06/1996].

These objectives and facilities remind the process of globalisation and its characteristics. Discourse is completely dependent on the internationalisation of higher education via competition. And this is inherently connected to the globalisation of economic activity. In addition, although not mentioned in the representative's speech, horizontal integration with Koc Holding via providing human capital and researches seems to be a crucial objective of KU. As Rahmi Koc, son of Vehbi Koc, stated,

⁶ Referenced from the defense statement of Koc University in the Courts of Justice, 1997.

globalisation would be an inherent part of the education in the university [www.ku.edu.tr]:

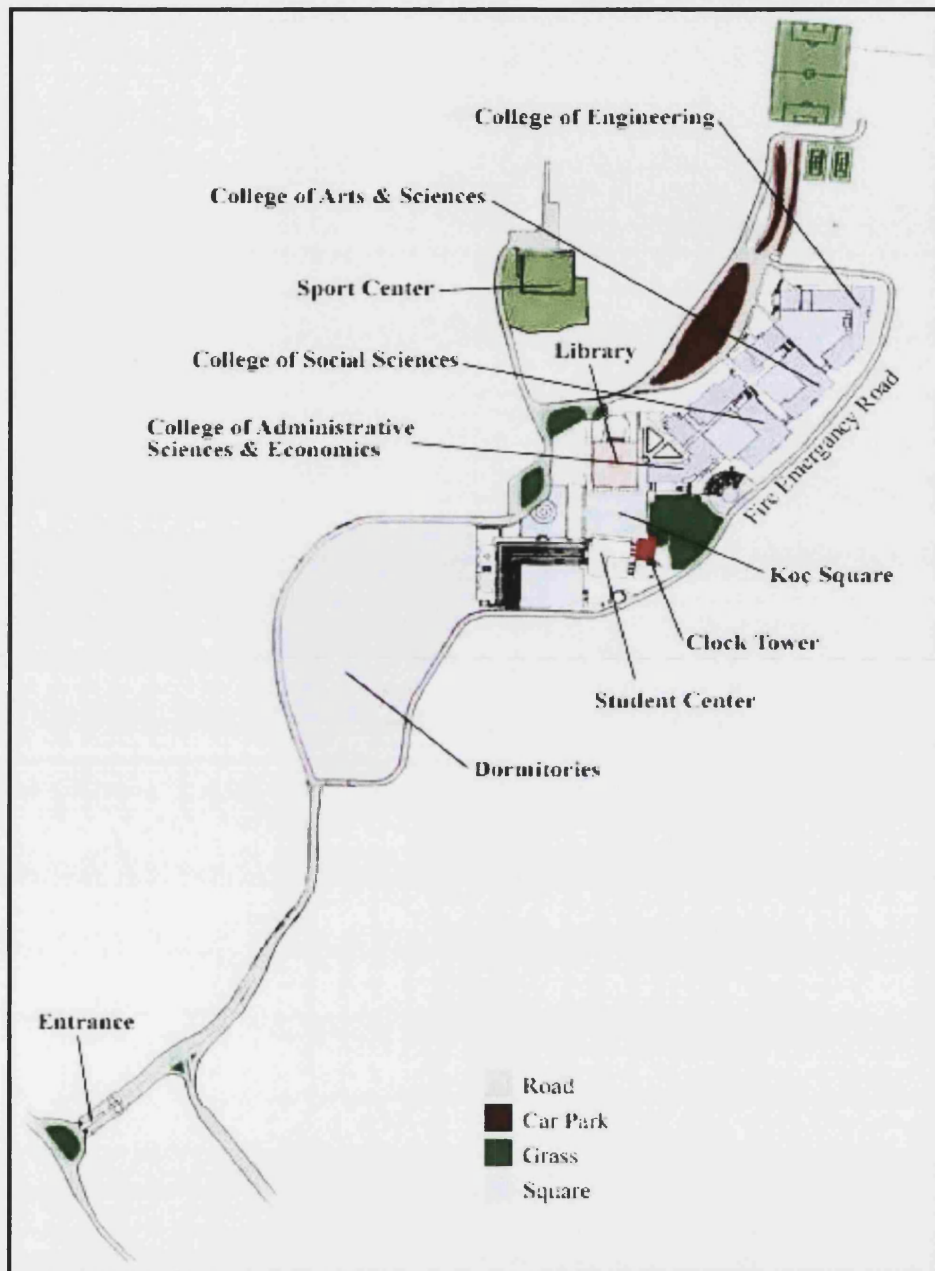
“We, at Koc University, are aiming to turn out graduates who have entrepreneurial drive, who will be at ease in every kind of business climate, who will have decision-making capabilities and who will have high standards. In short, they will have a strong personality. Our intention is that they will be in a position to work with any national, international or multinational company and, in this shrinking world, that they will not only uphold the principles of free trade and free movement of capital goods and services but also serve democracy.”

These objectives would generally be realised via the Faculty of Administrative Sciences and Economics. This is the first faculty founded in KU and most of the academics and students of KU are deployed in. Dean of the Faculty, Prof. Emin Babakus also emphasised their objectives and strengths with regard to globalisation in his statement at the university’s official web page [www.ku.edu.tr]:

“Our social imperative is to make a significant contribution to society by preparing young minds for a challenging global job market and by generating and disseminating new knowledge... Our placement record is strong both in industry and graduate schools. We continue to receive strong feedback from employers regarding the readiness and performance of our alumni. A significant portion of our alumni is currently studying at some of the best graduate schools including Cornell, Carnegie Mellon, London School of Economics, Michigan, Princeton, UC Berkeley, UCLA and Yale... Our dedicated, competent and dynamic group of faculty members received their advanced degrees from some of the best universities in the world...”

In the Faculty of Administrative Science and Economics, there are three undergraduate programmes: BA in Business Administration, BA in Economics and BA in International Relations. The Faculty also offers two MBA programmes. The curriculum also focuses on the globalisation of economic and political activity with courses such as finance, management information systems, marketing and operations management, international political economy etc. And in the official web page of the university, objectives of the Faculty were stated as follows [www.ku.edu.tr]:

Map 8.2 Plan of the KU campus



Source: www.ku.edu.tr

“Institutional arrangements and administrative practices around the world continue to change very rapidly. To succeed in the increasingly competitive and fast-paced global arena, private and public organisations both need innovative and entrepreneurial decision-makers that are well equipped to deal effectively with complex and ambiguous problems. The College of Administrative Sciences and Economics prepares young men and women for professional positions that require skill in meeting the challenges of the global environment. To succeed in that environment, an understanding of the increased importance of productivity, participatory decision-making and sophisticated political,

economic and financial analysis, management of newly evolving technologies, heightened competition and expanding opportunities for co-operation across geographic and national boundaries are essential.”

Other two faculties were also attributed to the processes of globalisation discursively although they are not necessarily related. Faculty of Arts and Science was introduced such as that [www.ku.edu.tr]:

“In this age of information and globalisation, there is a need for both specialisation and a broad outlook, based on solid foundations of knowledge and inquiry...”

Similarly, introduction of the Faculty of Engineering in the web page was accepting globalisation as an objective to reach as well as a reality to be adapted and focusing on the characteristics of flexible production [www.ku.edu.tr]:

“Global economic competitiveness and technological advances have placed new challenges on engineering education and practice. Tomorrow’s engineers have to be technically capable and broadly educated to understand and respond to the continuously changing needs of technologically oriented societies. While in the past engineers have predominantly worked in design and production related positions, today they are employed by a diverse market that includes medicine, commerce, law, business and finance...”

When the university was opened in 1993, there were 191 undergraduate and 42 graduate students in its temporary buildings at Istinye [www.ku.edu.tr]. Number of students increased to 701 in total including 83 graduate students in 1996. 38 % of these students were studying with a scholarship provided by KU in 1997⁷. By 2000, number of students studying at KU has increased to 1410. Estimations for the year 2001 were 2700 with the opening of Faculty of Engineering [www.ku.edu.tr]. Number of academics, parallel to the students, has increased from 35 in 1993 to 148 in 2000. KF covers almost 70 % of the annual expenditures of KU, which is equal to the tuition fees of the students with scholarships. In addition to this amount, Foundation covers the annual library expenses separately, which was 3.2 million US\$ in 1996. Almost 12 million US\$ has been spent for the transitory campus until 1996 in addition to the estimated expenditures of the permanent campus, which was about 105 million US\$⁹. All of these amounts

⁷ Foundation universities tend to give more scholarships than legally expected in their initial years to attract students and make a reputation. By 1998, this ratio decreased to about 30 %.

⁸ Referenced from the defense statement of Koc University in the Courts of Justice, 1997.

⁹ This amount was later pronounced as 130 million US\$ by some columnists. See Guclu, A., Milliyet, 03/02/1999.

were and would be covered by the Foundation, in addition to 10 million US\$ annual fund, without any expectation of economic benefit. According to a representative's speech, Foundation's only expectation would be the education of high quality human beings to serve the country¹⁰. In support of KU, a columnist argued later that funds that would be provided by the state would only constitute 2,9 % of the total annual budget, which was not worth to mention at all¹¹ [Guclu, Milliyet, 03/02/1999].

8.4 Location of Koc University

All the contention in the local political sphere rooted from the location decision of KU. Its location was questionable particularly with respect to the natural beauty of and the existence of forestry in the area. It is worth to mention here that KU case was selected as one of the negative examples of location to be watched by the Habitat Observation Committee in 1996.

8.4.1 Geographical location and natural values

Istanbul lies along the coasts of Marmara Sea from east to west and divided into two main regions by the Bosphorous. The city is surrounded with natural boundaries from south and north. They are the Marmara Sea at the south edge and forests and water catchment areas at the north. KU is located on the northern parts of Istanbul as presented in Map 8.2. It is in the forests. In words of analogy, it is in the lungs of the city. In its initial project, some parts of the university had a good view of Bosphorous. Later, the project was revised in order to get approval from the local authorities and campus buildings were pulled back towards the forest area with a limited view of Bosphorous. Value of urban land and luxury housing nearby is quite high¹².

¹⁰ Referenced from the defense statement of Koc University in the Courts of Justice, 1997.

¹¹ However, annual budget of state universities are far less than the amounts given below. Thus, 2.1 % of KU budget may even be equal to the annual budget of a state university.

¹² The value of land in the forest areas is actually worthless for urban activities since they are in forestry use and prohibited for urban use.

Map 8.3 Istanbul and the northern forests



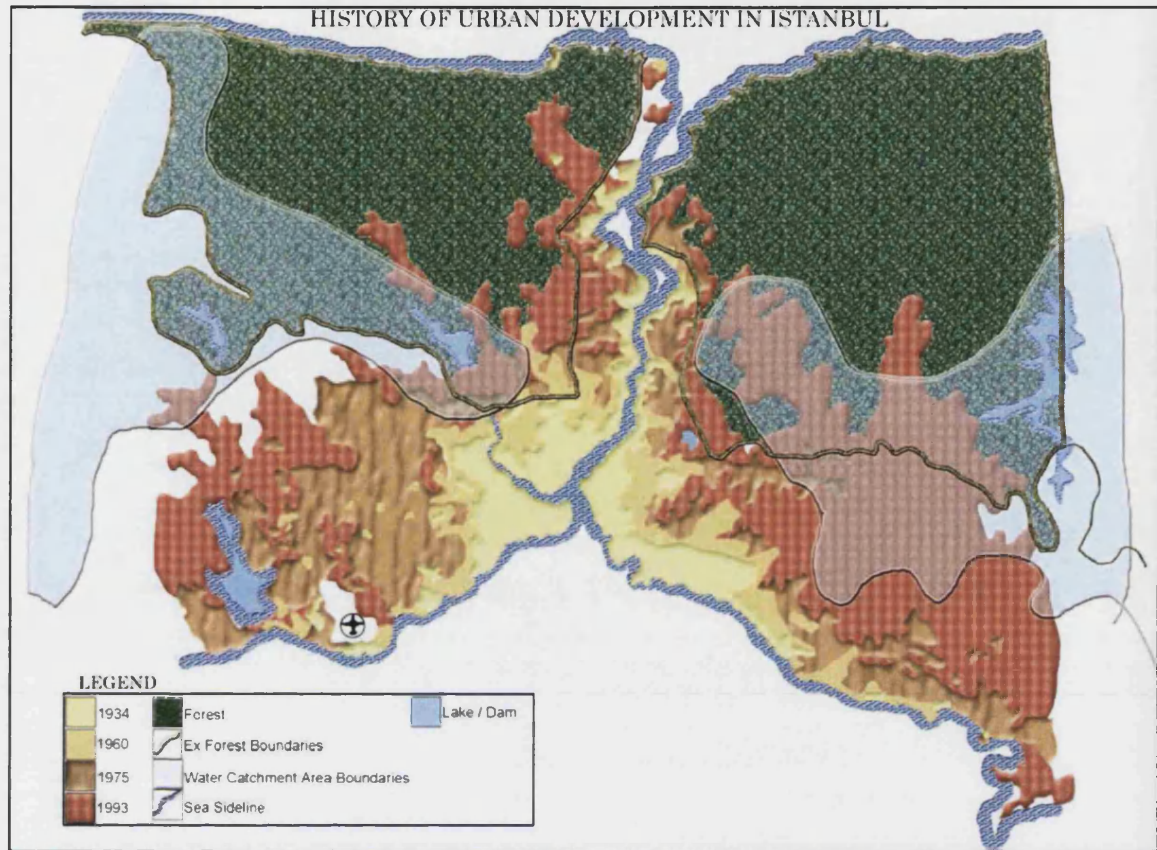
Source: www.ibb.gov.tr

The forest area subject to appropriation is known as Mavramoloz Forest. It is a part of the northern forests along the Bosphorous and Black Sea. It has a thick pattern of plantation including rare plants¹³. The area was exaggerated by Acun, one of the leaders of opposition, as the “most beautiful place of the world” [Cumhuriyet, 07/06/1996]. In these forests, the Forestry Act prohibits any development and activity except from mining and forestry. Even mining activities have caused an ongoing debate¹⁴. In some exceptional parts of these forests, only recreational activities are allowed by the master plan of Istanbul with very limited construction rights. In addition to these, another special act for the conservation of Bosphorous is on, which prohibits any kind of construction on the Bosphorous front-view area and very limited on the rear-view, where the initial university location was. Furthermore, as it will be mentioned later, during the decision making process of this specific location, the area was declared as a Natural Conservation Site by KTVKK, which prohibits any kind of construction.

¹³ Referenced from the statement of Chamber of Architects in opposition to the refusal decision of Courts of Justice in the 3rd of March 1997.

¹⁴ This debate will be related to our issue soon, since Koc Group first bought the rights of mining activities in this area as an initial step to own the land. They presented it as a favour to the Istanbulites such as that they had bought the rights to stop mining activities, which had been causing serious damage to the only forests of the city.

Map 8.4 History of urban development and KU location in Istanbul



Note: This map is produced from a number of maps; taken from the web sites of IBB & IETT, Ibb Urban Generation Directorate and from various other sources

8.4.2 Responsible authorities on the Koc University development land

Part of KU is in the boundaries of Istanbul Greater Municipality, which is the main elected body for Istanbul. They are also the main planning authority and the smaller administration levels must obey their comprehensive planning principles. Since part of KU is in these planning boundaries, KF is obliged to obey the master plan of Istanbul.

Close to the university is Sariyer Province, which was originally a traditional fishery village. Activities in the village have proliferated lately with the increase of accessibility to the central areas. Recreational activities have long been crucial for this coast village with its breathtaking location on the Bosphorous. KU is located at the hills of Sariyer and in its boundaries. As a borough¹⁵, they have the planning authority for construction plans scaled from 1:1000 to 1:5000. Providing construction rights to any development in their boundaries is also their authority. However, they have to obey to

¹⁵ The village itself is very small relative to the Borough. If Sariyer is accepted as a sub-centre in the city, Borough includes more than 10 sub-centres such as Sariyer.

the master plan of Istanbul. Pressures on the Borough for the construction of luxury villas are well known in the public.

Neighbouring belde municipality to Sariyer is Bahcekoy. A part of KU is in its boundaries. Belde is neither a Borough nor a village. They are partly urbanised. Belde municipalities are autonomous municipalities that have authority to prepare their own 1/1000 construction plans and issue construction permissions. Such an administrative structure would inevitably act to develop itself via attracting investments in order to gain more power. Their construction permissions generally confront with the master plans of IBSB, since all belde municipalities have the same objective of attracting capital via construction rights while master plan is a comprehensive scheme trying to balance different interests of different areas. Even if construction plans of the belde municipalities are not relevant to the master plan, IBSB cannot act against them because they are not in its planning boundaries¹⁶. Bahcekoy Municipality has also been continuously giving construction permissions to particularly luxury villa sites. Parallel to these permissions, pressures on the land with no permission to construction, which is close to Bahcekoy but in the boundaries of Sariyer Borough and under the control of IBSB, had increased. This is one of the reasons why Sariyer Borough had given questionable construction permissions from time to time, which were generally refused by IBSB.

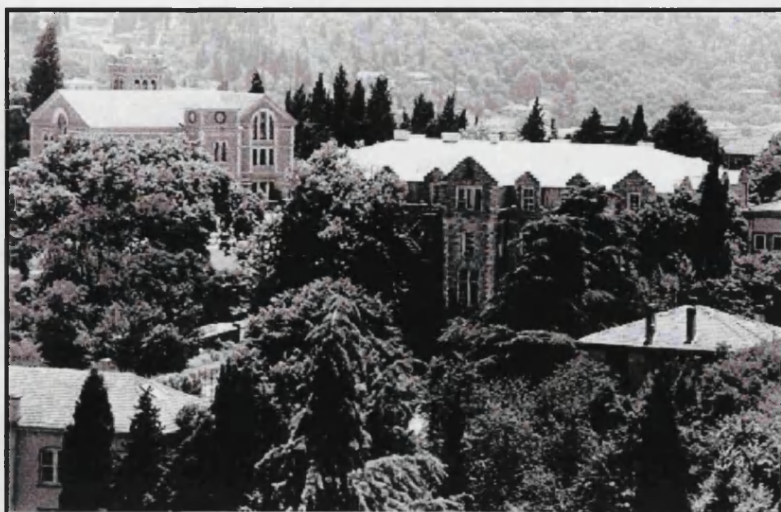
8.4.3 Competition with Bosphorous University

An important aspect of locating KU at this specific site is that one of the leading historical public HEIs in Turkey, Bosphorous University (BU), is located on the Istanbul Bosphorous with a breathtaking view within a small wood. BU was constructed in the first half of the 20th century when there was no development pressure on the Bosphorous. BU is quite popular among students because of its admirable success in the academic arena and its location at the very centre of Istanbul with this stunning atmosphere. It has long been the choice of most of the successful students¹⁷ and academics.

¹⁶ IBSB prefers to prepare the master plan for the whole Istanbul region to be more comprehensive. However, its authority is limited with its boundaries, which excludes all of the belde municipalities.

¹⁷ In Turkey, after graduating from the secondary school, students are free to take a central examination with which they are located to their choice of departments according to their success. A considerable

Photo 8.2 Bosphorous University in the woods close to Istanbul Bosphorous



Source: www.bu.edu.tr

To claim a good position in the HE market of Istanbul, one university should first be able to compete with the BU. For a new establishing university, this competition inevitably starts with location since BU has a competitive advantage. This is one of the reasons why KU preferred and insisted on a forest area with a view to Bosphorous, although there were other relevant areas in Istanbul that they could establish their university with relatively little opposition¹⁸. This competition with BU was even stated in an official document presented to KTVKK. Once the university is located within an area competitive to BU, attracting the best students and scholars would be easier to make a reputation and increase their HE market share in Istanbul, in Turkey and even in the Middle East and ex-Soviet Caucasian countries¹⁹. In this context, their advertisement in a newspaper's supplement is worth to quote [Radikal, University Guide Supplement, p.15, 26/07/2000]:

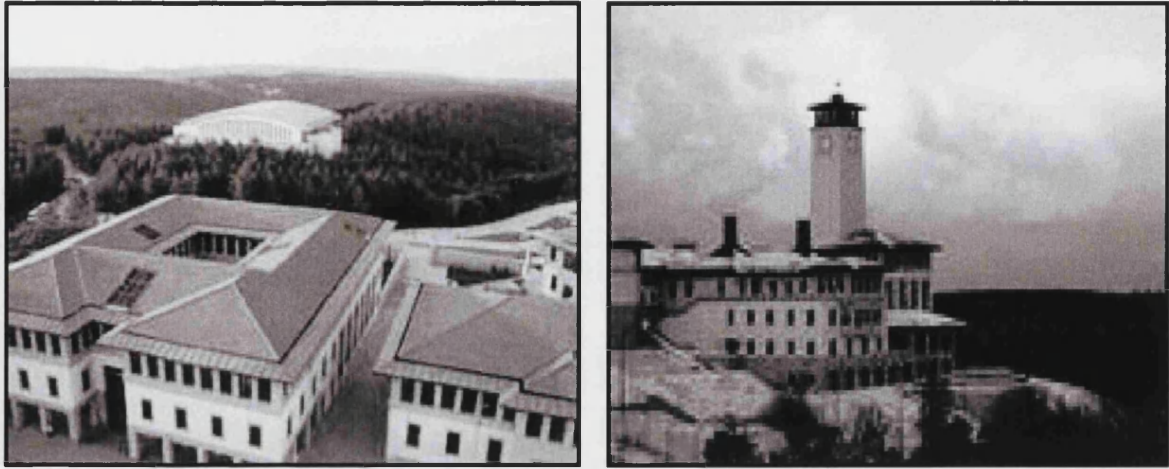
“Campus of Rumeli Feneri is situated in the forest on 25 ha land with more than 60 buildings including faculty buildings, laboratories, library, halls of accommodation, sport and social buildings. We provide education opportunity at one of the most beautiful campuses of the world.”

amount of students that had the highest points in this examination prefer to study at Bosphorous University.

¹⁸ In any case there would be opposition because in addition to the questionable location of the university, there are discussions in the public on the issue of equality of opportunity in education.

¹⁹ There is considerable amount of foreign student flows from these countries to especially Istanbul in the recent years. Proliferation of the foundation universities will definitely increase these flows since strict acceptance conditions of state universities will be more flexible in the case of private universities.

Photo 8.3 Koc University's breathtaking view in the northern forests of Istanbul



Source: www.ku.edu.tr

8.4.4 Land speculation

It is also worth to mention some rumours in order to consider the location problem from another perspective. It is often argued that KH had been continuously buying agricultural land in the northern areas of Istanbul for a specific purpose since the beginning of 1980s. However, neither that specific purpose was publicised, nor this land collection claim was proven. President of Chamber of Forest Engineers, Kadir Erden, one of the few who publicised the issue, argued that northern forestlands had been bought piece by piece by KH, during his presence as a bureaucrat in Ankara in the 1980s [Cumhuriyet, 10/05/98]. According to the rumours, KH had bought considerable amount of land with the use of different names not to attract public attention. In this respect, KU project could be accepted as a part of the big scenario of KH on the northern parts of Istanbul and might easily be related to land speculation, which has always been a serious issue in Istanbul. In the best scenario, KH might have used the other option of using the collected land at the northern areas for the establishment of the KU, unless the central government had appropriated the relevant forestland. However, since it was appropriated, this optimistic scenario was not on anymore and this collected land will be used in another way. A pessimistic scenario, then, comes to mind such as that the collected land may be used in relation to the KU project since the project will provide an urban land value to the forest areas and definitely increase the prices dramatically in its neighbouring urban areas. Thus, new developments may arise in those areas and KH that had collected a considerable amount of land may be the leading developer in these newly urbanising areas. KF's insistence on the specific forestland,

although Koc family had various private forests in and out of Istanbul, strengthens this suspicion. There are some new developments in the area now but it is still difficult to verify this pessimistic scenario. It is worth to note that pessimism roots from the natural characteristics of the area with environmental concerns since the urban universities have long been significant employers, customers and actors in the real estate market especially in the USA [Bender, 1988].

At this point, it should also be reminded that the initial campus project of KU had contained some questionable land uses such as “development areas” and “plaza”. Reservation of “development areas” was explained as for the future accommodation need of students and academics. However, the area that was allocated as development in the project was definitely larger than this need. On the other hand, the term “plaza” in Turkish is often used for the skyscrapers with shopping and office uses. KF’s representatives, however, insistently argued that they used the term in its Italian meaning as “square”. After the initial oppositions, the project was revised and in the new project there were no land uses of “plaza” and “development area”²⁰. According to rumours, there had been an application of KF to the relevant central authorities in order to construct a plaza (in its Turkish meaning) to create funds for the university. But this claim remained as a rumour without any official document supporting it.

8.5 Influential factors of the decision making process

Land appropriation to and location decision of KU has long been discussed in the public. Ongoing debates on the issue should be interpreted together with a bunch of factors including the power of KH; manipulation of media; marketing techniques and perception of the society and land speculation.

8.5.1 Koc Holding

The first and most important of these factors is definitely KH, which is one of the most powerful MNCs in Turkey. They are not only busy with manufacturing but they also function in various tertiary sector activities. It is often said by columnists, researchers and academics from various ideological positions that in reality KH and some other family holdings do govern Turkey and any macro policy that is not approved by them

would hardly be implemented in the country²¹. And that is why governments always negotiate with TUSIAD (Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association), in which KH has always been one of the most powerful members, on the conditions of policies to be implemented. TUSIAD is aware of its power and in these negotiations they generally get from the governments what they ask for.

“They are more or less 50. That’s all. From textile to machinery, from cement to rubber, from margarine to fertiliser, all the biggest factories are theirs. They dominate the collected deposits and distributed credits because most of the banks are under their control. They own most of the insurance companies, too. Huge oil tankers, gigantic cargo ships and giant truck fleets are also theirs. They get the lion’s share at export and gigantic amounts of incitements. They are the contractors of bridges, dams and huge buildings.

They are more or less 50. That’s all. These 50 families or capital groups determine the social life in Turkey. Their dominance on economy inevitably affects Turkish politics; and their dominance on politics adds to their richness. Everything in the society including politics, economics and the general status quo are transforming rapidly in their favour.”

[Translated from; Sonmez, 1987: 19]

In support of these arguments, in her interview IBSB lawyer Ms. Guven [2000] argued the following:

“The case of Koc had developed by excluding us from the very beginning of the process. We had no relation with his plans although we wanted to co-operate. I cannot know if Koc Association had any negotiation with the Ministry or not. However, there is no need for Koc to negotiate. He himself is the one governing the state.”

In this regard, the power of KH together with their strong desire to establish the university should be taken into consideration at all stages of this analysis.

8.5.2 Media

Secondly, KH has strong financial and traditional ties with the largest media group of the country. Dogan Media Group owns almost half of the daily sales of Turkish newspapers with three papers and some tabloids. Their dominance on the printed media strengthens with their numerous journals and magazines. In addition, they get about 20

²⁰ At a partnership meeting for the location decision of KU, in which I represented the CCP, the representatives of the Foundation made fun of the opposition of the CCP and argued that “plaza” was an Italian word, which meant square.

% of the total TV ratings with two nation-wide TV channels. They also possess radio channels, which have relatively less impact on the public. Their newspapers, TV and radio channels together with a few other individual columnists and programmers from the other media groups either ignored or supported the land appropriation to and the location of KU while a huge opposition had been growing in the civil society. Urry [1998: 6], highlighted the importance of images and signs that the media broadcasts/publishes as follows:

“...such a debate is concerned as much with image, meaning and emotion, as it is with written texts, cognition and science. The global economy of signs is transforming the public sphere into an increasingly visual and emotional public stage; and in a world in which seeing is believing such media images may be far more persuasive than the abstract ideas and information historically associated with the academy”.

As an example to these, it was argued together with picture of Vehbi Koc, founder of KH, on one of those papers of Dogan Holding that [Tukel, S., Hurriyet, 20/07/1996]:

“A movement against Turkey’s oldest and greatest businessman Vehbi Koc’s name and memory, whose biggest desire for long years has been to found a university, is increasingly becoming and/or made denser. The ones that condone to the illegal plundering of Istanbul’s most beautiful, watery and greenest sites, say ‘No’ to the construction of KU in the forest.”

Author of this memorial piece probably had no idea about the 1st degree conservation site declaration on the area because she presented this natural characteristic as a justification to the location choice. However, her emotional discourse together with the memorial picture was more than enough to persuade the public. Those days presented numerous examples, honouring KU and everything related to KH in order to justify the location and lead/mislead the public opinion.

One justification of this media support to KU is worth to mention here. IBSB because of its governing Islamic oriented political party had been the target of various accusations of Doğan Media Group, which declared itself as secular. By making these accusations on their newspapers and TVs continually, they not only increased the tension between Islamic and secular groups but also got the support of state elite. They even did not avoid putting the other opposing bodies, most of which were secular, into the same

²¹ See Sonmez [1992] for a detailed analysis of the strongest holdings in Turkey for their impact on the

basket with IBSB. A common jargon was to criticise those opposing bodies because of their support to the Islamic municipality. In other words, these civil organisations were being accused not because they were opposing a project with environmental concerns but because they were opposing together with IBSB. Briefly, IBSB's opposition to KU strengthened the media's position. In a recent article this point was implied as follows [Guclu, Milliyet, 03/02/1999]:

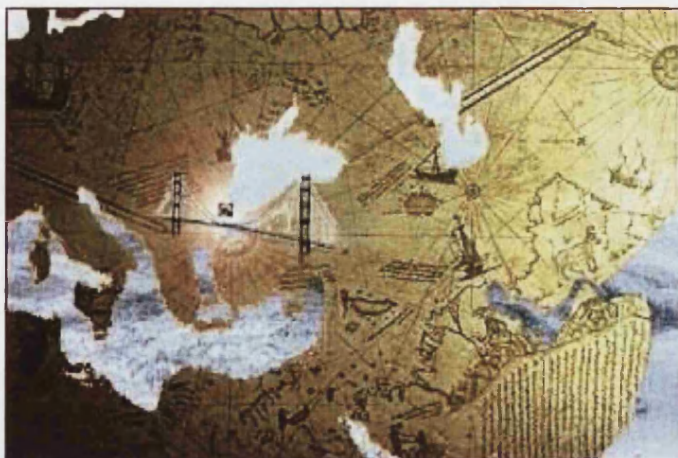
“We have to question why those, who have opposed the university so aggressively, do not oppose to squatting and illegal constructions in the same way. For Turkey to catch the *information age*, we need similar universities rather than polemics. One should separate Bilkent, Koc and Sabanci Universities from the other FUs. They have been investing hundreds of millions of US\$ for the future of Turkey. They do not have any expectations. They are paying back loyalty to the country... The ones who have been trying to prevent education will be forgotten in a few years. However, homes of science will stand still.”

These quotations can be proliferated. In this respect, part of the media strongly related to capital and particularly Koc Holding have become a powerful tool to convince the public for the establishment of KU and affected the local political processes strongly.

8.5.3 Marketing and public perception

Another important factor to be mentioned in this setting is about marketing and perception and it should be taken into consideration together with the power of KH and the support of media groups.

Map 8.5 A regional map of KU in its web page

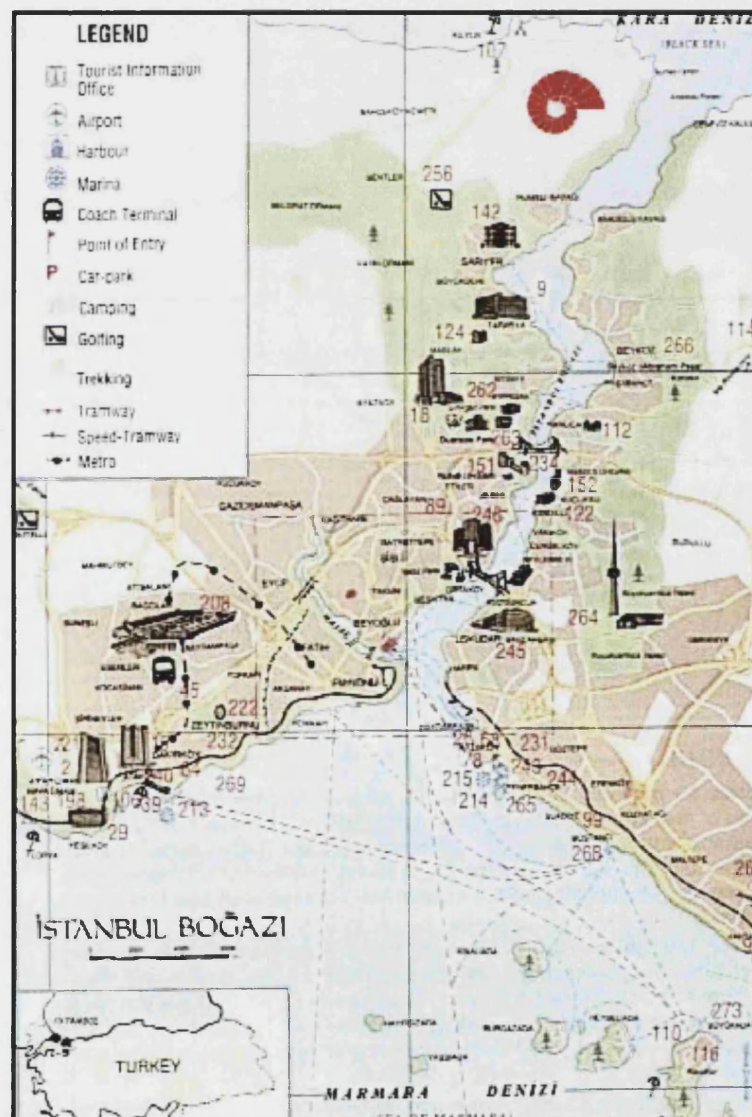


Source: www.ku.edu.tr

political economy.

Prestige has long been one of the most effective marketing techniques for private companies. In this sense, prestigious buildings have been the major representations of power in cities for the last thirty years. Starting from the 1990s, companies started to seek prestige with various issues of public interests such as environment, education etc. Interpreting these recent efforts of companies just as a result of good intentions of managers will be as wrong as interpreting them just for more profit seeking. However, it can be

Map 8.6 A local map of KU in its web page



Source: www.ku.edu.tr

argued that these efforts are based on profits more than principles or good intentions. Fluctuations on their revenues may easily reorient the marketing techniques of a company. This clearly means that those prestige seeking marketing techniques are

hardly for long term since fluctuations in revenues are quite common for private companies.

On the other hand, ordinary people are usually ready to accept and approve these prestige-seeking attempts of the company. They have often referred prestigious buildings to the modernisation of cities particularly in the LDCs and are simply proud of them. In general, they initially welcome the new developments without paying any attention to their negative impacts on their localities. New marketing techniques of the 1990s have a similar affect on the ordinary people. A company, which seems to be interested with problems such as environment and education, can easily construct a positive image on the society. However, 1990s brought something else novel with the proliferation and liberalisation of media. Accordingly, this positive image can easily be demolished by any publicisation of that company's contrary activity, too. However, it should be noted that although proliferation of media groups contributes to the awareness of the society, objectivity of these groups is crucial in building a consciousness as mentioned above.

The case of KU highlights these issues of prestige and perception, providing significant examples. KH and KF explained the issue to the public, as they would invest on a HEI without seeking any profit. This investment would help to cover one of the insufficiencies of public services²² and by this taken it would benefit the wider society. It did not take long for the liberal and social Democrat columnists, especially from *Milliyet*, which is one of the best selling papers of Dogan Media Group, to welcome the project with well-written admiration expressions. Thus, ordinary people welcomed the project according to the statements of KH, KF and those columnists. Even though only a limited number of students would have scholarships²³ and a huge majority of the parents in the country would not be able to afford the tuition fees of that university with their earnings, ordinary people were still proud of the development. Their children might have a small opportunity to study at a world-class university with various

²² Each year approximately 1.5 million students take the central OSYM examination in order to register a HEI in Turkey and just about 20% of the total applicants are settled to a HEI.

²³ According to the Regulations of FUs, each FU must accept a certain number of students free of tuition fees. Therefore, FUs started to accept students according to their scores in the central university examination (OSYM). Students with very high scores in this examination are accepted to the FUs free of tuition fees. Even some of them such as Fatih University started to give scholarships (between 100 US\$ to 600 US\$ monthly) for living expenditures to the successful students in addition to fee grants to the successful students.

facilities yet unfamiliar to state universities. Even if their children could not attend, their city and country would benefit from the outcomes of that prestigious university, so would they indirectly. Thus, ordinary people in Istanbul did not pay attention to any spatial and ideological aspect of KU and its location and welcomed it with pleasure in its initial stage. As a result of the first stage, KH gained prestige because ordinary people's perception was as intended.

8.5.4 Organised civil society

However, after the issue was publicised, another important factor appeared as civil society including NGOs, professional chambers and other opposing civil actors. Local government's opposition was the initial. Following that, professional chambers such as Chamber of Architects, Chamber of Forest Engineers and Chamber of City Planners raised the location problem of the university to the public attention. Some of the NGOs assisted them in their efforts on the revision of the decision. However, it should be mentioned here that two major environmental foundations, TEMA and DHKD, seemed to be unaware of the problem and did not raise any opposition to the location of KU. This was strongly related with their funds, which is a common case in capitalist societies. Koc Holding has always been the most supporting private company for these two. We can even argue that without the financial support of Koc, especially TEMA, which has a great reputation in the public, would not be so active and successful in their efforts to decrease land erosion in the country. More than half of the founding members of this NGO were from Koc Family.

Later on, the opposition gained one of the traditionally strong newspapers, Cumhuriyet, to its side. Cumhuriyet does not sell much but it is a traditionally important and respected daily newspaper. In addition, Islamic media with numerous TV and radio channels, newspapers and magazines was along the opposition side with full support to IBSB. There were also a few local radio channels along with the opposition. Following IBSB, aforementioned three professional chambers commenced lawsuits against the location of KU. This process will be explained in detail in the next chapter. All these developments were publicised in some media and ordinary citizens following these

media groups started to question the location of KU. Although it is difficult to argue that KH and KU lost prestige, their initial prestige is then under question²⁴.

8.5.5 Land rent

Another point to be mentioned is directly related with the location of the university. Istanbul has always experienced a linear growth not only because of the main transportation axis transcending the city from west to east, but also because of the historical and common trend to conserve the natural values at the northern areas. At the north of Istanbul there are several water catchment areas in addition to forests. It is worth to note here that in recent years, usage water had been one of the most important problems of the city²⁵. Furthermore, northern forests are always said to be the “lungs of Istanbul”. However, Istanbul has always felt the pressure to extend towards northern sites. Invasions to the forests and water catchment areas in order to construct low-density luxury villa sites with beautiful views and good environment quality have long caused a public debate since the 1980s. Relevant grounds to act against these developments according to the existing jurisdictional laws²⁶ did not work properly. On the other hand, it was difficult to stop these developments because of widespread corruption and political interest²⁷. Leftist sympathy to squatters during the social democrat local government was also another factor legitimating these developments since it was legally impossible to separate squatting from luxury informal developments [Yalcintan, 1995].

²⁴ A simple survey with a sample of about 500 subscribers of 3 e-mail groups was executed to measure this. The groups were not representative of the public since the subscribers are mostly highly educated people. However, the results presented that almost all of them were aware of the oppositions and more than 50 % was convinced with the arguments of opposing bodies.

²⁵ In the initial and peak stages of the problem, social democrat government tried rain bombs, which was a partial and temporary success. Later on, in the first two years of the Islamic governments, there were several “collective prays for rain”, which is a tradition coming from the ancient times of Islamic Anatolia. Surprisingly, after the preying, there has not been a crisis period as social democrats had! In addition to preying, local government of Istanbul had constructed water pipelines from a neighbouring city for almost 5 years. This project was completed in 1999 and there is no water problem in the city by then.

²⁶ Most of these villa development areas are not under the authority of the greater municipality. Master plans prepared by IBSB include these areas just to be comprehensive but they have no sanctions on these areas. Responsible authorities to prepare development plans for these areas are politically autonomous “belde” municipalities, which are neither villages nor towns, but present characteristics of both. Their population is between 2000 and 10000 and yet not combined with their main city thoroughly, although there are strong relations in between.

²⁷ These villas have been illegal initially but often legalised later on by specific acts and by various ways of corruption. The process of legalising them works just like in the squatting areas. Thus, squatting and informal construction are often confused and the public started to accuse the squatters as strongly as the developers and users of the luxury villas at informal sites.

On the other hand, Istanbul Bosphorous as a natural site has long been conserved with different Acts and a number of master plans by prohibiting any kind of new constructions. Main objective of these prohibitions has been preserving the breathtaking view of Bosphorous as a natural characteristic of the city. Thus, supply of urban land at the northern areas of Istanbul is limited and prices are invaluable. An estimation of the land price for KU in September 1993 was at least 500000 TL/m², which in total amounted to 8 trillion TL [Cumhuriyet, 24/09/1993].

Thus, the location of KU was neither relevant to the natural growth axis of Istanbul nor unconsciously chosen. It was a strategic choice, which points to new development areas in the forests. This specific land may amount to huge profits via urban development. Since, examples of universities as developers are now widely discussed in the USA, suspicions on KU with these concerns cannot be accepted as radical.

8.6 Koc Holding

Vehbi Koc, who died in the last decade, was known as the “Emperor” in the Turkish public. He was one of the first entrepreneurs of the country and the first in attracting foreign capital to the country in 1946 through a partnership with General Electric of the USA. Centre of this company was at the 25th floor of General Electric building in New York. In 1989, Koc group was the owner of 105 companies and financially the strongest MNC of Turkey. The main activity of KH has always been manufacturing. However, particularly after 1980, activities started to proliferate from banking to trade, tourism to real estate. Their product range in manufacturing has also proliferated in this period. Twenty-five of their companies were in the “Turkey’s top 500 manufacturing companies” list of 1985. By 2000, KH was the second in this list after Sabanci Holding.

KH has been the leader of Turkish companies in multinationalism. After the partnership with General Electric in 1946, they signed an agreement with Italian Fiat to manufacture cars and tractors in Turkey. Centre of this company has long stayed in Sweden²⁸ and in 1985 it was in the top 500 firms of that country. In 15 of KH’s 105 companies, they had foreign partners including American Ford, Italian Fiat and German Siemens. Their partner in banking is American Express.

Another issue worth to mention is KH's partnerships with Public Economic Enterprises (KIT). KITs are state-owned economic enterprises, that have received aggressive critics from the liberal economists since 1980. A KIT, State Equipment Office had supported Arcelik financially since 1956. Arcelik is a very popular brand of KH in Turkey and in the neighbouring countries specialised on electronic home equipment. KH had other partnerships with other KITs in automobile, tractor and food industries, too. These partnerships had usually benefited KH rather than the KITs in question because the state's first objective had always been strengthening the national capital. Sonmez [1996] argued that Koc owes a lot to the KITs for its recent power. There appeared a contradiction in this relationship in the last years. Although KH had benefited a lot from the monopolistic power of KITs for long, they are now in favour of their privatisation. And with others, they often present KITs as the handicaps of growth in Turkish economy. Is it because the partnerships are over and Koc does not need them any more? Or is it because Koc is now stronger than the KITs and they are one of the strongest candidates to buy them?

"60 years of Koc history is almost a vertical cross-section of the development of Turkish capitalism. Koc, who provided his initial capital accumulation by trade, especially from the sales to the young Turkish Republic and from contracting for her, passed to manufacturing after 1950 without breaking its ties off the State... State sector has been a lever for the growth of the Group... The one and only group that has a department in Ankara called 'Department of Governmental Relations' was also Koc." [Translated from; Sonmez, 1987: 195 & 203]

The old and successful story of KH imposed a mission to its managers. It was to lead the businessmen in the country. Thus, in the organisation of Associations such as TUSIAD and MESS, Vehbi Koc was the leading actor. He was the one dealing with conciliation and lobbying not only for business but politics as well. His personal recommendations to any government were hardly ignored. In Ankara, it was common to hear this ironic phrase during the 1980s [Sonmez, 1996]:

"There are three sectors in Turkey: Public sector, private sector and Koc sector".

A specific year to be mentioned here is 1980. Contrary to most of the others, KH did not suffer from the global crisis of 1970s. The only effect was a slight decrease in their

²⁸ Centres of these companies were located abroad in order to avoid strict Turkish legislative system against the foreign capital, which is now changed completely.

profits. Economic decisions of the 24th of January 1980, military coup of the same year and the following governments opened the way for the liberalisation of Turkish economy by making relevant policies. Main actors of this liberalisation process were again the same families and groups. Thus, KH and others started to accumulate capital rapidly by 1980, again. From 1982 onwards, KH's profits started to increase dramatically. In 1988, their profit was five times higher than the profit in 1981. In the same year, KH's profitability was 129 %. Forbidden strikes, frozen wages and disbanded unions were the crucial inputs of dramatic profit increases in those years. In addition, they were one of the few beneficiaries of the incitements to export and other international economic activities. Hence, the years of Turkish integration to the global economy had benefited KH at most.

Briefly, the main characteristic of KH appears as its dense relationships with the State and foreign companies. Another strategy of the group in addition to these partnerships has been founding vertical combinations of sectors. From the assurance of raw materials to the marketing of products and after sale services, they have become the dominant actor of any sector in which they function. There are also horizontal combinations of KH with the use of their service providing companies such as Koc-American Bank, which was founded together with American Express Bank and specialised in foreign trade and Sark Insurance, which has got a large share in the Turkish insurance market. This horizontal integration strategy reminds the rise of knowledge industries, particularly HEIs, in the globalisation era; so does the decision of KH to found a university in Istanbul. Fischer [2001: 205] argued, "in an economic system where innovation is crucial for competitiveness, the organisational ability to create knowledge becomes the foundation of innovating firms". Gibbens [1998: 72-3] supported this argument as follows:

"Firms want to get value for money out of their expenditures on research but they know that they cannot expect to hold in-house all the knowledge resources that might be needed to maintain their positions in international competition. Therefore, the most efficient way for them to ensure access to new knowledge is by participating in collaborative arrangements of various kinds."

Castells & Hall [1994: 3] also highlighted the importance of new organisational forms such as "horizontal networks substitute for vertical bureaucracies as the most productive form of organisation and management". In this sense, KU seems to be a strategic

investment for KH. By means of the university, the interaction of codified (explicit) knowledge and implicit knowledge would occur.

An informal data provided by a journalist suggesting that 20 % of KU graduates were employed by KH itself [Guclu, A., Milliyet, 03/02/1999] carries these arguments from knowledge to recruitment aspect. Accordingly, KH would also benefit from KU with its graduates. It is, then, expected that KU might have thought programs in accordance with KH's graduate demands.

KU was Vehbi Koc's own project. In one of his speeches at Eskisehir on the 23rd of October 1984, he stated that [www.ku.edu.tr]:

“If we look around us today, we see that countries of the modern world are making rapid advances in all areas of science and racing towards new discoveries in outer space. In order for us to close the gap and prepare for the future, we must educate our young people in the best way possible.”

Rationale of the businessman explained above together with the relations and strategies of KH has played a vital role in the KU project. KU would be one of the horizontal companies of KH and serve for different companies while carrying on its higher education duties. In time, it may even become the most crucial part of KH's vertical integration since we are said to be in the information age.

8.6 Concluding remarks: State intervention and location motivations

In the past decade, there have been numerous land appropriations of the central governments to the FUs in Istanbul in accordance with the relevant legislation. These appropriations have been executed without any approval from the local authorities including IBSB. Since the total amount of appropriations is considerably high and their locations are at the critical areas of Istanbul, we can argue that the central governments intervened on the development/growth of the city and did not let the local authorities, which would have to serve the developments in those lands with infrastructure and such, to take place in the decision-making processes.

Some of the land appropriations have been to the northern areas of Istanbul, where is under conservation because of the existence of water catchment areas and forestry. In this regard, intervention of central governments opened the areas that had been reserved

by the local authorities for conservation with environmental concerns. Thus, this central intervention is also a challenge to the local decision-making processes. In fact, these appropriations are made due to the demands of capital via foundations, which means that capital enforced the central governments to challenge the local decision-making processes.

Motivation of capital and central governments in these appropriations were publicised as increasing the quality of HE in the country. However, rumours, amount of land for individual appropriations, examples of US HEIs undertaking development activities, Bilkent example in Turkey and other evidence including the land allocation for “plaza” in the initial project of the KU suggest that land speculation is the main motivation of capital. It is also known from the previous section that university developments create an attraction for further development. Then, we can argue that central governments should have aimed political and economic interest with the appropriations in addition to their publicised target. In this respect, KH should have been very influential because it has always had good relations and economic connections with the central governments. On the other hand, the most important media group in Turkey, DMG, strongly supported the KU development from the very beginning of the processes. In fact, KH and DMG have always been allies to each other. Thus, we can argue that economic interests had determined the information publicised.

However, there was an unexpected guest for decision-makers, which was the civil society. The civil society had opposed KU development from its very beginning via professional chambers, NGOs and individuals. Opposition of the civil society was strengthened with the support of leftist and Islamic media groups, this time for political interest. It is also worth to mention that some environmental NGOs funded by KH did not have to oppose KU development by staying out of the process.

On the other hand, KU, which was a product of one of the strongest MNCs of Turkey, was established as a well-equipped HEI aiming to become global. In fact, KU has developed quickly and succeeded most of the criteria that were counted for the globalisation of HE in the previous section. However, it was its representatives’ discourse on globalisation that has preceded the university’s globalisation. The intention of KH to have a HEI compatible to the developments in the global era was apparent in that discourse. Moreover, commodification of HE was apparent in the process, as

competition with the BU had been an important factor of location and marketing and public perception processes had been controlled by KU and KF representatives in the most efficient way.

Chapter Nine

Land appropriation to Koc University

9.1 Introduction

As mentioned earlier, central governments have promoted FUs by various means. One of those promotions that we are specifically interested in this thesis the huge land appropriations in or very close to the cities, usually from the forest areas under conservation. KU was also subject to a land appropriation from a forest area. This case has been the most discussed one in the public because of its aforementioned location. The process starting with the appropriation developed via severe oppositions and a number of lawsuits have completed its 14th year. KU's construction is almost completed by now and despite the court decisions against, it gained *de facto* status.

In this chapter, the appropriation process will be explained chronologically with the actors involved, depending on interviews and various documents obtained from the related courts, municipalities, ministries, NGOs and professional chambers. Paying attention to the use of discourse is essential in a study like this because similar arguments were often described and interpreted differently by different actors according to their political and economic interests. Furthermore, a shift in these interests was directly reflected to the discourses used. This analysis will expose all related bodies via explaining the whole process. By this token, it will provide us the actors of decision-making and determine their relative positionalities in the globalising Istanbul. In order to follow the very complicated process easier, it will be useful to give a chronology of events / decisions together with the political affiliation of the actors before making the relevant explanations. Following are the relevant tables:

Table 9.1 Actors involved in Koc case and their behaviours

ACTOR	STATUS	BEHAVIOUR
Presidency of Turkey	Central	Pro-encouraging
Cabinet	Central	Pro-encouraging
Ministry of Education	Central	Pro-encouraging
Ministry of Forestry	Central	Pro-encouraging
Ministry of Public Imp. & Housing	Central	Pro-encouraging
Ministry of Culture	Central	Pro-encouraging
Higher Education Institution	Central	Pro-encouraging
Istanbul Greater Municipality	Local	Against-struggling- lawsuit
Sariyer Borough	Local	Pro-encouraging
Bahcekoy Belde Municipality	Local	Pro-encouraging
Chamber of Architects	Civic	Against-struggling- lawsuit
Chamber of City Planners	Civic	Against-struggling- lawsuit
Chamber of Forest Engineers	Civic	Against-struggling- lawsuit
Chamber of Construction Engineers	Civic	Against-struggling- lawsuit
TEMA	Civic	Pro
DHKD	Civic	Neutral
CEKUL	Civic	Against
Green Belt Environment Vanguard	Civic	Against-struggling
Koc Foundation	Civic	Pro-funding
DCP	Civic	Neutral
Habitat Follow-up Committee	Civic	Against-struggling
Urban Dynamics Institute	Civic	Against
Oktay Ekinci	Citizen	Against-struggling- lawsuit
Koc Holding	Capital	Pro-funding
KTVKK	Semi-local	Shifted from against-struggling to pro-encouraging during the process
Istanbul Governorship	Semi-local	Pro
Istanbul Province Local Environment Committee	Semi-local	Pro-encouraging
Istanbul University	Semi-local	Against-struggling
Istanbul Technical University	Semi-local	Pro-encouraging
Constitution Court	Central	Against-prohibiting
Council of State	Central	Against-cancelling
Administrative Courts	Semi-local	Pro-encouraging

- * Semi-local: Centrally appointed members acting on that locality.
 ** Encouraging: Decrees, decisions, behaviours, reports, pressure for.
 *** Struggling: Decrees, decisions, behaviours, reports, pressure, and lawsuit against.
 **** Cancelling: Cancellation of all operations.
 ***** Prohibiting: Prohibition of all similar practices.

Source: This table is prepared by the author on the basis of the findings of the case study.

Table 9.2 Chronology of events / decisions

DATE	EVENT
1990	Koc Foundation's application to the Ministry of Forestry for the specific land appropriation
1 October 1990	Forestry Ministry's positive report about the appropriation
1991	Additional article 18
1991	Amenagement Plan of Forestry Directorate do not propose any tree cutting in the specific area
5 March 1992	KU establishment
April 1992	Ministry of Education proposal to Cabinet
26 April 1992	Cabinet Decree
May 1992	Withdrawal of military control of the land
May 1992	New amenagement plan by Istanbul Regional Directorate of Forestry
29 June 1992	Additional Article 18 was cancelled by the Constitution Court
31 March 1993	Cancellation was published in the Official Paper
26 July 1993	Koc buys the mining rights in the proposed area
	Central Government asks KTVKK and IBSB to make/revise decisions
September 1993	KTVKK and IBSB rejects the proposals
9 December	KTVKK decree against the proposal
Winter 1994	KU requests Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing to amend the plan on the basis of Official Building status
March 1994	Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing rejects the amendment proposal of KU
24 March 1994	The new master plan of Istanbul
Summer 1994	KU objects the new master plan
Summer 1994	IBSB refuses KU objection
Winter 1995	Sariyer Borough construction plan approval
14 March 1995	Ministry of Forestry changes the initial permission to definite permission
31 July 1995	Sariyer Borough gives construction licence to KU for a garden wall
Summer 1995	IBSB refuses Sariyer Borough's construction plan
3 August 1995	Forestry Ministry extends the appropriated land
Summer 1995	KU revises its location plan and proposal to the Ministry of Education
20 October 1995	IBSB prepares the new master plan of Istanbul
15 November	KTVKK declares the region "natural site" including the proposed KU land
20 November	The master plan is approved
Autumn 1995	Second EIA
6 December	Istanbul Regional Directorate of Forestry decides to cut trees in an area including KU
11 December	Ministry of Education demands plan amendment
11 December	KU representatives objects the new master plan
December 1995	IBSB refuses Ministry of Education's demand and KU's objection
7 January 1996	Regional Forestry Directorate recommends IBSB amendment
8 February 1996	KTVKK refuses demand to downgrade the conservation degree
5 March 1996	IBSB replies KTVKK with negative opinion
6 March 1996	Council of State refuses KU as official

DATE	EVENT
7 March 1996	KTVKK downgrades the conservation degree from 2nd to 3rd
7 March 1996	Ministry of Culture stops the distribution of KTVKK decrees
9 April 1996	Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing amends the plan
15 April 1996	IBSB receives the latest declaration of KTVKK
April 1996	Ministry of Culture dismisses 3 members of KTVKK
08 May 1996	KTVKK approved all plans for KU
May 1996	Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing approves all plans for KU
May 1996	Istanbul Governorship Local Environment Committee declares support to KU
May 1996	Ekinci makes a press statement about his dismissal from KTVKK accusing the Ministry of Culture, IBSB and Islamic press
31 May 1996	KU beginning of construction ceremony
14 June 1996	Green Belt Environment Vanguard makes a press statement and starts a signature campaign against KU location
June 1996	Istanbul University Faculty of Forestry opposes KU location
July 1996	KU rector makes statement to various media groups
July 1996	Ekinci replies the KU rector with a second press statement
Sept. 1996	Chamber of Forest Engineers gave a crime notification for cutting trees
15 Nov. 1996	Attorney General gives non-prosecution decision to the notification of the Chamber
Autumn 1996	Kanal 7 broadcasts tree cutting
Autumn 1996	IBSB, Chamber of Architects, Oktay Ekinci, Chamber of City Planners, Chamber of Forest Engineers, Chamber of Construction Engineers launch separate lawsuits
2 December	Expert Report is presented to the Court
13 January	Chamber of Architects explains her arguments in the Court
17 January	Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing withdraws the amendment
January 1997	The Court refuses the lawsuit petitions
3 March 1997	Chamber of Architects and Oktay Ekinci appeals the decision
Summer 1997	Ministry of Forestry changes the priceless appropriation to rental
10 June 1997	DCP Partnership meeting
July 1997	NGOs Acknowledgement meeting against KU location
12 July 1997	TEMA declaration supporting KU location
21 July 1997	Court of Appeal cancels the construction licence of Sariyer Borough but does not change the other decisions
25 July 1997	Parliamentary amendment on the Article 9 of Public Improvements Act
20 August	Chamber of Architects appeal again this time at the level of Presidency of Council of State
20 August	DCP declaration of partnership meeting conclusions
31 Aug 1997	Istanbul Governorship Local Environment Committee decides tree cutting on the area
1997	Parliament changes the border of Bahcekoy Belde Municipality
1997	RP proposes Parliament an interpellation
1997	CHP refuses to support RP's proposal
1997	CHP proposes executive membership to Koc Holding Manager

DATE	EVENT
1997	IBSB, Sariyer Borough and Chamber of Forest Engineers launch lawsuits against the Parliamentary decision changing the municipal borders
1997	Council of State decides to cancel the decision and to detain the execution
3 July 1998	Presidency of Council of State cancels all the operations and changes the former Court decisions
Summer 1998	Prime Ministry and Ministry of Forestry demand correction from the Presidency of State Council
1998	Presidency of Council of State refuses the demands
31 Aug. 1998	Chamber of Forest Engineers gave another crime notification for KU's continuation of construction despite the Court decisions
Dec. 1998	Council of State concludes the Forest Engineers' lawsuit as KU was contrary to the Constitution
1999	KU is completely illegal according to the Court decisions and is asked to empty the land
1999	Rumours on IBSB and KU agreement on unknown grounds
1999	Ministry of Forestry decreases the amount of land appropriated from 192 ha to 24.9 ha
December	Parliament amends the HE Act and the article about appropriation
April 2000	Council of State declares KU legal after the Parliamentary amendment
April 2000	Chamber of Architects appeal the latest decision
October 2000	KU construction finishes and KU moves to the campus
Autumn 2000	Constitution Court declares KU illegal on the basis of the Constitution
Autumn 2005	KU celebrates its 5th year in its campus

Source: This chronology is prepared from various sources including court documents, official and non-official reports and newspaper articles and news.

9.2 Central authorities and the initial permissions

Legal starting point of the whole process, possibly just after the negotiations of KF representatives with relevant governmental bodies, is an article, which was added to the Higher Education Act in 1991 by the Parliament. Additional Article 18 opened the legal way to appropriate lands and buildings from Treasury to FUs in order to fulfil their needs. However, it was understood later that FUs and especially KU were already prepared for this legislation. A book, which was published by KU in 1996, publicised an important and unknown fact that the Ministry of Forestry had analysed the forest in question and prepared a report on the 1st of October 1990. And this report provided the initial permission for land appropriation to KU. Critical is that; this was a year before Article 18 was added to the relevant legislation. Apparently, KF's application for the specific forestland was done before the relevant regulation was put in force. More interestingly, KU was established on the 5th of March 1992 after both demand and

legislation. These dates raise the question whether or not KU would be established in the case of non-appropriation of the forestland.

In 1992 Ministry of Education proposed the Cabinet an “initial permission”, with which 160 ha. forestland in the northern Istanbul would be appropriated to KU for 49 years in order to build a university campus. The Cabinet declared a Decree on the 26th of April 1992, which accepted the appropriation¹.

Part of the forestland subject to appropriation was a military zone. In Turkey, it is almost impossible to take a military zone from the Army for any purpose. However, this time, on unknown grounds, the Army abandoned the land in question easily and Istanbul Regional Directorate of Forestry immediately prepared the *amenagement* plan² for the specific area in order to remove the military zone from the plans.³

The Prime Minister of the Cabinet that made this decision was Suleyman Demirel, who later officially opened KU. He was elected as the President of the country just before the opening ceremonies and did not care that the courts had not reached a final decision about the location of KU, yet. Strikingly, the President of the country opened a university, which was yet informal, with or without considering its pressure on the Court’s decision. It is later acknowledged that he even made telephone calls to KTVKK (Conservation of Cultural and Natural Values Council)⁴ members for the necessary construction permissions.

The Constitution Court cancelled additional article 18 on the 29th of June 1992, soon after the Cabinet’s appropriation. Accordingly, practice of Article 18 would reduce the quantity of state forests, which was unacceptable for Article 130 of the Constitution. It

¹ According to the procedure, the Ministry of Forestry first transferred the land to the Ministry of Education with a “definite permission” of use for 49 years. Then, the Ministry of Education appropriated the land to KU for 49 years.

² An *amenagement* plan is a plan prepared by the units of the Ministry of Forestry in order to determine the trees, their ages and cutting and afforestation times.

³ *Amenagement* plans are prepared periodically. This plan was prepared two years before its renewal period.

⁴ KTVKK is originally a central body operating locally via branches. It is a unit of Ministry of Culture. Its centre is in Ankara and there are numerous branches throughout the country. There are 3 KTVKKs in Istanbul only. Their highly specialised members are appointed by the central authorities but they’re selected from that locality. Selected committees are completely independent from the central KTVKK and the Ministry during their decision-making processes. Therefore, they can be accepted as independent local institutions. They are authorised to declare sites/buildings with natural and historical characteristics as conservation areas with various degrees of conservation. They provide permission of land use, construction, restoration, repair etc. in these areas/buildings. Any plans/projects that are prepared for these areas/buildings should be approved by them.

is worth to mention here that this decision of the Constitution Court was printed on the “Official Newspaper”⁵ about a year later on the 31st of March 1993. This delay can be a conscious one to give Cabinet the time for new land appropriations in order to proliferate FUs.

Consequently, a decision, taken on the grounds of an Article that stayed in force less than a year, had occupied the public for more than 10 years. This practice is common to Turkey. Cancellations of Constitution Court do not affect practices of the cancelled legislation made before the publications of the decisions on the Official Newspaper. Turkish Governments often make legislation of immediate necessity in the Parliament with their majority, even though they know that the Constitution Court will cancel it. During the period of lawsuits and the period that passes until the decisions are published on the Official Newspaper, they fulfil that immediate necessity and, thus, the practice can gain *de facto* status⁶. Gaining *de facto* status, thus, means getting an exception from the decisions of the Constitution Court.

A crucial decision of the Parliament followed the central authorities’ initial permissions. It was the transfer of authority of seven villages from Sariyer Borough Adjacent Area⁷ to Bahcekoy, which was a belde municipality, thus, had her own planning authority with no obligation of harmony to the Istanbul Master. Land subject to transfer was 8100 ha including KU land, 91 % of which was covered with state forest and was zoned by Istanbul Master Plan as a natural conservation site with no construction permissions. Acun [1999] described this operation as an act of removing the land in question out of control. Consequently, Bahcekoy Municipality provided construction licences in that area not only to KU but also to several villa developments just 20 days after this decree was declared. This was indeed a strategic manoeuvre of the central government not only to legalise KU but also to distribute rent to their supporting developers⁸ via eliminating

⁵ Any decision of any court, parliament etc. to become valid must be published on the Official Newspaper (Official Paper) first.

⁶ Later in 1997, Chamber of Architects would object to this practice. Accordingly, *de facto* status could only be valid if there was not any lawsuit against the practice in question in the determined period. Since the lawsuits were commenced in time, that status could not be accepted.

⁷ Adjacent Area is a legal term with regard to municipality boundaries in Turkey. Accordingly, municipalities should serve in the areas where there is settlement, but not in its surrounding areas. Authorities in these areas are left to the Governorship and the headmen of the relevant villages, if there is belde municipality.

⁸ Some of the developers that had benefited from this operation were Garanti Koza Construction Company (of Koc Holding), Erdal Acar’s construction company, Metin Caglayan’s construction company

the possible oppositions of Sariyer Borough and IBSB. RP, which was in force at both Sariyer Borough and IBSB, proposed the Parliament an interpellation in order to question this decree of ANASOL-D⁹ coalition government. For acceptance of the proposal, RP was in need of support from the social democrat CHP, which was the only other opposition party in the Parliament at that time. However, leader of CHP, Deniz Baykal, declared to the public “I will not let anybody say that CHP has some a party following the Islamists” and did not let his party to support a very reasonable argument of the Islamist RP. Thus, interpellation could not get the required number of signatures to take place in the Parliament’s agenda. Later on, it was read from the newspapers that Baykal had proposed executive membership of his Party Council to Inan Kirac, who had served KH as a high level manager for a long years. Together with the initial refusal of CHP, this proposal is quite open to speculative reasoning although it is impossible to prove. In this result, Islamic RP had become a common justification of secular political parties in various practices. Whenever they practice something against their ideologies or they are found out corrupt, they acquit themselves such as that it was to stop Islamic forces gaining strength and to conserve secularism in the country. In this case, CHP argued that they did not oppose KU case because of RP. However, later on, it was found out that they had indeed close relationships with KH administration.

9.3 Pressures on local authorities

Although the relevant procedures at the central governmental level were processed quickly with little opposition, there were some major obstacles arising from local plans. One of them was Istanbul KTVKK No. 3¹⁰. Appropriated land was in the boundaries of Bosphorous Natural Site. Any kind of urban development in this area was prohibited according to the Articles 3 and 4 of the Bosphorous Act (No.2960). Accordingly, exceptional developments had to get a KTVKK approval stating that development in question would not be against the conservation purpose¹¹. The other major obstacle was

(a publicly known drug dealer), Alarko Construction Company (of one of the most strongest groups, Alarko Holding, in Turkey) among others.

⁹ ANASOL-D is constituted of the conservative-liberal Motherhood Party (ANAP), social democrat Democratic Left Party (DSP) and conservative-liberal True Path Party (DYP).

¹⁰ From here on Istanbul KTVKK No. 3 will be referred as KTVKK only unless it is stated differently.

¹¹ This procedure is questionable because if there is a prohibition for something, existence of an approval mechanism such as this means that prohibition in question is flexible and that there is always an opportunity to act against the prohibition. Thus, this procedure has an encouraging role for developers and other powerful agencies to bypass the construction prohibitions. On the other hand, it creates an inequality with the ordinary citizens in the sense that they cannot deal with all those bureaucratic, time and money consuming processes.

Istanbul Master Plan, in which the area was zoned as “forest”, again with a prohibition on any kind of development. Hence, for the KU development, IBSB should have amended its plans. Thus, relevant central authorities pushed the button for the bureaucracies necessary to overcome these obstacles.

In the first stage, according to the relevant procedure, decree of the Cabinet was sent to both KTVKK and IBSB via the related Ministries and these two local authorities were asked to make and revise their decisions. Briefly, this was enforcement on KTVKK and IBSB. KTVKK was asked to relax its principles on conservation and IBSB was requested to amend its comprehensive master plan for the sake of 160 ha forestland. In case of a possible IBSB refusal, the central authorities, as we shall see later, had the relevant authorities and means to make the amendments by themselves. However, KTVKK had to be convinced. There was no legislation that could bypass their authority but still it was the Ministry’s authority, to finish the members’ contracts and not renew them.

In parallel to the demands of the central authorities, KU representatives applied IBSB for a plan amendment as well. In their petition to IBSB, they offered to replant almost 70.000 trees to another area in order to overcome a refusal based on environmental concerns.

IBSB immediately refused the proposals and justified her decision with her preparation of the new Istanbul Master Plan. Accordingly, location decisions of HEIs in the greater city of Istanbul would be taken into consideration in the new comprehensive master plan. These demands could only be considered comprehensively with relation to the greater city, not as a fragment in a whole. Indeed, it would be inappropriate to do so according to the Public Improvements Act No.3184.

Initial reaction of KTVKK on the 30th of September 1993 was similar to IBSB. They addressed the new master plan and the IBSB as the authority to determine the locations of HEIs. In order to make a decision on the issue, they would need the objectives of the new master plan. In addition, KTVKK indicated some other justifications that could be used to refuse such a proposal. These could indeed be interpreted as a clue for their final decision. Accordingly,

- ❑ The land in question was zoned as *forest area to be conserved* in the 1/50.000 Istanbul master plan of 1980, which was in force at that time.
- ❑ Similarly, 1/25.000 Sariyer Borough Environmental Regulation Plan (1987) zoned the area as forest, too.
- ❑ Furthermore, this area was zoned as forest and military activity in the 1/5.000 Bosphorous Rear View and Influence Region Master Plan in 1988¹².
- ❑ All these plans address the Forestry Act for the use of this area and according to the Forestry Act, any kind of urban development in the forests is prohibited in order to conserve them.

Although, there was not comment of KTVKK, these articles were counted in order to present the inappropriateness of the proposal. And thus they can be accepted as a sign of KTVKK's final decision.

Pressures brought a compulsory co-operation between IBSB and KTVKK, whose struggles for daily practices were well known by the public. IBSB asked KTVKK for support to struggle together against the Cabinet's decree and sent acknowledgement documents to the Committee about the location of KU. Furthermore, IBSB requested KTVKK to assist her in determining the objectives of the new master plan as well¹³. In this respect, an opposition on the basis of a specific case brought about an opportunity of a long-term cooperation. However, it did not realise at all.

In one of the letters that IBSB sent to KTVKK, it came out that mining rights in the forests in question was transferred to Demir Export AS on the 26th of July 1993 by the Ministry of Forestry. Later on, it was found out that Demir Export was a bogus company of KH. They intended to stop the mining activities in its development area with this company. And after this issue's publicisation, KH commented that it was a favour to Istanbulites to stop mining activities at the lungs of Istanbul.

On the other hand, pressures on KTVKK from the central authorities and KU representatives increased. It was then difficult for KTVKK to postpone its final decree until the preparation of the new master plan. On the 9th of December 1993, KTVKK

¹² Referenced from the decree of KTVKK on the 30th of September 1993.

¹³ Referenced from the written petition of IBSB to the KTVKK on the 23rd of November 1993.

declared its decision (No.6233). Briefly, their decision was against the proposed location of KU. This document is extremely important because KTVKK declared its decision before the political pressures intensified. The decision was based on the principles of urbanism and environmentalism and existing legislation only, excluding the subjectivity of politics. Justifications of the decision and recommendations of KTVKK were as follows¹⁴:

- ❑ In addition to the Istanbul master plan, all other upper scale plans aimed to conserve the forest status of the proposed area.
- ❑ For a committee, whose existence was to conserve natural and cultural values, it would be inconsistent to decide against the conservation of the proposed area and to give construction permission of any kind.
- ❑ IBSB is the authority to decide. The new master plan of Istanbul must take the issue into consideration comprehensively in relation to the issues of transportation, development, green areas, conservation etc. and according to the main objectives depending on various projections. Specific attention in the new master plan should be paid to the conservation of rare green areas that have grown as forests.
- ❑ A Conservation Plan should be prepared in the overall region considering the conditions counted above and accordingly KU should be relocated. The Committee would reconsider the issue by then.

Briefly, KTVKK refused the proposal and recommended IBSB to continue conserving the forests. However, an option appeared for KU with the recommended conservation plan since it might still include the university in.

These two initial rejections of the local authorities alarmed the representatives of KU. They requested the Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing to amend the master plan of Istanbul on the basis of Article 9 of the Public Improvements Act (No.3194)¹⁵.

¹⁴ Referenced from the decree of KTVKK on the 9th of December 1993.

¹⁵ Article 9 of the Public Improvements Act No. 3194 regulates the planning authority of the Ministry. According to one of the exceptional conditions, the Ministry had right to transfer the local authority of planning to itself, when there is any need of constructing an official building. This status was detailed with a Regulation on the 2nd of November 1985. Accordingly, an official building was defined as a

According to the Article, the Ministry was authorised “to amend any kind of plan for official buildings and establishments in order to materialise a public service.” In order to benefit from the Article, KU representatives presented KU as an official establishment since it did not seek any profit from its activities. Accordingly, KU representatives argued, its campus buildings should have been accepted as official buildings. However, there was a new coalition government in force, different from the one that had provided the initial permissions. This time, KU representatives’ proposal was rejected by a central agency, Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing, on the grounds that:

- ❑ The proposal in question could not be considered according to the Article 9 because it was neither included by nor relevant to the Article. On the contrary, it was highlighted that the proposal was contradictory to the purposes of the Article. (This meant that KU buildings could not be interpreted as official buildings.)
- ❑ The proposal in question was not appropriate to the Bosphorous Act (No.2690). Accordingly, Article 3a of the Act asks for “the conservation of cultural and historical heritages and natural beauties within their natural ecology in the Bosphorous Area.” Moreover, Article 3b is about the beautification and development of the area in harmony with its natural and cultural values. Article 3c prioritises the restoration of cultural and natural values in the area to any other development. And finally Article 4, on the contrary to the appropriations, asks for the nationalisation of private forests if there are. There was no exception in the Act for the privatisation of forests. According to the Act, except from forestry, the mere development in the forest areas of Bosphorous could be recreational activities with very limited construction rights.
- ❑ 1/5.000 Bosphorous Master Plan Report of 1984, Article 7.22 emphasised that within the borders of the master plan, any kind of development that was subject to general public use, such as major health institutions, universities, academies, high schools and similar education institutions, public or private headquarters and similar land-uses, would not be permitted anymore. The

building, which was possessed to central authorities and local governments or was possessed to corporations half of whose capital is provided by these central authorities or local governments.

article adds that in the Bosphorous region there were War Academy, Istanbul Technical University and Bosphorous University. In addition to these, Istanbul University would settle to its appropriated land. However, there would be no other permissions of this kind. Existing universities' possible demands to expand their land would not be considered, either.

- ❑ Finally, the Ministry stated that since the proposed area for KU would form a negative incident for the others, possible to exploit later, it was unacceptable.

Relevant local authorities and the civil opposition had all addressed the master plan of Istanbul as the authority for the proposal until this refusal of the Ministry. The Ministry's attitude strengthened the opposition. On the other hand, the new master plan was expected with little curiosity because everybody was sure that IBSB would not tolerate such a development in the area not only because of principles of urbanism, planning and environmental conservation but also ideological reasons¹⁶. New plan came into force on the 24th of March 1994, just a few days before the local elections. Accordingly, KU proposal was found inappropriate to the new comprehensive master plan of Istanbul. The decision was justified as follows:

- ❑ The main decision of the plan was to avoid any kind of developments that could create attraction to the northern parts of the city. These developments might cause negative impacts on forests, water catchment areas and growth of urban macro form.
- ❑ In order to conserve the natural values in the region, which were impossible to re-gain; master plan defined an urban macro form on an axis from west to east, restricting any development in the northern areas. All the attractive urban functions were to be located on that axis supporting the main decision.
- ❑ Accordingly, university campus areas should have been located to support the determined sub-centres and they should not have demolishing effects on the comprehensive plan. The proposal would be a potential threat to the main decision since it would create an attraction¹⁷.

¹⁶ IBSB was governed by a social democrat party –SHP- at those times. Its president was Nurettin Sozen, who was opposing to the private universities in general. Later on, RP was also against the development.

¹⁷ Referenced from the written petition of IBSB to the KTVKK on the 10th of October 1994.

Just before the declaration of the new master plan, KU demanded an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA)¹⁸ from the “Centre of Forestry Research and Practice” of Istanbul University, probably to use against IBSB’s expected decision. On the 7th of March 1994, EIA came out and reported that the area was 180.000 m2 with a forest of black pine in average age of 22. The whole area was described as a forest containing various plants such as cedar, pine, silver birch, acacia etc.¹⁹ EIA did not provide any material to KU in support of their location and they never mentioned it in their documents²⁰. This tendency of KU and other actors using all relevant information supporting their arguments and ignoring all the others was common during the process. This has mislead the public during the decision making process.

In the legal objection period of the master plan, which is no later than 40 days of its publicisation, KU representatives unsurprisingly processed their objection. Soon after, the IBSB Council, which is the responsible to decide on the objections, rejected the objection as expected.

Later in 1994, an Islamic political party, RP, was elected for the government of IBSB. Their attitude towards the proposal was in parallel to the former social democratic party in force. However, although the master plan of Istanbul was just finished and yet not approved by the Ministry²¹, they wanted to prepare another master plan in order to emphasise their ideology. The new plan was prepared in a short period of time and was

¹⁸ “An EIA assesses baseline conditions, identifies possible negative impacts of an activity and recommends mitigating measures” [Leitmann, 1998: 133]. In other words, it can be defined as “a process, which involves the identification, description, measurement and classification of causes and effects. The causes are any action of a proposed project or policy which has an effect upon the environment and it is these effects which are the environmental impacts” [Massam, 1993: 33]. Especially for large-scale urban projects such as airports, waste dumps, universities, technopoles, organised industrial areas etc., EIA has become a pre-requisite for construction permissions in any countries.

¹⁹ This report argued and identified similar to the amenagement plan details. It was not possible to reach the report and this information is transferred from secondary sources.

²⁰ However, I found out that Acun had been opposing to that report in every occasion. According to him, the report on behalf of the Faculty of Forestry of Istanbul University had stated that tree cutting was appropriate in the area. Acun opposed it since he was in the Faculty Executive Committee at that time and he had never heard about the report. However, as far as we know, the report was not presented on behalf of the Faculty and did not state that slaughtering was convenient. In addition, Chamber of Architects presented the report to the Council of State as a proof of their cancellation demands.

There were obvious hostilities between opposing bodies. Academics who do not like each other had continuously accused each other. Chambers that had interest struggles in between such as Chamber of Architects and CCP did not coordinate well and tried to undermine each other’s efforts. Briefly, power struggle was between all actors included in the process, civic or governmental.

²¹ Although it is local governments’ authority to prepare the plans of their locality, master plans must be approved by the Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing in order to put into force. Thus, central government has got the power to approve, which can be and is often used to implement sanctions on

approved by IBSB Council on the 20th of October 1995. As expected, it did not permit the KU development, either. Furthermore, it proposed only specialised higher education in the globalising Istanbul. Accordingly, new HEIs could only be founded for graduate education. Briefly, the master plan argued that Istanbul had sufficient HEIs for undergraduate education and what it needed was graduate education for students to become eligible to compete in the global markets. In other words, local government proposed a functional decentralisation in HE²². For KU, graduate education was a second rank objective and thus it was not considered in the 1995 master plan.

Latest rejections of both the Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing and IBSB oriented KF representatives to Sariyer Borough²³, where KU was proposed to be located. An immediate agreement between the Borough and KF was made on unknown grounds. Borough analysed the land in question and found out something that has never been mentioned before. It was the fact that the appropriated land had been a mining area before and there was no sign of life in its ecology.²⁴ This was not only a wrong and misleading justification of what they would do, but it was also scientifically invalid because in a forestland, specialists argue, an open space would be covered with various plants including trees in a short period of time [Acun, 1999]. Later, Sariyer Borough Council approved the 1/1000 Construction Plan for KU. Borough's "heartfelt wishes" to KU, not requests, as it was read on their own document, were the removal of "plaza" from their project and necessary amendments on upper scale plans. In fact, Borough was aware of KTVKK's rejection and the impossibility of construction under these circumstances. However, they should have obeyed the agreement conditions of which have never been publicised with Koc. Consequently, the construction plan prepared by the Borough was refused by IBSB on the grounds of inappropriateness to various upper scale plans and KTVKK decisions. Thus, this plan had never become valid²⁵.

localities. On the other hand, this approval authority has stopped dangerous attempts of some politically radical local governments' in some cases.

²² As mentioned earlier at another chapter, these are only recommendations of local government since they do not have the authority for education policies. However, these recommendations determine the use of their construction permissions, consequently.

²³ Boroughs have the authority of lower scale planning (1/1000 and 1/5000) in their boundaries in accordance to the master plan and subject to the approval of IBSB. In this case, since the plan is in a conservation site, it is also subject to the approval of KTVKK, after the approval of IBSB.

²⁴ Referenced from the written defence of the KU during the lawsuit, 1997.

²⁵ Referenced from the press statement of Oktay Ekinci on the 28th of May 1996.

However, although, the construction plan of Sariyer Borough was not approved, the Ministry of Forestry changed the “initial permission” condition to “definite permission” on the 14th of March 1995 on the grounds of this invalid plan just before its refusal from the IBSB. Accordingly, 390.000 m² of the land was to be designed as “HE buildings and campus area” and 330.000 m² land to be stored as “campus development (extension) area”. The Ministry determined the rest of the appropriated land as an “urban park to be used for sports and arboretum”²⁶.

Following the definite permission of the Ministry, Sariyer Borough granted a “construction licence”²⁷ to KU for a “garden wall” in the forest on the 31st of July 1995. Actually, there were no garden to be walled and no valid plan to grant a licence according to. However, on the grounds of that licence, KF started the preparations for construction in the area with work site buildings and concrete silos. According to the photos presented by Chamber of Architects later as proofs to the Courts for the lawsuits, constructors started to flatten the construction area with bulldozers destroying the trees and other elements of the forest; threatening the ecological balance of the forest. Furthermore, they surrounded the appropriated land with thorny wire barriers and enlarged the forest safety roads²⁸.

Photo 9.1 KU construction sight



Source: Chamber of Architects booklet on the location of KU - 1997

Another embarrassing decision for the opposing parties was the extension of appropriated land from 1600 ha. to almost 1920 ha. on the 3rd of August 1995 by the

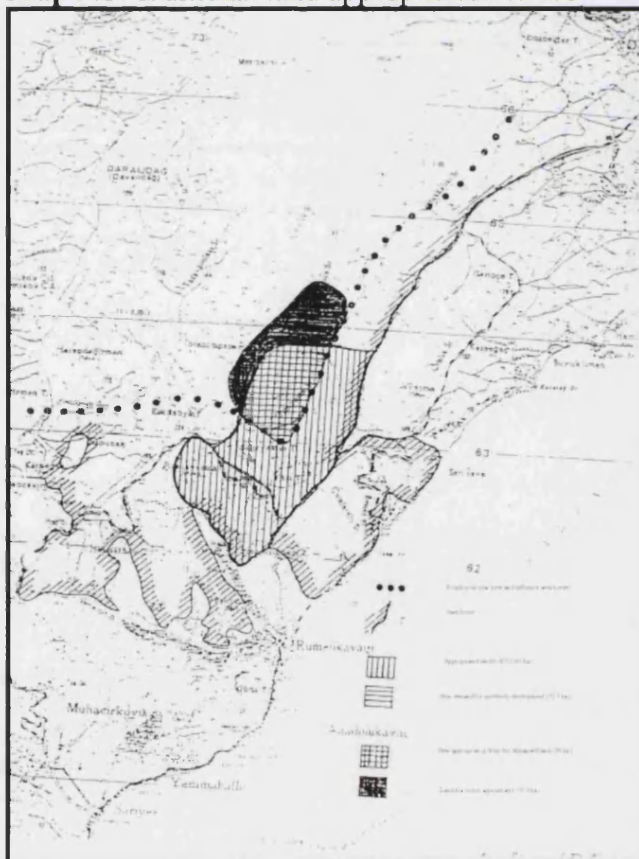
²⁶ Referenced from the Chamber of Architect's lawsuit petition and its attached documents, 1996.

²⁷ This is the final permission issued by a Borough to construct buildings. It is issued on the basis of the 1/1000 Construction Plans of any area.

Ministry of Forestry. Extension was justified with the invalid plan of Sariyer Borough. The Ministry argued that an extension was necessary to adapt to the Borough's planning borders²⁹. It is understandable to narrow down the land according to planning boundaries. By this token, all the area could be controlled and planned by one authority and this might provide comprehensiveness and facilitate various bureaucracies. However, extension is difficult to understand, especially when the plan in question is invalid.

Later on, it was observed that KU project would be located on the extended land, in which there was small open space in the forest. KU revised its project proposal to the Ministry of Education accordingly and consequently the Ministry applied IBSB for a plan amendment according to the new KU proposal. Unsurprisingly, IBSB refused the proposal again on the same grounds with their former decision.

Map 9.1 Additional land appropriation to KU



Source: Chamber of Architects booklet on the location of KU – 1997

²⁸ Referenced from the press statement of Oktay Ekinici on the 28th of May 1996 and from the Chamber of Architect's lawsuit petition and its attached documents, 1996.

²⁹ Referenced from the Chamber of Architect's lawsuit petition and its attached documents, 1996.

After the approval of the last Istanbul Master Plan, KTVKK made a very critical decision and declared a huge area in Sariyer, Beykoz and Bahcekoy, including the appropriated land, as Natural Conservation Sites³⁰ with various conservation degrees³¹ on the 15th of November 1995 [Decree No.7755]. The decision was made in consideration of natural and cultural values as well as the significance of the area for Istanbul. Justifications of the decision were as follows³²:

- In all three master plans of Istanbul from 1980 onwards, the area in question was zoned to conserve in order to restrict development and protect the invaluable natural and cultural characteristics of the area. In these plans' reports it was common to read that any kind of development such as highways, bridges (3rd Bosphorous Village) and tourism buildings, which might create attraction for other uses were to be avoided in the northern parts of the city. In addition to the local governments' plans, Istanbul Governorship had also zoned the area similarly in the plans of its authority³³.
- However, these upper scale plans had not stopped the developments in this region. Various political and economic concessions had been given to these developments via corruption, condonation, lower scale plans and amendments on plans and legislations. These mostly legalised developments encouraged the informal constructions³⁴. Consequently, aforementioned values are partly destroyed.

Declaration of the area as Natural Site would imply its own regulations. Some of them were as follows:

- Boundaries of the site were accepted exactly as of the natural conservation boundaries defined in the 1980 master plan of Istanbul.

³⁰ A "Natural Site" is defined as "natural areas to be conserved in or close to the human settlements" [Cecener, 1995: 247].

³¹ There are 3 degrees for conservation sites in Turkey according to the relevant Act. These degrees determine the construction restrictions in the area or on the building subject to conservation.

³² Referenced from the KTVKK decree on the 15th of November 1995.

³³ As it was mentioned earlier, local government boundaries do not necessarily involve the whole area of the city. It is defined according to urban settlement principle and if an area does not present urban characteristics, it is excluded from the local government's boundaries. In these areas, which are usually a problem for the whole city since new developments always start from there, planning authority is governorship's together with belde municipalities.

³⁴ For the examples of these informal constructions, see Ekinici [1994], Hasol [1997] and Saner [2000].

- ❑ In the Natural Site, *any construction practices were to be immediately stopped*, temporary construction regulations³⁵ were to be applied and necessary procedures for the preparation of conservation plans of each area was to be started.
- ❑ *Any constructions permitted by the Forestry Act and the Ministry of Forestry were to be stopped*. All plans and projects subject to the area were also to be forwarded to KTVKK to be analysed immediately.
- ❑ Temporary construction regulations would be defined after collecting the opinions of relevant bodies³⁶.
- ❑ *Any trees in the area must not be cut* and any damage to the cultural and natural values could not be given via demolition or under the name of reparation.
- ❑ The region was to be zoned as “natural site” in the new master plan of Istanbul.

This decree of KTVKK was critical in the whole process since it was asking to stop any construction activity immediately and cancelling all those given permissions. Thus, strategies and efforts of KU representatives had to be changed and reoriented.

Interesting to note here that the only opposition to Natural Site decision of KTVKK came from IBSB and the Boroughs of Sariyer, Beykoz and Bahcekoy that are affected from the Decree. In fact, IBSB and the relevant boroughs were not willing to leave their planning authorities in the declared Natural Site. They wanted to distribute political and economic concessions to their supporters, just like the previous local governments of Istanbul and its boroughs did. However, with the Natural Site declaration, they have to get the approval of KTVKK for any plan they would prepare. Therefore, IBSB representative, who is a casual member of KTVKK, did not approve the decree. Moreover, Sariyer, Beykoz and Bahcekoy local governments commenced lawsuits against the decree.

³⁵ These are decided by KTVKK to be applied until the conservation plans are prepared.

³⁶ Relevant bodies are as follows: IBSB, relevant boroughs, relevant university departments, Ministry of Environment, relevant professional chambers, Istanbul Forestry Directorate, relevant village headmen, Istanbul Public Improvements and Housing Directorate, Istanbul 1st Region Bank of Administrative Provinces, Archaeology Museum Directorate.

In addition to two official letters from the Directorate of Conservation of Cultural and Natural Values in the beginning of 1995 and 1996, which is the responsible body of all local KTVKKs, KTVKK No.3 had received other official letters regarding the proposed location of KU from the relevant central authorities. According to these letters, the university campus project was re-located at an open space in the forest area with no trees on. Thus, the project would be harm the natural environmental all and it would be relevant to provide the relevant permissions for the construction to start. However, KTVKK did not provide the permissions despite these official requests. After this final refusal of KTVKK, central authorities changed their attitude and strategy. Their initial attempts could be interpreted as proposals, recommendations or official requests, however, by the KTVKK declaration for the as Natural Site in the end of 1995, central authorities started to implement their legal authorities on the localities.

At the same time, KF provided another EIA for its new location from the Environment Department of Istanbul Technical University supporting her arguments just before the Natural Site declaration of KTVKK. According to the report, there was no significant natural value in the area to conserve, thus EIA was positive. This EIA was denied by ecological scientists, who would not accept an open space free of trees in the middle of a forest as an area to be considered out of the forest. It should definitely be accepted as a part of the forest and of that ecological environment. Moreover, Acun argued, an open area in a forest would be covered with various plantations in a short period. In this respect, construction of any kind in an area such as that would violate the ecological balance. In addition, it was still questionable whether there was such an open space in the area before or it was opened via cutting the trees after the refusal of the initial project.

Important to note here is that on the 6th of December 1995, Istanbul Regional Directorate of Forestry decided to cut trees on an area including KU development area and applied its decision soon after. In forest areas it is regular practice to cut trees periodically. However, according to Acun [2000], who is a forestry expert, there was no scientific or legal justification for this decision and it was applied just to open some space in the appropriated forestland, which was expected to decrease the oppositions to the construction. This evidence supported the arguments of other opposing bodies that continuously refused the existence of an open space in the specific forestland and

accused KU of cutting trees. If the speculators are true, this means that the Ministry of Forestry had cut the trees for KU by herself.

After the declaration of the new master plan of Istanbul in October 1995, the Ministry of Education officially demanded plan amendment from IBSB according to the re-location of KU on the 11th of December 1995. On the same day, KU representatives objected the new master plan, which was approved and put in force on the 20th of November 1995. IBSB Council refused both demands. Objection of KU on the same day with the request of Ministry appears a strong evidence of co-operation between Koc representatives and the central government.

On the other hand, the Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing had been in preparation to imply some legal sanctions on IBSB. It was stated that aforementioned Article 9 of the Public Improvements Act with regard to “official building” status would be used despite the previous decision of the Ministry, unless IBSB amended the plan by herself according to the Ministry of Education’s request. According to the rumours, which would be verified soon after, preparation of the plan had already begun in the Ministry. Moreover, rumours added that time relevant plan was being prepared in the Koc HQ instead of the Ministry.

Meanwhile, IBSB received an official letter from the Regional Directorate of Forestry on the 7th of January 1996. That document stated that it was not possible to change the location of KU. Accordingly, relevant precautions for the conservation of forests were taken and furthermore, KU provided a written contract on which it was promised to conserve and develop the forest. Therefore, the Directory suggested, it would be relevant for IBSB to amend its plan. IBSB ignored this recommendation letter and never replied.

On the other hand, official pressures on were KTVKK increased in order to reconsider her “natural site” declaration on the area. They were asking a downgrading of conservation degree at the specific land of KU. In the original declaration, it was declared as 2nd degree conservation site, which would not allow any construction of that size. In case that it was downgraded to 3rd degree, limited construction rights would be possible. Another KTVKK decree had to come out regarding these demands on the 8th of February 1996 (No.7902). Although KTVKK resisted the pressures from central

authorities, a weakness in this resistance was recognisable in the overall statement. Accordingly, the statement favoured the university's re-location although it was still in the area to be conserved. Thus, re-location was still not enough to downgrade the 2nd degree conservation. Still, KTVKK would ask IBSB for her opinion and the relevancy of the proposal to the master plan. In addition, information from the Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing would be requested about the stage of the amendment plan preparation. Actually, later was an unexpected request of KTVKK since the plan in question was relatively very easy to prepare with respect to the master plan of Istanbul. Even a small amendment on the master plan would take longer. Thus, convenience of this demand was questionable. On the other hand, KTVKK requested the latest positive EIA to be revised according to the Natural Site declaration, since this declaration should have change its content. Final decision would be given according to the results of these demands and revisions³⁷.

IBSB replied KTVKK on the 5th of March 1996. In the letter, it was indicated that the area was zoned as "Forest Area" in 1995 master plan, similar to the other master plans since 1980. Forest legend in the plan had a plan note such as "its natural character to be conserved exactly". Other related conditions of the master plan was also presented in this letter as follows³⁸:

- ❑ Areas that are discarded from the forest by the Forestry Directorate via the use of Article 2b of the Forestry Act³⁹ would be allocated as afforestation areas, green areas and recreational areas.
- ❑ Mining and sand extracting activities that have reached to end would be allocated as recreation and daily use areas after afforestation.
- ❑ In the boundaries of IBSB, it would not be permitted to new developments of universities, high schools, official buildings etc, which were subject to the use of whole city, without the positive opinion of IBSB.

³⁷ Referenced from the KTVKK decree on the 8th of February 1996.

³⁸ Referenced from the IBSB's petition to KTVKK on the 5th of March 1996.

³⁹ This article has long been discussed in the public. Accordingly, the Forestry Directorate has the right to discard forest areas, which lose their forest characteristics, from forest area boundaries. This opens way to land speculators via forest fires common in the recent years. Millions of hectares of forest area have been burned by speculators to open space for new developments the 1990s

In this document, an attitude shift of IBSB towards KTVKK was easily observed. It was strongly emphasised in the document that the authorised body to prepare and approve any plan in its boundaries was the local government. Change of attitude was because of KTVKK's latest declaration, which was not as definite as the formers. It was understood from the document that IBSB had no idea about the plan amendment of the Ministry and felt necessary to remind that the authority was hers.

It should also be added here that on the 6th of March 1996, Council of State replied the opinion request of Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing about the "official status"

of the buildings in KU campus. Accordingly, they decided that FUs were not accepted in the relevant law as official institutions, and thus, their buildings could not be considered official, either.

Just two days after receiving the letter from IBSB, KTVKK made its revised declaration about the Natural Site considering the various actors'⁴⁰ opinions and reports. Accordingly, declaration was found adequate by most of the actors except from a few oppositions to details arising from the relevant local governments with the fear of losing their authorities on the region in question. None of the actors were against the declaration in general, which meant that there were no doubts on the natural and cultural characteristics of the area and its conservation. However, KTVKK downgraded the conservation degree from 2nd to 3rd (Decree No. 7939) for the KU land only. This meant that limited constructions subject to approval of KTVKK could be permitted in that very specific land appropriated to KU. All the surrounding areas to this specific area were still 1st degree conservation sites, on which there was no exception for construction. Although KTVKK's declaration was made on the 7th of March 1996, official acknowledgement letter to IBSB was sent on the 15th of April, which was 5 weeks later.

⁴⁰ These agencies are as follows: Chamber of Architects, Chamber of City Planners, Yildiz Technical University – Faculty of Architecture, Regional Directorate of Forestry, Istanbul Governorship, City Directorate of Culture, Directorate of Istanbul Archaeological Museums, Istanbul Technical University – Architecture Faculty – City and Regional Planning Department and Architecture Department, Ministry of Environment, General Directorate of Environmental Conservation, Foundation of Archaeology and Archaeologists – Istanbul Branch, Istanbul Technical University Rector, Directorate of Public Improvements and Housing, Bank of Administrative Provinces, IBSB City Planning Directorate, Beykoz District Head Official, General Directorate of Conservation of Cultural and Natural Values, Beykoz Municipality Presidency.

These conscious delays that were observed throughout the whole process restricted the opposition bodies to consider the issue and act accordingly because of legal deadlines.

Justification of this downgrading on the conservation degrees was the relocation of KU. New location, which was a few hundred meters away from the former, was an open area. One of the 3rd degree conservation site definitions of KTVKK was as follows: “open areas free of green texture, on which afforestation is not suggested by the Regional Directorate of Forestry”⁴¹. Since KU’s relocation fit in to this definition, KTVKK felt no inconvenience in her declaration. However, surrounding forest areas were defined as 1st degree conservation sites, on which no urban activity was allowed including that of recreation. Thus, decision was a very small 3rd degree conservation site in a huge 1st degree one, which did not have any similar in the former practices. Part of the definition for the 1st and 2nd degree conservation sites should also be reminded here. Accordingly, these are the “areas, which are outside the boundaries of Bosporous Site but present a continuation of the rear view areas of Bosporous Site with respect to the totality of natural values”⁴². Since KU was located on an area that suited to the above definition, it should have been a 1st or 2nd degree conservation site with no permission to construction. Finally, although the Regional Directorate of Forestry did not suggest the area for afforestation, Istanbul master plan did so. Most of the scholars and relevant bodies agreed that the last decision of KTVKK was unexpectedly wrong. It was added in the KTVKK document that Conservation Plans of the area was to be prepared as soon as possible and presented to KTVKK.

KTVKK decision was taken with one opposition from a city planner representing Sariyer Borough⁴³. Later on, in an informal chat at a panel for the location of KU, I was told by one of the members of KTVKK, who had been carrying the flag in Turkey for cultural and natural conservation for years, that the pressures from central authorities were irresistible. He told that even the president of the country called some of the members and personally requested KU’s demand to be accepted.

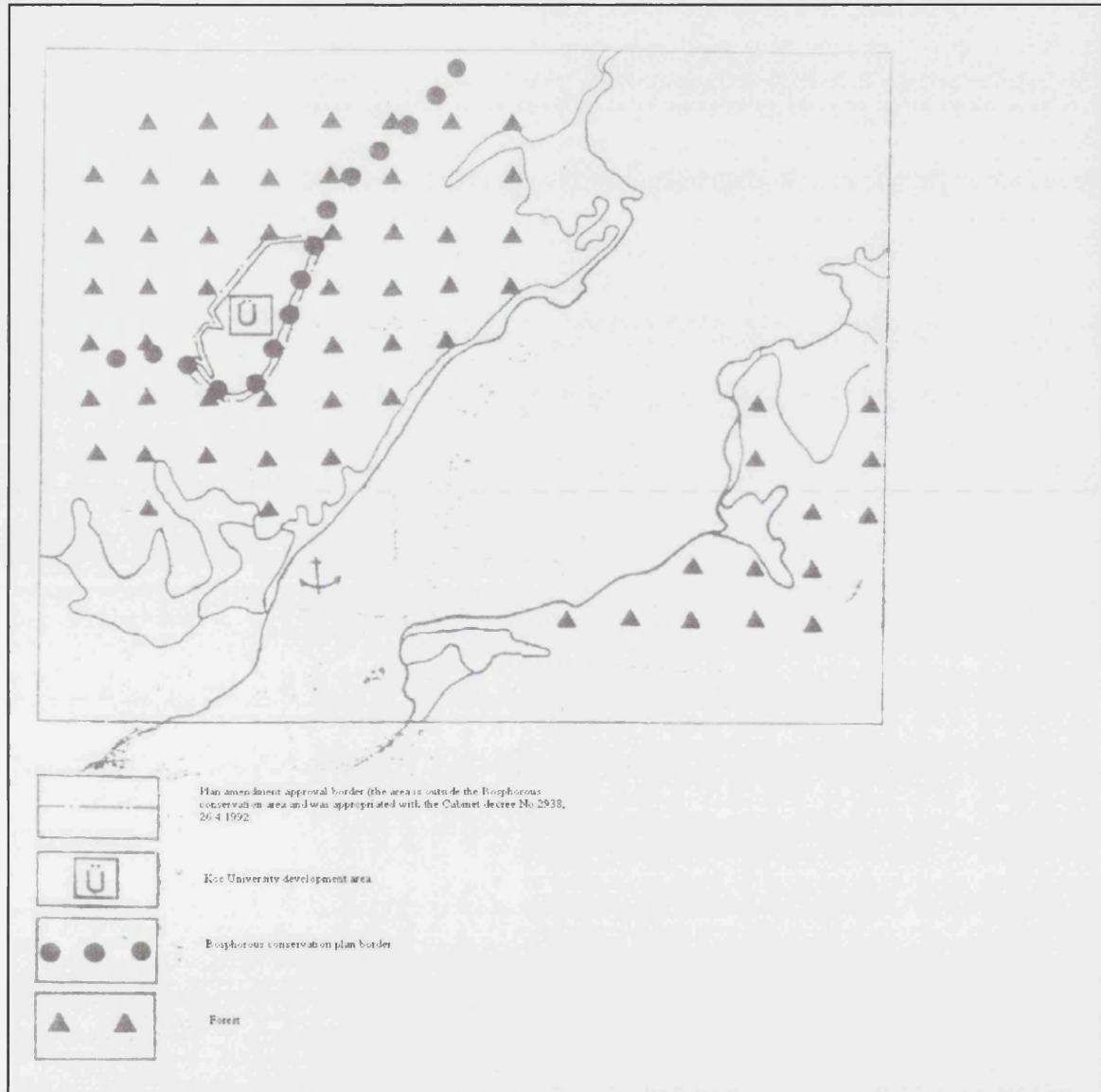
Later in 1996, Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing – General Directorate of Technical Research and Practice sent an official letter to IBSB Presidency. In this document, an amendment was proposed on the master plan of Istanbul for the location

⁴¹ Referenced from the response of KTVKK to IBSB’s petition on the 15th of April 1996.

⁴² IBSB official domestic acknowledgement document on the 25th of April 1996.

of KU on the grounds of aforementioned Article 9 with regard to “official building” status. The amendment was attached to the document with the approval of the General Director on the 9th of April 1996.

Map 9.2 Amendment plan of the Ministry



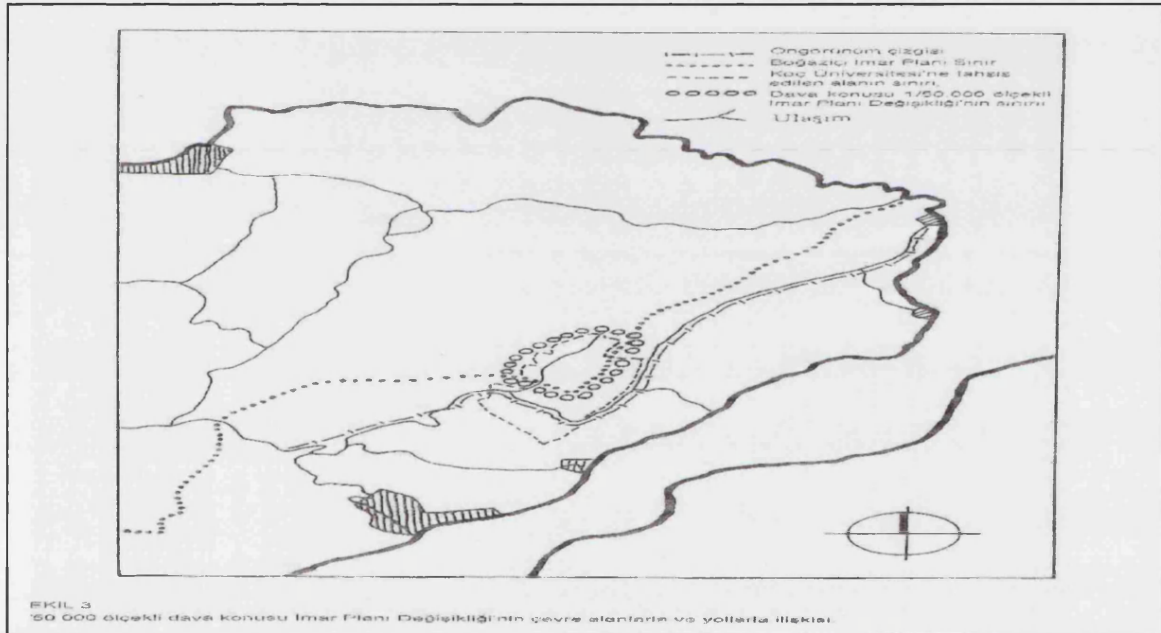
Source: Chamber of Architects booklet on the location of KU - 1997

The Ministry applied her legal planning authority on the grounds of Article 9, which was refused for the case of KU by the Council of State. It is worth to mention here that the coalition government was again changed by that time. The Minister, Mehmet Kececiler from ANAP, and his president, Mesut Yılmaz, would take place in the opening ceremony of KU later. In addition to the Ministry of Public Improvements and

⁴³ Referenced from the response of KTVKK to IBSB's petition on the 15th of April 1996.

Housing, there was the approval of the Ministry of Education on the document, too. It was stated that amendment was necessary because KU project aimed to materialise a public service. And since KU was relocated outside the Bosphorous Conservation Site, there would not be any major problem for natural and cultural values anymore. Construction would take place in 39-hectare land, on which there were no trees at all, of the whole area of 1920 ha. It was added that before the construction started, KTVKK had to approve the lower scale (1/1000 & 1/5000) plans, which would be prepared according to the amendment (1/50000). Actually, this was not a credit to KTVKK, but only a practice of the relevant conservation Act⁴⁴.

Map 9.3 Amendment area - its relations with the conservation sites and transportation axes



Source: Chamber of Architects booklet on the location of KU - 1997

The Ministry's justification for the former decision of the ex-Ministry on the issue of official buildings was published in a daily newspaper during the lawsuits. Accordingly, the Ministry argued that the initial refusal was because of the initial location of KU. Since it was re-located there would be no inconvenience to make the amendment [Cumhuriyet, 13/06/1996]. However, refusal of the Ministry in 1994 was because of the "official status" of the buildings and nothing had changed about it since then.

⁴⁴ Referenced from the official request letter of the Ministry of Public Work to IBSB on the 10th of April 1996.

Consequently, accusations to and defences from KTVKK brought some dismissals from the Committee. The Ministry of Culture found it necessary to dismiss three members without any justification. However, everybody knew that dismissals were because of these members' accusations on the central governmental agencies that had put a pressure on them for the permission from the very beginning of the process. However, it is still a question why these members did not choose to resign before downgrading the conservation degree. After these dismissals, KTVKK did not only approve the amendment plan (1/50000) of the Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing but also the other relevant lower scale plans and projects (1/5000, 1/1000 & 1/500) with regard to KU in a short period of time on the 8th of May 1996. Later on, the Ministry, as necessary, also approved the lower scale plans⁴⁵. Thus, planning process for KU was completed excluding IBSB at every stage.

According to the Decree No 8048 of KTVKK, 1/500 situation plan and proposed project of KU would be convenient. Unprecedented and surprising that situation plan of KU was accepted as the conservation master plan of the area as well. This decision was the defeat of KTVKK against the central authorities and Koc in the midst of 1996 after half a decade's struggle.

During these developments, another centrally determined local agency, Istanbul Governorship Local Environment Committee, agreed on the insignificance of the environmental impacts of KU. Interestingly, although this decision was made with unanimity, a representative of IBSB was also ready in the meeting. This was the first time that IBSB did not oppose to KU⁴⁶.

Consequently, KF representatives announced that there would be the ceremony for the start of construction on the 31st of May 1996 with the attendance of the President Suleyman Demirel and the Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz. At the ceremony, President Demirel made a speech worth to quote here. This speech of the President of Turkey was indeed the approval of the thoroughly questionable process [Hurriyet, 01/06/1996]:

“...You have faced difficulties up to this point. This was your first examination and you passed. *Any difficulty in Turkey is put in order on the way.* You are almost done... Vehbi Koc said that he would invest for 300 million US\$ in order to construct Turkey's Harvard or Sorbonne and

⁴⁵ Referenced from the written defence of the KU during the lawsuit, 1997.

⁴⁶ Referenced from the written defence of the KU during the lawsuit, 1997.

educate the children of the country. However, some others said that they would not let him do. This is strange. But there are strange things going on in our country. I have faced with many strange things in my 50 years official duty period. And I passed all over. What has been done here is *public service*...”

Other invited guests of the ceremony should also be mentioned here. Among them, president of the aforementioned media group Dogan Holding Aydin Dogan, owner of Hurriyet Newspaper Erol Aksoy⁴⁷, Istanbul Governor Erol Cakir, President of Higher Education Institute (YOK) Kemal Guruz and General Publication Manager of Hurriyet Newspaper Ertugrul Ozkok were in the ceremony.

Later, it was found out in an Expert Report requested by the court of the justice that the constructors for their invaluable hosts opened two helicopter runways and numerous parking lots. These areas were opened via cutting trees and extending fire safety bands and the land was smoothened with stabilised material in order to prevent mud. Experts added in the report that this was indeed an irreversible operation for the plantation in the area.

On the other hand, IBSB had been propagating against KU via her own publications continuously. In one of the articles that was published without a signature, KU and relevant state agencies were accused severely⁴⁸:

“Koc Holding with the support of state has been trying to construct a university campus on a forestland, where any construction is prohibited. The construction was started with the attendance of high level representatives of the state, although there was a violation of law. An informal construction on a huge land is going on in front of all Turkish public.”
[Translated from p: 24]

The article continues with critics to KU and the central government representatives from the financial aspect of the issue such as⁴⁹:

“Representatives of KF did not only receive the use of forestland free for 49 years but also has been using a credit of 24 million US\$ with the guarantee of the State Treasury. At a time, when even the state’s own units cannot use any credit [under the guarantee of Treasury]. Therefore, it is odd to find out that a foundation that will function commercially is provided with a privilege such as this. Furthermore, the credit in question is under the

⁴⁷ Hurriyet was later joined to Dogan Media Group. Until that time, it was one of the most fanatic supporters of KU together with Milliyet.

⁴⁸ This source is just a photocopy from the “Istanbul Newsletter” of IBSB. It could not be possible to find out the number and volume of the newsletter but it is on pages 24-25.

⁴⁹ Words in brackets are added by the author.

guarantee of constant exchange rates [in a country with an inflation of about % 100 at the times]. This is an interesting example presenting the private relationships of business with the state in our country.” [Translated from p: 25]

In fact, during the Islamic party government, IBSB could not use any credit under the guarantee of State Treasury because of ideological reasons [Interview, Deputy President of IBSB, 2000]⁵⁰.

In the beginning of 1997, the Ministry Of Public Improvements and Housing had to withdraw her amendment after the insisting negative opinion of the Council of State. However, the Parliament made an amendment on the Article 9 of Public Improvements Act with regard to the “official status” of the buildings on the 25th of July 1997 and FUs’ buildings were added to the ones counted as official. Thus, this legislation could put the amendment plan in force again.

On the other hand, Istanbul Governorship Province Local Environment Committee gave permission to tree cutting in the area on the 31st of August 1997. In addition, they determined that 3 % of the forestland would be used for the buildings, 5 % for circulation purposes and 92 % would be kept as green areas [Acun, 1999]. Permission was issued more than a year after the opening ceremony of KU. This either meant that construction would continue with further developments or to acquit the former tree cuttings.

One of the many lawyers of IBSB, Ms. Guven [2000], summarised the process on the basis of Article 9 in her interview such as that:

“KU is benefiting from this article now. Both the Ministry and KF had applied for an amendment in our master plan for many times. However, we refused their requests each time because of the forest status of the land. It is indeed a very important forest for Istanbul and there are endemic plants in the area. That is to say, any development in that specific land would obviously harm the nature. On the other hand, why do they insist on that specific land? There are many naked areas in Istanbul. In the end of the day, we did not do what they asked for. They wanted to amend the plan by themselves via Article 9. However, Article 9 defines the buildings belonged to the state. We of course objected their plan on the grounds that buildings of FUs could not be considered as official. However, these efforts are meaningless in Turkey. The Parliament changed a sentence in the regulation and added the buildings of FUs to the list of official buildings in the regulation. The Ministry

⁵⁰ This should have been changed with the AKP government since 2002.

put the plan in force that was withdrawn a few years ago and by now the buildings are almost finished. In this process, Sariyer Borough could be more effective than us but they did not... What can I say after the President of Turkey goes and opens that illegal university himself?"

9.4 Concluding remarks: The growth coalition

The most important conclusion of this chapter in support of the previous chapter appeared as the strong and cooperative coalition of central governments and KH. Despite the opposition, central governments and their agencies were so decisive on the KU development that they even accepted "de facto" status. On the other hand, IBSB opposed KU development and eventually, planning process of KU was completed excluding IBSB at any stage. Central governments had or created authorities -by making new legislation that could enable them- to bypass the local authorities.

In this respect, we can argue that either globalisation is led by the central state with the motivations and pressures of MNCs in Turkey or interests of central authorities were more than the local ones in this specific project. However, given that central governments have no comprehensive plan for the globalisation of Istanbul on the contrary to the local governments, whose primary objectives have been globalising the city since 1980 and, moreover, governmental changes at the central level affected their attitudes with respect to globalisation at least for a short period while an attitude shift has never happened at the local level, the latter argument comes to fore. The argument that attitudes of governmental actors were driven with economic and political interests and motivations, which are usually local, gets stronger with the IBSB case, in which IBSB opposed the Natural Site declaration of KTVKK. In fact, this declaration was supporting IBSB's struggle against KU while removing some of its planning authorities. Thus, IBSB's globalist attitudes were also conjectural and driven by economic and/or political interest.

KTVKK as a centrally determined local authority representing the scientifically true had changed her decisions after the intensification of central pressures on them. Authority of the relevant Ministry to appoint the members of the committee was probably influential on this shift but more important was the individual requests of VIP from those respectful members of the committee. Then, this shift can be attributed to over-politeness rather than interests.

Existence of the Islamic political party as a side of the contention affected most of the actors in the sense that they were not willing to support an anti-secular actor. Social democratic party, CHP, was expected to involve in the process at the opposition side but she never did so because of her image as secular. However, it was also found out later that CHP had been negotiating with one of the managers of KH to give him an executive position in the party. Relations, most of which were not publicised, were so intense that it was never possible to generalise and make a definite argument for any actor. Furthermore, secular media accused all opposing bodies for assisting Islamists. This accusation affected some NGOs and professional chambers that were elected by their members and consequently they had to step back. In this regard, political interest had been influential again on the behaviours of actors subject to elections. Moreover, transitoriness of particularly governments and executive committees has changed the actors' attitude from time to time. This has presented inconsistencies at some actors' behaviours.

On the other hand, similar arguments were described and interpreted differently by different actors according to their political and economic interests. Any shift in their interests was directly reflected in their discourses. In this regard, interests determined the positions with respect to globalisation at least as much as globalisation affected the interests.

Traditional competitions, hostilities and lack of confidence between actors had also been influential during the process. It not only affected the formation of groups as opposing and supporting but also resulted with no cooperation between actors at the same side. Still, there were incidences that unprecedented cooperation occurred temporarily such as between KTVKK and IBSB and Chamber of Architects and Chamber of City Planners when the economic and political interests intersected and cooperation was unavoidable.

Evidence suggests that unless the specific land was appropriated to KU, it might not be established. KU was established in 1992 only after the initial permission of Ministry of Forestry in 1990 and the Parliamentary legislation of Additional Article 18 in 1991. This is to say that there were motivations of KH other than materialising a global education institution. Rent of the appropriated land is more likely to be the most important motivation as explained in the previous chapter. Hiding the real intentions

and motivations and building discourses on convincing the public and the relevant authorities had often been observed during the process. In this regard, actors involved in the process just ignored the facts that would affect their discourse in their documents, speeches and such negatively. This machievellian approach of the actors had misled the public and the authorities. Another common practice of central and local authorities was to delay the procedures / documents consciously in order to benefit from the time obligations of legislations.

On the other hand, it can be argued that legislation followed the developments in the KU case. Accordingly, KH started to negotiate for the specific land before the relevant legislation was made. Moreover, Additional Article 18 came into force after these initial pressures. There were other amendments on legislation during the process by the Parliament in accordance with the demands of KF. At this stage of globalisation in Istanbul, regulation follows development, call it global or not, rather than legislation regulates development. However, it can be argued that the more globalised the city, the more developments will affect legislations since globalisation is used as an efficient discourse to convince the public and the authorities and globalist actors are strong enough to exclude local politics.

Chapter Ten

Civil opposition against the Koc University

10.1 Introduction

Coalition of central governments and KH caused the opposition of not only the local government –as detailed in the previous chapter- but also the civil society. NGOs were not the leading actors of the opposition as emphasised in the globalisation literature. Only a few of them actively involved in the process. It was the professional chambers, universities and individuals that had never given up struggling with the strong globalist coalition.

10.2 Civil opposition against the Koc University

A community's response to the establishment of a HEI is not supposed to be positive as it may be expected. Almost 4 decades ago, Meyerson [1968] counted some factors that might cause community opposition to the establishment of a HEI:

- Traffic,
- Noise,
- Strangers with different manners and values,
- Changing commercial character,
- Removal of huge of area from tax base,
- Large increases in police, fire protection and other local services, thus increases in the general expenditures of a locality,
- Possible social frictions¹ in the locality caused by different behaviours, manners and values and a large age and class component.

Still, Istanbulites generally welcomed KU in its initial stages mostly because of prestige building strategies together with the efforts of aforementioned media groups. However, there were minor oppositions based on environmental concerns from some professional organisations and individuals. In time, these oppositions grew and started to take place

¹ This may best be exemplified with the students' housing problem. Students ask for inexpensive, anonymous, no-care, no-restriction, close to action and university, shared housing [Meyerson, 1968]. And this may not suit with the housing supply of a locality or values of a conservative community.

in the other media groups. In parallel, public perception changed slightly from definite support to a reconsideration of location if necessary².

10.2.1 The first civil opposition: Press statement of Ekinici

As explained in the previous chapter, there were dismissals from the KTVKK because of its resistance to the KU project. One of them was Oktay Ekinici, who was originally an architect working as a columnist in Cumhuriyet newspaper³ and had been one of the *avan-gardes* of the oppositions to KU location. He was also the elected president of Chamber of Architects and a lecturer in the Mimar Sinan University on urban conservation. He made a press statement after his dismissal from the KTVKK. In his statement, Ekinici complained about the Islamic press that had accused himself, KTVKK and Chamber of Architects because of not opposing to KU location strong enough⁴. He raised a counter accusation to the Islamic press for their unfair and wrong journalism approach. Ekinici stated that Islamic press had consciously distorted the truths according to the interests of the Islamic municipality, which had lost its partial political and economic influence through land speculation with the declaration of Natural Site⁵. Although they opposed to the developments together with KTVKK in the beginning, IBSB and Islamic press started to campaign against relevant bodies including him and the organisations in which he was active, after Natural Site declaration. He also accused the Minister of Culture, Agah Oktay Guner, who had dismissed three KTVKK members including him after the Natural Site declaration and had stopped the distribution of KTVKK decrees to the interested bodies from the 7th of March 1996 on⁶. Ekinici added that IBSB's opposition to the university location was ideological since they had also

² There has been no research carried on the people living around the appropriated land of KU. Thus, we do not know what they think.

³ Cumhuriyet had been the leading newspaper opposing to the KU location from the very beginning.

⁴ In the Akit newspaper on the date 27th of May 1996, two members of KTVKK, Afife Batur and Oktay Ekinici were accused of favoring the location of KU in KTVKK.

⁵ The only opposition to the Natural Site declaration was from the representative of the IBSB with the following justification: "We intend to conserve this area with a balanced development". IBSB had been willing never to leave her political and economic interests in the area and opposed the declaration from the beginning.

⁶ Interesting to note here that on that date there were two decrees of KTVKK; one for the general declaration of Natural Conservation Site and one for specific to KU. While the distribution of former was stopped by the Minister, latter was not. In fact, the former was determining the conditions for the later's application. In other words, Natural Site declaration was asking for a conservation purposeful master plan of the region before any construction should start or if started, proceed. This was indeed the last strategy of KTVKK members who could not stop the pressures of central agencies for years. By this token, they were expecting the conservation purposeful master plan would not allow KU construction. By stopping the distribution of this decree, the Ministry hid the general conditions for the university construction from the public.

been opposing to the Natural Site declaration. If not, they should have been sensible to the other areas of the Natural Site as they were to KU. On the other hand, since the amendment plan of the Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing as completely illegal, KU faced to carry the shame of illegality as well as pseudo-scientificity. Ekinici concluded that Chamber of Architects would commence a lawsuit against the Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing to cancel the amendment in question and he would be interfering to the lawsuit individually as an Istanbulite⁷. Ekinici's press statement was important because it was the first civil opposition declared publicly.

10.2.2 Press statement of Green Belt Environment Vanguarders

Following Ekinici's statement, Green Belt Environment Vanguarders (YKCG), one of the NGOs who had been strongly opposing the location of KU from the very beginning of the process, also made a press statement on the 14th of June 1996. It should be mentioned here that they have had strong relations with the Islamic local government. They argued that [translated from Cumhuriyet, 13/06/1996]:

"This location of the university will affect the Bosphorous and the Bosphorous silhouette negatively, which are Istanbul's most important characteristics in the international geography and will quickly start exhausting the last life vessels of the natural environment of the city".

In their protest statement, the word "plaza", despite its removal from the project in its revised version, was emphasised together with the estimated value of the land, which was at that time 13 trillion TL (approximately 8 million pounds)⁸. The forest area in question was called as "urban forest"⁹. Accordingly, university construction in a forest would unavoidably demolish the ecological balance since it would attract urban facilities and squatting. It would not be possible to keep squatting out because roads and infrastructure that would be constructed for the university would inevitably attract squatters. These developments would cause thousands of trees at the ages of 20-22 and height of 8-12 m. to be cut. Thus, it would harm the forest ecosystem seriously. The statement continued such as that uncontrolled urbanisation and wrong urban policies had resulted with the loss of huge areas of forest in the past 20 years and increased

⁷ Referenced from the press statement of Oktay Ekinici on the 28th of May 1996.

⁸ These estimations differ from one another. If inflation is a factor of differentialities, subjectivity is the other. For example in September 1993 the value of land was estimated to be 8 trillion according to Cumhuriyet [24/09/1993].

population and polluted air had created a huge health risk for the environment and human beings. In this statement, analogy of forests and lungs were put such as “forests, as the lungs of our city, do not only decrease the air pollution but they also soften the climate”¹⁰. The statement ended with an ironic invitation to the relevant authorities to practice, and thus, to protect the superiority of law since the construction was not appropriate to Forestry Act, Public Improvements Act, Environment Act, Immovable Cultural and Natural Values Act and Istanbul Master Plan. It was also against the Constitution and international agreements such as Rio Summit of 1992. YKCG did not prevent themselves to declare support to IBSB in “her fair struggle with an obvious challenge to KU”. However, in the statement, there was nothing about the same administration’s opposition to the natural site declaration in the statement. On the same day, YKCG started a signature campaign against the KU development [Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 13/06/1996]

10.2.3 Istanbul University challenges

Some universities were also in preparation of opposition statements and the first challenge came from the Faculty of Forestry of Istanbul University. A commission was selected in the Faculty to prepare a report on the issue, which was later named as “Reducing the size of forest areas and appropriating them to FUs”. According to this report, land appropriations to the FUs had been continued by the central agencies, although the practice was against the Constitution. They were also inappropriate to the Forestry Act. They were neither fulfilling a public service since they were semi-private institutions. Three most recent examples were counted as KU (1930 ha.), Galatasaray University (9000 ha.) and Sabanci¹¹ University (930 ha.). The most important statement of the report was about “the plaza” again. It was indicated in the report that KF applied the relevant central agencies for the construction of a plaza in its common meaning in Turkish, which is office building and shopping mall. However, the report argued, this application was refused. It was also stated that there was no example of HEIs constructed in forests via tree cutting throughout the world. On the other hand, while the state could not find sufficient land for its own facilities in the metropolitan areas, that

⁹ Referenced from the press statement of Green Belt Environment Vanguard on the 14th of June 1996.

¹⁰ Referenced from the press statement of Oktay Ekinici on the 28th of May 1996.

¹¹ Sabanci group is the only competitor of Koc group in Turkey. Their decisions of university foundation have been at close dates to each other. This closeness provides a clue for the relation of capital with HEIs in the global era. Competition is on for the university establishments, too.

would be difficult to understand appropriating huge amounts of land to two companies (Koc and Sabanci), which were in the 500 largest companies of the world. That was also difficult to understand the appreciation of the state to these companies' HEIs, which were consisted of a few faculties only. Rent of the land was also raised in the report. Accordingly, those were the areas of Istanbul with the highest land rents. In 1996, experts spelled a value of 30 trillion TL (approximately 20 million pounds) for the land appropriated to KU. The report ironically appreciated the public HEIs that had assisted to enrich the forest areas with their limited budgets instead of destroying them. In this regard, METU (Middle East Technical University), Istanbul University, Istanbul Technical University and War Academy were counted as the best examples. The statement ended such as that land appropriations in question would not only harm the forests but they would also form negative examples for the future practices. FUs that would be established since then would demand land from the forests, too. These HEIs would be in need of various infrastructures and these would also harm the forests. They might also create a tendency throughout the community towards settling in or close to the forests¹².

10.2.4 Koc University responds

Following the increasing oppositions via press statements and scientific reports of various actors and particularly the booklet of IBSB, "Report on the Proposal Location of Koc Foundation University", KU rector Seha Erinc visited some of the leading newspapers in order to make explanations on the accusations on them in July 1996. A finely designed book with the title "Claims and Explanations About the Location of KU", which had been sent to 2000 VIP including President Suleyman Demirel, accompanied the rector in his visits to the newspapers. He and the book were on the news of those visited papers the day after. In the book, accusations on KU were not responded convincingly. For example, one of the most serious accusations was cutting more than 350.000 trees for the construction. The book denied this accusation and argued that either them or Ministry of Education had not cut even one single tree. Attached to this statement was an official document of the Ministry of Forestry supporting this argument. It was also declared that both bodies (Ministry of Education and KU) had contracts with the Ministry of Forestry for the conservation of the forest.

¹² Referenced from the Istanbul University Commission Report dated on the 2nd of July 1996.

According to the book, the KU would be constructed on an open area in the forest, which had always been open. It was added by the book that KH had bought the mining rights in the area, as it was mentioned earlier, in order to conserve the forests. If the rights were not bought, the land would probably be scraped for mining and the forest would be harmed more. The book answered the questions on the KU for creating an attraction centre in the urban forest as well. Accordingly, KU would be an independent campus from her surrounding, containing all requirements within. The book added that the most important guarantee for the conservation of forests would be the Natural Site Declaration of KTVKK. Surrounding forests were 1st degree conservation sites, where no construction was allowed. And there were authorities to stop the possible illegal settlements, such as IBSB, the Ministry of Forestry and Sariyer Borough. However, this statement ignored the fact that these authorities could not manage to stop the proliferation of illegal settlements under their authorities at any time. Another accusation was free privatisation of state owned land via land appropriation. And KU's reply was clear: The land was rented from the Treasury for only 49 years. Therefore, not only the land but also the buildings that they would construct, would still be the property of State according to the civil law. However, they did not mention in the book that KU would pay nothing for 49 years of land use. Furthermore, other practices in Turkey proved that either 49 years might be extended or the land might be left free of charge to KU's ownership in the end of the period. On the other hand, plaza accusation was strongly rejected and presented as the ignorance of the opposing bodies. Accordingly, what was meant with plaza was just an open space, a square, which was common in Italian cities. However, as mentioned earlier, the term "plaza" was often used in Turkish for office and shopping skyscraper complexes. Moreover, ITU's report presented that there was an official application of KF for the construction of a plaza in the appropriated land. They added that their good intention could be understood from the revision of the initial project. In the final project, KU was relocated outside the boundaries of Bosphorous Conservation Site in an open area in the forest. The book accused IBSB of not considering the HEI in their master plan. Accordingly, it was reminded to the IBSB by the Ministry of Public Improvements that unless they included the KU development to their master plan, Ministry would use her authority to make an amendment plan. IBSB was also accused of not replying the demands of KU and the Ministry, although it was her responsibility to do so. In one of the newspapers, KU rector Arinc argued [Yeni Yuzyil, 20/07/1996]:

“In order to construct the university campus on this land, we have got the permissions and approvals from the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Forestry, the Ministry of Environment, Sariyer Borough, Istanbul Governors'hip Local Environment Committee, the Ministry of Culture, KTVKK and the Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing.”

It is crucial that the only elected local governmental agency was Sariyer Borough among the counted, which had been seeking economic rent. KTVKK, as one of the local agencies had never given a definite permission until the dismissal of its opposing members. The other local agency, Istanbul Governors'hip Local Environment Committee, is mostly constituted of the representatives of central agencies. Thus, this sentence of the rector presented that KU location was obviously a central decision¹³.

Arguments in the book were found scientifically and legally invalid in addition to its unethical presentations. It was highlighting some names such as Ekinçi, while hiding some others to prevent from accusations. Its content was full of incomplete documents and information and its aim was to mislead the public with a polemical approach [Ekinçi, 1996; Acun, 2000].

10.2.5 Ekinçi replies with a second press state

Ekinçi defended himself and KTVKK against the presented documents in the KU book with a second press statement. In the statement, he argued that KTVKK had never issued any construction permissions to the KU project during the period he was a member. What KTVKK declared was not a permission but a transfer of authority to IBSB, its master plan and conservation plan that would, in normal conditions, never allow an amendment such as the one Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing had produced. Furthermore, amendment of the Ministry was not approved by KTVKK in that period. He argued that KTVKK insisted on a planning process with a conservation purpose and that process should have definitely been appropriate to the master plan objectives. Thus, Ekinçi argued, the buildings construct on legal permissions. This attitude of KTVKK was indeed a runaway from their responsibilities. Developments observed later on were illegal and inappropriate to KTVKK decisions on the grounds that the amendment plan did not consider the comprehensiveness of the master plan;

¹³ Long list of agencies should have attracted the readers' attention. All these agencies are partly authorized for permission and approval in this case. This is a very good representation of the complexity of bureaucracy in Turkey rooted mostly because of power struggles in between central agencies this time.

that it was not appropriate to the Public Improvements legislation; and that it was just an amendment plan, which could never be accepted by KTVKK in a Natural Site¹⁴.

However, what we have observed in the process was the softening attitude of KTVKK, and in the end, they implied to issue construction permission by transferring the approval to IBSB. The pronounced pressure from central agencies and the President of Turkey were the reasons for this U-turn. Laying the grounds to delay or cancel the project via restrictions and obligations was what KTVKK could do in the end. They felt it necessary to position just in between the Islamic local government and the secular central agencies but even this could not prevent three of their members' dismissals. Ekinci characterised KTVKK's efforts as an "environmental struggle that should be written on the history books"¹⁵.

10.2.6 A partnership attempt of a political movement

On the other hand, Programme of Democratic Republic (DCP), which was then a recently founded and short lived political movement, organised a "partnership platform" on the issue of "Forestland Appropriations to FUs", where conflicts could be discussed and hopefully resolved. The aim was not a power presentation or a trial but a search for a common solution. Invitations were sent to relevant organisations including that of central and local governmental bodies, universities, professional chambers and NGOs to meet on the 10th of June 1996. Neither the central government agencies nor the Chamber of Architects did attend the meeting. Chamber of Architects justified their absence with the requirements of the Courts of Justice not to interference to the decision process¹⁶. Nevertheless, they argued, they would attend if the meeting was open to public and all bodies of interest would have been invited. In fact, the meeting was close to public and press with the intention of not intervening on the trial process. And all bodies of interest were invited. Architects justification of non-attendance was not consistent with the facts. It may be explained with their distrust to the new political movement and their possible relations with KH.

¹⁴ Referenced from the press statement of Oktay Ekinci on the 28th of May 1996.

¹⁵ Referenced from the press statement of Oktay Ekinci on the 28th of May 1996.

¹⁶ At this stage, there were a few trials against KU location, which will be explained in the next section.

The meeting started with the presence of about 20 actors. I, myself, represented the CCP in the meeting. Among the other participants were the representatives of CEKUL¹⁷, Foundation of Natural Life Conservation, TEMA¹⁸, Chamber of Forest Engineers, Istanbul University Faculty of Forestry and Urban Dynamics Institute. Ten academics were among the attendants representing either universities or NGOs and chambers or both. KU Rector and Vehbi Koc Foundation Deputy were also ready in the meeting representing the “other side” together with Galatasaray University Rector¹⁹. There were professionals and politicians as well.

Photo 10.1 Appropriated land after construction started



Source: Chamber of Architects booklet on the location of KU - 1997

All the academicians agreed on the wrong location decision of both universities and proposed alternative locations. A few of them were HEIs against the private HEIs in the first place; thus they opposed directly to the foundation of the HEIs in question rather than their locations. CCP argued that the locations were wrong and might cause serious problems in the city. Among these problems were air pollution, environmental problems, traffic congestion, proliferation of squatting and informal activities towards the forests, expenditure increases in social and technical investment with the spread of urban settlements towards the north of Istanbul. However, two NGOs, TEMA and the

¹⁷ CEKUL is one of the most important NGOs working on environmental and cultural conservation in Turkey.

¹⁸ TEMA is the most efficient environmentalist NGO in Turkey, especially with regard to her efforts to decrease erosion, thus conservation of forests.

Foundation of Natural Life Conservation, made unexpected comments. TEMA argued that during the land smoothing stage of construction, KU had not cut any trees. They were supporting their arguments with a slide show, including photos of the forestland before and after the construction. However, some academics that had been involved in the process for long opposed the photos that were argued to be taken before the construction. They argued that many trees had been cut on the contrary to TEMA's and KU's arguments.

In addition to TEMA, president of the Foundation of Natural Life Conservation had no opposition to pronounce against the location of KU. In fact, these two NGOs have long been supported financially by Koc Holding. Therefore, they owed them a great deal of their success and reputation in the public. Thus, it was difficult to hear something against KU from those two NGOs. A professor of forest engineering, who was the Dean of Istanbul University Faculty of Forestry, brought a crucial argument in this meeting. Representatives of KU had long been arguing that the land in question was used to be an open space for more than 10 years. He argued that scientifically there could not be an area that was not subject to afforestation in the middle of a huge forest. Furthermore, such an open area could not remain open for more than 2-3 years in a forest with Black Sea climate characteristics. In other words, he argued that the forest would close that open area naturally without any intervention just in a few years time. He added that the arboretum that was in the KU project could only be realised in about 150 years time, although KU rented the land just for 49 years. He concluded his statements such as that even if all his arguments were scientifically wrong, open spaces in forests are considered as a part of the whole forest throughout the world. They were necessary to sustain the ecological balance. Endemic plants could grow in these areas; they might provide the ideal environment for some animal species and finally they might host migrating birds. Another active professor of the opposition, Acun [2000], added in another meeting that the area in question was presented as forest without no open areas in the 1991 Amanagement Plan of the Forestry Directorate and there was no tree cutting proposal for the area²⁰. However, almost 350 ha area became open after the 1991

¹⁹ Galatasaray University was also appropriated a huge land at the northern forests of Istanbul. However, their well-known histories in Turkish education system decreased the doubts and oppositions towards them.

²⁰ The amangement plan identified the area in detail. Accordingly, forestland in question was a black pine forest in normal frequency. Black pines were about 22 years old. Four percent of the area was constituted of oak. Natural plantation of the area was as follows: bay-tree, oak gall, spruce tree with white

Amanagement Plan. In addition, the appropriated land allocated as “natural conservation and reproduction site for roe deer and pheasant species”. He also acknowledged that according to the relevant legislation, General Directorate of Forestry could not propose tree cutting in a conservation site [Acknowledgement meeting of NGOs, 1997].

Representatives of KU, on the other hand, put their arguments directly without any revision from the very beginning. Their attitude was not appropriate to a partnership meeting. Their speeches were more like a declaration of their power. They often disregarded the academics and science in the meeting. In the end of the day, the partnership meeting was a great failure, discouraging similar organisations for the organisers and attendants.

The organiser of the meeting, DCP, made some conclusive remarks on the basis of the discussions in the meeting. These conclusions were declared to the public on the 20th of August 1996. Under the title of “Green and Forestry Area Need of the Metropolitan Cities and Conservation of These Sites”. Accordingly, they accepted that appropriating forestry land to FUs would create attraction centres in or close to the forest areas and that would make impossible to conserve these forests in question. They determined that existing legislation was not flexible and its interpretation was mechanical. Therefore, legislation was insufficient to analyse, understand and solve the problem. They argued that issues of forestland ownership and private HEIs had unnecessarily been related to the location problem and had made it difficult to focus on the issue during the discussions. In addition, IBSB’s partisan approach against KU could not be accepted because they had not opposed to the other two examples of Sabanci University and Galatasaray University, which were also subject to forestland appropriation. DCP proposed that the issue should had been discussed in a wider meeting with the attendance of central government, boroughs, IBSB, political parties and the relevant NGOs and policies should had been determined accordingly. They concluded such as that additional precautions should had been taken in order to conserve forests surrounding the metropolitan areas. Land appropriation to FUs could also be presented as a method to realise this objective, although it was accepted as a threat to the forests in

flower, tall broom bush, blackberry, asparagus, yellow centaury, wild apple, medlar, hazelnut, ligustrum, broom (maquis elements grown within bad oak) etc.. Plantation by planting was as follows: Toros cedar, coast pine, yellow pine, peanut pine, maple, false acacia, sofora.

the beginning of the report²¹. This document was questionable in the sense that it presented an opposition to KU's location in its analysis, but, a support in its conclusion.

10.2.7 TEMA's first and only declaration

After the partnership meeting, increased civic pressures on TEMA as the key environmentalist NGO in the country forced them to make a public declaration on the 12th of July 1996. Accordingly, they were against any construction in the forests. However, they added that the public should have also known the following facts and the relevant decision should have been made accordingly:

- ❑ In only 1995, 22.000 rights of easement were given and KU was only one of those.
- ❑ Pressures arising from land rent have destroyed the forests and water catchment areas in Istanbul for long.
- ❑ Coal mines only have destroyed 25000 ha forest.
- ❑ Most of the green areas in Istanbul were under either military or university control.
- ❑ The construction would take place just on 2,7 ha area, which was 1,4 % of the total appropriation. Rest of the land would be conserved and maintained by the KF.
- ❑ KF bought the mining rights in the appropriated land in order to stop environmental damage that the mining activities might cause in the forest.
- ❑ Construction area was moved out of the Bosphorous Front-view and Impact Region Boundaries with the plan revision.
- ❑ As a condition of the contract signed mutually by the Ministry of Forest and KF, the forestland in question had been under strict conservation. KF planned three control outposts and two fire brigades in the land.

²¹ Referenced from the Lawsuit petition of Chamber of Architects and its attached documents – 1996.

- ❑ There had been no tree cutting but the only intervention to the forest was the transplantation of 1800 shoots. Expenditures of this operation were paid by KF.
- ❑ The forestland in question had been under construction pressure from squatters and neighbouring villa sites. The local government was weak to stand still for conservation.
- ❑ It would be better to find solutions within existing realities rather than insisting on no solution”.

This declaration of TEMA is a definite proof of her support to KU. Until that time, they had only defended KU against the accusations but with this declaration they proposed KU as a solution for the conservation of forests. Their strategy was to highlight the bad examples instead of the good ones and try to justify the location of KU.

10.2.8 A questionable expert report

In November 1996, another document appeared supporting the location of KU. This was a so-called expert report prepared by an architect with a MSc in regional planning to be used during the trials by KU. Although, preparation date of the report was June 1996, it was publicised almost six months later. The report raised questions on public and society interest issues and the land-uses that can be proposed to achieve them. It was argued that Chamber of Architects had been supporting the wrong decisions of the master plan and should have left acting in parallel to the Islamic government of IBSB. The report was interesting in the sense that all the arguments of KU representatives from the beginning of the process until that date were stated by an expert as scientific and formal explanations! Accordingly, surrounding of the forest land in question and similar areas in Istanbul had been occupied by squatting mafia for years and the most responsible governmental body for this occupation was the local government of Istanbul. Local governments had always used land as a political tool and populist policies derived from that use had benefited their supporters. They themselves had also benefited from the process with votes and economic aids to their administration, if not corruption. And they traditionally had used the master plans of Istanbul, and the terms “plan” and “public interest” to shadow their shameful practices. He continued that although land-use in question could have meant conserving it from ongoing occupation,

the same local government had been opposing that development with wrong justifications from the very beginning. And that opposition could have only been attributed to hostility to capital. Islamic party's negative approach to the foundation of a "valuable university" could have only been understood ideologically. However, it was hard to say the same for the Chamber of Architects, which should have been following the principles of Atatürk. The report accused the Architects severely on being at the same side with the Islamic local government that aimed to destroy Atatürk principles. He continued with an attack on the term "plan" and accused "planning" as the responsible of all negative developments. His report brought criticism to statism as well and proposed appropriation to private companies as the only way to conserve forests. This would be the only way to reach true "society interest" instead of the falsifying term of "public domain". Accordingly, responsible bodies should have better left the "public fetishism" immediately and turned their direction to the term "society interest", that KU would provide a lot. He concluded his report with a recommendation to his Chamber, as it should have also better changed its attitude in order to regain reputation in the society and should have never given credit to religious and local interest groups²².

Actually, elected executive committee of Chamber of Architects just like most of the other professional chambers in Turkey have traditionally been from the extreme left wing and the architect who has prepared this report was obviously not happy to be under their representation since he was obviously a liberal. This ideological position of most of the executive committees of professional chambers has long been a discussion. Even recently, Islamic groups in various chambers have attempted to gain control via elections with the support of IBSB. There had been great campaigns for and against this attempt from various actors in the society. However, left wing or secular groups generally achieved to stand against these attempts except from a few chambers, which are under Islamic groups' control at the time being. Similar accusations from various bodies were addressed to the Chambers during their oppositions to KU location. Some media accused them of taking the Islamists side in a sensitive issue. However, these accusations missed the fact that the same chambers brought suits against IBSB when necessary such as the one on the issue of water catchment areas in the 1995 master plan of Istanbul.

²² Referenced from the Lawsuit petition of Chamber of Architects and its attached documents, 1996.

10.3 Concluding remarks: Civil opposition and its motivations

The book that was distributed by KU to only 2000 VIP in the country not only presented that this is an elitist project excluding whoever is ordinary but also it approves the previous chapter's finding of KU as a centrally promoted project. It was then normal to observe that most of the opposition was constituted of local actors including the organised civil society in Istanbul.

NGOs are expected to be the leading actors of this opposition according to the globalisation literature. However, KU case did not represent this argument. The leading actors were professional chambers and some individual figures. This inefficiency of the NGOs were caused by various reasons. The first and most important one is that they could not oppose the capital that is the main funding body for them. KH has funded the two NGOs –TEMA & DHKD- that were expected to lead the opposition for long and those two actors preferred to stay neutral in this contention. By staying out of the discussions, neither their funds were ceased nor their reputation in the public was harmed. The one and only report prepared by TEMA at the end of the process was even approving the KU development within its paragraphs partially. Second reason of their inefficiency was ideological. As it was explained in the previous chapter, some NGOs did not prefer to be at the side of the Islamist local government because they felt responsible to their secular members, even though their activities were not related with ideology at all. Last but not least, the idea of NGOs is yet to develop in Turkey together with the legislations to increase their organisational capacity. They are not too many and the existing ones are not strong enough.

Moreover, during the process, NGOs presented themselves as organisations that are not reliable and consistent. Different NGOs with similar targets with respect to environment and/or planning prepared different reports with different conclusions on the same facts. This actually supports the finding that their ideas on the issue were determined by either economic interests arising from their funding or political interests due to secular – Islamic contradictions. Despite this confusion they present, their existence still enriched the local political sphere.

Leading actors of the opposition were professional chambers. Generally, they were consistent with each other and their reports were scientifically reliable since they were

usually prepared by their academician members. However, their general image in the public as leftist organisation restricted the publicisation of their arguments. This image together with the existence of the Islamic party in the opposition deteriorated their discourse from time to time because of the fear to lose votes in the following elections. Still, each chamber did whatever it could do individually to stop the KU development. However, it is difficult to argue the same for cooperation between each other. Most of the time, the reason of lack of cooperation was the intersection of professional activities that made them almost enemies on the same stage. It was also the intention to demonstrate power individually for political reasons. In the end of the day, there was very limited cooperation between the professional chambers. Cooperation was restricted to a few press statements, reports, panels etc. Individual actors (Ekinci and Acun) were also representatives of professional chambers and they presented the same positive and negative attitudes of their chambers. However, cooperation was still more possible between individuals.

Although the civil society was quite active during the process, it was disappointing to see that they could not develop a collectivist approach in opposition. They were inefficient in publicising the issue and their arguments and gathering the opposition bodies under a temporary umbrella organisation. This would increase the strength of opposition financially, professionally and morally. Moreover, it would contribute to attract the attention of the public to the issue. Thus, the opposition could not be massified with widespread public opposition and strong demonstrations²³.

²³ Lately, a huge urban project at a historical piece of Istanbul was introduced by the government. This time, civil society seems to be more experienced as they immediately founded an umbrella organization with a title "Haydarpaşa Civil Initiative" and many chambers, NGOs and universities oppose together via this initiative. Their first two activities as a press statement and a demonstration were quite crowded and the media could not avoid this opposition.

Lawsuits against the Koc University

11.1 Introduction

Oppositions to the KU development brought about lawsuits commenced by either professional chambers or individuals. These processes are important because of three reasons: First, they present the behaviours of each decision-making actor with respect to the relevant legislations. In other words, they present the efficiency of legal sanctions on the actors involved in decision-making. Second, documents provided to and prepared by the courts are essential in comprehending the process as a whole. Last but not least, decisions of the courts provide inputs for de-regulations and re-regulations in planning with respect to globalisation processes in addition to the juridical samples for the future practices.

11.2 Lawsuits against the Koc University

After the final decision of KTVKK in 1996, which was to downgrade the conservation degree of the appropriate land, strategies of opposing bodies changed. By then, there was no other authority to put pressure on in order to stop KU construction. All stages of decision-making were complete. The only option was to take the issue to the Courts of Justice on the grounds of relevant legislation, planning authorities and public interest. There were numerous bodies that had the right to commence lawsuits against the KU development with different justifications. While local governments could commence lawsuits to regain their authorities, professional chambers could exploit the public interest argument to commerce lawsuits.

11.2.1 IBSB's lawsuit

The first IBSB's step in bringing the issue to the court came from the IBSB lawsuits. They informed the Chamber of Architects, CCP, Chamber of Construction Engineers, Foundation of TEMA and YKCG about the lawsuit they were launching for the cancellation of plan amendment of Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing. As

one of the lawyers of IBSB, Güven, explained in her interview that: these chambers and NGOs were selected on the basis that they were the most likely groups to behave in parallel to IBSB on the specific issue. Justifications to launch the lawsuit were as follows¹:

- ❑ Declared conservation degree of KTVKK for the specific area was not relevant. Third degree conservation would not be sufficient to conserve the forests in and around the area.
- ❑ Amendment of Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing was not legal because KU was not an “official building”.
- ❑ Planning authority in an area, which is declared as a Natural Construction Site, is the local government and Article 9 cannot be put into force in such situation to transfer the authority to the Ministry².
- ❑ Amendment in question is not consistent to the Article 24 of the Regulation “About Principles on the Preparation of a Construction Plan and its Amendments”³. Accordingly, amendments should not have negative impacts on the main decisions of a master plan. However, Ministry’s amendment brought functional changes on the Istanbul master plan.
- ❑ Amendment was against the general principles of urbanism and planning.

11.2.2 Chamber of Architects’ Lawsuit

Following IBSB, Chamber of Architects launched another lawsuit together with Oktay Ekinçi intervening individually⁴. Their petition to the court was one of the most important and detailed documents of the whole process. Operations that they asked for cancellation via the Presidency of Istanbul Administration Court were as follows⁵:

- ❑ Decision of the Cabinet to appropriate 1920 ha. land to KU;

¹ Referenced from the IBSB domestic acknowledgement document dated on the 25th of April 1996 and distributed to Chamber of Architects.

² Decision of Council of State, No.6, 14.05.1991, Principle No. 1990/118, Decision No. 1991/1120.

³ The regulation was published on the Official Newspaper No.18916 on the date 2nd of November 1985.

⁴ A citizen has the right to bring a trial against any development with possible negative impacts on himself.

⁵ Referenced from the lawsuit petition of Chamber of architects and its attachments – 1996.

- ❑ Decision of the Ministry of Forestry for the “definite permission” for appropriation of land;
- ❑ Amendment of the Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing;
- ❑ Garden wall construction licence of the Sariyer Borough.

According to the petition, these operations should have been cancelled because they had been on the contrary to the Constitution and various Acts. First of all, Article 169 of the Constitution and various articles of Forestry Act stated that state forests could not be appropriated without public interest. Although education could be interpreted as a public interest, this case’s locality specific characteristics made this questionable. Whereas, there were other public interests in the area such as conservation of forests and environment, which were, according to the Chamber, to be considered prior since the education activity could be re-located. Secondly, the land in question was subject to the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Values Act since a part of the land was in the Bosphorous Conservation Site and the rest in the Natural Conservation Site. Both of them necessitate an approval of KTVKK before the planning process started. However, the Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing did not get this approval from KTVKK before she prepared her amendment. Therefore, amendment plan in question was inappropriate to the Article 17 of Conservation of Cultural and Natural Values Act. Thirdly, KU could not be accepted in the official status as justified by the Ministry since Council of State declared that it was not. Finally, location of KU was on the contrary to urbanism and planning principles as well as the public interest. They argued that historical and common trend until then had presented a linear development of the city with the conservation objective of the northern forests, as “a natural texture providing clean air” for the city. Construction of the university on that specific location would not only harm the environment with its buildings but also would become an attraction centre for other urban activities, since it was expected to host thousands of people in time. Thus, it would threat surrounding forests and water catchment areas. Therefore, that location would not be for the interest of Istanbulites⁶.

⁶ Referenced from the lawsuit petition of Chamber of architects and its attachments, 1996.

11.2.3 Expert report

After receiving the petition of the Chamber, the Court asked for an expert report from independent researchers. Three experts prepared a report on the basis of their objective⁷ scientific knowledge. The report was presented to the Court on the 2nd of December 1996. It included both positive and negative opinions on the KU development. Negative opinions of the experts were summarised in a document of Chamber of Architects on the 13th of January 1997. However, this document did not provide the experts' positive opinions on the construction. It is one of those numerous examples that an actor used arguments of others by eliminating all information contrary to her position. According to the Chamber of Architects, expert report argued that⁸:

- ❑ The forestland in question had a very rich biological diversity and among those plants in the area were rare and disappearing ones. It also had some plants specific to Istanbul such as “*Ranunculus constantinopolitanus*”, “*Chaerophyllum byzantinum*” and “*Galanthus byzanthinus*”.
- ❑ There were evidences of tree cutting and the quantity of open area was increases.
- ❑ Most of the plants determined in the area were autotrophic, which means they feed themselves. This kind of plants use carbon dioxide via photosynthesis and maintains the oxygen-carbon dioxide balance by producing oxygen. By producing oxygen and water, they are vital for a high-populated city such as Istanbul.
- ❑ It was obvious that some of the trees would be cut during the construction process, and thus, open areas would increase more.
- ❑ Pine forests are the most sensitive ones to fire. Thus, building the campus in the middle of a pine forest would increase the risk of fire and in the case of fire; no precautions could be taken with any technology to save lives and to prevent economic damage because of the area's specific characteristics.

⁷ Although objectivity in modern science is under question, expert reports are still said to be objective in Turkey and Court decisions usually depend on their expertise.

⁸ Referenced from the press statement of the Chamber of Architects as a response to the Expert report dated on the 13th of January 1997.

Under this serious risk of fire, it would be wrong to establish a university at that location.

- ❑ It was found out that the campus building would be constructed on fire safety bands, which was a very dangerous practice indeed. It would not only increase the fire risk in the forest but would also risk human life in those campus buildings.
- ❑ Harming the forest would increase acid rains, toxic gases, various insects and fungus diseases since the forest was very close to a gigantic industrial city, Istanbul, and harming it would decrease its endurance.
- ❑ 1/5000 and 1/1000 Construction Plans of Sariyer Borough, which were subject to this lawsuit, proposed the enlargement of in-forest-roads from 6-7 meters to 15 meters. This practice would cause the cutting of hundreds of trees and affect the Bosphorous Conservation Site negatively.
- ❑ Plan amendment was made only for a spot (1/3 of the whole appropriation land). It was not comprehensive at all and there was no reason to separate that spot from the rest with respect to forest existence. Plan amendment caused and would affect the principles of the master plan negatively.
- ❑ The risk of fire always creates a vicious cycle in forest-university relationships. Thus, the best way to act would be to avoid this vicious cycle.
- ❑ Generally, campus areas have located on open areas and created their own landscape in time throughout the world and the country. There were some limited exceptions such as Finish Technical University in Finland, a country fully covered with forests and lakes. Even there, the campus buildings were dispersed to the open areas in the forest to conserve the environment. KU was neither in the first group of universities nor in the second. And there was no way to construct the campus without harming the environment.
- ❑ Parallel to the technological innovations, KU campus would need additional buildings in time. This space need would unavoidably be met by tree cutting. Even the space necessary to open parking areas and roads for these new developments would harm the forest.

- EIA prepared by the demand of KU could not be accepted with respect to the principles of sustainability, urbanism and public interest. There was no forestry expert in the Committee that prepared the EIA in question.
- Consequently, the plan amendment was contrary to the principles of urbanism and essences of planning and the construction would increase the environmental problems in Istanbul.

However, the report continued with an additional comment from Prof. Ansin, one of the experts in the committee. He argued that there were a few arguments in the report, which were not in harmony with the whole text. According to him, it would be just an assumption to accept that “KU would conserve the forest and would not allow any squatting” in the area. Indeed, he continued, KU would be in need of development areas in time and could not guarantee to prevent fire. He concluded that declaring the state insufficient to conserve the People’s forests is a strategy for privatisation and must not be favoured on the basis of the Constitution⁹.

This objection of Ansin presented that Chamber of Architects published only sections of the report that were relevant to their arguments. Particularly important is that the concluding article, arguing that it would be of public interest to permit the construction of KU, was not in their report. Originally, the Expert Report argued that there would be no difference with regard to the conservation of forests. And appropriation to KU might even be advantageous from some aspects since the forests in question were very close to a metropolitan region growing fast. The report stated that KU could help to stop squatting in the forests. Pressures on these forestlands from the developers had always been and the construction of KU would not change it. The report continued such as that harm of the construction process to the forest was negligible and KU might maintain and conserve the forest existence. Despite all these supportive arguments, the expert report ended with a negative opinion reading that it would be better to locate the university in an open space out of forest areas considering all those negative impacts counted above [Expert Report, 1996]. Chamber of Architects did not mention to these positive opinions of the expert in their document. However, Ansin’s opposition that was used by the Chamber was to these positive opinions and that was why the author of the

⁹ Referenced from the press statement of Chamber of Architects written as a response to the Expert report dated on the 13th of January 1997.

thesis found the original report. This subjectivity, presented an inconsistency in the Architect's document. This was indeed a very common practice of all actors involved the process. They all used abstract texts to support their own arguments and did not mention to the overall argument.

11.2.4 Defendant statements

There were defendant statements that are worth to mention here. All defendants including the Prime Ministry, Ministry of Forestry, Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing, Sariyer Borough and KU defended themselves by insisting that all procedures were appropriate to the Constitution, relevant legislation and public interest. They all added that there would be no harm to the environment.

The Prime Ministry defended herself on the basis of procedure and essence. Procedurally, they argued that there were not appropriate conditions in the case for commencing a lawsuit by more than one party's demand. In addition, a single demand did not have the right to ask for the cancellation of practices applied by various administrations according to the relevant legislation. In essence, on the other hand, Chamber of Architects did not have the right to launch a lawsuit. Furthermore, they argued, there was no irrelevancy in the appropriation decision with respect to both relevant legislations and public interest. Consequently, they asked for the lawsuit to be rejected¹⁰.

The Ministry of Forestry's defence was based on the specific area on the contrary to the Prime Ministry's. Accordingly, merely 39 ha of the total area were permitted for construction and that area in general was open without any trees on. In addition, whole land subject to appropriation did not only have a positive EIA but also had a "tree relief plan" that would have guaranteed no tree cutting. Thus, Ministry's operations were in harmony with the Forestry Act (No.6831).

Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing did not present a defence since they withdrew their amendment on the 14th of January 1997 just after the Court asked from the Ministry to get prepared for defence¹¹.

¹⁰ Referenced from the refusal decision of the Council of State dated on the 24th of February 1997.

¹¹ Referenced from the refusal decision of the Council of State dated on the 24th of February 1997.

Another defendant, Sariyer Borough defended herself such as the wall construction licence was appropriate to the Article 7.31 of the Public Improvements Act. Therefore, they argued, the Court should have rejected the accusation on them¹².

In addition to these central and local governmental actors, interfering KU presented their defence, too. They argued in their defence that all operations were legal. Accordingly, the Cabinet's decision was consistent to the Additional Article 18 of the Act No.2547¹³; "definite permission" operations of the Ministry of Forestry were consistent to the Article 17 of the Forestry Act (No.6831); and finally the amendment plan of the Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing was consistent to the Article 9 of the Public Improvements Act¹⁴ (No.3194). They continued such as that on the contrary to the accusations there was no tree cutting in the area to open construction space for the campus buildings. In addition, they claimed that opening up the forests to public use such as university would facilitate to conserve them. They concluded similar to the other statements: "Therefore, the Court should reject the lawsuit petition"¹⁵.

11.2.5 Statement of the Scrutiny Judge

Before the final meeting of the Council of State, Scrutiny Judge studied the case and expressed his point of views as custom. Accordingly, he advised the Council of State for the rejection of the lawsuits objecting on the operations of the Cabinet, Ministry of Forestry and Sariyer Borough on the grounds of existing legislation. In addition, the lawsuit commenced against the operations of the Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing was not necessary anymore since the defendant had withdrawn her amendment.

Furthermore, Attorney General highlighted the Article 3c of the Environment Act (No. 2872), which asks for the balance of environmental protection with economic development and public interest. Therefore, he argued, it would be relevant to attribute to the expert report. According to the experts, the university would provide public interest. However, difficulties to empty the area in case of a forest fire, led them to conclude such as that public interest in this specific case would be the conservation of

¹² Referenced from the refusal decision of the Council of State dated on the 24th of February 1997.

¹³ As mentioned earlier, the Council of State cancelled this article just after the appropriation.

¹⁴ Indeed, the Ministry withdrew her amendment by the time of this statement.

¹⁵ Referenced from the refusal decision of the Council of State dated on the 24th of February 1997.

the forest. The Attorney General, after summarising the expert report, proposed to open new routes in the forest that would facilitate to control a possible fire. In fact, it was neither his responsibility nor his expertise to make such a proposal. He continued with the issue of tree cutting and highlighted the Article 54 of the Forestry Act that accepts the possibility of tree cutting in appropriated forestlands. According to the Article, the same amount of land should be subject to afforestation and expenditures for this operation should be asked from the body subject to land appropriation in the initial contracts. On the grounds of this Article, the Attorney General accused the experts with not considering this article and not studying the forest comprehensively even though it was not his expertise again. In addition, he did not find the information provided for the fire risk satisfactory. Thus, he announced the expert report “insufficient” to make a decision. Finally, he asked for the rejection of the whole lawsuit from the Council of State¹⁶.

Court of Administration made a decision on the 28th of January 1997. Accordingly, the Attorney General’s requests was accepted completely on the grounds that¹⁷:

- ❑ Conclusions derived from the Expert Report were positive for the construction of the campus building although it contained fire risk. Fire risk is not specific to the land in question. It threatens all the forestlands. Thus, taking high tech precautions would be sufficient to minimise the risk¹⁸.
- ❑ Authority on the use of the area in question was the Ministry of Forestry and their decision was to appropriate the forestland. In addition, they did not propose any afforestation in the open areas in question.
- ❑ Decisions and operations of Ministry of Forestry were completely legal with regard to the relevant legislation that was in force at the time of decisions and operations¹⁹.
- ❑ KTVKK decision was declared as a 3rd degree conservation site, which gave permission to limited construction.

¹⁶ Referenced from the refusal decision of the Council of State dated on the 24th of February 1997.

¹⁷ Referenced from the refusal decision of the Council of State dated on the 24th of February 1997.

¹⁸ It was highlighted in the expert report that any precautions would not be a guarantee.

¹⁹ This justification addresses the cancelled Act No 3708, which was mentioned earlier, with regard to land appropriation to FUs. Thus, the Council of State accepts the operations and decisions executed on the grounds of a cancelled article.

- Article 3b of the Environment Act asks for the consideration of the efforts for economic, social and cultural development in decision making for environmental issues. Accordingly, one should consider the negative and positive impacts; benefits and losses; long and short term outcomes before making a judgement for public interest²⁰.

According to Sanver [2000], the Administration Court implied with this decision that if the forestland in question was not appropriated to KU, squatters would occupy the land; politicians would condone or even promote the occupation; forestry directorate and other relevant institutions would feel weak to stand still. Thus, the best way to conserve those forests would be to privatise.

11.2.6 Appeal process

After this decision of the Administration Court, Chamber of Architects and Oktay Ekinci appealed the decision on the 3rd of March 1997 at the Court of Appeal. Appealing bodies based their objection on the Expert Report, which refused the construction of campus buildings in its conclusion statement. They highlighted the reason of their lawsuit again, which was to conserve the northern forests of Istanbul for the liveability of the people, thus for the public interest. They argued that although the amendment plan of the Ministry was withdrawn, unless the appropriation operations were cancelled, new amendments would be unavoidable on the master plan. Thus, appropriation of the Ministry of Forestry and the Cabinet had to be cancelled. Moreover, the Administration Court had not taken the whole Expert Report into consideration while making her decision. The court used a few arguments of the report, which was on the contrary to its conclusion statement in order to justify her decision. That argument was that KU would prevent informal constructions and squatting. Although one of the experts objected to this argument in the Expert Report, the Administration Court felt free to present it as a justification to its decision. In addition, a university could not be accepted as an authority to prevent informal housing and squatting and had no sanctions for that. Thus, this argument had no reliability. On the contrary, as mentioned in the Expert Report, the university would create an attraction

²⁰ Although the Constitution and the Forestry Act ask for the conservation of the forests, these were not mentioned in the Council of State's document. If they were, there would be no relevancy of the article of the Environment Act since all legislations should be consistent with the Constitution.

for formal and/or informal constructions. And a development trend towards the northern areas of the city would definitely be on the contrary to public interest. On the other hand, the Administration Court's other justification was the possibility to prevent the danger of fire with high tech precautions, although it was stated in detail in the Expert Report on the contrary. According to the report "no technical precaution would prevent the fire risk". Appealing bodies, in this case, accused the Administration Court for making a decision on the contrary to the scientific and technical arguments²¹. They concluded their petition such as that allowing the construction of KU at that specific land was not necessary since there were still many open areas in and around Istanbul that the university in question could be constructed on²².

11.2.7 YOK takes its position

After the appeal, Higher Education Institution (YOK) was involved in the process actively for the first time²³. They were always expected to intervene on the process more effectively since they were the responsible authority of the relevant regulation that gave birth to the appropriations. Despite their silence until then, YOK applied to the Council of State on the grounds that they were responsible of every operation of KU. They argued that since the application of KF was consistent with the Article 130 of the Constitution and Act No.2547, which permits foundations to establish HEI; and since the establishment of a HEI would contribute development, improvement and spread of HE in the country, YOK allowed the establishment of KU. They continued with the legal responsibilities of YOK with respect to KU, which were in this case "to guard, to control, to develop, to improve and make it well-known". However, cancellation of the operations would stop the university to develop. This would also affect the national objectives of HE negatively. In addition, KU had a contract just like the other FUs, with which it accepted self-appropriation to a public HEI in the case that it could not materialise its education activities. Therefore, cancellation of the land appropriation to KU would negatively affect the national interest. Furthermore, YOK argued that each operation with regard to the appropriation was consistent with the legislations, public

²¹ Council of State is not dependent on the Expert Report in her decisions. It always has the right to make decisions on the contrary to the report. However, this practice is not very common.

²² Referenced from the objection petition of Chamber of Architects to the refusal of Courts of Administration dated on the 3rd of March 1997.

²³ YOK is a central umbrella organization for both public universities and FUs. It regulates and controls the operations of HEIs. She is directly responsible to the Prime Ministry.

interest and principles of the Constitution. The location was, according to YOK, indeed a forestland. However, it was outside the Bosphorous Region and without any tree on. All procedures, including that of the approval of KTVKK, positive opinions of Governorship Local Environment Committee and the Ministry of Environment, had been completed by then to establish a “global elite HEI”. They continued with arguments supporting campuses in the forests. On the contrary to the initial expert report, YOK argued that many HEIs were established in the forests in Turkey and throughout the world²⁴. They stated, “appropriation of forestlands to universities would be of interest for the conservation of forests together with their natural environment”²⁵. They suggested a strategy such as “conservation via development”²⁶ and presented it as the only option for the conservation of northern forests of Istanbul. They obviously misled the Council of State with the argument that METU in Ankara was established on a forestland and had met the green area need of the local people for long in addition to maintaining the active conservation of the forest. However, METU had been the first example of the opposing bodies from the very beginning of the appropriation process because it had grown its own forest on a barren land. It deserved great appreciation and even got an award of Aga Han Architectural and Environmental Contest with this achievement in the past. It was surprising to read such a wrong and misleading argument from YOK. YOK also supported the idea that KU would prevent informal housing and squatting in the area. They concluded with the argument that none of the operations subject to cancellation was on the contrary to the principles of urbanism and planning and to public interest²⁷. YOK’s arguments, however, had no scientific or technical justification and support, although she was the authority for HE in Turkey.

11.2.8 A public lawyer: Dervis Parlak

Chamber of Architects presented another petition to the Court of Appeal. During the appeal, this report was presented by the Chamber’s permanent lawyer, Dervis Parlak,

²⁴ Indeed, there was none except from the forestry faculties of some public HEIs. The first examples of this practice in Turkey are the FUs.

²⁵ Referenced from the petition of YOK to the Council of State dated on the 17th of March 1997.

²⁶ This strategy is widely used in the deprived historical central areas of many cities in order to conserve the historical heritage. The idea is to attract investment in to the area and it is believed that attracted investment would conserve the area. However, this has negative implications, too. Removal of lower income families and dramatic changes in the historical pattern with regard to the variety of uses are a few of them. Furthermore, this cannot be suggested for environmental conservation without making detailed studies on the issue.

who had been dealing with this kind of lawsuits for years. He made clear that the lawsuit was not against KU itself or land appropriation in general to KU, but it was against its specific location²⁸. This introduction should have aimed to remove the ideological discussions from the lawsuit. By this token, the suitors indirectly accepted the benefits of the establishment of a new university for the country's development. He continued with various justifications of their argument. Accordingly, while making the decision, Ministers were probably not aware of the specific location of KU and had no information about the planning process. Therefore, their decision was questionable because of insufficient analysis and on the basis of expert opinions. In addition, the Cabinet had made this decision on the grounds of Additional Article 18 of the Higher Education Act. However, as it was mentioned earlier, the Constitution Court cancelled this article just after the decision of the Cabinet. Hence, Parlak argued that all the operations processed according to this article 18 should have been cancelled on the grounds of inconsistency with the Constitution. Decision of the Cabinet was highlighted because it was the basis of all other operations; thus, critiques should have first of all been oriented to that mechanism. Accordingly, Parlak argued that one of the traditional mistakes on the issue of administering the human settlements and physical environments, was the tendency of the Cabinet to make location decisions. This tendency had resulted with fragmented process that had not constituted a totality. Thus the Cabinet had created insoluble urban and environmental problems. Accordingly, Parlak argued, contemporary urbanism and planning in the global era refused these central interventions. On the contrary, the tendency was towards local autonomies making their own decisions. Turkish planning system did not favour these decisions, either. Accordingly, relevant regulation prohibited any amendment on the plans if they intended to change the land use. Thus, such changes could only be possible via comprehensive plan revisions or by preparing new plans. However, the central government tended to produce regulations that could overcome this problem such as the localities and Additional Article 18. Furthermore, Cabinet's location decisions never considered planning as inputs for decision-making. On the other hand, appropriation of the Cabinet was on the contrary to the Constitution as declared by the Constitution Court in 1992. Therefore, Parlak asked for the cancellation of all related decisions.

²⁷ Referenced from the petition of YOK to Council of The State dated on the 17th of March 1997.

²⁸ Referenced from the lawsuit petition of the Chamber of Architects - 1996.

Another crucial explanation of Parlak was about the term “in-forest-open space”. Parlak argued that there was not such a term, which might cause serious implications in the overall legal system. This term could only mean that there was no need for afforestation in the area since it would naturally be covered with various plantations in a short period of time. Therefore, Directorate of Forestry’s decision of non-afforestation in the specific area could not be accepted to give permission to the construction since that area was naturally a part of the forest.

Finally, one of the justifications of the Court’s refusal that highlighted the issue of development via education was criticised by Parlak such as that development could not be achieved without conserving the environment in the global era. He supported this argument with the expert report prepared for the Court. Accordingly, education could be relocated but forests could not. Various international agreements with regard to sustainable development that Turkey put a signature on were also mentioned²⁹.

11.2.9 Scrutiny Judge insists

Finally, Scrutiny Judge expressed his opinion in parallel to the demands of defendants. His advice was the same with the one in the lawsuit³⁰. However, there was a different one this time. In the beginning, he expressed contrary ideas and evidence to the previous Scrutiny Judge on the “garden wall licence” of Sariyer Borough. According to his studies on the Article 7.31 of Public Improvements Act and other relevant articles, there was no doubt that a “garden wall” such as the one in question required a licence. However, since the amendment plan of the Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing was withdrawn, the licence provided from the Sariyer Borough was not legally valid anymore. On the other hand, he commented on the appropriation operations of the Ministry of Forestry and the Cabinet in parallel to the previous Scrutiny Judge. Accordingly, it was legally acceptable to appropriate land from the forests with the conditions of providing public interest and getting the positive opinion of the Ministry of Finance. Therefore, the mere issue to be discussed should have been “public interest” in that specific case. Thus, essence of the trial was dependent on the question that public interest would have been materialised whether through the conservation of the forest in

²⁹ Referenced from the written defence statement of the Chamber of Architects in the lawsuit on the 30th of June 1997.

³⁰ Referenced from the written refusal decision of the Council of State on the 24th of February 1997.

question without any development or through the construction of campus buildings. Since that was a matter of expertise, the Scrutiny Judge attributed to the expert report, in which that issue was elaborated. He argued that the report could not satisfactorily answer the question since it had both positive and negative opinions and evidence in its content. However, since KU would prevent informal constructions in the region; since opportunity of use of high tech could minimise the fire risk; guarantee of no tree cutting was provided; and KU's high standard education would contribute to the efforts of economic, social and cultural development of the country³¹, public interest in this specific case was for the construction of the university. In the end of the day, he asked the Court of Appeal for the cancellation of the "garden wall licence" of the Sariyer Borough and rejection of the demands of the suitors with regard to the operations of the Ministry of Forestry and the Cabinet. Finally, he added, there was no ground to discuss the defendant Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing since they withdrew their amendment³².

The Court of Appeal decided parallel to the demands of the Scrutiny Judge on the 21st of July 1997. Garden wall licence of Sariyer Borough was cancelled but the other decisions were not changed.

Table 11.1 Amounts to be paid for the use of the land - 1997

Explanation	Details	Amount Due (TL)
Total Project Price		5.401.630.707.000
Afforestation Price	Amount to be paid for once for 49 years of permission of use.	11.505.547.500
Soil Price	Amount to be paid once for the compensation of depravation on the natural balance of soil and decrease in productivity.	0
First year land appropriation price	0.5 % of the total project price due to be paid annually.	27.008.153.535
Fund %3	To be transferred to a fund of special purposes.	152.049.921.210
Cash Guarantee Amount		0
Afforestation Fund	To be transferred to the afforestation fund.	108.032.614.140
TOTAL		

* 1 British pound was about 250.000 TL in 1997.

Source: Documents presented to the Courts of Justice

³¹ This argument was indeed considered in the previous theoretical chapters and the conclusion was it would benefit the overall country at some given conditions. Location, development stage of the country, integration with the overall system was some of those conditions. However, during the process, there was no scientific document presented supporting this very common argument of the defendants.

³² Referenced from the written refusal decision of the Council of State on the 24th of February 1997.

At this stage, Ministry of Forestry sent an official document to the Istanbul Regional Directorate of Forestry. It was another example of those insisting efforts to protect KU. Following the decision of the Court of Appeal, Chamber of Architects appealed again on the 20th of August 1997 at the level of Presidency of the Council of State this time. The Chamber asked for the high court to consider the issue again and cancel all relevant operations with respect to KU and change the previous court decisions accordingly. Their justification for the application of cancellation was almost the same to the ones they presented in their first appeal³³.

This time, they aimed to overcome a possible court decision that might find priceless appropriation against the public interest and Constitution. As it was mentioned earlier KU would pay nothing in return of the use of 1920 ha forestland for 49 years. This document publicised that the Ministry of Forestry changed her decision of priceless appropriation on the contrary for about 25 ha of the whole area, on which the buildings would be located. Accordingly, the amounts to be paid for different purposes were as in the above table.³⁴

Accordingly, before the payment of amounts due in this contract and before the handling over of the land by the authorised personnel, no operation was allowed in the forestland in question. However, at that time, there was an intense construction activity on the area. And after this contract, KU neither left the land for the necessary transferring procedures nor stopped construction. In addition, the Ministry never asked her to do so. In the contract, it was also stated that no additional buildings to the ones presented in 1/2000 situation plan of KU³⁵ would be allowed and in the case of construction without any permission, they would be demolished immediately. In the case of any need to cut trees in the area, prices that would be determined by the Directorate of Forestry, would be paid in addition to the amounts in the contract. That was indeed the approval of tree cutting in the area³⁶.

This contract was prepared as a precaution to a possible decision of the Council of State against the construction of KU on the grounds of gratis appropriation of forestlands to a

³³ Referenced from the appeal petition of Chamber of Architects on the 20th of August 1997.

³⁴ Referenced from the written statement of the Ministry of Forestry to the Forestry General Directorate on the 07th of February 1998.

³⁵ It was never publicized.

³⁶ Referenced from the written statement of the Ministry of Forestry to the Forestry General Directorate on the 07th of February 1998.

private foundation on the contrary to the Constitution. At that time, the Court of Appeal had been analysing the grounds on which the Ministry of Forestry gave permission to appropriation. This document argued that the Ministry made her decision on the grounds of Article 17 of the Forestry Act³⁷.

This document's supplement also publicised that total construction area in the forestland in question would be 96.767 m² including the buildings of university centre, services, library, Faculty of Administrative Sciences, Faculty of Science and Literature, Faculty of Engineering, sports hall, dining hall, infirmary, 5 type-A dormitory, 12 type-B dormitory, 28 special type dormitory, cafeteria for 900 students, guesthouse and nursery. And most importantly, it was declared that all these buildings were already constructed³⁸. Date of this agreement was the summer of 1997 just before the Court of Appeal's aforementioned decision.

11.2.10 Council of State's decision

However, presidency of the Council of State declared on the 3rd of July 1998 that the former decisions were not valid anymore. They asked all the operations to be stopped immediately until a further notice. Accordingly, operations were found contradictory to the Constitution and KU's construction was defined as "occupation of state property".

Prime Ministry and Ministry of Forestry requested the presidency of Council of State to reconsider her latest decision by submitting a petition. YOK and KU Rectors supported this request as well. Opinion of the Scrutiny Judge was also positive for this request. However, the General Committee of Administrative Lawsuit of the Council of State refused these requests in 1998. In September 1999, the lawsuit was sent to the 6th Office of the Council of State, which would make the final decision after the renewed requests of KU side.

³⁷ Referenced from the written statement of the Ministry of Forestry to the Forestry General Directorate on the 07th of February 1998.

³⁸ Referenced from the written statement of the Ministry of Forestry to the Forestry General Directorate on the 07th of February 1998.

11.2.11 Other objecting actors

In addition to IBSB and Chamber of Architects, Chamber of City Planners, Chamber of Forest Engineers and Chamber of Construction Engineers commenced three more lawsuits against the amendment plan of the Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing. However, after the withdrawal of the amendment on the 17th of January 1997, the Council of State found these lawsuits unnecessary to consider. In these applications, it was obvious that these Chambers were inexperienced in launching lawsuits. Difference of Chamber of Architects was obvious with their experienced and qualified lawyer, Dervis Parlak, in addition to their financial resources. Others neither could employ a lawyer nor had the relevant knowledge, experience and time. Actually, it was also unnecessary to commence four different lawsuits on the same issue by four different professional chambers. There could be one lawsuit with the interference of all chambers. This would make their case stronger both financially and professionally. However, traditional hostilities arising from economic interest struggles such as the one between CCP and Chamber of Architects and the intention to show off in front of the public individually prevented this possible cooperation at all stages of the process.

Nevertheless, CCP petition to commence a lawsuit was a comprehensive one addressing various illegal operations from the very beginning of the process³⁹.

- ❑ Plan amendment of the Ministry was inconsistent with the Article 9 of the Act No.3194 with regard to “official building status”.⁴⁰
- ❑ Plan amendment of the Ministry was inconsistent with general techniques of master plan preparation.
- ❑ Plan amendment of the Ministry was inconsistent with the plan notes of the recent master plan.
- ❑ Ministry did not have the authority of planning on the areas where whole area was declared as a Natural Conservation Site.
- ❑ KU location was inconsistent with KTVKK decisions and the Bosphorous Act.

³⁹ Referenced from the geological research executed for KU.

- ❑ KU location was inconsistent with the recent master plan of Istanbul.
- ❑ Although, natural conservation site declaration should have immediately stopped all ongoing constructions and IBSB should have prepared a “conservation plan” in order to restart them. Construction activities were on progress at the site.
- ❑ KU location was inconsistent with the International Rio Agreement that was signed by the Turkish government.
- ❑ KU location and the amendment in question were on the contrary to the principles of urbanism and planning.

On the other hand, Chamber of Forest Engineers insisted on their claims and launched other lawsuits after the initial refusal. Their process was similar to the Chamber of Architects. A different aspect of their lawsuit was that in September 1996 Chamber of Forest Engineers gave a crime notification to the Attorney General after the initial Expert Report, stating that 70.000 trees were cut and consequently 35 ha forestland had turned into open areas. However, Attorney General decided for “lack of ground for legal action” on the 15th of November 1996 since the second Expert Report denied the initial findings. Objection of the Chamber to the Council of State was refused, too.

Following this decision, Kanal 7, which is an Islamic TV channel and had been among the opposition side from the very beginning with full support to IBSB, broadcasted the tree cutting in the area. In the same programme, an inspector from the Ministry of Forestry also declared that he had determined illegal tree cutting in the area. However, although he gave his report to the officers, there had been no legal sanctions against the accused bodies. In addition to this broadcast, IBSB’s air photos proved illegal tree cutting in the area.

The Council of State made the final decision for the lawsuit launched by the Chamber of Forest Engineers in December 1998. Accordingly, forestland in question could not be appropriated to KU on the grounds of the Constitution [Radikal, 27/12/1998].

⁴⁰ This was indeed the only ground to decide as unnecessary to deal.

Chamber of Forest Engineers gave another crime notification for KU on the 31st of August 1998. It was because KU continued to construct her campus despite the latest court decisions. The Chamber argued in their notification that KU was trying to get *de facto* status by progressing in construction in order to claim land use right in the future.

There was another series of lawsuits in 1997 related to the location of KU, which were brought by the Sariyer Borough, IBSB and the Chamber of Forest Engineers. These suits were against the ANASOL-D coalition government's border change decision that was explained earlier. The Council of State decided to cancel the decision and stop the construction. However, part of the constructions of KU that was under Bahcekoy Municipality's authority continued despite the cancellation [Acun, 1999].

Consequent to the trial process, construction of KU at the forestland in question had no legal basis by 1999. However, according to the newspapers, construction would be completed by September 2000 and KU would continue HE in her campus buildings from then on⁴¹. And although not approved by the officials during the interviews, some columnists and KU representatives argued that IBSB agreed with KU on unknown grounds by 1999 [Guclu, A., Milliyet, 03/02/1999].

After the Council of State's decision for all FUs to empty the appropriated forestlands, KU opposed this decision strongly and argued that all operations were started and progressed by the state institutions themselves and then the Council of State, which was another state institution, cancelled them oddly [Milliyet, 16/07/1999]. They seemed to forget that Council of State was an independent institution for justice and had no obligation to make parallel decisions to that of execution and legislation.

11.2.12 "Not my authority"

According to another newspaper, Cumhuriyet, the Ministry of Forestry decreased the amount of land appropriated to KU from 192 ha to 24,9 ha. Furthermore, Ministry of Forestry and Ministry of Education started to accuse each other for the appropriation of the forestland. Ministry of Education argued that in the normal procedure FUs should apply them for specific lands to be appropriated. Following the application, they should ask the opinion of the Ministry of Forestry, and/or other relevant Ministries, and if the

⁴¹ This source is a photocopy of a newspaper and has no date or label on.

opinions were positive, the land would be appropriated to the demanding FUs. However, Ministry of Forestry replied this accusation with a contrary argument such as that Ministry of Forestry should appropriate the lands in question to the Ministry of Education to execute the appropriation procedures. Thus, it is the Ministry of Education that should be accused since it is the authority to appropriate the lands to FUs [Cumhuriyet, 17/07/1999]. The common problem of “this is my authority” between the governmental agencies was reversed to “this is your authority” after the court decisions.

In December 1999, Turkish Parliament amended the Higher Education Act and in specific the issue of forestland appropriation to FUs. In the discussions, a proposal was accepted suggesting FUs to execute afforestation twice the area that was appropriated to them. The proposal of the opposition suggesting the condition that the lands subject to appropriation must have lost their forest characteristics was refused in the same meeting. Final and crucial decision of the Parliament was that it would be legal to appropriate land to FUs, which have completed their second year of education and have provided scholarships for at least 15 % of their students. One of the coalition partners the time, Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), on the other hand, stated that they would give an investigation proposal to the Parliament on the issue of KU.

In April 2000, after the Parliament’s revision on the legislation, a new decision was made by the Council of State Court No.8, which stated that there would be no legal control possibility on the issue after the amendment on Higher Education Institution Act [Radikal, 16/04/2000]. This decision was appealed by the Chamber of Architects immediately after. The last “final decision” of the Council of State came soon after and the request of Chamber of Architects was accepted. Ministry of Forestry has been trying to empty the construction site since then. However, the site is getting more crowded everyday.

You can now read the following from the official web page of KU [www.ku.edu.tr]:

“In October 2000, KU moved to its *permanent* campus at Rumeli Feneri, located on a hill close to the city but far removed from the distractions of city life. It sprawls over a sixty two-acre site... sixty buildings, academic and administrative laboratories, library, dormitories, faculty residences, social and sports facilities are the product of a meticulous, integrated design. Drawing upon warm and natural materials, including stone, plaster, wood and clay roof tiles, the architecture is a blend of the historical style of Istanbul and the timeless characteristics of well-established academic institutions.”

11.3 Concluding remarks: Regulation, de-regulation and re-regulation

Lawsuits present interesting findings. First and most importantly, it appears that interpretations of legislations were different for not only different actors but also different courts. Particularly concepts such as “public interest” and “principles of urbanism/environmentalism” caused confusion in the court decisions. Despite the debate that enriched the local political sphere arising from different interpretations, such terms should be avoided in making legislations for more straight and consensus decisions, if this kind of decisions is necessary. However, their contribution to public interest is not negligible. These terms act as guarantors, when authorities make amendments on the legislations to facilitate processes that will be against the public interest. Second, coalition of central governments and capital was not sufficient to legalise the KU development. Thus, juridical system presented its potential to act as the main guard in preventing from the destructive developments including some of the globalisation processes unless its decisions are obeyed.

Finally, it was interesting to observe amendments on legislations at all stages of the process. More importantly, all these amendments were in favour of the KU development despite the insistence struggle of the civil actors to protect the public interest. This actually proves the coalition of central governments and capital argument. In this respect, future regulation in planning should also be expected to occur in favour of the capital. Moreover, amendments were made on the basis of the immediate requirements of the globalist coalition. They are neither planned as long-term requirements nor comprehensive, which are inherent characteristics of the globalisation processes.

Section Three

Conclusion

KU has represented the globalisation of HE in Turkey since its very foundation. This perception was first established with the widespread use of globalisation discourse by KU representatives. They usually referred to the global dimension in their advertisements and speeches. Later, as KU developed, the university also started to include some indicators of globalisation as well. In this regard, KU also represents the commodification of HE in Turkey. Therefore both its supporters and bodies opposed to it were expected to take up definite positions as globalist or anti-globalists/anti-capitalists/populists with respect to relevant decisions.

The KU case demonstrated proof on the ground of the aforementioned globalist coalition of capital and central government. In this coalition, capital proposed the project, successive central governments created the required investment environment by either de-regulation or re-regulation, and capital invested. This was also an example of the privatisation of HE, as formulated by GATT. The strongest media group in Turkey, DMG, which had traditionally strong economic connections with KH, appeared as a strong supporter of the globalist coalition and served it efficiently by publicising its discourse and creating a positive public perception. This coalition worked in cooperation throughout the whole process, except for one single period when a coalition government including the Islamist party, RP, was in power. At times, the transitory nature of central governments because of the political instability during the 1990s in Turkey caused some problems and disadvantages, but the project was not much interrupted. Moreover, state elites attributed as VIPs in some documents supported this coalition. Their influence, in particular on KTVKK, which is also constituted of important respectful persons, was considerable, as these important and respectful elites find it hard to ignore and/or refuse each other.

All local actors, including IBSB, were excluded from the decision-making process, unless their inclusion was enforced by law or found necessary by the coalition. In response to this exclusion, a local opposition started. This opposition was led by the local government, IBSB, organised civil society via professional chambers, and a limited number of NGOs and individual figures.

Figure S3.1 Guide to Section III conclusion

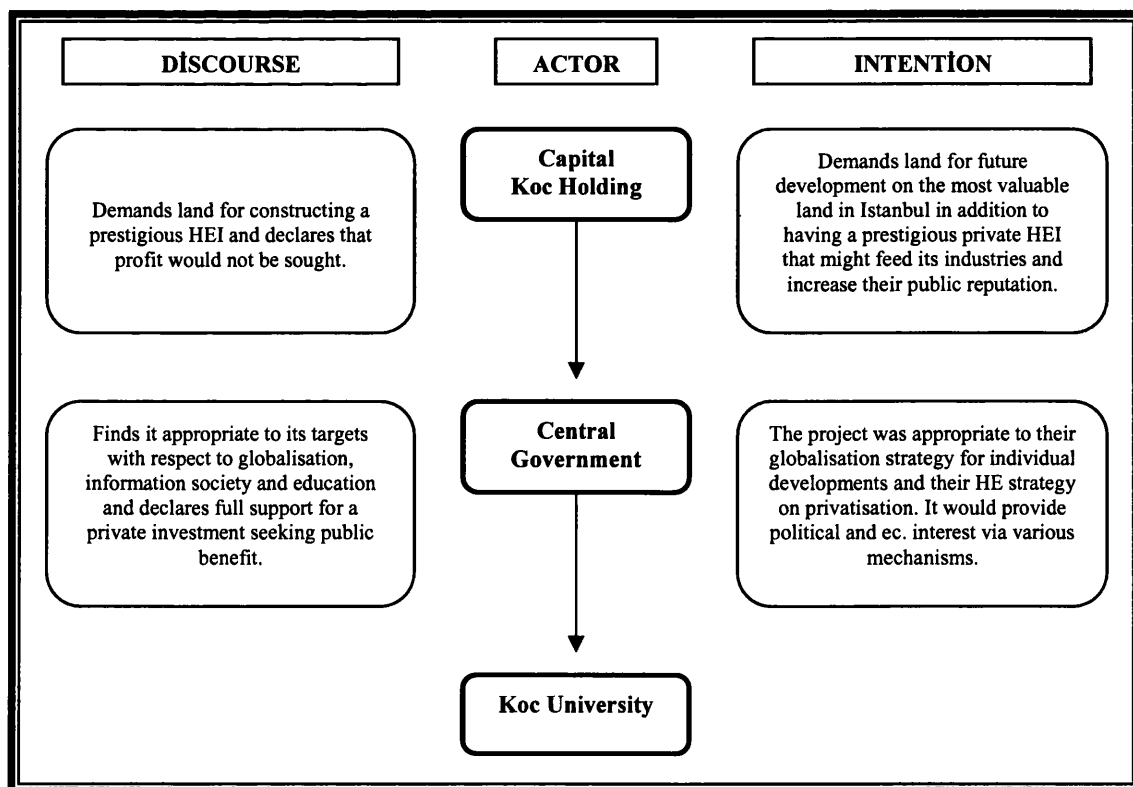
PROJECT	: Koc University Campus Construction
LOCATION	: Northern Istanbul – Forestland
STRATEGY OF CAPITAL	: Pro-globalist Prestige building Horizontal integration between its sectors of activity Research and employee for its global business activities Possible future developments on the specific land
CENTRAL POLICY	
Globalisation	: Pro-globalisation irrespective of ideology in force Growth policies Istanbul as a regional centre Individual mega projects Educated labour force for global economic activities
Education & Research	: Private investments in education and research Privatisation of HE Quality and quantity in HE In-flow of international students and academics Horizontal integration between research and economic sectors Catching up with the information age
Forest Areas	: Privatisation of forestlands in the metropolitan regions
LOCAL POLICY	
Globalisation	: Transformationist with respect to ideology in force Realist aiming at a balance between globalist and populist policies Emphasis on traditional and religious values Istanbul as a global/regional centre Comprehensive & strategic planning fed by major individual development projects
Education & Research	: In-flow of int. students and academics to Istanbul via specialised HE No more undergraduate HEI in Istanbul
Forest Areas	: Definite conservation in northern Istanbul
LAW	
Education	: Private HE is only allowed for FUs HE is free according to the Constitution Public interest
Forest Areas	: Conservation and increase in quantity State-control Public interest
CIVIL SOCIETY	
Globalisation	: Transformationist or Sceptic Opinions depend on the ideology of the group Islamic-secular contradictions Socialist-liberal contradictions Equality and sustainability are common targets Sponsoring body is influential in behaviour Public interest
Education & Research	: Fast growth in quantity and quality Islamic education-secular education contradictions
Forest Areas	: Definite conservation Principles of environmentalism, urbanism and planning Public interest

Note: This box is developed by the author on the basis of the findings of the case study.

It was supported by some media groups that were pursuing a political interest. However, unlike the globalist coalition in the central political sphere, there was little or no cooperation between the opposing actors in the local political sphere for various reasons including traditional hostilities, professional interests, organisational incapacity etc. In turn, this lack of cooperation decreased the efficiency of the opposition.

The globalist coalition followed the path of decision-making described in the first section of this thesis and proven in the account of HE restructuring in Turkey in Section Two, with justifications that were politically accepted. Accordingly, capital demanded the specific land from central government for constructing an HEI claiming a role in the globalisation of the country and, more importantly, not seeking to make any profit. Central government found the project appropriate to both its globalisation and HE targets. The project was politically accepted and pro-globalist. Therefore the KH project was viewed as something to be not only accepted but also supported via relevant regulations and plans. The media, on the other hand, supported a project that would benefit the whole country in the long run. This presentation by the coalition side inevitably created a positive public perception of KU.

Figure S3.2 Globalist Coalition



Note: This figure is developed by the author on the basis of the findings of the case study.

However, another story about the globalist coalition including the same actors was not publicised. According to this, the demand of capital for land was indeed for other purposes as well as for the KU development. The land demanded was hugely valuable in terms of its location in Istanbul and its natural beauty. Its natural characteristics were so important that all the land together with its surrounding was under conservation orders via various plans and regulations against any kind of development. Nevertheless, there have been illegal luxury housing developments in the surrounding area. Moreover, there were examples of FUs acting as developers in Turkey, such as Bilkent, in addition to numerous examples throughout the world. Thus, this land might in time provide huge economic interest to capital. On the other hand, central government had no comprehensive plan/program for globalisation or for HE. In this regard, the KU project was only appropriate to those abstract prescriptions of globalisation and the information society detailed in Section One and Two. Moreover, FUs were taking over the duty of HE from the state. In other words, HE was being privatised in accordance with the formulations of GATS and within developments in the MDCs. Last but not least, KH has been one of the best allies of central government throughout republican history. Thus, the KU project coincided in many ways with the political and economic interests of central government, even before considering the potential for widespread corruption in Turkey. The media group, which supported the project, DMG, on the other hand, is known for its strong relations with KH since the 1980s. Moreover, their continuous support for central governments, whatever their ideology, is publicly known. Thus, supporting the KU development would be in their economic interest. This side of the coalition story would not be perceived by the public as positive. Thus, no part of it was mentioned in the discourse or the texts of the globalist coalition. However, as the project continued and opposition grew stronger, public perception shifted from positive to negative as these facts became public via various mechanisms.

In this context, the most important finding with regard to the globalist coalition is that all its actors, more or less, were driven by economic and/or political interest. Moreover, the case demonstrated a challenge to the local political sphere that had not allowed development in that specific area of Istanbul. At the end of the day, a university was constructed and the remaining empty area was under the control of KH via the university. Local government was excluded from the process by removing its planning authority for the specific area through the application or creation of various legislation.

In this regard, the globalist coalition formed by central and international actors intervened in the development/growth of the city by removing the local conservation decision on the specific area and opening up environmentally sensitive areas to development in an era when local politics was supposed to have sole authority on these issues. In doing so, the globalist coalition excluded and ignored whatever was local and made a decision reminiscent of the TINA syndrome described in detail in Chapter Two. Moreover, the coalition did not hesitate to apply or create legislation in accordance with its temporary and immediate requirements. Thus, they bulldozed all the planning practices and principles, including comprehensiveness and local determination. By doing so, they proved that, as found in the first section of this thesis, in the global era legislation follows developments.

The opposition, on the other hand, was formed by the local government -IBSB-, professional chambers, NGOs and individuals. KTVKK could be counted among these before the decisions it finally made after intense pressures/threats. As in the globalist coalition, there were leftist and Islamic media groups on the opposition side. In this regard, the opposition did not appear weak when the facilities of IBSB, the professional knowledge of the chambers, the broadcasting and publishing opportunities and the public interest aims of the civil society as whole were considered. However, they failed to cooperate and to be as effective as they could have been.

Their discourse was based on principles of public interest and urbanism and they argued that the KU development would harm the future of the city. Some actors of the opposition emphasised the commodification of HE and the speculation in urban land and attributed these to globalisation.

There were shifts in the attitudes of some opposition actors. KTVKK was the most crucial, as its final decision opened the way for the KU development. This shift was rooted in intense central pressures on Committee members. Moreover, IBSB stepped back from opposition at the end of the 1990s. One of its lawyers, Ms. Güven [2000], justified this attitude shift in an interview she gave at the start of the construction of KU. According to her, it would not have been appropriate to struggle for the demolition of a HEI after its buildings had been constructed. Hidden in this statement was the political interest of the local government in public perception for the following elections. On the other hand, its opposition did not target globalisation as a whole. In fact, IBSB had comprehensive plans to globalise Istanbul. Therefore, IBSB should have opposed the

KU development either because it defied their authority or because it was irrelevant to their comprehensive targets. It was often argued during the process by various actors that if KF applied to IBSB for the KU development in the first instance, IBSB might have either appropriated a similar land or accepted the pre-determined location, and KF might thus have avoided most of these struggles. IBSB's position was conjectural and based on its political and economic interests from the very beginning. Consequently, the finding of the first section that interests determine positions with respect to globalisation, at least as much as globalisation affects interests, is supported in the KU case with respect to both local and central government.

In support of this finding is the fact that the support of the Islamic media was withdrawn as IBSB drew back. Media support for both coalitions was definitely connected with political and economic interests and partisanship. In this regard, the information propagated by these media groups, which constitute most of the broadcasting and publishing activities in the country, was determined by political and economic interests. This places all the media groups under suspicion of misleading society.

Cooperation between the opposition actors could not be realised, primarily because of traditional hostilities and lack of confidence together with insufficient organisational capacity because of time and money problems. For example, CCP and the Chamber of Architects have been hostile to each other since the foundation of CCP in the 1970s, because city planners had struggled to control their professional areas, long exploited by the architects. On the other hand, there were lawsuits between these professional chambers and IBSB because of some plans prepared for Istanbul. Moreover, IBSB was used to opposing the decisions of KTVKK, which had halted many of its applications for conservation reasons. In an environment such as this, cooperation was difficult and proved impossible except for a few public statements, reports and panels prepared/organised jointly. Lack of cooperation was so apparent that even the lawsuits commenced against the KU developments were separate, although professional chambers were financially weak organisations¹. They could easily have founded a temporary umbrella organisation to facilitate cooperation and prevent the waste of time, energy and limited funds. This could also in time have increased the organisational capability of civil society. Had they done this, they could have fostered a collectivist

¹ They had the legal right to commence one lawsuit with intervening signatures and thus reduce their expenditure. However, they chose not to do this.

public movement against the KU development via demonstrations and such like. Their preference for not doing so can only be explained by a wish to increase their individual strength by increasing their public profiles during the process.

Professional chambers have been the leading actors in the opposition from the very beginning. They were consistent in their discourse against the KU development. Moreover, they were reliable, as they were representing the professionals in the areas under question. However, they usually suffer from poor public perception in Turkey as their representatives are usually leftist and Turkish people could not avoid the misperceptions of the Left arising both from Islam and the former USSR. Moreover, professional chambers felt the pressure of their next elections throughout the process and this increased their tendency to present their individual strength rather than cooperating with the other opposition actors. Lack of cooperation was also fed by the aforementioned traditional hostilities. These were nonetheless the most organised and influential segment of the opposition.

One final point to emphasise on the subject of the opposition is the attitudes of NGOs during the process. First of all, NGOs are not well developed in Turkey. They are relatively new to the country and not yet governed by adequate legislation. There are nonetheless numerous NGOs in Turkey and particularly strong ones focusing on issues of environmentalism and urbanism. Among these are TEMA, DHKD, ÇEKÜL and YKCG, which are all involved in the KU case. However, all were not, as might have been expected, on the opposing side. TEMA and DHKD preferred to stay neutral during the process because their main funding body was indeed KH. ÇEKÜL was among the opposition, but not aggressively so, probably for ideological reasons arising from the secular – Islamic conflict. YKCG, on the other hand, was the most aggressive opposition body until the late 1990s, when IBSB stepped back, because they were, like IBSB, Islamists. In this regard, NGOs were found in the context of this thesis to be inconsistent with each other and unreliable in local politics. This is a contrary finding to the globalisation literature, which highlights the importance of NGOs in local political restructuring and in the new decision-making processes.

The table below presents the position of individual actors with respect to each other. A few patterns are very apparent. Actors in the opposition coalition, which experienced a lack of coordination, preferred for various reasons not to mention other members of their coalition at all. TEMA and DHKD, which were funded by KH, were the quietest.

It is understandable that they did not oppose KU because of their economic interests. However, they did not make any comments on the other opposing actors, either, except, for ideological reasons, on the IBSB. This silence can best be explained by the possible need for a coalition with the same actors in the future.

Table S3.1 Civil actors and their positions with respect to each other in their discourses

Actor	Against	For	Not mentioned
Chamber of Architects & Oktay Ekinici	KU Central government Local government	KTVKK	Other Prof. Chambers NGOs
GBEV	KU Central Government	Local government	KTVKK Other Prof. Chambers NGOs
Istanbul University Faculty of Forestry	KU Sabanci University Galatasaray University Central government		KTVKK Local Government
KU Rectorship	Local government Opposing NGOs Professional Chambers Scholars	KU Central government Supporting NGOs	
CCP	KU Central government Supporting NGOs	KTVKK Local government Opposing NGOs Other Prof. Chambers	Chamber of Architects
TEMA	Local government	KU	Central government KTVKK NGOs Professional Chambers
DHKD	Local Government		Central government KTVKK NGOs Professional Chambers KU
DCP	Central government Local government	FUs	KTVKK Professional Chambers NGOs
Independent architect's report	Local government Chamber of Architects "plan" "statism" "public domain"	KU Privatisation Society interest	KTVKK Professional Chambers NGOs

Note: This table is developed by the author on the basis of the findings of the case study.

Impacts of lawsuits were significant during the process. It can even be argued that the opposition increased because of the lawsuits. It was interesting to observe that court decisions were inconsistent at different levels of the judiciary. The Administrative Courts, which dealt with the lawsuits in the first instance, always decided in favour of the globalist coalition, while the Council of State and the Constitution Court made a number of decisions against. The decisions of the Administrative Courts were in favour

of the KU development because their interpretation of terms such as “public interest” and “principles of planning / environmentalism / urbanism” were incorrect. At least, that was what the upper levels of justice declared. Although the upper-level courts acted as guarantors of these terms, they could not stop the re-regulation practices at the lower level with respect to planning, due to the interests of the globalist coalition. Although the practice of land appropriation for KU was contrary to the Constitution, to the legislation on forestry, the Bosphorous, public improvements, local government, environment and conservation and to a number of master plans including that for the area, the KU campus stands today on the appropriated land. There is a dilemma in the case with respect to justice: the de facto status of KU is contrary to the evacuation and demolition decision of the Council of State.

As Barkin et al. [1996] put it; “the positive and negative effects of globalisation on the quality of life are two sides of the same coin, rather than trade-offs”. KU may facilitate the information society necessary in the globalisation era and may have many direct/indirect contributions to make to society. However, its location will definitely affect negatively not only the natural but also the built environment, and this may cause serious problems in the long term.

Chapter Twelve

Conclusion

12.1 Introduction

This thesis looked for the impacts of globalisation on local politics and the implications for restructuring, as well as for planning decisions. In doing this, the KU case was used as an illustration of how decision-makers position themselves in the local political sphere and how they negotiate with each other. This would not only provide empirical findings on the restructuring of local politics but also present the possible relations of global and local. By this token, it was intended to present the possibilities that are arguably contained in the local political sphere with respect to its restructuring. Those possibilities could only be shown by putting the local into the centre of the analysis and allowing the global-local interplay. Moreover, the KU case provided evidence of the challenges of the global in planning decisions at the local level. These challenges became clear when they were analysed with respect to the local political restructuring. In this regard, the case study also provided inputs for the planning de-regulation and re-regulation process.

Conclusions are drawn from the findings of the three sections of this study. Indeed, this chapter is a statement of all those findings. In this regard, it will be more fruitful to read the section conclusions, in which specific findings of the sections are presented, first and read this conclusion chapter afterwards.

This chapter will first answer the research questions with respect to the findings and limitations of this study. Despite the interrelatedness of answers, each will be presented separately. After answering the questions, the methodology of the thesis will be summarised to remind the reader what the study has achieved. The conclusion, and this thesis, will end with a section on the issues proposed for further research.

Before starting to develop explanations on each question, it is necessary to recall what the questions were:

How does local politics restructure itself under the impacts of globalisation? Can we therefore talk about interplay between the global and the local and if so, how does this

interplay manifest itself in the political sphere? Furthermore, how does planning reformulate itself within this process of political restructuring?

12.2 Restructuring local politics

It has been demonstrated in this thesis that KU represents the globalisation and commodification of HE. Moreover, it is a product of the TINA syndrome - presented in Chapter Two – which, it was argued, has affected local decision-making processes dramatically. In this context, the KU case showed that the restructuring of local politics is most obvious in the coalition patterns of the various actors. A globalist coalition, an opposition to this coalition and finally a local government, which is sensitive to both coalitions, were found to be the actors in contention in this local political sphere.

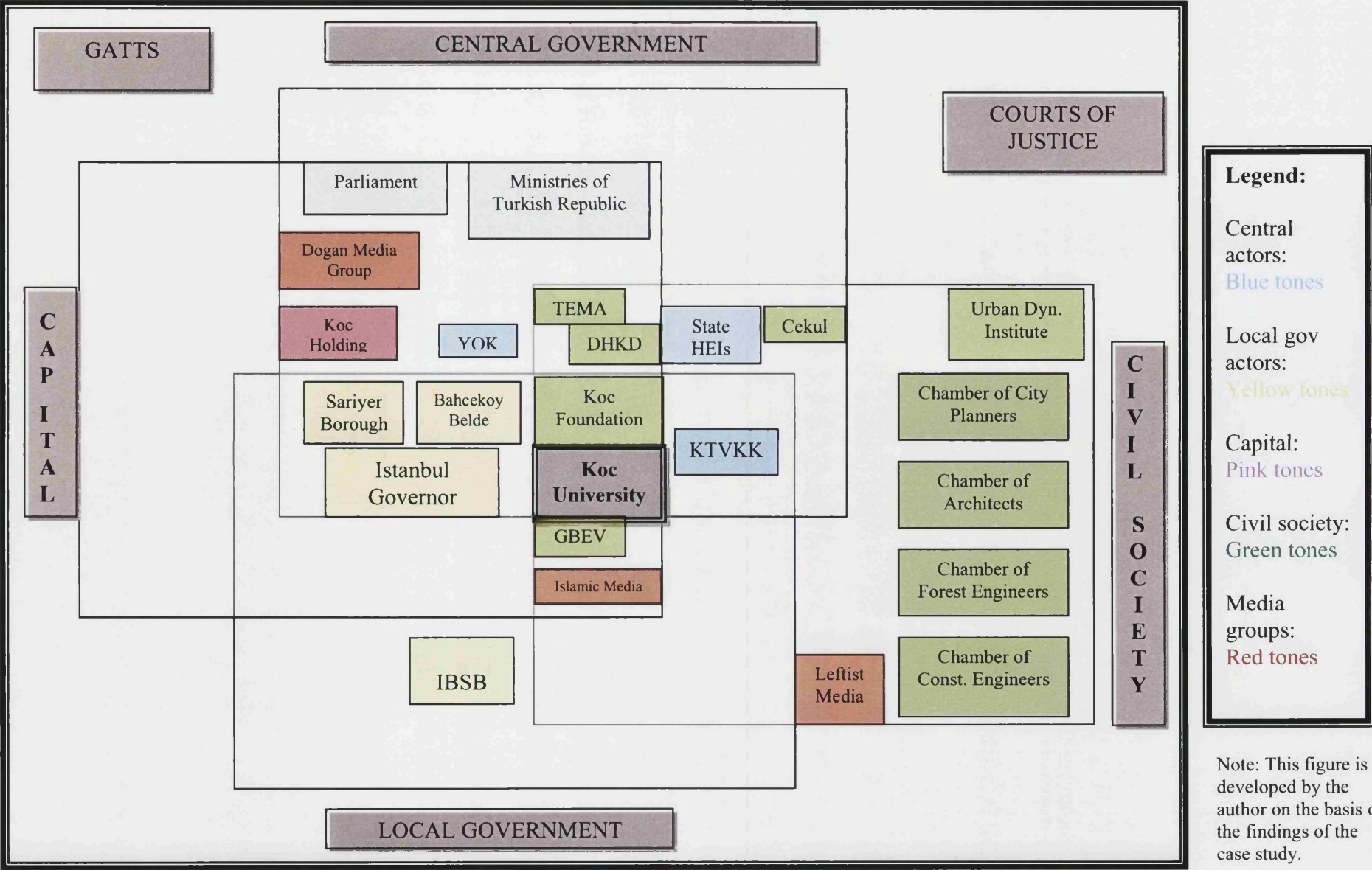
In the KU case, the globalist coalition consisted mainly of an MNC and a number of successive central governments from different political parties, which came to power between 1991 and 2003. This coalition was strongly supported by some media groups and elites. Moreover, the formulation of an international agreement, GATS, on the privatisation of HE was discernable in the decisions of this coalition. In this context, the findings on the KU case in Section Three supported the theoretical findings in Section One about the central and international pressures on the local political sphere – narrowness of local politics - as well as the findings in Section Two on HE restructuring in LDCs. Both of these findings pointed to a globalist coalition of international organisations, central governments and capital. The KU case added the supporting actors of this coalition, certain media groups and elites, and presented local governments as conjectural partners of the coalition.

An abstract formulation of how the coalition works can be developed in accordance with both theoretical and empirical findings. Accordingly, international organisations formulate the processes, capital furthers them via MNCs and central governments prepare the best environment for these processes to proceed. Due to their interest, local governments may be assisting central governments in this preparation. In facilitating these processes, governments actively and efficiently use elites and media groups with which they have strong relationships, as well as capital. This is actually how the TINA syndrome with respect to decision-making, explained in detail in the first section of this thesis, feeds on political soil.

The discourse of the globalist coalition was based on national development, with the use of terms such as globalisation, information society and the importance of HE for integrating with the global economy. In their discourse, the globalist coalition seemed to understand the logic of the information cycle presented in Section Two. The process exemplified by KU illustrated the interventions of LDCs in promoting the private sector for individual projects. Although this type of intervention was presented in the literature as insufficient, it was still politically accepted. However, the coalition had other implications. First of all, the exclusion of local actors from the decision-making process and the removal of the IBSB planning authorities were obvious challenges to the local political sphere, which had prohibited development in northern Istanbul - the proposed location of KU. By so doing, the globalist coalition bulldozed all planning practices and principles including comprehensiveness and locally defined futures, as shown in Chapter Nine. Moreover, during the process, legislation followed the developments, producing negative examples, which then had negative implications for the built environment of Istanbul. Exploiting and/or making legislation in their own interest was not difficult for the globalist coalition, since the legislative body was one of its members. The insistence of the globalist coalition on the exclusion of local actors and its decisive commitment to the specific land were apparent during the process. Among the findings of Section Three was that this could only be explained by the possibility of land speculation. There were other contributing factors, such as competition with Bosphorous University. However, these were not indispensable. Land speculation was indeed the missing component in the discourse of the globalist coalition and was determined to be the most important factor accounting for the difference between discourse and intention (see Figure S3C2).

On the other hand, local governments have become the wavering actors of the local political sphere. They are more sensitive to local populist demands, as they are closer to the people than the central governments. However, they are not indifferent to globalist pressures, since they cannot ignore the opportunities of globalisation processes, whether or not rooted in their own localities. In this respect, IBSB has followed a realistic path in terms of policy making in the last three periods, when the Islamic parties have been in power, as shown in Chapter Four. While applying globalist prescriptions to Istanbul, they have not forgotten their localities and citizens. This realistic attitude not only

Figure 12.1 Concentration of actors at political spaces for the KU case



brought them three successive local election victories, but also provided them with room for manoeuvre with respect to their immediate interests. The KU case has been an excellent illustration of this. Chapters Nine and Ten showed that despite their comprehensive plans to become global, they opposed the construction of KU because their planning authorities, and thus their relevant interests, were excluded by the globalist coalition. Their attitude shift towards the end of the process was also evidence of how political interests were able to determine their behaviour.

In the KU case, opposition to the globalist coalition was mainly raised by organised civil society. In fact, there was a strong and well-equipped group of actors, as presented in Chapter Ten. However, their struggle could not be influential mostly because of the lack of coordination, in addition to the decisiveness of the globalist coalition. In their story, there were similarities with the literature, as well as departures from it. Professional chambers were the leading opposition actors, together, on account of its temporary interests, with the local government. Some NGOs had also supported the opposition, but they were not many and influential as the literature led us to expect. A few media groups were also on the opposition side.

The opposition coalition consisted mainly of two groups of actors, which differed from each other with respect to their motivations. The first group was mainly the professional chambers that were driven by motivations such as protecting the “public interest” and “principles of planning”. Their discourse was also based on these issues. They were consistent during the whole process and, since they include experts, reliable. However, they illustrated a miscomprehension of globalisation as a singular capitalist project, as highlighted in Chapter Two, and sometimes opposed the process just because it was global. Lack of cooperation was most apparent between those chambers that have long struggled between themselves for their professional areas. Moreover, individual motivations to show off and to become better known and therefore more powerful with respect to the “others” in their area and in the coalition also affected the opposition negatively. On the other hand, the second group of actors were on the opposition side because of their immediate interests. They were led by IBSB, which at times presented inconsistencies. In this group were also those Islamic media groups that were in the opposition in order to support the Islamic local government of Istanbul. One of the most influential NGOs in the KU process, YKCG, was

also connected ideologically to the Islamic local government, and both media groups and YKCG left the opposition side at the same time as IBSB. In this respect, IBSB's economic and political interests determined the behaviour of some opposing actors, as described in Chapter Ten.

An important departure from the literature was apparent with the NGOs. In the literature, as described in Chapter Four, they were presented as the rising political actors of the global era. However, as shown in Chapter Ten, in the KU case they were neither influential nor consistent and reliable. Some of the environmentalist NGOs did not even oppose the KU development. Their indifference had two main reasons. First, two of the most influential environmentalist NGOs in Turkey have long been funded by KH, which was the investor in KU. Opposing the KU development would have meant an end to those funds and so those two NGOs could not side with the opposition. The second reason was ideological. The Islamic local government had conflicts with the secular majority in its initial years (1994 onwards) and the KU struggle took place during the same period. DMG consciously publicised the KU development as a part of the struggle between Islam and secularism, since IBSB was involved. According to some writers from the DMG, opposing the KU development would have meant supporting the Islamic local government of Istanbul and would thus have shown them at taking a pro-Islam position in the Islam-secularism debate. This abstract and incorrect logic forced some NGOs, such as CEKUL, which were expected to take their place in the opposition, to avoid the struggle and stay neutral. This is a good illustration of how globalisation is influenced by local politics.

Last but not least, the lack of a temporary umbrella organisation able to facilitate many things for the opposition actors, as well as publicising and intensifying the opposition, was missing. By publicising the issue more via such an organisation, public awareness and consciousness could have been developed and the opposition could have been more influential.

The environmentalist movement should also be evaluated here, since it has become common, particularly in Western democracies, to see it as adding one more category to traditional political distinctions. Castells [1994] argued that environmentalism is one of the two central social movements of the information society. According to him, it was "at the

origin of the ecological consciousness that has substantially affected urban policies and politics” [1994: 24]. It represented a new type of developmentalism, placing environmental consciousness at its centre. Accepting this ideal formulation of Castells, Chapter Ten demonstrated that in the Turkish context the environmental movement is still oriented by either ideology or capital. Thus, it is not yet able to establish its own separate political movement. Furthermore, environmentalism has become one of the most confusing issues for the other ideologies. It often causes contradictions in policy making, as was apparent in the wavering attitude of IBSB presented in Chapter Nine.

Lack of an environmentalist party in a country makes the involvement of NGOs and other civil organisations in the decision-making processes more important. Particularly in the global era, when coalitions of capital and central governments in support of various investments that have the potential to harm the environment are intensified, this becomes a requirement. However, it should be noted here that by emphasising their importance in the decision-making processes in the global era, this thesis neither intends to replace the existing political systems with “NGO-driven societies” nor attempts to put NGOs in place of any other political actor. As presented in Chapter Ten, NGOs are still dependent on their sponsors. Moreover, they usually represent a political view, whether or not this is included in their discourse. For NGOs, making coalitions with political organisations representing an opposite political view becomes an issue of exploitation by third parties, as was the case with the IBSB in Chapter Ten.

Moreover, it was determined in Chapter Ten that there are power struggles between organised civil society, including NGOs, and professional chambers. These struggles make a coalition of these groups almost impossible. Even when they form a coalition, it appears to be short-term and temporary, as their interests, sponsoring bodies and executive committees change over time.

Consequently, this thesis argues that civil society has become an important actor in the decision-making processes in the global era. However, it should not be relied on as a guarantor of democracy and justice. Rather, it should be accepted as enrichment of the political system, and most importantly of the local political sphere.

Summing up the findings with respect to the local political sphere and its actors, this thesis found that as the sphere of local politics is narrowed by the pressures of central and international actors, local politics becomes more globalised if globalisation is not politicised. In other words, local politics is under immense pressures from international and central actors, arising from the globalisation processes. This process results in the globalisation of local politics, at least with regard to the discourses used in the local political sphere. This, in turn, takes the local ideological structure, which is embedded in a specific spatio-temporality, to higher levels and introduces it to those global actors. In this context, actors and coalitions of actors come to the fore. Globalisation as a term developed partially by ideologies, then, creates contradictions between these actors and/or coalitions in the local political sphere. These actors/coalitions and the contradictions between them present similarities to those in the history of capitalism. However, the globalist coalition seems to be stronger than ever, as it can now convince people by using the politically accepted discourses more efficiently than ever. In this sense, the contemporary form of globalisation equipped the globalist coalitions with powerful discourses that were influential on the public and with the mechanisms to publicise these efficiently. In publicising their discourses, the revolutions in communication and transportation were exploited by this coalition more than by the other actors in the local political sphere and this created an advantage for them. These facilities also contributed to the cooperation between the actors in the globalist coalition. On the other hand, media became an important actor in the globalist coalition, publicising their “politically accepted” discourse and convincing the ordinary citizens, while NGOs appeared as the newest and most inexperienced actor in restructuring local politics, which could easily be convinced and kept under control via economic and political incentives. Still, their contribution to the local political sphere is difficult to ignore. In this respect, we can talk about a restructuring of local politics in terms of its actors rather than its motivations. The motivations of the actors, however, are found to be similar to those in the history of capitalism, which are usually economic and political interests.

Although definitions and explanations depend heavily on economic theory, the debate not only about the information society, as Castells [1998: 1] argued, but also about globalisation “is most often framed ideologically and cast in simplistic terms” as presented

in detail in Section One of this thesis. Castells briefly combined the economic and political arguments, for example that disagreements on policy issues are caused by “conflicting interests, values and priorities”, as found in the KU case, as well as the “lack of a common understanding of the processes of transformation under way, of their origins and their implications” [Castells, 1998: 1]. Although he was pointing to another TINA syndrome with this statement, this thesis argues that these policy issues can be resolved with a comprehension of globalisation as plural and within the contention of global and local. The best comprehension of globalisation for a specific spatio-temporality can only be determined by the people concerned.

12.3 The global-local interplay: Globalisation of local politics and politicisation of the global

An earlier finding of Castells and Hall [1994: 193] about the creation of a techno-city supported the above argument by applying it to the built environment, as follows: “Political and business interests are battling for the control of a major project that tries to reshape the technological landscape of the city in which it is located and, with it, the city’s future”. In this context, and as shown in Chapter Ten, the development of the urban landscape has strengthened its place as one of the battlefields of local politics in the global era. This field is unstable and varying interests determine the preferences of each group involved in the battle. Thus, the city is composed of many battlefields, each time with different warriors with varying interests. In this respect, the global-local interplay between these ideologically framed simple formulations of globalisation and conflicting interests, values and priorities of localities, is obvious.

Its strong relationship with the term globalisation and privatisation (commodification of HE – see Chapter Five and Six) added to the ideological fix of the KU debate. Urry [1998: 2] explained one of the five forms of globalisation as *ideology*, such as “those with economic interests in promoting capitalism throughout the world argue that globalisation is inevitable...” and convince central governments not to intervene in opposition to developments. Thus, new battlefields of the globalisation processes in the city increase the tension between disadvantaged and advantaged groups, similar to that in the history of capitalism, and thus strengthen the interplay, if not contention, of global and local. On the

other hand, although globalist and opposition coalitions appear in each case, positions are not fixed, particularly in the opposition coalition, since threats and opportunities may vary for each group at different times. This, indeed, again represents the global-local interplay since these threats and opportunities contain influences of both global and local. In other words, and building on the restructuring of local politics, this thesis found that the contemporary form of globalisation creates its globalist coalitions and its opposing populist/localist coalitions, each made up of actors with varying positions in these coalitions with respect to their own economic and/or political interests, due to changes within the global-local interplay. In this respect, the global-local interplay is apparent at least in the interest struggles in the local political sphere, as presented clearly throughout Section Three.

Urry [1998] continued by describing another form, the *basis of political mobilisation*, such that “characterising an issue as ‘global’ makes it likely that a wider range of individuals and organisations will mobilise for or against the phenomenon in question”. In a general reading, evidence shows that this global-local opposition has created in Turkey a duality between the political centre – democratic liberals, social democrats and conservatives - and all others – nationalists, Islamists, socialists, communists, environmentalists etc. In fact, this duality is between the governing and opposition political parties. Whenever one of these “radical” political parties gets the chance to govern, they shift their opposing attitude towards the political centre, as in the cases of the nationalist MHP and the Islamist RP in Turkey, as was explained in Chapter Four. This gathering of political parties under only two general groups and shifting towards the centre of politics when in government theoretically feed the idea of end of ideologies and the TINA syndrome. It is a common argument that economic globalisation discourse has been sceptical of ideologies, positing a blurring of distinctions between ideologies and that there were no real alternatives to globalisation [Fukuyama, 1989; Giddens 1994; 1997], as detailed in Chapter Two. However, although this attitude can also be observed in some cases in local governments, organised civil society appears as the relatively reliable and consistent actor in local politics in the KU case. Despite their insufficiencies and their dependencies on some to the globalist coalition, they generally appeared as the actors having the capacity to foster the comprehension of globalisation as plural within the global-local interplay, at least by

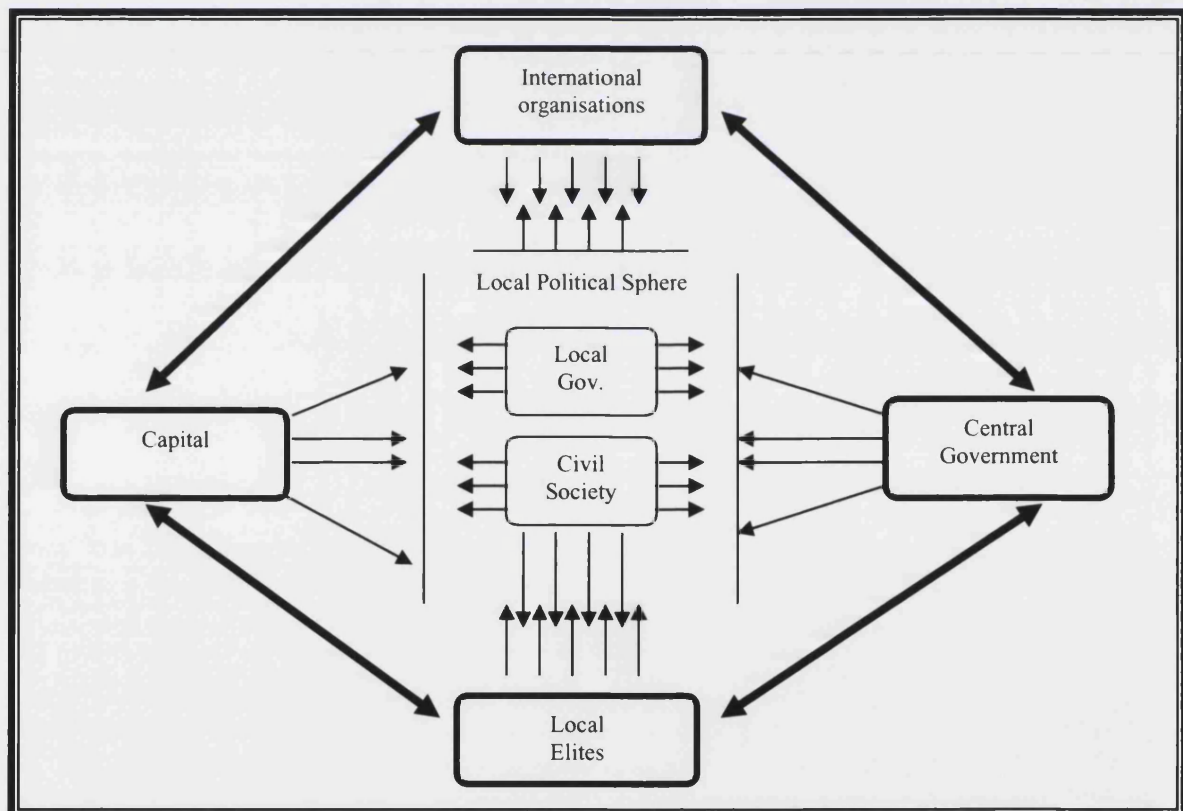
protecting the local interest with respect to public interest and planning. In this context, the KU case showed much evidence of this comprehension. However, there was little chance to apply it in the local political sphere because of either ideological fixes of the opposition bodies or the insistence of the globalist coalition. Therefore, we can argue that an organised civil society that has developed its organisational capacity and increased its independence can contribute strongly to the plurality argument. Thus, civil society has the potential to become the local political actor that will take its place in the centre of the global-local interplay, producing alternatives in local politics by placing the “local” in the centre of this interplay.

As shown in Chapter Two, ideological opposition to globalisation in the LDCs is generally rooted in its present stage, as a neo-liberal economic project increasing inequalities and destroying environment, traditions and cultures. However, even in such a contradictory environment, ordinary citizens can usually be convinced by the politically accepted discourse of the globalist coalition, as presented in the KU case. With this attitude on the part of the ordinary citizens, the opposition’s lack of a proposal of any real alternative that fits into the global era is important. This lack of alternatives in the local political sphere is rooted in the traditional discourses of the opposition bodies, which prevent them from using the opportunities of globalisation derived from either their locality or from elsewhere. In this respect, ideology acts in the local political sphere to prevent the generation of alternatives within globalisation while presenting alternatives to globalisation.

The tendency of the traditional Left – represented by some of the Professional Chambers - was to oppose whatever was global in the KU case. This opposition sometimes even presented contradictions with their ideologies, because of the multiple meanings that globalisation can contain with respect to environment, culture, politics, as well as economics. For example, socialism and Islam have always aimed to become universal. However, they cannot avoid opposing globalisation in its dominant version. These contradictions create a confusing picture, such that globalisation can sometimes be interpreted as supportive of politics, which oppose it. Ideology, then, becomes dependent on the version of globalisation and its discourse that is used with respect to globalisation, even if globalisation itself is not dependent on ideology.

In this context, the spatio-temporal form of globalisation is shaped within a space of ideological and interest struggles and negotiations by political and economic actors, most of which are representations of the global-local interplay. Thus, in order to facilitate this interplay, “local” should be taken as a reference to describing and analysing the processes of globalisation in opposition to the “global”, as the KU case demonstrated. This comprehension may not only pluralize the possible forms of globalisation by creating alternatives, but may also help some opposing ideologies, which imprison those possibilities by insisting on a TINA syndrome, to change their comprehension of globalisation and revise their discourses. This will also decrease the pressures of central and international actors on the local political sphere. This ideal type of local political sphere is formulated in the figure below (See S1C3 for the contemporary form).

Figure 12.2 Local political sphere within the global-local interplay



Note: This figure is developed by the author on the basis of the theoretical discussions and findings of the case study.

Section Three contributed further to this discussion by presenting the confusion arising from the multiple uses of the globalisation discourses of different ideologies. It not only demonstrated the discursive use of globalisation by different ideologies and/or actors, but also the multiple discourses used consciously by one ideology and/or actor. By this token, it also contributed to the explanation of new coalition forms. According to this, under certain circumstances a group of actions or needs is not fixed on a constant discourse and its demands may change/vary according to its fluctuating interests. Thus, coalitions of actors – of the same and different ideologies - are expected to be temporary, just like most global flows. This statement itself contains the global-local interplay because these interests vary and change in time within this interplay.

The KU case showed that local politics is globalised to such an extent that local actors' space has been narrowed by the globalist coalition and they are removed from the decision-making processes. This brought about the ignorance/negligence of local peculiarities that supports the theoretical findings of Chapter Three and Four. The location decision on KU was made without considering the locality at all. Since the non-locally-determined location was not appropriate for the locally determined city development targets, it presented a contradiction with the locality. As shown in Section Three, this contradiction created a contention in the local sphere, which caused interplay between global and local. However, this interplay could not produce alternatives because the globalist coalition was very strong and insisted on the location. Nonetheless, the inexperienced opposition made up of organised civil society should have learned many lessons from the process, including the attitude shift of some of its actors towards the end of the process after the global-local interplay. The establishment of an umbrella organisation immediately after the declaration of the Haydarpasa Project by the central government is a positive sign of moves towards a more cooperative and learning civil society.

In this context, while the space and discourse of globalisation become politicised, local politics is globalised - at least discursively - and space is – partially - reconstructed by that global discourse as a reflection of local politics. This confusing interrelation arising from the global-local interplay may also shed light on the time-space debate. Time and space interrelate in such a way that separating one from the other is very difficult. While forms of globalisation and multiple discourses on these forms create a more globalised local politics,

globalisation in its general sense becomes more politicised due to the spatio-temporality in which it is active. This reproduces another spatio-temporal globalisation and in turn brings the reconstruction of space. Thus, we experience the location of the global and the dislocation of the local at the same spatio-temporality within a mutual interaction. The KU case demonstrated this, with its construction in the built environment and contention in the local political space. The campus buildings can be attributed to the location of the global in a locality, while the contention points to the dislocation of the local, if not to globalisation, since the actors and the discourse of the globalist coalition were non-local, if not global.

In this context, the contradictions between the accumulation regime and the social regulation mode can only be resolved through an ideal form of local politics established on the basis of the global-local interplay. This represents a balance between globalist and populist policies and, in reaching this balance, organised civil society will be influential. In this regard, the local political sphere causes each and every non-local group to interact with the efficient use of local elites by developing intense relationships with them, as formulated in Figure 12.2. By this token, local actors will have the power to influence whatever is represented as global.

12.4 Reformulating planning

The physical outcomes of this process are the manifestos of both globalised local politics and localised discourses of various globalisation processes. More importantly, the built environment is indeed the scoreboard of power games played at a specific locality at a certain moment of globalisation, with a usually disturbingly free use of discourse. They reflect only the end result of the game, as long-term monuments in the space, which are difficult to demolish and reconstruct not because of their symbolic meaning but because of their investment value. These developments are disturbing most of the time because there is no consensus such as the one in modernity. They are very abstract because they hide the possibly very contradictory processes of decision-making, together with their underlying conditions. However, they are so representative that they increasingly determine the way people live and furthermore provide judicial examples for future similar developments. In other words, they appear on the built environments as concrete, huge physical structural adjustments of the contemporary form of globalisation – described in Chapter Three and

Four - without showing all those political struggles and the factors contributing to those struggles which lie behind them – described in Section Three. Consequently, they declare the dominance of the victorious globalisation form over space, even if this has not yet become hegemony.

If decision-making processes are to internalise these struggles in the political sphere and reflect them via the built environment, a long-term comprehensive and participatory planning appears a necessity. These struggles are necessary contentions in the political sphere in order to determine the direction of globalisation. Thus, they should not be avoided. On the contrary, they should be promoted in processes of preparing plans, in order to cover all possible alternatives and conclude with a consensus plan.

However, globalisation brought short-term decisions, temporariness and the coalition of capital and state, which are not in harmony with the aforementioned planning approach. As presented in the declarations of IBSB and the professional chambers in the case study section, the plurality of individual projects, together with their uncertainty, makes long-term planning almost impossible. The decisive and irregular approach of the globalist coalition contributes to the difficulty. Consequently, the turbulent and very mobile environment of the contemporary form of globalisation often results in ignorance in planning, which then causes deregulations in the planning legislation. In this context, planning started to follow the developments rather than directing them, as presented in the KU case. Numerous amendments render comprehensive plans inefficient and cities fragmented. In this regard, there are two major challenges facing traditional planning: time and plurality.

As time is now defined by the globalist coalition in terms of money, investments cannot wait for traditional long-term plans. It is necessary to make the periods for the necessary revisions to plans more flexible. However, at the same time, these revisions should not divert the plans from their targets. Therefore targets should be determined as flexible and reflexive to possible changes arising in time from either challenges to or consensus decisions in the local political sphere.

On the other hand, plurality is important in both being comprehensive and making consensus decisions. First, all actors in the local political sphere should be included in the

planning processes via participation methods yet to be developed. In this respect, KU is an illustration of what should not be done in planning, as the globalist coalition intended to remove all local actors from the process as long as either legislation required this or the globalist coalition needed it. Second, the plurality presented by globalisation should be considered at all stages of planning as one of the primary inputs. In this regard, populism and globalism should go hand in hand, if it is intended to facilitate a society able to live and benefit from the opportunities of globalisation; this can only be realised through an inclusive approach.

On the other hand, deregulation in planning legislation is usually followed by re-regulation, in order to overcome the difficulties enforced by the existing legislation. The KU case presented numerous attempts at both de-regulation and re-regulation, as shown in Chapters Nine and Eleven. In this regard, a more comprehensive approach should be absorbed in order to renew the current legislation, which is coherent neither with globalisation nor with the people living in those localities subject to globalisation.

As shown in Chapter Eleven, although the Courts of Justice appeared as a guarantor for planning principles and public interest, they were late in making the demolition decision, since KU had become *de facto*. Moreover, the interpretations of public interest changed at different levels of the judiciary, which presents us with the need for a comprehensive debate on public interest. Planning should be so formulated as to put its preferences strictly on people and the public interest, in order to avoid any misinterpretations.

Last but not least, a plan cannot remain as a written and/or drawn “thing” in an era of processes and flows. Planning should be re-thought in order to become a process containing all the processes and flows of globalisation. However, a strategic planning approach cannot be proposed either, since this is often attributed to the globalist coalitions and their interests rather than the people. It cannot be proposed because the contradictions between the accumulation regime and the social regulation mode have intensified. A re-humanised approach, arising from the base is necessary, if planning is to serve locals first and to direct processes and flows in the service of those locals.

After answering the main questions of this study, we can conclude with a statement of contribution to the globalisation literature. The contemporary form of globalisation has increased the pressures on the local political sphere and narrowed the space for alternatives. Although the process presents similarities with the history of capitalism, with respect to economic and political struggles, there is an intensification of relations between the actors, to which temporariness, speed and the new accumulation regime all contribute. This context demands a restructuring of local politics in order to resolve social, economic and environmental contradictions in localities, which are increased by globalisation processes. If this restructuring is to serve the people living in those localities, it should allow the global-local interplay and accept “local” as the reference for comprehending globalisation. This comprehension will contribute to creating alternatives in local politics and planning decisions with respect to globalisation.

12.5 Methodology

This section will present the general methodology of this thesis in order to summarise what had been done and how. It will be a reminder of the sections and chapters of the thesis, together with their interrelations.

This thesis found that globalisation studies are difficult to carry out because globalisation is not only a very general and ambitious term, but also vague. In this regard, an interdisciplinary effort is required in order to carry out a globalisation study and it is then difficult to determine at the end discipline-specific findings. On the other hand, the literature presented in Chapter Two shows that globalisation has become an intellectual toy with very suspect generalisations, many repetitions and abstract conclusions. This constitutes crowdedness rather than richness in the literature. One can easily fall into the trap of making no progress by reading all those repetitive formulations and abstract conclusions on globalisation. It is difficult to find the relevant pieces for a specific study. This means wasting time in an unnecessarily crowded world of words. Last but not least, are the fallacies of quantitative research with their tendency to homogenise the world via variables for globalisation rankings, FDI flows and such like. They present an acceptance of the dominance of global over local in the very first instance, and by doing so they imprison new ideas that may arise from and centralise the local.

Given these findings in the literature, this thesis proposed a methodology for globalisation studies, at least on spatial issues, which had to be tested out, and this is the contribution of this thesis to the methodology of globalisation studies. In accordance with this, a general reading is inevitable in order both to understand what globalisation means in general and to see the common fallacies of globalisation studies. This reading should be an interdisciplinary one, in order to open new perspectives other than those of one's own specific discipline. This probably brings about confusion in terms of what it is necessary/relevant to study, since the term globalisation touches on everything in our lifeworlds. Then, it is time to return to one's own discipline area and start discovering ways to find the implications. Deconstruction in the relevant disciplinary area helps a great deal in finding the research questions and in focusing down. Among many elements of the deconstruction, it is then easier to determine the areas of interest and start thinking how to carry out research on these. It is important to note here that, for the research, the selected element of deconstruction has no individual meaning. In other words, the selection should be made on the basis of usefulness in explaining the research questions, rather than in creating an interesting case with its own questions. At this stage, a general analysis of the selected element(s), together with a satisfactory explanation of its relation to globalisation, is necessary in order to design the research. A detailed case study or fieldwork should follow, in order to ground the arguments. It is then a matter of relating all findings to the general globalisation arguments.

In this context, this thesis started with a general reading of globalisation and presented its comprehension in the first section. Deconstruction was used to present this comprehension as well as to set the path for the following stages. The first stage was designed to present the selected element of deconstruction, which was the decision-making process on physical structural adjustments in cities. In the second section, this selection was fed by the selected case of KU and HE and its relation to globalisation, which have become elements of the thesis. This section covered these in addition to the relevant theoretical explanations for the decision-making process, such as the location of HEIs, governmental interventions in the HE system and the impacts of HEIs on their localities. Finally, in the third section, the KU decision-making process was analysed within a very detailed case study. The findings of this section were also used later in revising the first section of the thesis.

This approach requires more time because it covers two independent literatures on globalisation and the element(s) of deconstruction, and requires the revision of the first stage after the final stage is completed. However, it is more reliable, in the sense that it avoids the generalisations, repetitions, vagueness and abstract conclusions that are common in the globalisation literature.

On the other hand, after a long study, it is always difficult to write a conclusion by combining all the findings in order to present a satisfactory explanation of the research questions. Apart from creating forced relationships, the transformation of weak findings into strong arguments is a common fallacy of conclusions attempting to be more influential on the reader. However, in an age of temporalities and uncertainties, no social research can claim to be permanent and definite. Thus, it is more reasonable to write a conclusion on the basis of the specific findings, acknowledging the limits of the study, but with an approach which opens new perspectives for future thinking and studies. In this regard, the research questions could best be answered by an approach providing flexible thinking and discussion. This would not be a weakness of the study because each chapter ends with its conclusion and each section, constituted of chapters, has its conclusion as well as its introduction. In these conclusions, all findings of the relevant chapter/section are presented as clearly and definitely as possible. If this chapter could knit these findings together in order to create a comprehensive explanation of the research questions, rather than repeating the specific findings of chapters and sections, it would have realised its intention.

12.6 Future studies

This thesis performed its task within its limitations. However, there are areas that can be addressed by future studies.

First and most importantly, this thesis argued that there might be many forms of globalisation, constituted by both combinations of its elements and the contentions of political actors. However, in making such a study, there is a restriction stemming from most of the existing studies that limits the alternatives for the future. In this regard, utopian and distopian studies become more than necessary in order to open our perspectives in thinking about globalisation.

Secondly, a series of studies can be carried on to find out more about the ingredients, driving forces, motivations and actors of globalisation. This was what this thesis tried to do for deconstruction purposes. A comprehensive study of these will assist future studies following a similar methodology.

Moreover, it appears necessary to execute repetitions of this study on the other elements of deconstruction in order to generalise both the findings of this study and the methodology proposed. By this token, general and concrete arguments on globalisation can be suggested as a further step in the discussions arising from the specific findings of this study.

It is also the belief of the author of this thesis, in concluding, that the most relevant literature on globalisation is that on time-space. Relating the findings of this thesis to the philosophical debate on time-space will be fruitful in enriching the theory. Moreover, a detailed literature review on time-space can only contribute to such studies.

On the other hand, a detailed analysis of the TINA syndrome with respect to the disappearance of ideologies and to alternatives in the behaviour of political parties seems an interesting study to execute. The findings of such a study would contribute significantly to those of this thesis.

Last but not least, the discourses of the actors have been emphasised throughout the study because globalisation was used more as a discursive term than as a reality. In this regard, it will be relevant to carry out and add to the findings of this thesis a discourse analysis based on the actors.

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Official and Non-Official Documents

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Chamber of Architects press statement as a response to the Expert Report - 13/01/97

Chamber of Architects objection petition to Council of State - 03/03/97

Chamber of Architects written lawsuit defense statement - 30/06/97

Chamber of Architects appeal petition - 20/08/97

Chamber of Architects booklet on the location of KU - 1997

Chamber of Architects Newsletter section on KU - 1997

Chamber of City Planners Istanbul Branch Newsletter section on KU - 1997

Council of State refusal decision - 24/02/97

Council of State refusal of lawsuit decision - 21/07/97

Council of State Administrative Courts decision - 12/11/98

Evaluation report on the Sarıyer Municipality borders re-arrangement - Date unknown

Expert report prepared for the Courts of Justice - 1996

IBSB official domestic acknowledgement document (distribution to Chamber of architects) - 25/04/96

IBSB petition to KTVKK - 23/11/93

IBSB petition to KTVKK - 10/10/94

IBSB petition to KTVKK - 05/03/96

Istanbul University Commission Report - 02/07/96

Koc University booklet titled as “Unknown facts on KU” - 1997

Koc University geological research report -1997

Koc University written defense statement in the lawsuit – 1997

KTVKK Decree - 30/09/93

KTVKK Decree - 09/12/93

KTVKK Decree - 15/11/95

KTVKK Decree - 14/12/95

KTVKK Decree - 08/02/96

KTVKK Decree - 07/03/96

KTVKK official statement to IBSB - 05/04/96

Lawsuit file against Maltepe University – Date unknown

Ministry of Forestry official letter to the General Directorate of Forestry - 07/02/98

Ministry of Public Works and Improvement official proposal document for the plan amendment - 25/05/94

Ministry of Public Works and Improvement official letter to IBSB - 10/04/96
Press statement of Green Belt environmentalist Vanguard - 14/06/96
Press statement of Oktay Ekin - 28/05/96
Press statement of Oktay Ekin - 22/07/96
Radikal University Guide - 1997
Sarıyer Municipality official statement to Bahcekoy Municipality for the transfer of land - 1996
Selimpaşa Municipality report on the location of Kadir Has University - Date unknown
Şile University location report - Date unknown
YDH – Partnership meeting notes - 1997
YOK petition to the Council of State - 17/03/97

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

List of Interviews

Below is the list of the interviews executed before and during the case study in 2000. Some of them were conducted before making a decision on the case in order to facilitate the decision. With high level officers and politicians, unstructured interviews were executed in order to catch clues on the general policy making processes with respect to globalisation. Focused interviews were executed with technicians, planners, lawyers and representatives of NGOs and professional chambers.

▪ Istanbul Greater Municipality:

1. Deputy General Secretary
2. President of Projects Department
3. Advisor of the Projects Dept.
4. Investments Planning Deputy Manager
5. Research Director
6. Deputy Director of Budget and Finance Dept.
7. Lawyer in the Law Dept.
8. Planner in the Projects Dept.
9. Planner in the Planning Dept.
10. Planner in the Planning Control Dept.

▪ Borough Municipalities:

1. Mayor of Selimpasa Municipality
2. Planner in Sariyer Municipality
3. Planner in Besiktas Municipality
4. Lawyer in Beyoglu Municipality

▪ NGOs & Professional Chambers:

1. President of the Human Settlements Association

2. Planner in Human Settlements Association
3. President of Chamber of City Planners
4. General Secretary of Chamber of City Planners
5. President of Chamber of Architects
6. Officer of Natural Life Conservation Association
7. Officer of TEMA
8. President of CEKUL

▪ Central Government:

1. Counsellor of Tourism Ministry
2. Planning Director of Tourism Ministry
3. Investment Director of Tourism Ministry
4. Planning Director of Administration of Privatisation
5. Officer in Higher Education Institution

▪ Academics

1. Caglar Keyder: Bosphorous University
2. Erbatur Cavusoglu: Mimar Sinan University
3. Gonul Tankut: METU
4. Anthony Giddens: LSE
5. Paul Cheshire: LSE

APPENDIX B
Actor and Action Table

ACTOR	ACTION	DATE
CENTRAL GOVERNMENT		
Parliament	Makes legislation –Additional Article 18- giving the authority to Treasury and Cabinet to appropriate land to FUs in order to satisfy their needs.	1991
	Changes the boundaries of administrative units in the area together with a few other areas. This change transfers the planning authority to Bahcekoy Belde that is not obliged to take Istanbul Master Plan into consideration.	1997
	Refuses the interpellation proposal of RP against the change of boundaries legislation.	1997
	IBSB, Sariyer Borough and Chamber of Forest Engineers launch lawsuits at the Council of State level against the Parliamentary decision changing the municipal borders	1997
	Council of State cancels the parliamentary decision and detain the execution	1997
	Amends the contents of Official establishments in Article 9 and includes FUs. This opens the way for Ministry of Public Improvements to re-amend the plan after the initial refusals of Courts.	25 July 1997
	Amends the article about land appropriation to FUs in the HE Act. This amendment makes Council of State to approve the developments and declare KU legal.	December 1999
Cabinet	Ministry of Education proposes Cabinet to appropriate land to KU with a positive opinion.	April 1992
	Cabinet decree: Appropriation of land to KU.	26 April 1992
Presidency	Makes informal telephone calls to KTVKK members to make them give construction permission to KU.	Date unknown
	Launches the construction of KU, which was at that time illegal and at Courts of Justice to be decided.	31 May 1996
Prime Ministry	Gives its approval to the 1992 Cabinet Decree.	April 1992
	Professional Chambers and IBSB launch lawsuits against Prime Ministry for the 1992 Cabinet decree.	Date unknown
	Prime Ministry together with Ministry of Forestry demand correction from the Presidency of State Council after her decision to cancel the Cabinet's 1992 decree. Presidency of Council of State refuses these demands.	Summer 1998
Treasury	Gives positive opinion about the Additional Article 18.	1992

Ministry of Forestry	Koc Foundation applies the Ministry of Forestry for the specific land appropriation.	1990
	Gives positive report about the Koc application to Treasury and grants initial permission.	1 October 1990
	Gives positive opinion to Parliament for the Additional Article 18.	1991
	Demands KTVKK to give construction permission.	
	Changes the initial permission to definite permission.	14 March 1995
	Extends the appropriated land in order KU to be able to revise her initial project and in order to unite the planning authority at one administrative body – Bahcekoy Belde.	3 August 1995
	Changes the priceless appropriation to rental after realising that Council of State would decide against in terms of public interest.	Summer 1997
	Together with Prime Ministry, demands correction from the Presidency of State Council after her decision to cancel the appropriation. Presidency of Council of State refuses these demands.	Summer 1998
	Ministry of Forestry decreases the amount of land appropriated from 192 ha to 24.9 ha after strong oppositions and Court decisions.	1999
Ministry of Education	Proposes Cabinet to appropriate land to KU	April 1992
	Demands master plan amendment from IBSB according to KU plan. IBSB refuses.	Date unknown
	KU revises its location plan and applies the Ministry of Education with new plan.	1995
	Demands master plan amendment from IBSB according to the revised KU plan. IBSB refuses.	11 December 1995
Ministry of Culture	Stops the distribution of KTVKK decrees in order not to acknowledge public and relevant agencies about the latest questionable decisions of KTVKK.	7 March 1996
	Dismisses 3 members of KTVKK, who had been opposing to the latest decisions.	April 1996
	Ekinci makes a press statement about his dismissal from KTVKK accusing the Ministry of Culture.	May 1996
Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing	KU requests Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing to use her superior authority to amend the master plan of Istanbul on the basis of Official Building status.	1994
	Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing rejects the amendment proposal of KU	March 1994
	KU re-requests Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing to use her superior authority to amend the master plan of Istanbul on the basis of Official Building status according to revised KU project.	1996
	Asks Council of State opinion about the official status of KU. Council of State gives negative opinion.	6 March 1996
	Despite Council of State's opinion, amends the plan and sends to IBSB for acknowledgement.	9 April 1996
	Approves all plans including KU that were passed from KTVKK.	May 1996
	Withdraws her amendment after realising that Council of State would cancel.	17 January 1997

CENTRAL AGENCIES		
Army	Sacrifices from a huge area, which is an unusual practice for them.	May 1992
Istanbul Regional Directorate of Forestry	Forecasts to tree cutting in the land subject to appropriation.	1991
	Plans the area unprecedently quick and removes it from forest areas.	May 1992
	Decides tree cutting is necessary at an area including KU and applies immediately.	6 December 1995
	Recommends IBSB amendment of her master plan.	7 January 1996
Istanbul Administrative Province Local Environment Committee	Declares that environmental concerns are not relevant. There would be no harm to environment with the construction of KU.	May 1996
	Gives permission to tree cutting in the area.	31 August 1997
KTVKK General Directorate	Pressures on KTVKK No. 3 for the construction permission. KTVKK No. 3 refuses.	1996
	Pressures on KTVKK No.3 to downgrade the conservation degree for KU area. KTVKK No. 3 softens and later downgrades the conservation degree to 3 rd that is allowing construction.	1996
	Approves the Ministry of Culture's dismissals from KTVKK No. 3.	April 1996
KTVKK No. 3	Refuses the demands of the Ministry of Forestry and KU for construction permission.	30 Sept 1993
	Presents a decree against KU location.	9 Dec 1993
	IBSB asks KTVKK cooperation.	1993
	Refuses the never-ending demands of central agencies and KU with a definite decree.	1994
	Declares the area together with some others as Natural Site with conservation degrees of 1 st and 2 nd . There is no exception to construction.	15 November 1995
	Refuses the increasing demands of central agencies, local governments and KU to downgrade the conservation degree to 3 rd , which allows limited construction.	8 February 1996
	Softens and asks opinion from IBSB and Ministry of Public Improvements to downgrade the conservation degree. IBSB replies with negative, Ministry with positive opinion.	February 1996
	Downgrades the conservation degree to 3 rd at KU land only.	7 March 1996
	Ministry of Culture stops the distribution of KTVKK decrees.	7 March 1996
	IBSB receives the downgrade decision of KTVKK.	15 April 1996
	Ministry of Culture dismisses 3 members of KTVKK.	April 1996
	Approves the master plan amendment of Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing.	8 May 1996
	Approves 1/500, 1/1000 and 1/5000 plans of KU.	8 May 1996
	Accepts 1/500 location plan of KU as conservation purposeful master plan of the area.	8 May 1996

LOCAL GOVERNMENT		
Istanbul Greater Municipality	Rejects the initial demands of KU and central agencies for master plan amendment.	September 1993
	Asks KTVKK cooperation.	1993
	Declares the new master plan of Istanbul, which does not include KU.	24 March 1994
	Rejects KU objection to master plan.	Summer 1994
	Rejects Sariyer Borough's construction plan for KU and its area.	Summer 1995
	Declares the new master plan of Istanbul, which does not include KU.	20 October 1995
	Rejects the Ministry of Education's plan amendment demand together with KU's objection to the new master plan according to her revised location plan.	December 1995
	Ignores Regional Directorate of Forestry's plan amendment recommendation.	January 1996
	Gives negative opinion to KTVKK's opinion demand on downgrading the conservation degree for KU.	5 March 1996
	Opposes the Natural Site declaration of KTVKK, which would be restrictive for her planning authorities in the area.	March 1996
	Receives the downgrade declaration of KTVKK after 40 days of publication.	15 April 1996
	Cooperation with KTVKK comes to an end.	April 1996
	Launches a lawsuit against the Ministry of Public Improvements amendment plan.	Autumn 1996
	Launches a lawsuit against the boundary change decisions of Parliament.	1997
	Starts propaganda against KU and central agencies in her publications and Islamic media groups.	1997
	Rumours on her agreement with KU on unknown grounds.	1999
Sariyer Borough	Declares that there is no sign of life in the proposed area. Thus, environmental concerns would not be relevant.	1994
	Approves the 1/1000 construction plan for KU that would later be rejected by IBSB.	1995
	Grants wall construction licence to KU.	31 July 1995
	Launches a lawsuit against the Natural Site declaration of KTVKK with the concern of losing planning authority.	1996
	Court of Appeal cancels the wall construction licence.	21 July 1997
	Launches a lawsuit against the boundary change decisions of Parliament with the concern of losing her planning authorities to Bahcekoy Belde.	1997
Bahcekoy Belde Municipality	Launches a lawsuit against the Natural Site declaration of KTVKK with the concern of losing planning authority.	1996
	Parliament changes the boundaries of her in order her to get the planning authority of KU and several other developments that IBSB had been opposing for long. By this token, IBSB would be bypassed.	1997

PRIVATE SECTOR		
Koc Holding	Decides and supports the establishment of KU at all its stages.	1989-2002
	Buys the mining rights in the KU area under the name of Demir Export Company.	26 July 1993
Koc Foundation	Is the responsible foundation for KU. supports financially.	Date unknown
	Applies for the specific land to the Ministry of Forestry to construct a campus for KU, which is not yet established.	1990
	Declares the establishment of KU.	5 March 1992
Koc University	Establishment.	5 March 1992
	Applies for construction permission to KTVKK and amendment plan to IBSB. Is rejected by both.	1993
	Applies the Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing for an amendment on Istanbul master plan on the grounds of Official Building status. Is rejected by the Ministry.	1994
	Objects the new master plan of Istanbul. IBSB rejects the objection.	1994
	Gets wall construction licence from Sariyer Borough.	31 July 1995
	Revises its location plan and re-proposes the Ministry of education for necessary bureaucracies.	1995
	Objects the new master plan of Istanbul. IBSB rejects the objection.	1995
	Council of State declares that KU is not official.	6 March 1996
	KTVKK approves all plans of KU	8 May 1996
	Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing approves all plans for KU	May 1996
	Beginning of construction ceremony. Attendance of high level politicians, bureaucrats and journalists.	31 May 1996
	Presents her facts to the Turkish media with a special book prepared on the process.	July 1996
	Rumours on agreement with IBSB on unknown grounds.	1999
	Campus construction finishes and moves to her campus.	October 2000
UNIVERSITIES and EIA REPORTS	Istanbul University Centre of Forestry Research and Practice gives negative EIA for KU location.	1994
	Istanbul Technical University Environment Department gives positive EIA to KU location.	1995
	Istanbul University Faculty of Forestry opposes KU location.	June 1996
	Various professors from various universities oppose KU location in DCP partnership meeting.	July 1996

COURTS OF JUSTICE		
Constitution Court	Cancels the Additional Article 18.	29 June 1992
Council of State	Declares that KU cannot be accepted as official after being asked opinion by the Ministry of Public Improvements and Housing.	6 March 1996
	Cancels the decision of Administrative Court, which favoured KU, and detain the execution.	1997
	Cancels the Cabinet decision of land appropriation to KU together with all the related activities and changes the former Court decisions.	3 July 1998
	Refuses the demands of Prime Ministry, Ministry of Forestry, KU asking for reconsideration.	1998
	Concludes the Chamber of Forestry Engineers' lawsuit, as KU is illegal to Constitution.	December 1998
	Declares KU as legal after the Parliamentary amendment on the relevant Act.	April 2000
Administrative Court	Refuses the lawsuit petitions of Chamber of Architects, Chamber of City Planners, Chamber of Forestry Engineers and IBSB declaring that demands are not relevant to law.	January 1997
Court of Appeal	Cancels the construction licence of Sariyer Borough but does not change the other decisions.	21 July 1997
CIVIL SOCIETY		
Chamber of Architects	Launches lawsuit against the Cabinet decision, governmental practices and KU at the Administrative Court.	1996
	Loses the case.	1997
	Appeals the decision at the Court of Appeal.	1997
	Celebrates a partial victory with the appeal, which is the cancellation of the wall construction licence of Sariyer Borough.	21 July 1997
	Appeals the decision again this time at the Council of State Presidency level	20 August 1997
	Wins the case. A complete victory with the cancellation of any decision and activity about KU.	1997
	Appeals the Council of State's decision legalising KU after the Parliamentary amendment.	April 2000
Chamber of Forest Engineers	Gives a crime notification for cutting trees in a forest area against KU	Sept 1996
	Launches lawsuit against the Cabinet decision, governmental practices and KU at the Administrative Court.	1996
	Launches a lawsuit against the Parliamentary decision of boundary changes	1997
	Gives another crime notification for KU's continuation of construction despite the Court decisions	31 August 1998
	Wins the lawsuit with a complete victory: Council of State declares that KU was inappropriate to the Constitution.	December 1998
Chamber of City Planners	Launches lawsuit against the Cabinet decision, governmental practices and KU at the Administrative Court.	1996
	Loses the case.	1997
TEMA	Declares support to KU	1997

Environmental Vanguards Association	Starts a signature campaign and prepares a press statement against KU.	May 1996
Oktaý Ekinçi	Was dismissed from KTVKK	April 1996
	Makes a press statement about his dismissal from KTVKK accusing the Ministry of Culture, IBSB and Islamic press	May 1996
	Replies KU rector, which accused him severely with publications and declarations, with a second press statement	July 1996
	Launches lawsuit against the Cabinet decision, governmental practices and KU at the Administrative Court.	1996
	Loses the lawsuit.	1997
	Appeals the decision at the level of Courts of Appeal.	1997
	Celebrates a partial victory with the appeal, which is the cancellation of the wall construction licence of Sariyer Borough.	21 July 1997
POLITICAL PARTIES		
RP – Welfare Party (Islamic party)	<p>Opposed to KU development from the very beginning of the process. They were in force from 1994 onwards at IBSB. Brought an interpellation proposal to the Parliament about the boundary change decision but was not supported by the rest of the opposition because of its ideology. The Islamic media supported it. But the secular media supported KU with the justification of not supporting Islamists at any issue. Social democrat parties followed this logic as well. According to rumours, IBSB came to an agreement with KU in 1999 on unknown grounds. Their opposition was because they were bypassed during the decision making process. Their use of environmental concerns in their discourse was strategic given that they opposed to the Natural Site declaration of KTVKK. A similar argument can be posited for their concern of planning given that squatting and informal housing had never been challenged during their presidency at IBSB until 2005. Although they wanted to emphasise their ideology in the 1995 master plan, they did not change the objectives of globalisation and being a global city for Istanbul. They only added cultural and historical values to the relevant text. Their attitude towards globalisation and liberalisation is questionable in the sense that they differ with their discourse and practices.</p>	
SHP – CHP (social democrat - changed its name during the process from Social Democrat Public Party to Republican Public Party)	<p>They were in force at IBSB until 1994 and strongly opposed to KU development. They won a similar conflict with Park Hotel in the previous years and stopped that development. After 1994, they stopped struggling with KU because of ideological concerns against the IBSB. They thought that they should not take the Islamic government's side in this struggle as a secular political party. Their president Baykal pronounced this concern in 1994 after they refused to support RP on its interpellation. Their approach to globalisation and liberalisation was distant during their IBSB presidency. They emphasised equality strongly. However, their first objective in the master plan of Istanbul was globalisation and becoming a global city.</p>	
DYP -True Path Party (conservative)	<p>Demirel, first as the president of the party and the prime minister, later as the president of the country gave full support to KU development. He made the official opening of the university himself although he must have not intervened on the court decisions. During coalition governments involving DYP, KU had no problem with the central government.</p>	
ANAP - Mother Land Party (conservative)	<p>During the coalition governments involving ANAP, KU development had no problems with the central government. Their president Mesut Yilmaz attended to the opening ceremony of KU together with Demirel.</p>	

APPENDIX C

Forestland in Turkey

Forests have always been under state control and protection in Turkey. State forests are run by the state and few private forests are to be operated due to public interest. Article 169 of the 1961 Constitution stated that:

“State is responsible for the relevant regulations and precautions in order to conserve the forests and increase the forestlands. New forests are to be grown in place of the ones burned. Any agricultural and stockbreeding activities are prohibited in these burned forestlands. Property rights of state owned forests cannot be transferred... They cannot be subject to any encumbrance except from issues of public interest.”

This article (169) of the 1982 Constitution declared some exceptions that opened ways for forest depredation. Accordingly, forests could not be decreased in quantity except from the following:

- ❑ that are scientifically irrelevant to conserve as forests and are determined as definitely beneficiary for agricultural use;
- ❑ that had lost their forest characteristics before 31.12.1981 and are beneficiary to be used as arable field, vineyard, orchard, olive grove etc.;
- ❑ that are in places of gathered buildings of cities, towns, villages etc.

These exceptions have long been criticised by related academics in Turkey. According to Acun, there was no such thing as the “loss of forest characteristics” in a forestland. Even if trees were destroyed on a forestland, it was still forest and should be subject to forest regime. Acun added that most of the forestlands in Turkey were constituted of 6th or 7th capability soil and were not appropriate for agricultural use [Acun, 2000].

At this point, it is worth to mention to the development of forestry legislation in Turkey. In 1920, each forester was granted with 2 ha forestland to cut according to the Coppice Forest Act No.39. Later in 1924, all forests were taken under state guarantee and control as national richness according to the Act No. 504. The first Forestry Act (No. 3116) was put in force in 1937. On the same year, % 92 of the forests was belonged to the

state. In 1945, remaining % 8 was nationalised according to the Act No. 4785 [Acun, 2000].

A relatively recent Regulation dated back to the 7th of February 1988 provided another exception against the forests and added the issue of “public interest” with its article asking, “state forests can only be appropriated if there is public interest”. In parallel to this, Articles 17 and 115 of the Forestry Act provide some exceptions for encumbrance only with the condition of public interest.

On the other hand, there were populist practices of central governments starting from 1950 and becoming intense in the 1980s. In 1950, CHP (Republican People Party), a long-lived social democrat party founded by Ataturk, had disposed off 60 million ha. forestland just before the general elections on the ground that they were maquis. However, they lost the elections and DP (Democratic Party), which would be banned later in 1960, privatised considerable amount of forests immediately after they were in force. These are accepted as the initial practices of central governments opening the doors for forest depredation. A list of Regulations and Acts, which facilitated the depredation of forests from the 1950s to recent times, can be counted. Most of them were put in force just before the elections with populist attitudes to gain the support of local beneficiaries of forest depredation. The last practice came from the coalition government of ANASOL-D when they decided to sell 360.000 ha forestland on the grounds of the Act No. 4127, which addresses the lands taken out of forest status on behalf of the Treasury. Scientifically, land in a forest would never lose its forest status [Acun, 2000]. The coalition government justified this practice, as they would sell the lands to the villagers for agricultural purposes. However, soil of the lands in question was in general 5th or 6th category, on which agriculture could not be practised. Furthermore, similar past practices have never benefited the forest villages since they were the poorest throughout the society according to a research [Acun, 2000]. The beneficiaries of these practices were developers, owners of luxury villas and squatting mafia in the metropolitan areas.

A very recent example is from the northern forests of Istanbul. Kemer Country that had a questionable development process in the middle of forestlands had been subject to an appropriation of 270 ha forestland for the construction of a golf field. The justification

of appropriation was rather odd: Public interest. Later on, the area became a huge work site for different luxury villa sites [Acun, 2000].

A very crucial practice of the Ministry of Forestry is legalised by the well-known “2-b practice”. It is actually an article in the forestry law. Accordingly, forestlands, which have become open –without any tree on- by various means, could be subject to privatisation. This practice has first encouraged tree-cutting and lately setting on fire to open forestlands. In the recent years, especially in summer months not to attract any suspicion, it is well known that small developers and land mafia has been setting on fire in the forests to open land for their constructions. The Ministry and legislation simply continue to encourage them with the 2-b practice.

On the grounds of this legislation, 16.153 ha forestland had been removed from the forest status in Istanbul until now. Primary reason for these removals has been squatting or illegal constructions including those of villa sites.

The appropriations to forestlands are specifically important because these land can sum to unprecedentedly huge amount of grants, with which a modest town can be founded. In a country such as Turkey, speculations are always close to reality.