

THE TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN ENVIRONMENT
UNDER THE IMPACTS OF GLOBAL PROCESSES:
THE DEVELOPMENT OF LEVENT – MASLAK AXIS IN ISTANBUL
AND IT'S IMPACTS ON SOCIAL RESILIENCE

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ABSTRACT

THE TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN ENVIRONMENT UNDER THE IMPACTS OF GLOBAL PROCESSES: THE DEVELOPMENT OF LEVENT – MASLAK AXIS IN ISTANBUL AND IT’S IMPACTS ON SOCIAL RESILIENCE

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This thesis investigates the transformation of cities under the influence of globalization and the socio-spatial impacts of the process. The thesis asserts that global processes, with their neo-liberal agenda, influence the creation of new urban environments and new conditions of living and working in cities by triggering new dynamics in the functioning of certain urban mechanisms such as labour and land markets, which are conceptualized in the study as ‘urban interface mechanisms’. The thesis also asserts that as well as the ongoing functioning of urban interface mechanisms, the resilience of urban inhabitants is also an important determinant of the socio-spatial outcomes of the experienced urban transformation. The influence of new dynamics in labour and land markets are discussed for understanding how the changes in the conditions of living and working for urban inhabitants are created, how the different types of vulnerabilities and opportunities for urban inhabitants are created within this process and what is the role of social resilience, measured by the adaptive capacity of the inhabitants, in the determination of the socio-spatial effects of the urban transformation process. In order to answer these questions a research study had been conducted in a growing business centre in Istanbul, the Levent – Maslak axis, and in the surrounding neighbourhoods, which have different physical,

functional and socio-economic patterns. The experience of different inhabitant groups had been investigated and compared in order to understand the parts played by neo-liberal policies, functioning of interface mechanisms and social resilience in the experienced outcomes of urban transformation.

Keywords: Globalization, Urban Transformation, Urban Interface Mechanisms, Social Resilience,

ÖZ

KÜRESELLEŞME ETKİSİNDE KENTSEL ÇEVRENİN DEĞİŞİMİ: İSTANBUL, LEVENT-MASLAK AKSI ÖRNEĞİ VE SOSYAL DAYANIKLILIĞA ETKİSİ

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Bu çalışma küreselleşme etkisinde kentlerin değişimini ve bu sürecin sosyo-mekânsal etkilerini araştırmaktadır. Çalışma, küresel süreçlerin getirdiği neo-liberal politikaların yeni kentsel çevreler ile yeni yaşama ve çalışma koşullarının oluşmasında olan etkisini, kentsel işgücü ve arazi piyasaları gibi, tez kapsamında arayüz işleyişler olarak kavramsallaştırılan kentsel işleyişler yolu ile açıklamaktadır. Çalışma ayrıca, arayüz işleyişlerin yanı sıra, sosyal dayanıklılığın da yaşanan değişimlerin sosyo-mekânsal etkilerinin ne olacağını belirleyen önemli bir unsur olduğunu önermektedir. Küreselleşme etkisinde kentsel işgücü ve arazi piyasaları dinamiklerinde gerçekleşen değişimin kentliler için yeni yaşama ve çalışma koşullarının oluşumunu nasıl etkilediği, bu süreçte kentliler için yeni kırılma ve olanakların nasıl oluştuğu ve bu süreçlerin etkilerinin belirlenmesinde kentlilerin uyum kabiliyetleri ile ölçülen sosyal dayanıklılığın rolünün ne olduğu çalışma kapsamında tartışılmıştır. Bu soruları cevaplamak amacı ile İstanbul'da gelişmekte olan bir merkezi iş alanı ve çevresinde yer alan farklı fiziki, işlevsel ve sosyal özelliklere sahip mahalleler araştırılmıştır. Araştırma kapsamında çalışma alanında yaşayan farklı grupların bölgede gerçekleşen kentsel değişim sürecinden nasıl etkilendikleri incelenerek, neo-liberal politikaların etkileri, işgücü ve arazi piyasalarının işleyişi ve sosyal dayanıklılığın rolü üzerine tartışmalar yürütülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Küreselleşme, Kentlerin Değişimi, Kentsel Arayüz İşleyişler,
Sosyal Dayanıklılık

To My Family

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBD: Central Business District

EU: European Union

FDI: Foreign Direct Investment

IMF: International Monetary Fund

SES: Social Ecological Systems

SME: Small and Medium Sized Establishments

TOKI: Turkish Housing Development Agency

UN: United Nations

WB: World Bank

WTO: World Trade Organisation

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Globalization is accepted as a major influence upon urban systems today. Cities in the path of global integration are entering into a transformation process in parallel to the economic, social, spatial and politic restructurings required by the global economy. Today it is a known fact that every city bears the reverberations of global processes. It is widely discussed in the literature that since the 1980s, globalization has transformed many cities around the world and has led to the creation of a ‘new city’ (Cross and Moore 2002). It is presented in an array of studies that this ‘new city’, with its changing conditions of working and living and with the changing socio-spatial configurations (Kesteloot 2004) aggravated severely income polarization and socio-spatial segregation, which in fact have always been part of urban actuality. Many other social inequality and exclusion issues are also brought forth within studies and discussions on globalization and the city.

This PhD study is interested in the transformation of cities under the influence of globalization and it especially seeks to unravel the ways in which global processes end up to produce new conditions and new realities in the urban environment. The process of globalization and its outcomes are generally discussed in the literature as separate fields of reality; the processes that relate them are often neglected. This thesis is primarily grounded on this concern and it aims to conceptualise the production of urban transformations to understand what actually influence the formation of its’ socio-spatial impacts.

The temporal frame of the study starts with the beginning of 1980s, but it especially focuses to the period after the mid 1990s. In the investigation of the transformation of urban environment under the influences of global trends, this period is significant for several reasons: Approaching the turn of the 21st century, 1990s was a decade

where values and practices of neo-liberalism were already established around the world through a series of changes in the city not only in the field of economics (like changes in the forms of production, employment, technology and culture); but also in the cultural field, politics (Mütevellioğlu and Işık 2009) and the daily life. Furthermore the turn of the 21st century brought along the rise of a sensitivity against the impacts of the ‘economic globalization’ process as a whole, as the impacts of globalization have been fully experienced in the urban social and economic environment. Despite the widespread presence of neo-liberalisation, 21st century is also a century characterized by the awareness and consciousness about deteriorating conditions of working and living around the world. This depreciation in living conditions of some groups was parallel to the enrichment of others; and it is accepted as a side effect of the globalization process itself. This ‘sensitivity’ that characterizes the last century can be found, for instance, in supra-national acts like UN Millennium development goals, anti globalization movements manifesting themselves in demonstrations, rise in environmental consciousness, or in more local specific cases of resistances and the similar (Bond 2005, Orueta 2007, Perry 2004).

It is not with globalization that cities started to change. Cities have always been changing entities. They have been continuously developing; and in each stage of their development they have dealt with the particular problems of the period. Contemporary problems require the reconsideration of present understandings. The widespread approach today has been either to investigate the relations of globalization on a wider level, or to conduct discussions on the observed impacts of the lived transformations. By asking the question of how globalization influences cities in a way to initiate urban transformation, and how the socio-spatial impacts are determined within the transformation of the urban environment this study presents a new approach, which investigates the intermediary processes between globalization and the experienced outcomes.

The study elaborates the mentioned intermediary processes with the help of two theoretical frames. First is a model of explanation, which is based on the conceptualisation of “urban interface mechanism”, originally introduced in this PhD

study. Second framework is the “resilience thinking” approach and the conceptualisation of social resilience for the evaluation of the impacts of globalization and urban transformation process upon urban inhabitants. The model of thinking, within which these models are positioned and the way they relate to each other is given below in Figure 1.1.

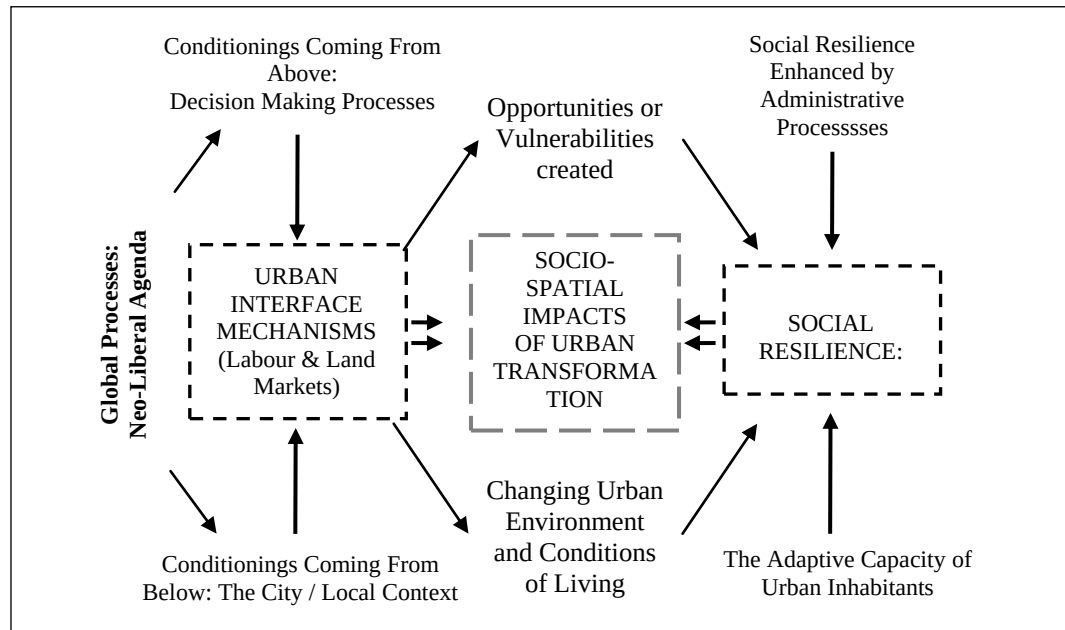


Figure 1. 1. The Relational Model of Explanation Presented in the Thesis

The model of explanation accepts that the transformation of cities is affected by pressures and conditions coming from different levels such as the global, national or the local context. These also include forces coming from above, like the acts and operations of the decision and policy makers or powerful capital owners at the national or global level; or forces coming from below like the acts and choices of all kinds of urban actors, organized or unorganized inhabitants.

In relation, the explanatory framework asserts that the production of new urban environments, including both the built environment and the conditions of living and working in it, are concretized within the daily functioning of certain urban

mechanisms, which is named in this study as ‘urban interface mechanisms’. These mechanisms are introduced as multi-dimensional, complex and contingent phenomena, which operate within the influence of forces coming from different fields, and which bring together various actors from different levels and provide the ground for their transactions. With their functioning – daily urban transactions and contestations – the city is produced and re-produced in spatial, social, economic and cultural ways.

Interface mechanisms are the primary fields, which transmit the administered urban facts into the actual socio-spatial structure, and therefore which transmit the impacts of different sets of activity and practice (global processes) into the ‘lived’ urban environment (Lefebvre 1991). The reverberations of global processes and the impact of new policies and decisions that are developed in relation to global processes are materialized and concretized through the operation of interface mechanisms. Parallel to this materialisation, the socio-economic geography of the city change. Through the functioning of interface mechanisms and the realisation of (new) urban projects the ideological discourse of globalization and neo-liberalisation is also concretized. The outcomes of interface mechanisms determine and lead the change in the urban space (both physically and socially), which is actualized through the acts and transactions comprised in the functioning of these mechanisms. Urban interface mechanisms produce therefore the main traits of the living and working conditions in the city.

The major examples of such mechanisms are urban land and labour markets. They act as a field of transmission between the decision and practices of different groups. They work as an interface between actors from different levels, including the normal inhabitant, the local governments, the investor, the developer and so on. The functioning of these mechanisms is regulated with the legislative framework developed, and with the decisions made on spot by central and local administrations. However interface mechanisms provide also a ground of negotiation among different inhabitant groups and different authorities within the process of their functioning.

It is commonly accepted today that globalization and the global economy has a neo-liberal agenda. Countries and national economies, on their way for global integration, are being subject to the conditions of neo-liberal economic system (Harvey 2006). The implementation of these policies and the free circulation of capital, commodities and information associated by the changing norms and values bring new dynamics to the functioning of land and labour markets.

Within this economic discourse cities and the urban land are privileged as profitable investment areas (Weber 2004). For this reason many of the urban implementations that are associated with the process of globalization, are economically focused. Furthermore as many studies emphasize they are lacking social dimensions, and leading to the exacerbation of social problems in cities. Although, this situation is seen to be in relation with the level of economic prosperity and the general political stance of the governments (Harding and Le Gales 1997), many negative outcomes are accounted in different parts of the world.

The idea of interface mechanism provides a suitable framework for the study of contemporary urban processes. The main emphasis that should be made here is that through the functioning of interface mechanisms, the socio-spatial outcomes of neo-liberalisation and globalization, such as income differentiation within the society, socio-spatial segregation within the city, new types of unemployment and poverty are produced and concretized. The process of urban transformation explained within this approach, clarifies the successive and continuous transformation of the living and working conditions of urban population. The changing conditions of living and working constitute the sources of vulnerability, in different levels for different urban groups; as well as the sources of different kinds of opportunities or other ones.

While the profit oriented implementations move in and out the city, urban inhabitants become exposed to rapidly emerging and successive transformations. The increasing income disparity, socio-spatial segregation and deteriorating social capital due to the new trends of urban investments and implementations influence negatively the conditions of living of many people. While the conditions of living

and working improve for one part of the society, present and future well-being is at stake for the rest. The successive and rapidly materializing transformations driven by global processes intensify the social and spatial vulnerabilities of different social groups. Facing these incessant transformations, the ability of inhabitant groups to adapt to new conditions of working and living and to cope with the raising stresses is of crucial importance for the future of cities.

The possibilities of different social groups to adapt to changing conditions to maintain their future well being under the influence of successive external stresses, is defined as 'social resilience' (Adger 2000, Pelling 2003); a concept, which is explained as a function of the adaptive capacity of urban populations. The resilience framework, as used in this study, emphasizes the ability of urban inhabitants to cope with stresses, "absorb changes" (Holling 1973) and to maintain their function and structure (Nelson et al. 2007; Walker, Salt and Reid 2006; Walker et al. 2004) during and after the experience of disturbances.

The part played by the vulnerabilities or opportunities, created through the changing living and working conditions, in the experienced outcomes is directly related to the adaptive capacity of the urban inhabitants. Hence, the determination of the socio-spatial outcomes of the transformation of the urban environment under the influence of global processes is in direct relation with social resilience. It is asserted in the study that inhabitant groups with greater adaptive capacity adapt better to changing conditions, cope better with their vulnerabilities and profit better from the rising opportunities.

The concept of resilience in an urban context is especially studied in many examples within the field of ecology, focusing on sudden or slowly emerging disturbances such as environmental change, hazards or disasters. These studies consider 'cities' as 'social ecological systems' (SESs). The increasing number of academic studies on resilience brings forth the role of resilience in providing social and economic development, diversity and sustainability in social-ecological systems (Folke et al. 2002).

One of the most significant characteristics of the concept of resilience is that it accepts change as an unchangeable part of (the development of) systems. The conceptualisation of resilience on the urban level is accepted as a frame of thinking because it does not define permanent characteristics; on the contrary the components that give resilience may change over different contexts. Resilience implicates capacities rather than a constant state or a singular characteristic. The concept inheres therefore contingency by definition. It highlights the importance of ‘capacities’ – adaptive capacities – and their changeability.

Resilience also implicates multi-dimensional relations, rather than linear cause and effect relationships. The understanding of resilience does not define unchangeable ‘rights and wrongs’. It rather emphasizes the plurality of future opportunities without categorizing them within universal dichotomies. By doing so, it reveals the possibility of obtaining positive improvements and changes out of negative experiences. The concept of resilience, in its most recent undertakings, does not seek stability in systems, but the sustainability of systems over faced disturbances and stresses. With these characteristics resilience thinking provides a complex approach for discussing contemporary issues experienced in cities.

The level of social resilience becomes an increasingly important issue within the increasingly entrepreneurial forms of governance. As the social support of governments decrease, more is left to the personal adaptive capacity of inhabitants. Accepting that larger adaptive capacity of social groups will increase their ability to adapt to changing conditions and external stresses, the study evaluated the impact of the experienced transformations on the living and working conditions of different social groups, by taking into consideration their increasing vulnerabilities and their level of resilience – their ability to cope with external stress and disturbances.

To conclude, within the presented frame of research, which incorporates the idea of interface mechanism for the explanation of urban transformation process, which evaluates the socio-spatial impacts of the transformation process with reference to

the emergence of vulnerabilities and with the help of social resilience framework, there are three main questions aimed to be answered:

- (1) What are the new dynamics triggered in urban interface mechanisms (labour and land markets) under the influence of globalization?
- (2) How do the changing dynamics in labour and land markets influence the vulnerability of different inhabitant groups?
- (3) What is the role of urban social resilience for the future conditions of living and working of urban populations, in their confrontation with globalization and neo-liberalized policies?

Within the scope of the study, two major processes had been investigated in the functioning of urban labour markets. First process is explained as a primary outcome of the economic neo-liberalisation, and it is expressed as the main source of increasing income polarization in developing countries today. It is the changing sectoral differentiation in the economy. The global economic system is primarily based on the post-fordist forms of production, the creation of international financial markets, the establishment of global labour markets, and the rise of finance and services sectors and the decreasing position of industry and manufacturing in the economy. It had been observed in different economies that while the wages of the skilled and professional work force employed in the service and finance sector increased rapidly, the earnings of unskilled or low qualified workforce remained low. On the other hand while the economic activity in the services sector has risen, the sector did not only provide high waged job opportunities. Most of the service sector jobs are providing low paid, temporary types of employment (Sassen 2000, 2001). It is also expressed that neo-liberal economy established new types of working and employment like flexible, part-time, temporal job definitions, which decreased the levels of job security, the opportunity of self-organization and the similar. On the other hand the decrease in the share of industry within the economy, as observed especially in the developed countries causes job losses for the workers

in this sector with usually low qualifications. This process causes a difficulty in adapting to the emerging jobs in the labour market for the former industrial workforce. Similarly the advance of technology has a similar effect firstly by causing automation in the production process and secondly by requiring higher levels of skill.

Another process observed in the labour markets in the process of integration into global economy and neo-liberal restructurings is related to the rising share of the foreign or international capital within local economies. This situation has influences on both labour and land markets. In the labour markets it is a source of vulnerability for the employers owning small scale commercial establishments, such as retailers, artisans, small scale manufacturers, due to decreasing demand to these forms of provision. The situation is worsened with the difficulty faced by the small scale workplaces in competing with these large capital owning establishments in terms of the products, services and prices provided and with the changing consumption and life styles of the society.

In terms of the land market the presence of foreign capital and international firms within the city creates new demands for commercial real-estate within the urban space and constitutes an important drive for urban redevelopment. This constitutes one of the main dynamics in the neo-liberalizing land markets. Another process that is elaborated within the land market functioning is the gentrification caused by the urban transformation and redevelopment in the urban areas, in physical and functional terms. Gentrification is parallel to the rising rent and real-estate values and changing user profile in relation to the redevelopment of urban areas. The process is an important dynamic exerting economic pressures or the pressure of displacement upon the former residents and especially tenants living in the area.

Within the presented frames of explanation and evaluation, the study introduced a number of hypotheses that incorporates the impact of urban interface mechanisms (labour and land markets) and the role of social resilience on the experienced outcomes of urban transformation and redevelopment process. To test these

hypotheses, the study investigated the development of a growing business area in Istanbul and the (re)development of its surroundings. The asserted hypotheses constitute the relation between the outcomes of the changing dynamics in the labour and land market and the adaptive capacity of the inhabitants. The different socio-economic profiles that can be observed in different zones of the case study area provided insight on the different experiences of different social groups living side by side in the same area.

After this introductory chapter, the second chapter aims to review the different ways in which the urban transformation under the impact of global processes is elaborated within the literature in order to ground a model of explanation, which intends to clarify the actual production of urban transformation. The third chapter introduces the two theoretical frameworks that are used in the study. First is the model of explanation based on the functioning of urban interface mechanisms that helps setting the relation between different fields of operation within the city, and that illuminates the socio-spatial actualisation of the transformation process. Second is a model of evaluation for the impacts of the transformation process, based on the role of the resilience of urban populations in adapting to changing conditions and coping with the changing conditions of living and working in the city.

The fourth chapter examines how Turkey and Istanbul experienced the elaborated process. In this respect the chapter presents the deregulation and liberalisation experienced in the country (economic and urban) policies and the main traits of the transformation experienced by the city of Istanbul, being the main representative of the country in the global arena. The fifth chapter presents the research study. The methodology of the research, the case study area and descriptive analyses on the site are presented in this chapter. The research tests the presented hypotheses based on a singular case study area, which is a significant site for the evaluation of the problematic (discussed on the global level). The research study is based on two field studies, preliminary analyses conducted on the national census data of 1990 and 2000, and a comprehensive questionnaire study implemented in the field and additional GIS (Geographical Information System) analyses conducted on the

physical structure and land-use transformation of the case study area. Finally, the sixth chapter presents the findings of the research study based on testing the hypotheses that are put forward in the study.

CHAPTER II

THE CONTEMPORARY IMPLICATIONS OF GLOBALIZATION ON CITIES

The widely experienced process of transformation of cities under the influence of globalization had been a major field of debate in the literature since the beginning of 1980s. The main objective of the chapter is to review the different ways in which this issue is elaborated within the literature in order to ground a model of explanation, which intends to clarify the actual production of this transformation process.

In this respect, this chapter aims to provide an up-to-date definition for the process of globalization and to clarify the way it is used in the contemporary literature and what it implies today. The chapter further discusses the way the process of globalization operates, influencing countries and cities around the world.

2.1 The Problematic: Urban Transformation and Globalization

The key word in contemporary spatial studies is globalization. (Byrne 1998, 91)

Beginning to think about the processes that shape and reshape cities today, it is necessary to consider the influences of the process of ‘globalization’. It is a commonly accepted fact that cities around the world are influenced by numerous, globally effective phenomena, trend and pressure. Today, more and more cities interact with the global phenomenon in a variety of levels, from administrative to the daily and to others. Within the urban literature, different urban processes that are experienced in similar ways, with their local particularities in various cities, like socio-spatial segregation, income inequality, rise of homelessness, are explained in relation to globalization.

Cross and Moore (2002, 1), point towards the process of transformation experienced in cities, in the last decades, in relation to globalization. While discussing to what extent the rise of inequalities in cities are actually related to globalization, as claimed widely in the literature, the authors argue that there is a certain link between ‘globalization’ and the city, within which the new features possessed by cities are emphasized to be structural.

2.1.1 Defining Globalization

Globalization is introduced as the starting point for discussing the current processes cities are going through. However, before discussing the different dimensions of this process, it is necessary to mention the ambiguities brought along with the concept. It has been more than thirty years now that ‘urban researchers’, along with researchers and thinkers from many other academic and professional fields, discuss the issue of globalization. This has led to the emergence of a multiplicity of definitions. Thorns (2002, 84) describes the term globalization as a ‘troublesome’ and ‘fashionable’ term, which has no consistent definition, and a diffuse and vague use.

Since the early 1980s, the approaches to the concept have evolved and multiplied in varying ways. Firstly, the different definitions that have been brought to globalization are observed to be dominated by the ideological stance of their period, and occasionally oppose to each other in this respect. For instance, from a period where globalization was popular and praised through the promotion of the ‘promising’ neo-liberal economic system; the world has come to the present times, where it has now many criticized dimensions in relation to the same neo-liberal agenda; an agenda, which is far more established than before.

Another point that is necessary to mention before the investigation of how globalization is defined in relation to the urban context, is the common inclination to abstract globalization as a process in itself. However, globalization does not operate independent from the developments and transformations taking place in different fields of life and in different places of the world. Globalization is rather the

experience of the cumulative of these developments and transformations. In other words, the transformations that are experienced in cities are not directed by globalization *per se*; but they are influenced by globally shared tendencies of development, structural change, and decision making. Furthermore, such transformations should be accepted as contingent and complex processes, just as every aspect of urban life is proved to be. This approach constructs the ground of the model of explanation presented in this study.

All in all, globalization comprises the aggregate of phenomena and operations, which initiate or lead changes in different places, and which are mainly related to certain economic, cultural and political discourses. Today it is widely observed that globalization has intrinsic relations with capitalism and neo-liberalism, and the changes carried through globalization represent this relation. Cross and Moore (2002, 3) put forward “big, *triumphant* and also *triumphalist*” capitalism act as the economic base of contemporary globalization and globalism. As a final note, the concept of globalization within the context of changing cities should be accepted as an ongoing process, rather than a turning point in history. Most of the analysts agree that globalization is a long-term process, despite the different views about the causal sources of globalization. (Scheuerman 2006)

There are different views about when globalization has started (Waters 1995). As a preliminary explanation, Wallerstein’s (1974) “world system” approach claims that globalization is a process that began with the discovery of the new world by Europeans (Byrne 1998, 2001, Robertson 1990, Thorns 2002). Accordingly, since the 16th century, with the initiation of colonization and overseas trade, the ‘world system’ was established (Robertson 1990). Economic relations have gained an increasingly world-wide dimension since the colonization and exploitation of overseas countries by European countries (Thorns 2002). As Castells (1989, 26) points out since then, the capitalist economy functions as a world economy.

The notion of globalization, in the sense it is used today, is rather explained with reference to other wider developments in human history. In many of the accounts,

globalization is explained with reference to broader socio-economic phenomena like transition from modernity to post-modernity, industrialisation to post-industrialisation, fordism to post-fordism and so on (Abrahamson 2004, Byrne 2001, Thorns 2002, Waters 1995). To explain globalization in the sense it is experienced today, with the increased levels of mobility, with improved connectivity between places, with faster communication; with the world-wide expansion of different cultures and related production, consumption, labour relations these developments brings; reference to such transitions to 'post' conditions proves to be helpful. This is primarily because the shifts in the modes of production, regimes of accumulation, economic, political and cultural systems are what build up the conditions, which are carried around by globalization today.

Globalization is more widely perceived and conceptualised after the 1980s, when certain changes in the capitalist system were occurring. Since then, many urban scholars are interested in the emergence of new conditions associated with globalization. Waters (1995, 40) explains, at that time global relations were explained within the framework of "worldwide capitalism" or "international relations." Waters (1995, 41) adds that, it is in the 1990s that 'globalization' has been expressed for the first time as a "holistic consciousness". Robertson, being the first to introduce this kind of perception, conveys that "The concept of globalization per se should be applied to a particular series of developments concerning the concrete structuration of the world-as-a-whole" (1990, 20).

Globalization though an under-defined term is associated with a number of supra-national economic, political, social and cultural processes which are usually dealt with in separate literatures. (Harding and Le Gales 1997, 184)

What constructs the general perception of the 'world-as-a-whole' comprises the developments and transformations that took place in the fields of technology, economy, politics and culture. A viable and contemporary definition for the concept can therefore be presented within a frame structured with these fields.

2.1.2 The Main Attributes of Globalization Today

Today, globalization is characterized and driven by several interrelated processes. First are the improvements in the field of technology. Developments in the communication and information technologies (Thorns 2002) provided increased speed and density in information transfers (Cross and Moore 2002) and contributed to the initiation of new forms of production, development, communication and networking. Castells (1989, 7) announce the emergence of the informational mode of development in relation to the technological developments of the post 80s, as a determining force in the “generation of new social and spatial forms and practices.”

Developments in information, communication and transportation technologies contributed firstly to the transformation of the production process by increasing automation in production. The increased automation in offices in parallel to the developments in information technologies as Castells (1989, 174) explains, increased productivity and reduced work performed by the labour force. Technological developments contributed secondly, to the re-organization of production in space and across the globe. It allowed the emergence of new types of networking and working, unbounded from spatial locations. Developments in the information technologies “enable the ‘global’ in globalization” as Peterson (2003, 2) conveys. Müller (2005, 36) explains this aspect of globalization as the “emancipation from space and time through communication and velocity.” The development of transportation technologies made every part of the world physically accessible. The increasing speed of information transfers made the ‘spatial dispersion’ (Sassen 2001) of activities possible.

The second and the most significant process that defines globalization today is the establishment of a global economic system (Peterson 2003, Harvey 2006, Sassen 2000). Firstly, the global economy today is accepted as an established form of neo-liberal capitalism (Peterson 2003, Harvey 2006), and therefore has an ideological stance. Secondly, as mentioned above, the economic developments that took place within the last thirty years should be understood in relation to the developments in

information and communication technologies (Castells, 1989, Peterson 2003). Manuel Castells (1989) conceptualises this shift into a new form of economic system as the “restructuring of capitalism”, which had initiated in the 1980s after the successive economic crises of the 1970s. He explains, what is new in this form of capitalism is “the increasing interpenetration of all economic processes at the international level with the system working as a unit, worldwide in real time” (1989, 26).

The main traits of the ‘global economy’, which has continued its development since the 1980s comprise firstly, the shift from fordist to post-fordist production methods, and the emergence of a new differentiation in economic sectors. The shift to Post-Fordist modes of production and to ‘flexibility’ (Castells 1989) is one of the main aspects of the contemporary economic system. This transition means the dropping of mass production and economies of scale and moving into flexible and disintegrated production methods, which seeks to minimize the costs of production at every level and maximize productivity with the help of new technologies and with the use of low wage labour pools in distant locations. Although this new production method obtains higher surplus out of this enhanced productivity, it is also a part of this new economic system that these gains are unevenly distributed (Castells 1989, 23).

With the flexible re-organization of production, manufacturing has ceased to be the “key engine of growth” (Thorns 2002, 69) or the “leading sector” (Sassen, 2000, 2001). With this transformation, which is called also as ‘de-industrialisation’, many economies that were depending on industrial production faced decline? Hall, Hubbard and Short (2008, 1) explain that the reduced importance of manufacturing (in the west) had been mirrored by the global growth of service sector activities, which have become “the cutting edge of rapid urban development.” David Byrne (2001, 88-9) explains this process as the “spatial separation” of the control of production from actual production. Accordingly, producer services developed in urban economies in relation to this process. Services sector has been developing in response to the new demands of the command centres of this highly dispersed economic activity network. However, “global virtual economy” as Byrne (2001, 88)

names is even a more important factor that shapes the new urban condition. Within this virtual economy, traded financial products has taken the form of “virtual money”, which circulates around the world and generates extreme levels of profit without actual production activity, rather than the traditional forms of trading in goods and services (Byrne 2001, 89).

Secondly, the “internationalization of all economic activities” (Castells 1989) is a major characteristic of the global economic restructuring. Eventually, the emerging economic system was not solely organized in the local (national) level but also in the global level (Harvey 1989, Knox 1993, Sassen 2000).

...Globalization is an extension of an internationalisation of economic activity that has been going on since history began, marked by a radically increased mobility of capital and international integration of production and control, facilitated by advances in communications and transportation technology. (Marcuse and Kempen 2000, 262)

Sassen (2000, 18) points out the internationalization of economic transactions is not the sole base of ‘world economy’. As she explains there is also an institutional background of global economy today, which had led to the emergence of a new regime where transnational corporations and global markets and transnational trading blocs has central roles as institutions organizing it (2000, 18-9). Labour market and working conditions have changed in relation to this economic restructuring. The profit oriented and flexible restructuring of the economic system and the emergence of a new economic sector differentiation created new forms of labour like part-time, temporary employees with low wages and decreased job security and durability. Facing increased automation and spatial dispersal of production activity, wages in manufacturing also decreased. On the other hand the development of service and finance sector also created highly paid working positions for qualified, educated and professional work-force. The new nature of available jobs – the labour market – created social groups with highly differentiated income levels, and increased the socio-economic polarizations in urban societies. Facing the rising competition in the labour market and technological developments –

automation – labour force has lost collective power and became weaker, as Castells (1989, 24) claims, “vis-a-vis capital”.

The third process defining globalization takes place in the cultural field. It is expressed within the literature that the explanation of globalization should not be solely based on the economic phenomenon, but it should also incorporate cultural dimensions (Robertson 1990, Peterson 2003). Both the technological advancements and the expansion of neo-liberal practices are influencing “the ways of living”, norms and values of populations. Cultural dimension of globalization phenomenon is observed firstly in the formation of a globally diffused ‘culture’ appropriated by different localities and secondly in the common practice of the neo-liberal economic system, which leads to the reproduction of the neo-liberal ideology.

Finally, globalization is unavoidably a political phenomenon. It is firstly politicized by the operations of “transnational and supranational military, political and economic organisations” (Cross and Moore 2002, 2). Then, as Peterson (2003, 1) explains global economy comprises power relations in the acts and practices it inheres. Byrne (2001, 87) states that it is necessary to recognize “the significance of the geopolitics of the late twentieth century for the re-establishment of an open global system,” to understand the political changes, which have been associated with a new form of capitalism “based on the development of new technologies of communication”.

An overarching aspect of globalization, which is brought by the developments in the above mentioned fields, which is a constitutive dimension of globalization, and which defines one of the main traits the globalization process should especially be emphasized here. It is the increasing levels of contingency in the world. Within the definition presented in the *Dictionary of Human Geography* it is conveyed that:

...*globalization* describes the process by which events, decisions, and activities in one part of the world can come to have significant consequences for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe. (*The Dictionary of Human Geography* 2000: 315)

Two dimensions of globalization are presented in *The Dictionary of Human Geography* revealing the way these influences are diffused around the world:

On the one hand it defines a set of processes which embrace most of the globe or which operate worldwide, the concept therefore has a spatial connotation. Politics and other social activities are becoming stretched across the globe. On the other hand it also implies intensification in the levels of interaction, interconnectedness or interdependence between the states and societies, which constitute the world community. (The Dictionary of Human Geography 2000, 315)

In summary, globalization can be explained as an ongoing process of restructuring in every aspect of life; in a world where physical limits and distances lose their relative importance and significance; communication and transportation technologies are in a rapid and incessant development; forms of production, economic activity has changed in relation to these developments and governmental forms are changing in a way to support all these developments.

2.2 Conceptualisations on the Implication of Globalization on Cities in the Literature

In the early 1990s, many studies had been conducted with the aim of examining the relation between cities and globalization. Since then, cities around the world were recognized as places with new spatial and social forms. The observed changes in cities are studied through the investigation of many European and American cities (Sassen 1991, Fainstein et al. 1992, Moulaert et al. 2001) in the literature. For instance, the work of Marcuse and Kempen, *Globalizing Cities: A New Spatial Order* (2000) is a significant one among them. In their study, Marcuse and Kempen (2000), with the help of various scholars, aim to trace down the impact of globalization, on the spatial patterns of cities – on the built environment. They formulate the interaction of cities with the globalization process using the concept of ‘globalizing cities’:

Globalizing cities is thus the term we are using, to reflect two different points: that (almost) all cities are touched by the process of globalization and that involvement in that process is not a matter of being either at the top or the bottom of it, but rather of the nature and extent of influence of the process. (Marcuse and Kempen 2000, 263)

On the other hand cities in a globalizing world – a world that shares the influence of the same decisions, actions and practices that may respectively turn into ‘pressures’ – enter into new kinds of relations with each other. This is different than the previous idea of the international relations of states, and therefore of their primary cities. The direct inter-relation of major cities around the world, which became independent from their states in a number of ways, is what is mentioned here. This is conceptualised in the literature as the global network of cities. Sassen (2000) states that in the contemporary global economic system cities are no longer considered as part of “national urban systems”, but as part of global network of cities. David Byrne (2001, 91) emphasizes with reference to the work of Friedman (1986) that cities in a global world are primarily defined by their integration into, and the role they play in the world network. The idea of global cities has been introduced in the early 1990s to describe such urban locations in the global network where important functions and activities, where large amounts of capital and people are accumulated and attracted.

There were two theories developed in the early 1990s, by Saskia Sassen (1991) and Anthony King (1990) to explain the particular development observed in some cities and the global economic system. They have defined the changing cities as the ‘global city’ and ‘world city’ to draw attention to the emerging urban forms (Davis 2005, 99). These studies investigated the major metropolises in developed countries. Especially in Sassen’s discussions on the ‘global city’, the focus was on the advanced capitalist world. Sassen, in her own words, explains that she defined global cities as cities having a certain strategic role including being “command points in the organization of world economy”, being “key locations and marketplaces for the leading industries”, and being “major sites of production for these industries.” (2000, 4) A very appealing image of global cities was introduced

at that time as “big, exciting and prosperous cities in democratic nations” (Davis 2005, 99). It was then observed by Sassen (1991) that the globalization of capital and labour in relation to changing economic system and forms of production characterizes the new type of cities; and fuels the growth and economic successes of some cities (i.e. New York) while constraining others (i.e. a deindustrializing city, Detroit) (Davis 2005, 101). As Marcuse and Kempen add, the concept of global cities is used “to describe cities at the apex of a postulated global hierarchy of cities, determined primarily by their role as locations of the control functions of multinational finance” (Marcuse and Kempen, 2000: 262).

global cities.. are those cities which seem to function as key command or control centres within the global system and in which the virtual world of finance capital actually touches earth... (Byrne 1998, 91)

The process of becoming a ‘global city’ has been introduced in the early studies on globalization and cities as “the mechanisms through which global economic integration takes root and greater prosperity is achieved” (Davis 2005, 96-97). This idea of fostering economic vitality, which is still being accepted as a prescription within the new conditions of the globalizing world, constituted a strong target for many urban administrations. Such an inspiration has led to the development of new kinds of visions, policies, projects and implementations regarding cities, up to today.

Within the contemporary context, it is claimed that globalization and its reverberations on cities can be understood and examined through the investigation of the globally effective processes that deliver different kinds of pressures upon people and places. Müller (2005, 35) explain this relation as follows:

Today the cycles of the economy, the rules of the game in politics, and everyday life are deeply shaped by processes that have been discussed for a good two decades in terms of globalization. Urban processes are no exception to this. Their dynamics cannot be understood apart from the regional, national, and now also global spatial processes that reshape them.

Cities are in an ongoing change and transformation, which is mostly directed by globally operating processes. These processes comprise developments, decisions and

actions taking place in any locality, and circulating to other parts of the world in forms of trends and pressures. A primary dimension of these trends and pressures is their inherent relation with neo-liberal capitalism. It can further be asserted that ‘globalization’ as such, places pressures on states and cities. This pressure manifests itself mainly within the struggle of integration into the global system. Enhancing the global competitiveness of cities, by working on the available assets of cities constructs a major trend of action among urban and central governments in this respect. Moreover, these shared aspirations for potential global cities in every part of the world have led to the implementation of similar policies and projects around the world. Therefore, whether willingly or unwillingly, countries and cities experience the effects of globalization, and enter into a process of change under these influences. ‘Global Processes’, as it is named here, are processes that are experienced around the world and that are not easily avoided by authorities.

Three essential characteristics of the contemporary globalization process help explaining the interrelation between urban development and globalization. First, what happens in one part of the world influences the rest of it by generating globally operating trends, pressures and conditions. Global pressures are also intensified with the fact that, no matter how much governments or populations will try to avoid it, decisions-actions-practices executed in one part of the world influence the rest. No state and community can avoid the actions of the others. States and cities are no longer ‘independent’ from global phenomena. Second, and most effectively, it is through the restructuring of economic and urban policies that globalization hold cities under its influence. And finally global processes influence cities more subtly by changing the vision, acts, decisions and choices of people.

The most influential forms of pressures operating at a global level are the economic pressures. It is especially the globalization of economic activity that has socio-spatial effects upon cities. The process of globalization, while being about the increasing mobility and the unimpeded circulation of people, capital, goods and information, it is primarily governed by one ideology. Countries feel the pressure to get integrated into the global economy, which is driven by a neo-liberal agenda; and

to adapt to the global economic system, by going through an economic restructuring in this direction.

On both sides of the Atlantic, there is a growing realization that the advent of the global economy is having profound effects on the structure and function of cities. (Cross and Moore 2002, 1)

Second type of pressure comes from international institutions and organizations, which have a crucial role in the establishment of a global system (Hardt and Negri 2000). These institutions are mainly occupied with financial and political issues, such as the case with IMF, WTO, EU, WB, and UN etc; which are also working on environment, conservation or similar issues. Especially the regulations and conditions set by these organisations exert important pressures on countries and governments.

There are also pressures born out of the necessity to keep up with and be aware of cultural trends of globalization. Independent from governmental manipulations, cultural trends influence directly the inhabitants of cities and countries by diffusing visual or consumption based elements and trends. Cultural trends have also deep economic roots and interests. On the other hand, political and geopolitical pressures have strong influence in the structuring of government's agenda and policies, and therefore to the urban environment. These pressures comprise all kinds of international relations as well as phenomenon like wars. Finally, environmental pressures and disturbances are the most unavoidable process experienced around the world. These pressures are for instance global warming, natural disasters, and loss of natural resources and so on. The pressures of globalization, includes therefore; 'adapting to', 'following' and 'being a part of' or 'directing' the continuously changing economic, cultural and political conditions.

2.3 Channels of Influence of Globalization and Neo-Liberalism

The global expansion of neo-liberal practices can most explicitly be followed from the urban environment. The dissemination of neo-liberal ideology is carried out and

reproduced by the global trends of decisions, actions and practices performed both by administrations at various scales and by the inhabitants of various localities. Neo-liberalism adapts to different localities in similar ways, through the locally specific appropriation of global trends of decision-making, action, and practice. It is the implementations and projects formed within the current global ideology that have been shaping and re-shaping the urban environment physically, socio-economically and culturally. It is the neo-liberal ideology (promoted by globalization) that has dominated the agenda and implementations of local and central administrations within the last three decades.

The influence of globalization and of neo-liberalism upon cities can be elaborated through the investigation of different channels, through which the urban life and urban functioning are conditioned (see Figure 2.1). The first channel of influence is the unrestricted circulation of goods, money, values and ideas around the world. The other channel through which globalization shows presence is the diffusion of changing norms and values into every level of the society. The influence coming from this channel shows itself within the minor acts, decisions and choices made as individuals, families or groups composing the urban society. It is an accepted fact that the expansion of a global culture is enhancing the globalization process. Global culture or 'Globalism' (Cross and Moore 2002) disseminated in many dimensions e.g. virtually, materially, literally and so on (Peterson 2003); via media, internet or human relations becomes an influencing force upon the individual's ways of thinking and acting and upon the decisions and choices made.

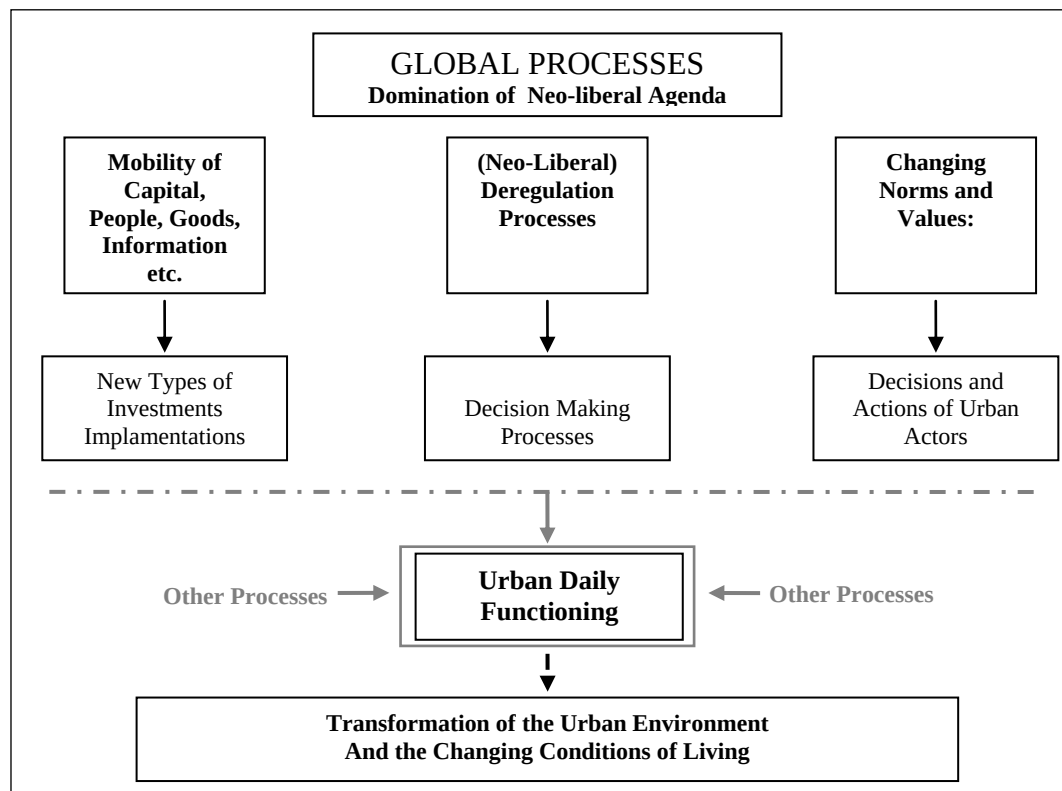


Figure 2. 1. Channels of Influence of Globalization

However, the most powerful channel of influence can be named as the global deregulation process, which is conducted by governmental processes. This process may show specific characteristics according to countries and states. Effects of globalization and neo-liberal ideology are concretized through this channel within the changing economic and urban policies; the legislative framework, which sets the new conditions for their implementations and the new role states assign for themselves within this frame.

Finally, although the channels of influence are discussed here separately, it is necessary to indicate that they are in fact interconnected and in relation with each other. The increasing mobility, the changing values and the governmental processes are all contingent processes and influence each other. The following three sections aim to reveal the different conditionings entering into the urban environment through these channels.

2.3.1 Mobility of Capital, Goods and Information

Capitalism is an abstract concept standing for concrete realities. It summarizes complex sets of institutions and processes that ultimately serve the material interests of the owners of productive wealth and property. These interests override all others and have historically been expressed most obviously through the demand for free trade, or the free movement of goods and capital (and sometimes the free movement of labour). (Cross and Moore 2002, 6)

Today, the main and most direct way globalization operates is through the circulation of capital, goods, information, ideologies, values and many other things across the world. This mobility enabled in all fields primarily assures the functioning of neo-liberalism, which is especially based on the global organisation of economic relations. The free circulation of capital is made possible both by governmental measures and by the technological developments.

Governments around the world, through the economic and legislative restructurings they are conducting, have allowed these movements of capital, goods, information and removed in different scales conventional impediments. The increasing mobility of capital for instance, yielded foreign participation in local economies and opened the city space and economies to these kinds of investments. Foreign investments are primarily driven by the search of international or transnational economic organizations for new markets and their emerging demands of space, labour and infrastructure in relation. Foreign direct investment (FDI) flows that is defined as the whole or partial acquisition of a firm, or the building and setting up of new firms by an investor in a foreign country, are a major indicator of increasing international transactions as Sassen (2000, 12) points out. Foreign investments are further intensified by the increasing demands of international or transnational economic actors, and their search for new markets worldwide. Foreign investments have also become a tool for the organization and the spatialization of global economy at the local level.

Furthermore, the changes that are related to the 'global economy' as it is experienced today, such as the changing modes and relations of production and

accumulation in parallel to major technological developments, redefined the roles of cities and opened the way to “new forms of urban investment” (Sassen 2004). Cities gained new meanings and a new significance within the context of global economy and its relations. Sassen (2004, 374) explains, many investments are made in urban cores, to house “global city functions” and to meet the needs of new economic relations; and hosting global city functions brings socio-spatial change. What has been mentioned by many authors about the new position of cities within the global network of activities as increasing conglomerations in space is the astonishment on how activities continued to concentrate around cities, despite the fact that they become increasingly unbounded to space (Sassen 2000, Harding and LeGales 1997). Similarly, Harding and Le Gales (1997, 187) question:

Why should globalization lead to enhanced agglomeration effects in and around certain cities when the information revolution supposedly enables dispersal and deconcentration?

The answer is that globalization requires like every economic activity, a physical infrastructure and face-to-face relations (Sassen 2000, 2004). Harvey (2006, 78) underlines that “capitalist activity is always grounded somewhere”. Harding and Le Gales (1997, 187-8) answer the same question with the following reasons: *(i)* the availability of resources, *(ii)* presence of the necessary infrastructure that is required for communication and information technologies, proximity to consumer markets, accessibility to innovation, and *(iii)* the concentration of economic power in the city. Sassen (2001), in the second edition of her book “The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo”, underlines that the “territorial dispersal of economic activity” associated with developments in technology and changes in the economic system (spatial re-organization of production) increased the need for centralized forms of control and management. This has led to continuing concentrations of people and activities in cities.

The new features brought along with the increased and unhindered circulation of capital shapes the city in socio-spatial ways. Those activities of the foreign capital in the city, create new dynamics in the daily urban functioning, change the living

conditions of urban inhabitants and introduce new actors into the (local) urban scene. The fact that cities became subject to the demands of global actors brought new urban dynamics to both land and labour markets – to the functioning of the city at the daily level.

In relation to the circulation of capital, the movement of goods and commodities has also intensified and give way to the creation of different consumer markets. The mobility of people has also become easier with the increasing technological developments in transportation. Again as reverberations of the capital mobility and technological developments, the circulation of intangibles such as information, knowledge, styles of living, cultures have also increased and created global – ideological – contingencies in norms and values.

2.3.2 Changing Norms and Values: Decisions of Urban Actors

The ubiquity of globalization and neo-liberalism is especially reinforced within the (daily) practices of societies. The domination of neo-liberal practices – the expansion of its norms and values, is conducted through several ways. First government implementations provide the institutional and legislative framework for certain kind of practices to take place. By doing so they lead the society towards certain ways of doing, acting, operating. Second, globalization and the associated norms and values of neo-liberalism are disseminated through the channel of media and internet, visual and written culture. Whether independent or controlled, media today is accepted as the most effective field of operation for ideologies and discourses.

The operations and practices of the administrative, governmental bodies set the rules and limits of the actions and transactions of people. By doing so, they consolidate the relations of globalization and neo-liberalism within societies. On the other hand, media and internet – visual and written culture – provide the ground for the spreading of certain ideologies, ways of acting and thinking through the images and discourses they use. For instance, certain practices in economic relations and certain

manners of conduct in everyday personal relations become widespread with these influences, such as individualization, atomization, prioritizing personal interest, market oriented profit maximization, and consumption oriented life styles and identity construction, and similar approaches. Both fields of operation influence the daily practices of people around the world, by regulating, manipulating, impressing and so on.

The change in the forms of economic relations, social relations, ways of thinking and acting; and in the dominant norms and values in parallel to the expansion of neo-liberal practices contributes to the expansion and strengthening of globalization, as these are being increasingly practiced and re-produced within the daily actions and decisions of inhabitants living in cities, around the world. This trend of transformation in the dominant norms and values within societies can be accepted as an important dimension of many problems faced by urban populations today. As the role of states changes in parallel, in a way to support and direct this change, groups of people are left alone, with weakening social cohesion and support mechanisms. This transformation in the prevailing norms and values explains therefore important dimensions of the processes that are experienced today by urban populations, under the influence of globalization and neo-liberalism. The shift in the societal norms and values towards atomization and maximization of individual profits has had of course a number of side effects. With the changing ways of living and working in the city, due to changing economic system, many inhabitant groups has experienced difficulty in adapting to the transformations in the system and faced the risk of marginalization.

2.3.3 Deregulation Processes

In connection to the mobility of capital, goods and ideas, and in a way to influence changing norms and values; the primary field through which globalization is diffusing into the daily functioning of cities, in structural ways, are administrative processes. The concern to adapt to the global economy, to keep up with the technological developments and to maintain the economic vitality of the city, region

or state (Bailey and Turok 2001, Crot 2006) created contemporary kinds of pressures upon states and cities. Parallel to the transformations in the economic agenda of states, governmental forms have also been changing after the 1980s, shifting to post-Keynesian forms (Brenner 2003). There has been a move from more controlled, regulated state actions towards less regulated forms. The processes of deregulation and local empowerment in governmental processes initiated the discussions on whether the end of 'nation' states has come.

The deregulation process, as accepted in this study, include the development of neo-liberal visions, plans, strategies and policies by local and central administrations and the cooperation with various institutions and civil organizations. The main influence upon cities comes from the restructuring experienced in these processes. In many parts of the world, states have also gone through a neo-liberal restructuring, which is based on the discourse that all "restrictions" on the circulation of all kinds of 'things' (money, commodities, information and ideas) in the world should be freed (Peterson, 2003). For this sake, the first requirement is the restructuring in the economic system of countries.

2.3.3.1 Neo-Liberal Restructuring of Economies

The global economy imposes subtly its conditions and rules on every community and government. A primary target of many governments after the 1980s is to assure the integration of their 'economy' into the global network. This global integration means being a part of the globally operating networks of production, consumption, managing, investing, and being a well-known place in the world to attract capital. This concern for integration does not only raise because of being exposed to the global phenomenon, it is also because global integration is increasingly accepted as a determinant of economic condition, as a provider of economic vitality; and when there is failure countries face the risk of becoming periphery (Fainstein 1994, Sassen 2000). And, maintaining economic development became a growing concern within the necessity to adapt to the changing and establishing global economic system

where methods of development are no longer the same (Fainstein 1994, Sassen 2000).

Within the context of multiple global pressures, integration into global economy had been sought by governments through a restructuring process, which took place primarily in the field of economy, regarding economic development policies. These policies may consist of several resolutions that are mainly based on an economic liberalization and deregulation, which is seen as the key to economic sustainability. As Thorns (2003, 85) states the idea that “the embracing of a free trade and open borders policy is critical to economic prosperity and growth” became a dominant approach. This approach follows the neo-liberal interests of maximizing the surplus to be obtained through out all kinds of economic processes; and it is this approach that states have been following in their restructuring process.

The restructuring that will be followed, is determined firstly by the particular role(s) that will be taken by their regions and cities within the global organisation of production. Regions or cities may become centres of command, providers of qualified workforce, unqualified and low-waged workforce, of sub-contracting manufacturers or firms and the similar. Accordingly, governments develop the necessary legal framework and the administrative setup for the accomplishment of these aims.

A second step in the economic restructuring managed by governments includes a common change in the mode of intervention of states, expressed in many studies as the shift from Keynesian state to ‘entrepreneurial governance’ or the shift from “political legitimization and social redistribution” to “political domination and capital accumulation” (Castells 1989, 25). This new set of economic policies include such as decentralisation and the distributing of former state provisions to private bodies, and occasionally the privatization of production in the public sector, and increased public and private partnerships (Castells 1989, 25). The changing economic regulations are in general designed in a way to favour capital accumulation and to attract international economic activity into national borders. Marcuse and Kempen

(2000, 5) define globalization, “as it exists today” as “a combination of new technology, increased trade and mobility, increased concentration of economic control, and reduced welfare-oriented regulatory action of nation-states”.

Economic restructuring manifest itself in policies concerning the working conditions – labour market, and policies concerning the spatial conditions – land and property markets. Within the climate of the economic and political changes experienced around the world, local and central governments inclined towards developing viable visions and plans based on few cities, which are considered to have the potential to provide economic development and vitality for the region and the country. Through this process, cities are pushed into a rapid change and regeneration, which will recreate their images, which will enable their integration into the ‘global networks’, and which will improve their adaptation to the new economic system.

2.3.3.2 New Urban Policies

Along with the changing economic system and modes of governance, urban policies had also taken new dimensions (see Table 2.1). Le Gales connects the recent change in ‘urban policies’ in Western Europe primarily to the restructuring of the nation state and to the economic changes related to globalization processes (Le Gales 2004, 235, 236, 251; Swyngedouw *et al.* 2002, 543). The issue of global competitiveness had been the focus of many academic studies within the last decade. As expressed in many of them, competitiveness has been a frequently referred concept within the formation of recent urban policies (Buck *et al.* 2005, Boddy and Parkinson 2004, Oatley 1998, Turok *et al.* 2004). Such an idea about cities – “competitive cities”, is usually discussed within the specific frame of market driven economy. Accordingly the underlying rationale of the competitiveness policies is that the level of prosperity of an area is parallel to higher average income and lower unemployment. The commonly referred indicators of the competitiveness of cities are usually economic ones as the level of output, productivity, value added per head; tangible outcomes like personal or corporate income and spending power; levels of employment, unemployment; economic growth, in-migration, attracting inward investment

(Boddy and Parkinson 2004). Similarly Turok et al. (2004) explain two dimensions of “place based prosperity”. One is productivity, second is employment rate.

The relevant strategies to increase the competitiveness of a city were based therefore on increasing the income and employment levels of cities or regions. These strategies aimed at expanding employment (at the urban/metropolitan level) instead of continuing the provision of social goods or services (Fainstein 2001). Hubbard and Hall (1998, 1) explain that urban policies are now more “outward-oriented” aiming to foster and encourage local growth and economic development. This had been (or it is still being) realised through “property-led” implementations and through the shift towards the understanding of “entrepreneurial city” (Fainstein 2001). The idea of entrepreneurial city was accepted as the primary strategy of economic development-vitality for cities in a global system. Fainstein (1994) explains that “property development for stimulating economically productive activity”, such as the construction of commercial spaces and generating economic activity, become another trend of policy implemented in America and Britain in the 1990s.

Weber (2002, 520) criticizes these kinds of “spatial policies” for becoming a tool used by states, to make the built environment more flexible and responsive towards the investments of the real estate capital. The new attitude of central and local governments, have been criticised by many academics as being “increasingly neo-liberalized”; being strictly “focused on attracting private interest and extracting value” (Weber 2009, 519). Similarly, Harvey (2006) amplifies the same process by saying that “it is rather important to appropriate surpluses, not only to generate them.” And he adds by asking “the question is who appropriates them?”. Le Gales (2004) similarly evaluates the development of urban policy in Europe by criticising the recent position urban policies obtained:

This type of policy has spread everywhere. Although there are differences between cities, the same dynamics and the same actors are at play. Such urban policies are weakly connected to social exclusion; by contrast, they tend to participate in those processes. (Le Gales 2004, 250)

The interest of governments, institutions and different actors with the real-estate capital can be accepted as a contemporary form of pressure and disturbance upon cities. This strategy turned therefore the focus from people to places, and depended on what is called “Place-marketing”. (Fainstein, 2001) According to Swyngedouw et al., place marketing projects:

are the material expression of a developmental logic that views mega-projects and place-marketing as means for generating future growth and for waging a competitive struggle to attract investment capital. (Swyngedouw *et al.* 2002, 546)

In fact a major part of urban policies are now project oriented. (Swyngedouw et al, 2002). As Swyngedouw *et al* (2002) mentions, one tool of pursuing competitiveness policies are large scale urban development projects (UDPs), which aim at attracting large amount of capital.

Turok (2005) explains similarly that the competitiveness of cities is aimed to be developed through several strategies like trying to protect vulnerable industries; place marketing, developing financial incentives to attract investment; striving to capture flagship projects (using both the cost of local factors and quality of amenities) or exploiting urban assets like specialized labour pools, institutional networks, lifestyle cultural facilities etc. This approach introduces cities as marketable ‘things’. Turok et al. (2004) note down the markets within which cities compete as follows. First is the city cores as regional service centres; second, the nationally and internationally traded products and services; third the inward investment; fourth the competition for skilled mobile population and fifth is the episodic event markets. These policies are developed by administrations through the enhancement of various ‘competitive assets’ like retaining or attracting investment, generating or hosting knowledge intensive or high technology activities, attracting skilled work force, and so on (Turok 2005). For instance, as Boddy and Parkinson (2004) explain, a better mix of attributes for business is a primary asset that promotes competitiveness for cities (Boddy and Parkinson 2004).

Planning through urban ‘projects’ has indeed emerged as the main strategy to stimulate economic growth and to ‘organize innovation’, both organisationally and economically. Large scale projects and events are perceived as strategic instruments aiming at reshaping the city. (Swyngedouw *et al.* 2002, 562)

To conclude, it is through these relations that, cities became the primary tool of global integration and competitiveness policies; especially cities that have the potential to host the activities, functions, services and infrastructure demanded by ‘globalization’. In this sense, cities that have the adequate attractiveness (assets) to draw global functions and transnational capital to themselves and to the country are accepted to stimulate an economic development and vitality. This new inclination in urban policy-making brought the emergence of new types of investments and regulations. These contribute to the social and spatial configuration of cities in many ways (Orueta 2007, Kesteloot 2004, Swyngedouw *et al.* 2002).

2.3.3.3 The New Roles of States

It had been observed and that the preceding duties of states on conducting of social provisions had been decreasing. This happened firstly through the transfer of some social services and amenities to the private sector or local administrations. The provision of these services is now left to the market system, and states only provide a regulatory control over them. Moreover, within this new global/neo-liberal context, states also faced the urgent necessity to invent new sources of income and economic development.

The view of globalization as an inexorable, and virtually unstoppable, force which can only be accommodated, rather than resisted, has become the conventional wisdom in neo-liberal political and business circles and employed as a rhetoric to justify particular kinds of decisions. (The Dictionary of Human Geography 2000, 315)

After the mid 90s, states, with their varying agendas, started to intervene into different urban implementations either through reorganizing the field of legislation or through directly being an actor, an economic figure itself. Within their new role and position states use the legislative framework as an instrument for providing the

ground for the realization of economic profit oriented operations, such as the implementation of redevelopment projects, large scale development projects and so on. In fact, as Fainstein (1994) comprehensively studied, the property sector became an important field of economic activity because of its market role and potential to generate rent –extra value – without performing traditional production activity.

In some cases these projects' initiation are exceptionally legitimated through the “freezing of conventional planning tools, by-passing statutory regulations and institutional bodies, the creation of project agencies with special or exceptional powers of intervention and decision-making, and/or change in national or regional regulations. (Swyngedouw *et al.* 2002, 543)

After the first change of position of states, including the shift towards ‘post-Keynesian’ forms of governance, another change of position occurred in the recent decades (see table 2.1). This second shift of position of nation-states is explained by Peck and Tickell (2002) as the transition from “roll-out” to “roll-back” neo-liberalism. With these two concepts, the authors diversify what they call the destructive and creative moments of the process of neo-liberalism. (Peck and Tickell 2002, 380) As McGuirk (2005, 60) mentions:

Roll-back neo liberalism refers to the multifaceted strategies of deregulation and dismantling of the Keynesian-welfare state's collectivist institutions and its ethos of universal provision. Roll-out neo-liberalism refers to the active (re)construction of neo-liberalised state forms, governance relations and regulatory reform.

The second and contemporary form of neo-liberalism (Roll-out) brings along a new ‘repertoire’ of policies, where the state is again in the scene (McGuirk 2005, 61). A major part of these policies aim to attract real estate investments. States developed spatial policies like implementing urban renewal projects focusing on slum clearance, introducing financial incentives and subsidies, or opening properties to demolition and redevelopment (Weber 2002). Weber asserts that the “obsolescence” of the built environment is used as an “alibi” for the neoliberal policies of urban redevelopment and therefore has become, “an important component in contemporary capital accumulation” (Weber 2002, 519). In order to support land and property

development governments conducted legislative restructurings by loosening related regulations and offering subsidies to private investors

Besides the pressures of global integration, there are also pressures coming from the different grounds of the city upon governments. These may come from the inhabitants through 'urban movements', wider or minor resistances, or simply their daily choice of actions. Their position is important as they are the final user, the customer of the investments made. These may also be pressures coming from the private sector, as the private investors with their capital power have a more influencing stance against governments.

While many academic studies discuss the changing role of states within globalization, Harding and Le Gales (1997, 184) question whether adaptation to globalization is what is driving policy agendas and causing institutional and policy change. What they conclude at the end, depending on the cases of Britain and France, is that there is strong evidence of "growing urban entrepreneurialism, selective strengthening of urban-regional institutions..." in governance processes. However, what they conclude is that nation-states still have room for manoeuvre (if they want to) and that they are not "constrained to carry out the same narrow 'globalization agenda'." (Harding and Le Gales 1997, 198) Therefore, the idea that the nation state had been hollowed out proves to be an exaggeration according to the authors depending on the cases of Britain and France (Harding and Le Gales 1997, 200). There seem to be less room, on the other hand, as Stiglitz (2002) explains, for those developing countries whose globalization is managed and manipulated by international financial institutions such as IMF. Those institutions pose other pressures on states and try to direct the economic and political restructuring process of these developing countries.

Table 2. 1 Changing Neo-Liberal Policies

Transformation	Up to 1980s	1980s &1990s	Post 1990s
Practices Of Neo-Liberalism	Central authority Regulated transactions State intervenes	Free market (self regulated) Decentralisation Deregulation	State intervenes into market, and also seeks economic interest States become an actor of the market
Roles Of States	Nation-state, Welfare state, Keynesian state Equal distribution of social services	States transfer many of their responsibilities to the market. The free functioning of markets emphasized. Public-private partnerships	States return both as an actor in the market and as the regulator of its functioning
Urban Policies	Social concerns. Distribution of services, provision of urban infrastructure	Private concerns start to supersede social ones Approaches like entrepreneurial city, place marketing, urban competitiveness,	Place based, project oriented urban policies, urban redevelopment implementations Place marketing, competitiveness, entrepreneurialism still important.
Interest	Common good, public interest	Private interest	Private interest
Urban Issues-Problems	In developing countries, responding to rapid urban growth, the development of squatter areas, housing provision, infrastructure provision	Income polarisations Socio-spatial segregation Migration, ethnicity	Socio-spatial segregation Forced displacements Income polarisations Environmental problems

Globalization is a key influence on institutional and policy changes, but “national responses to globalization take various pathways” (Harding and Le Gales 1997). National governments still have a decisive role and “national politics continues to dominate those at sub national level” (Harding and Le Gales 1997). However as they emphasize “central government also continues to be the one mechanism through which meaningful redistribution of resources can take place” (Harding and Le Gales 1997). Sub-national authorities usually concentrate on "decisions linked to productive investments" and not on the social redistribution of welfare. As the authors stated, for the cases of Britain and France urban problems are still the

driving concern of urban policies rather than city and urban-regional economic development and international economic competitiveness (Harding and Le Gales 1997, 198-9). They further claim that the ideology of 'growth at all costs' of the 80s and early 90s have started to lose ground depending on the cases of Britain and France. Unfortunately, this is not the case for many other countries. States still choose not to intervene to redistribution mechanisms and seek economic development on the ground level.

Hence today, the new role that states own is no longer the distribution of produced and obtained wealth as in Keynesian forms of governance. States pertain to this duty on differing scales, but they also seek to invent the regulatory and legislative background that will organize the negotiation processes between actors, in a way to legitimize its own part within the investment and implementations made. States readjust their position within what can be called an 'entrepreneurial mode of governance' (Eraydın and Altay 2011). This includes the collaboration of public and private sector as well as the civil society.

Although the roles of the state has changed due to the implementation of 'privatization' and 'deregulation' policies especially in the countries that adopted the neo-liberal ideology; the 'state' as an actor in the making of major decisions is still having a determining role. Depending on the investigations conducted by Swyngedouw et al, on different urban development projects across Europe, "the state is invariably one of the leading actors in the process" (Swyngedouw *et al.* 2002, 552) and therefore governmental policies are important. States have a determining role in this process either by making decisions, developing plans or by providing the legislative conditions and opening the way to the projects of private investors and initiatives. This also shows that in the realisation of visions, plans and programs the state is always an indispensable part of the process.

2.4 Socio-Spatial Outcomes of the Implementation of Neo-liberal Policies

The impacts of globalization influence the city mainly through the restructuring processes experienced in each channel of influence. The most dominant of these channels is without doubt deregulation processes where the restructurings in economic and urban policies and the decision making process are conducted. Under the influence of processes that take place within these channels, it can be stated that the changing patterns of demand compose another influence on the urban functioning and the changing urban environment. Within multi dimensional influences coming from global mobility, global culture and governmental restructurings, cities are now the ground for new types of implementations, plans and projects.

Within the necessity to adapt the national economies to the changing economic system, as explained above, the focus of policy making turned from social issues towards urban ones (Orueta 2007, Marcuse 2002, Swyngedouw et al 2002) aiming at economic development, inter-urban competition and attracting capital investment. Since the 1980s, the experience of different cases showed that some cities have achieved to become a hub of cultural, business, scientific, educational activities and have rapidly prospered. Depending on such experiences; cities, which have the adequate assets to draw global functions and transnational capital to themselves and to the country are accepted to be able to stimulate an economic vitality.

By the mid-twentieth century, many of our great cities were in physical decay, loosing population, economic activity, key roles in the national economy, and share of national wealth. As we move into the twenty-first century, cities have re-emerged as strategic places for a wide range of projects and dynamics. (Sassen 2006, 1)

This situation has loaded an important responsibility on cities, and greater accomplishment is expected from them by their governments. As Swyngedouw et al. point out “the main aspiration is to turn the city into a global competitive actor” and the aspired economic regeneration “... is now primarily achieved via place-bound

and spatially targeted redevelopment schemes” (2002, 563). Accordingly, within the neo-liberal economic system cities are seen as economic assets for their region or country (Boddy and Parkinson 2004, Turok et al 2004), as “dynamos of national economies” (Boddy and Parkinson 2004).

Buffeted by global forces and no longer protected by the national state, the post-modern city is in competition with urban regions around the world for an increasingly mobile capital. (Beauregard and Haila 2000, 23)

A number of urban researches draw attention to the neo-liberal tendency in the developing state policies (Bond 2005, Saito 2003, Smith 2002). Accordingly, the neo-liberal state becomes an agent of –not the regulator of – the market. (Smith 2002) Within this perspective urbanisation had been considered as “a constitutive force of economic development around the world” (Lapple and Kanai 2005). As observed in different cities around the world, the related policies comprise operations for assuring the growth of international real-estate investment (Sajor 2003). As mentioned in such studies, the increasing interest in “private investment” (Nappi-Choulet 2006), the commodification of public space (Parham 2006), the dichotomy of “extensive redevelopment”, “rising property values” (Shatkin 2004) and “property led developments” had invigorated the speculative land market, high-end residential real estate development, opportunism and rent-seeking (Sajor 2003). In parallel, under the impact of globalization and this competition pressure many problems like “new or renewed forms of inequality, poverty, ..., urban renewal issues,... lack of social housing, the creation gated communities” (Le Gales 2004, 236) have started to be faced by urban entities today. One important issue in this process is the tension that emerges between the ‘schemes’ of the governments and forms of governance, and the actual experience of the urban populations. To show one dimension of this tension Swyngedouw *et al.* explain the large scale urban development projects, as one form of emerging urban policies, have the problem of poor integration “into the wider urban processes and planning system” (2002, 542).

Besides the experienced shift in the focus of urban policies as explained above, the rising demand of the global capital for new built and technological infrastructure,

such as new office spaces, residential and consumption spaces is also accepted as a major influence on cities in the global era. This demand is creating new pressures of redevelopment and gentrification within the city. A new organisation of space for industrial uses created different dynamics within cities. The gentrification of degraded inner city zones or more radical projects of redevelopment constitute the other transformation trends of globalising cities. It is only after some time that dark sides of the stories of success of the globalizing cities (of the interaction of cities with globalization) became evident. These consequences remained unmentioned; they were not taken into account within the imprudent rush of implementations. The outcome of these new dynamics is usually the production of spaces with restricted access and the restructuring of the urban geography in a way to aggravate socio-spatial segregations.

Urban policies, which are under the guidance of local and central governments, which are in turn influenced by global processes, are external factors that determine the transformation of cities. However the change of the urban environment and urban geography should be accepted as a more complex process. The transformation of urban environment occurs in different but connected fields. For instance, the city visions are reformulated in order to construct a marketable image. The functional distribution of the built environment, the activities and infrastructure in cities; the labour dynamics and relations of production in cities are changing. Cities change in terms of their administrative structure. Cities also change in terms of their populations: they attract new populations, they lose some part of their population, a social mobility within the city geography is triggered, new forms of socio-spatial stratifications are produced and similar processes are experienced.

Especially within the contemporary literature, both spatially and socio-economically uneven effects of globalization are more and more discussed. As Harvey (2006, 71) conveys: “The promised outcome form of poverty reduction from freer trade, open markets and “neo-liberal” strategies of globalization has not materialized.” This disappointment with the expected advantages of globalization, added a new dimension to the debate on globalization and cities. The traces of this transition in

the expectations and definitions about globalization and ‘globalizing cities’ can be followed within the points, made in the retrospective of academic studies on the issue.

An overview of the literature of case studies, investigating the different dimensions of the influence of globalization on cities around the world; shows that the conducted studies focus mainly on the change of the built environment and living conditions; on the rise of inequalities and the sharpening of social exclusion, on the change in the urban policies, on the cases of urban resistances and social movements against globally led developments (Berner 1997, Bond 2005, Souza 2006). Many of the studies on the relation of globalization and cities highlight the contradictory nature of globalization. Berner (1997) explains globalization through “Contradictory Juxtapositions” such as Integration and fragmentation, rich and poor being present at the same time in the geographies of globalization. Similarly Lapple and Kanai (2005) draw attention to the coexistence of growth and shrinkage, innovation and blockage of innovation, integration and exclusion, disappearance and emergence within the processes of globalization.

One body of discussions investigate the influence of the agenda of “globalist city governments” on the emergence of new forms of urbanisation. This “changing urban form” (Parham 2006) is conceptualised variously as the “entrepreneurial city” (Hall and Hubbard 1998), the “revanchist city” or the “post-modern urbanism”. (Murray 2004) These accounts draw attention firstly to the new, homogenising nature of the built environment and urban life styles. This form of change observed in the city space is related above all to the infrastructure demands of the global economy (Sassen 2006, 1), of international flows and networks. This initiated what is called the “homogenising of the urban landscape” under the influence of globalization. This landscape, as Sassen (2006, 1) explains, responds to two different conditions:

One is the consumer world, with homogenising tropes that help in expanding and standardising markets to the point they can become global markets. But this is to be distinguished from the homogenising involved in the organisational side of the global economy – state of the art office districts,

airports, hotels, services, and residential complexes for the strategic workforces. This reshaping responds to the needs associated with housing these new economies, and the cultures and politics they entail. (Sassen 2006, 1)

Secondly, there is an important body of literature designating the obliteration of public space, through the development of urban environments like “fortified enclaves” or “gated communities” (Murray 2004). These studies also signal to the emergence of exclusionary practices of privatised control systems like “private policing” (Murray 2004) or “micro control systems” (Sophie Body-Gendrot 2006) in the city. Accordingly, these trends in urbanisation observed around the world are triggering “the creation of new types of segregation” (Murray 2004) and they are “categorizing the inhabitant” (Sophie Body-Gendrot 2006) in a serious way.

All in all, globalization, states and cities are observed to be in a tripartite relationship. In this relation, globalization can be conceptualised as the phenomenon that carry the effects of the developments taking place around the world to other localities. These may be through the words or actions of others, or technological developments and the similar. States take place in this relationship as the facilitator or coordinator between different actors or as the developer and executer of a series of new policies. Finally cities are the site of implementation and actualisation of new economic, cultural, political, social – urban policies. It is through the variety of interactions taking place within this trio that urban transformations (including spatial, economic, social, political and cultural transformations) are shaped.

CHAPTER III

GLOBALIZATION, CITIES AND RESILIENCE

This study asserts that, in order to understand the process of urban transformation under the influence of globalization, and in order to evaluate the impacts of this transformation on urban populations it is necessary to unravel the processes through which these transformations are actually produced. In this respect the study proposes a model of explanation, which will be explained in detail in this chapter. This model aims to emphasize the importance of certain relationships within the production of urban environment, and accepts the complex, contingent and multi-dimensional nature of urban processes.

Elaborating the different dimensions of the process of urban transformation under global influences will provide a better understanding on the multiple dimensions of contemporary urban problems; their sources and the context within which they arise. According to the frame of explanation that will be presented here, it is accepted that there is no direct medium where globalization and neo-liberalisation *per se* act to produce and re-produce urban spaces and places. The transformation of urban environments is rather produced within the specific functioning of every city, and conditioned in between the influence of different fields, which are influenced by global processes through the channels described in chapter two.

One of the main arguments of the model is that urban changes are actualized within the everyday level of urban functioning and at a micro scale. This means that every decision, act, and transaction of any singular or group of urban actor plays a part in the process. On the other hand the implication of every transformation, restructuring and operation is also experienced at the everyday level by the urban inhabitants, through the changing conditions of living and working. It becomes increasingly difficult for urban inhabitants to adapt to the successively and rapidly changing

conditions, under the policies and implementations conducted in the global era. These can be accepted as external stresses that create new or renewed forms of socio-spatial vulnerabilities for urban populations.

With this problematic at hand, this chapter aims further to construct an approach for the assessment of different impacts of global processes on diverse urban inhabitant groups; introducing the ‘resilience’ of urban populations as a major criteria for considering the future well being of urban populations facing the continuously changing conditions. Resilience approach is increasingly accepted as a helpful tool in urban studies, especially in those combining social and ecological dimensions of urban systems (Urban Resilience Research Prospectus 2007, Berkes et al. 2002), for instance for developing the post-hazard planning strategies or eco-system management options. The concept of resilience has been introduced firstly in the field of ecology, as a desirable attribute (Holling 1973); as an ‘emergent’ property (Berkes, Colding and Folke 2002) of a system, which provides the system the capacity “to absorb changes of state variables” (Holling 1973, 17) and the ability to cope with future events that will always be unexpected and unpredicted (Holling 1973, 21). The concept of resilience helps urban theoreticians with different fields of interests, to investigate complex systems (Berkes et al. 2002) and to incorporate “the non-linear dynamics” (Gunderson 2000) of the investigated system to their analyses.

Within the frame of the discussed problematic, global processes – the circulation of goods, capital and information, the deregulation process led by states and changing norms and values – and the new types of implementations and investments that have initiated in the city space are accepted as a major source of transformation. The continuous urban transformations driven by economically focused practices are accepted in the study as a potential disturbance for urban populations. The future well being of cities and their inhabitants, facing different levels of stresses under the circumstances brought by neo-liberal restructuring processes, is assumed to be in direct relation with the ability of different social groups to adapt to these changing conditions and unexpected shocks, hence with (the level of) social resilience. It is accepted in this study that enhancing the resilience of urban populations will

improve the possibilities of adapting to changing conditions, sustaining the social cohesion and economic prosperity in cities, and the possibilities of coping with the negative outcomes of globalization. The impacts of the urban transformations shaped under global processes are widely discussed in the literature, since many decades. However, to further understand to what extent they are putting the present and future living conditions of different social groups at stake; the ‘resilience’ frame will provide a fruitful ground of discussion in the research study.

3.1 Explaining the Process of Transformation of Cities: A Model

There is a massive amount of literature about the impacts of globalization on cities covering a plethora of issues, like the interaction of cities and globally prevailing trends and pressures of urban and economic policies. These studies focus either on the urban policies shaped around the aims of attaining ‘global competitiveness’ – discussing the possibility of generating economic development through these policies; or on the recent experiences of negative socio-economic conditions that are considered as the outcome of urban development and re-development projects implemented as part of the recent urban policies. However the link between sources and implications of the transformation process has not been comprehensively studied. The processes through which these social, spatial and economic transformations are generated remains under-investigated and only, the connection with the ‘globalization’ trends is held.

What is seen in the literature on the investigation of the impacts of globalization on cities includes various accounts that accentuate the negative outcomes of the globalization process in cities by documenting cases of social exclusion, inequality, spatial segregation, homelessness, unemployment, urban shrinkage and similar. Different than that, the approach of this study is to focus primarily on the mechanisms, which contribute to the production of these experienced conditions in this direction. The main intention of the study will be to develop a relational approach towards the changing socio-spatial dynamics in cities around the world, which are on the verge of and under the pressure of global integration. The

significance of the approach comes from this relational approach, which seeks the connections between abstracted and separated fields of urban life, which are in fact highly inter-related. Hence, the aim is to introduce a complex and relational understanding about these processes; to show that there is not a one-sided relation between cities, global development trends and the conditions of living of the city population. This is also to show that the discussed urban projects and implementations should not only be evaluated through their design attributes and through the ‘internationally circulating capital’ (foreign direct investment and alike) they attract into the city and into the country, but they should be evaluated also with their socio-spatial reverberations.

3.1.1 Two fields of Influence

Focusing on the production of urban transformations, the problematic that is elaborated in this research study can be stated at the most general level as the connection between two sets of urban actuality. These sets of urban actuality are the structural parts of the ongoing development and restructuring of cities today. The term ‘urban actuality’ is defined here in relation to the understanding of this study on cities. The urban phenomenon is accepted in this study as a socio-spatial, complex, contingently developing, multi-dimensional phenomenon. Therefore it cannot be the mere object of one sided, top-to-bottom implementations. The city (as a mechanism) is able to actively develop different responses to the interventions coming from different levels.

‘Global processes’ can be accepted as a major influence upon cities today, as discussed in the previous sections. In parallel, the transformation of urban systems – cities can be positioned in between the impact of two fields. First comprises the influences coming from above. Global processes influence urban systems through various channels. These are for instance the deregulation processes directed by governmental bodies, the global mobility of capital, goods, people, information and ideologies. Second field of influence upon cities comes from below. It includes conditionings coming from the city itself determined by the socio-political context.

Within this frame, the first field of urban actuality comprises the administration of a recent trend of development in certain cities, pursued by central and urban governments and institutions. These policies are in general shaped and conducted by various strategies, with the goal of achieving a significant ‘global competitiveness’ as presented above. If the first field of urban life can be accepted as an economically formulated phenomenon and an administered process, the second field of urban actuality is closer to the experiences of the actual social phenomenon. It comprises the changes and modifications in the living conditions of urban populations, under the influence of introduced- policies, plans and projects.

In between the conditionings coming from above – the decision making processes – and from below – the local context and the characteristics of the city – there operate various ‘Interface Mechanisms,’ as it is defined in this study, which provide the necessary medium for the exchanges and transactions necessary for the production of new, and the reproduction of existing urban spaces. The actual transformation of the city takes place within the interface mechanisms, including the everyday functioning of mechanisms such as ‘land and property market’ and the ‘labour market’ see Figure 3.1.

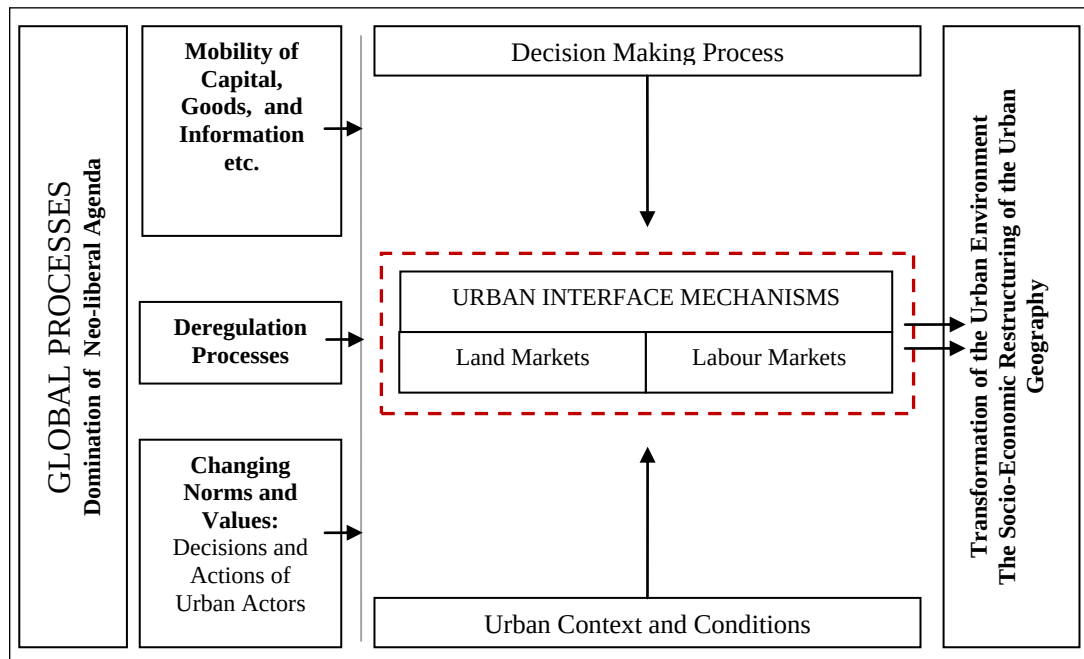


Figure 3. 1. Two fields of Influence upon Urban Functioning

The reverberations of the introduced policies, plans and projects by the daily functioning of the city within their implementation; and the different interpretations that are brought to them within the daily functioning of the city are other factors that determine the urban development and transformation process. The daily functioning of the city comprises the decisions, practices and actions of the different (and numerous) actors among the city population; as well as the decisions, practices and actions of various forms of authorities, governments and bodies of governance.

According to the presented frame of the study, globalization and neo-liberalism is accepted to bring new dynamics to urban functioning through three channels of influence. Especially, governmental practices determine and regulate the conditions, ways of operating within the interface mechanisms. On the other hand, changing norms and values shape the decisions, choices, visions and action of all the actors within the interfaces, from decision makers to ordinary inhabitants. Finally freely operating international, transnational actors become able to take part within the

interfaces. These movements cause the continuous development of new dynamics in the urban functioning.

There are two other points to emphasize within this transformation process. Firstly, in the actual urban life, the execution of urban policies that aims at creating economic development through securing the global competitiveness of cities, have other, negative consequences. It is extensively discussed in the literature that globalization exacerbate social problems like segregation, exclusion, and inequalities. Secondly, there is one process that should be highlighted, which is fundamental to the rise of these urban social problems. It is the fact that urban policies and projects, starting from their stage of planning and ‘design’, exert pressures and initiate different processes within the functioning of the city, hence urban interface mechanisms.

3.1.2 Urban Interface Mechanisms

It had been claimed throughout this study that there is a change and restructuring going on in both sides of the actual urban life, which are not independent from each other. Between the two influences coming from above and below, working as interfaces, processing the conditionings of the two and organizing the interactions of urban actors; there exist a number of urban mechanisms that determine the production of new urban environments and conditions. There are in fact mechanisms within the functioning of the city, which regulates and makes this complex and multi dimensional connection possible. Within this study they are named as urban interface mechanisms.

The production of the urban environment, including all together the built-environment, socio-economic urban geography and the conditions of living in the city is therefore accepted in this asserted model of explanation as an outcome of the functioning of ‘Interface Mechanisms’. It is further argued that, these ‘interface mechanisms’ are part of the socio-spatial production of the urban environment, urban space and urban conditions.

Urban interface mechanisms function as the primary fields that transmit the administered urban facts into the actual social structure. The idea of interface mechanism connotes a process or a set of practices and actions that diffuse the influences of globalization (as a body of practices, decisions, policies, values and knowledge) on the recent economic, social, cultural transformations experienced in the urban environment. However it is also shaped by the acts and decisions of the urban inhabitants.

The concept of 'Interface' is defined in the Metapolis Dictionary of Advanced Architecture as a "field of transmission". This transmission can be considered within the context of the study as the transmission of the impacts of different sets of activity and practice (global processes) into another one. The two fields conditioning the daily functioning of the city are conceptualised, legitimised and realised depending on different discourses, as part of different ideologies. Hence, the underlying problem in this study will also be to construct the connection between two separate fields of knowledge and practice, to bridge two parts of urban phenomenon, and to discover the 'mechanisms' – processes and practices – which effect the transmission of strategies and visions into urban life and into the practiced and lived urban environment.

These are mechanisms that organize, legitimize and define the relations between different urban actor groups coming from many different levels of action from everyday to administrative. One major characteristic of interface mechanisms is that they organise the first hand transaction of actors that normally don't come together, don't have face-to-face contact. Interface is also a field of interaction between the different, sometimes separately acting, unconnected actors of the society. The different actors united within the interface mechanism separately conduct their practices; develop their decisions in their own approach and logic.

In other words, urban interface mechanisms are the grounds where interactions, transactions, actions, appropriations, improvisations, creativity, choices, decisions, interpretations, "ways of using" (Altay 2004) takes place and turn into concrete

realities and facts shaping and re-shaping the urban environment and the associated conditions of living in it. Likewise, interfaces provide the milieu where an economic and political 'power-play' takes place. This power-play includes various confrontations, negotiations, rivalry, face-offs and the similar. It can be defined as the negotiation (in its purest sense) process between multiple urban actors of different grounds, with different political influences. This process is an important determinant for the outcomes of interface mechanisms.

Interface mechanisms are closest to market mechanisms such as urban land and property markets and urban labour markets, which are primarily regulated by administrative processes but function in relation to the demand and supply of various actors coming from different fields. Similarly, market mechanisms (that function in the city) provide a ground where the forces of supply and demand operate; in a complex, multi dimensional and contingent manner, and determine the continuously changing conditions. It is also through the functioning of the market mechanisms that the transactions between different actors are conducted in partly self-regulatory, partly regulated ways (Taylor 1996). Further, it is through the market mechanism that the daily implementations and outcomes of urban projects are concretely produced.

The characteristics of the interface mechanisms are mainly shaped by dynamics, which are initiated by the introduced urban policies and projects. The general direction followed by the transformation of the 'urban environment' is determined accordingly. Two interconnected urban functioning can be helpful in this understanding. First is the urban land and property market. Land and property market comprises the investments and transactions within the city. It has gained new dynamics with the influence of the entrance of international capital into urban economies. The re-levelling of land speculation influences the socio-economic geography of the city. The parallel manifestation of urban development trends introduces new styles and conditions of living among the people and their location preferences.

Second is the urban labour market. The functioning of the labour market has direct influences on the social and economic structure of the city. It influences the income levels of people, besides re-organizing the socio-economic hierarchy among the city population. Both the land market and the labour market influence the socio-economic stratification and the socio-spatial organisation within the urban entity.

Similarly the re-organisation in both markets has direct repercussions on the socio-economic re-structuring of the urban geography and the ways of living and working in the city. For instance in Land and Property Markets, the impacts of the acts and practices of the local and central governments (comprising decision making, planning, implementation, construction practices and so on) influence, orient and manipulate the practices that take place within the daily level of the land market functioning (comprising the transactions between real-estate agencies, ordinary real-estate customers, private investors and so on). Therefore the act of transmission, as it is referred in the conceptualisation of urban interface mechanisms, implicates productive and influencing actions and practices. Interface implies furthermore, an activity or the existence of an activity in process. Interfaces are also the field of activity where the interchange of both material and immaterial things (like information) takes place. The functioning of the urban land and property market for instance is a medium of interconnecting and regulating these different set of practices. It is an interactive field between two or more dimensions of an ongoing urban phenomenon.

Interface is the point where different uses accumulate, a place of dislocation and relocation, a place of line and flow. (*Metapolis Dictionary of Architecture* 2003, 357)

As a final note, the functioning of urban labour and land market as an interface mechanism is introduced within the approach of this research not only as a process, which determines the socio-economic dynamics of the city; but also as a process which diffuses and re-produces the dominant ideology and power relations within the society. Therefore, the interface mechanisms as defined within this study are especially not considered as mere economic functioning. It is rather important within

the scope of this study that these mechanisms encompass a multiplicity of dimensions within the daily life of the city.

Interfaces are accepted here as the simple functioning of the city. The study investigates the complex background of these everyday operations. Within the changing world and country context, the ‘simple’ transformation of the urban environment, as observed from a distance, hides beneath a multi dimensional process. Urban (interface) mechanisms encompass a very complex hub of interactions, transactions, collaborations, dominations and so on. It is the ground where a ‘power play’ between different urban actors takes place.

Table 3. 1. Power-Play within Interface Mechanisms

URBAN ACTOR GROUPS	SOURCES OF POWER	INSTRUMENTS & MEANS OF OPERATION	POSITION IN LAND MARKETS	POSITION IN LABOUR MARKETS	INTERESTS
<u>Governmental Bodies,</u> State - Central Government, Local Administrations, Public Institutions etc.	INSTITUTIONAL FORCE Administrative power, Decision making , Law making Vision developer Planning Authority	Legislations Plans, Programs, Projects Resource Allocation Building & Infrastructure provision Financial instruments: Taxing/tax relief/ subsidies /grants etc, Expropriation	Defines: the political and institutional context Legal framework Financial system Develop projects and implementations	Institutional force within labour market processes Determines (and regulates): The structure of earnings Social security and working conditions	Economic interest (Development of national economy) (extracting value by redeveloping land) Public interest...
<u>Capital Owners</u> Land owner / Business owner	MARKET FORCE Capital (economic) power	Construction Establishing and managing business, production, trade	Housing supply Investing in land – construction	Market force Demand for labour (quality and quality demanded) “Structure of earnings”	Economic private interest Personal interest

Table 3.1 (continued)

<u>Capital Owners</u> Investors, construction Firms, Large enterprises, International Firms etc.	MARKET FORCE Capital (economic) power	Establishing and managing business, production, trade	Housing supply Investing in land – construction	Market force Demand for labour (quality and quality demanded) “Structure of earnings”	Economic private interest Personal interest
<u>Intermediary</u> Agents Financial agents, Real Estate Agents, institutions..	INSTITUTIONAL & MARKET FORCE Power of several distributed authorities Professional expertise	Organising transactions Speculating, manipulating...	Financial agents Real estate agents	Institutional and market forces “Structure of earnings” Price setting	Economic private interest Personal interest
<u>Civil Society</u> NGOs, Professional Chambers, Democratic Mass Organisations, Civil organisations, Foundations etc.	SOCIAL FORCE Creating social pressures Professional expertise	Criticising, evaluating Objecting through legal ways (suing) Resisting (organizing resistances), Defending social interest	Objective elaboration Professional expertise	Collective bargaining Protecting labour rights	Common public interest Specific interests according to the organisation
<u>Urban</u> Inhabitant Independent urban user, the final consumer, the labourer, the house hold or family	SOCIAL FORCE social pressures Inventions and Micro acts of resistances through daily practices	Private choices Elective power Rejecting the imposed conditions Creative manipulations through daily practices Micro- resistances.	Demand side Sub-markets, niche markets , Type of housing provision determined according to them Investments, speculation	Labour force They constitute the labour supply. (quantity and quality of labour force) Collective bargaining	Common interest Private interest

The capabilities and roles of each actor are determined firstly according to the local context and urban living conditions. Then, they too are re-defined under the influence of current global flows. Various urban actors who transact, negotiate or collaborate within the interface mechanisms, own different ‘powers’ coming from different grounds (as explained in Table 3.1). States and municipalities have the

administrative power. Sometimes they clash with each other. There are other actor groups who have different scales of economic power. These are the investors, property owners – capital owners. They are able to negotiate with various administrative institutions. There are also different inhabitants, organized or unorganized. They form the demand side of land and property markets; they constitute the labour force; they exert social pressures through the networks they found and so on. It is according to these relations that the urban environment is actually produced, transformed, and the urban socio-economic geography is restructured.

That is why, the proper functioning of all these mechanisms contributes to the *resilience* of urban entities as they facilitate recovery and adaptation, work as buffer mechanisms and organize the invention of new tactics for survival. As mentioned previously, the city at the level of daily-life has a dynamic and active nature, contributing to the actual and continuous re-shaping of the urban environment. The actors in this second field comprise firstly the civil and private institutions that have the capacity, possibility, or capital for participating to the metropolitan governance systems. And secondly, the ordinary urban inhabitant that does not have the possibility to participate to the governance process, yet that has the possibility to contribute to the production and reproduction of the urban conditions. They in fact play a constitutive role in the realisation and actualization of the introduced policies and projects. They are also influenced in their choices by the diffusion of global ideologies. Hence, the urban inhabitants cannot be accepted as passive objects of the administered policies.

Hence, the city, not as a container but as the object of these implementations develops its own responses to different influences and pressures coming from a multiplicity of fields, from institutional to daily informal level, and likewise, adapts itself to the changing situation. This constitutes the approach to the concept of ‘city’ in this study. The city as a complex socio-spatial phenomenon comprises continuously functioning elements and mechanisms, which dynamically develop

strategies and methods of adaptation through formal or informal institutions and through every day practices.

It can also be asserted that,

1 – Through the operation of interface mechanisms, new policies and decisions developed under the impact of globalization, are materialized and concretized. (This includes the construction of built environment, of social and technical – technological infrastructure and so on).

2 – Parallel to this materialisation, the socio-economic geography of the city change. The experience of new socio-economic patterns within the urban geography is observed in different cities in different parts of the world. The socio-economic patterns of the city change, first through the new ways and conditions of living imposed by the newly built environment. Second, as the production and implementation of urban projects takes place in an already constructed field (in most of the cases), there is the direct transformation and regeneration of the existing built environment; this transformation triggers the displacement of populations within the city.

3 – The functioning of interface mechanisms and the realisation of (new) urban projects contribute also to the, materialisation and re-production of the represented ideological discourses (of capitalism, neo-liberalism etc.). Or, it invents and spreads the (everyday) practices that will reproduce and assure the reproduction of the represented ideological discourses.

The transactions that take place within interface mechanisms makes it possible to generate benefits, incomes and rent to the investors, capital or landowners, shareholders, administrations and individuals. It is also the mechanism that ensures the actual implementation of projects, production of urban environments. And therefore, this is one of the mechanisms that determine the final composition of the urban environment. The examination of these significant interfaces provides the

possibility to discuss the impacts of global processes in a more concrete way. Furthermore, the elaboration of interface mechanisms will bring insight about how the uneven impacts of ‘globalization’ are actually produced and concretised within the city.

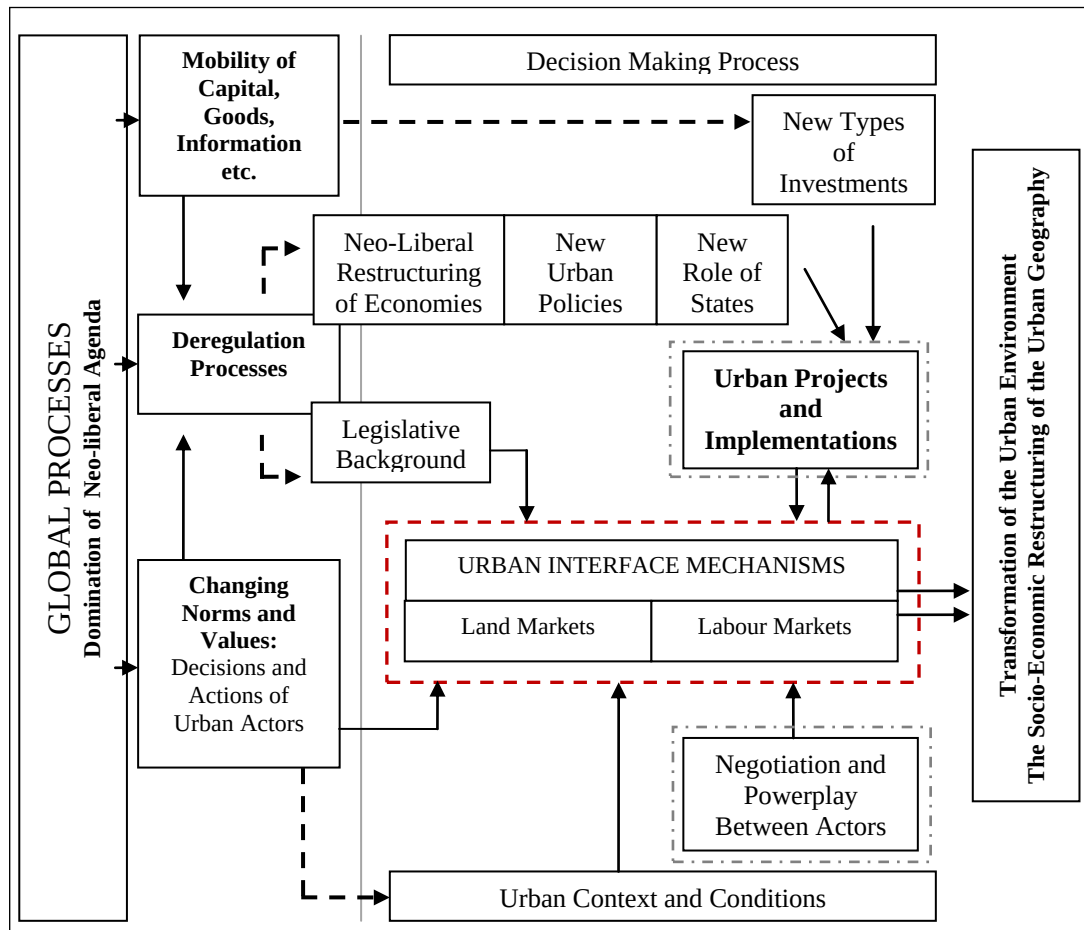


Figure 3. 2. Diagram of the Urban Transformation under The Influence of Global Processes

3.2 Changing Dynamics in Interface Mechanisms, and their Implications

The investigation of the transformation of cities under global influences, within this frame, unravels the changing dynamics of the functioning of interface mechanisms. Global processes influence the interface mechanisms by creating new conditions,

new regulations, new kinds of demand, supply and transactions; new kinds of ‘settings’ for their functioning. In other words, global processes bring pressures and influences through the channels explained above and maybe others. These pressures are observed to be triggering new dynamics and processes in the interface mechanisms, and henceforth influence the outcome – lead to the production and reproduction of the built environment and the associated conditions of living and working in it.

The main influences on to the city, coming from above are determined by the restructuring process carried in the economic systems, legislative frameworks, and urban policies. What can be highlighted within this frame is how the implementation of new forms of investments and projects create an inter-connected set of ‘dynamics’ in the urban mechanisms, where they meet with the influences coming from below as the local urban conditions and the changing ways of acting and styles of living. This confrontation initiates in follows the complex process of social, spatial and economic transformations within the city. The framework on how new dynamics have been triggered and the primary outcomes they have produced is presented in table 3.2 and 3.3.

Table 3. 2. New Dynamics Triggered in the Labour Market Interface

General Hypothesis of the Study	The neo-liberal agenda carried out within the process of globalization bring new dynamics to urban functioning and contribute to the continuous transformation of the urban environment. Urban transformation and the changing conditions of living in the city bring new socio-spatial vulnerabilities to the urban population. The adaptive capacity of different social groups (including their livelihood assets, social capital; and participatory power) increase their ability to cope with the continuous transformation of urban environment under the influence of globalization.
Interface Mechanism:	Labour Market
Sub-hypotheses on the Functioning of Interface Mechanisms	The economic restructuring conducted within the neo-liberal agenda of globalization, brings new dynamics to the labour market, where only the share of work force with certain qualifications are employed, other groups work with lowered wages and worse working conditions or become unemployed.

Table 3.2 (continued)

Processes initiated under the influence of globalization / Neo-liberal Agenda	Sectoral Differentiation - 1) Shifts in the leading sectors (finance and services). Increasing labour demands of global services. 2) Increase of employment opportunities (labour demand) in certain sectors for qualified professionals, white collar service sector employees with higher wages on the one hand and Increasing low paid jobs in the service sector on the other. 3) Demand for low wage industrial laborer, with the aim of increasing export, being part of international production activity
New Processes in the Interface Mechanism	1) Labour demand increase in rising sectors for qualified workforce, and for low wage service sector jobs 2) Employment opportunities decrease in traditional manufacturing jobs for low qualified workforce.
NEW DYNAMICS in the labour market -1	Increase in service sector jobs with higher wage levels, for the educated, skilled, trained professional workforce. Parallel increase in low waged service sector jobs. Decrease in manufacturing jobs in the city centre.
Processes Triggered in the Interface Mechanisms, (Explanations)	1. Increase of employment opportunities (labour demand) in certain sectors for qualified professionals, white collar service sector employees with higher wages on the one hand and Increasing low paid jobs in the service sector on the other.
	2. Demand for low wage industrial laborer, with the aim of increasing export, being part of international production activity.
	3. The disintegration of production, in a global scale within the transition from fordist to post fordist production methods and the increasing automation of production due to developing technologies led to the closing down of industrial plants on the one hand.
	4. While on the other, industries moved to industrial districts or zones and caused the restructuring of the urban geography
Processes initiated under the influence of globalization / Neo-liberal Agenda	The mobility and power of international capital
New Processes in the Interface Mechanism	Small scale retailer and manufacturers, and employees working in traditional activities loose demand
NEW DYNAMICS in the labour market - 2	The changing demands for traditional forms of economic activity due to changing consumption and life style patterns in the market.
Processes Triggered in the Interface Mechanisms, (Explanations)	1. Small scale retailer and manufacturers working in traditional activities loose demand and cannot compete with larger establishments. Some traditional forms of work face the risk of perishing

Table 3.2 (continued)

Primary Outcomes of Changing Interface Dynamics	Changing sectoral differentiation in relation to the economic restructuring process - Change in the number and type of available jobs: Employment opportunities and wage levels increase for skilled and educated work force. Employment opportunities and conditions of working decrease for former industrial workforce and for the unqualified workforce. Low-waged employment opportunities arise in the service sector
	Changing actors in the market: Economic difficulties for small scale entrepreneurs and their work force working in downgraded or traditional sectors.
	Change in the geographical location of work: Relocation and restructuring of production activity leads to the re-configuration of the urban geography
Overall Outcome	INCREASING INCOME DISPARITY: Changing employment opportunities in the labour market, Exclusion of the work force with limited skills or professionalized in downgraded sectors, The socio-spatial segregation of different income groups.

Table 3.3. New Dynamics Triggered in the Land Market Interface

General Hypothesis of the Study	The neo-liberal agenda carried out within the process of globalization bring new dynamics to urban functioning and contribute to the continuous transformation of the urban environment. Urban transformation and the changing conditions of living in the city bring new socio-spatial vulnerabilities to the urban population. The adaptive capacity of different social groups (including their livelihood assets (financial, human, social capital; and participatory power) increase their ability to cope with the continuous transformation of urban environment under the influence of globalization.
Interface Mechanism	Land Market
Sub-hypotheses on the Functioning of Interface Mechanisms	The changing priorities of urban policies and implementations within the neo-liberal agenda of global integration bring new dynamics to land and property markets, which increase socio-spatial segregation in the city (and causes degradation in the living conditions of those who are open to pressures.)
Processes initiated under the influence of globalization / Neo-liberal Agenda	Spatial Demands of Global Activities: Commercial Real Estate Demand
New Processes in the Interface Mechanism	Transformation of Land-Use Patterns and Reconfiguration of Urban Geography
NEW DYNAMICS in the land market - 1	Demand for land and commercial real-estate in central business districts.

Table 3.3 (continued)

Processes Triggered in the Interface Mechanisms, (Explanations)	Market-led transformation of the land-use according to changing demands. (The clustering of high-rise, modern, office buildings, residences and shopping malls, elite landscapes.
Processes initiated under the influence of globalization / Neo-liberal Agenda	Land Redevelopment (Urban Redevelopment Projects, Privatization of public land) and Project Based Urban Implementations
New Processes in the Interface Mechanism	Redevelopment and '(Re)Production' of Urban Land
NEW DYNAMICS in the land market -2	Projects for urban redevelopment in increasingly valuable locations in the city
Processes Triggered in the Interface Mechanisms, (Explanations)	The implementation of large scale projects, the allocation of primary functions to available land lots, increasing accessibility to transportation networks and similar processes cause the revaluation of land and real-estate and the emergence of speculative transactions within certain areas of the city.
Primary Outcomes of changing interface dynamics	Gentrification, value increases and speculation due to value increases in land and property, speculation and gentrification.
	Increasing opportunities of investment: Increasing interest in obtaining economic value from the transformation process
	Residential segregation of social groups within the city due to forced or voluntary displacements
	Dissolving Social Bonds due to the characteristics of the newly built environment, due to the changing inhabitant composition within urban areas
Overall Outcome	INCREASING SOCIO-SPATIAL SEGREGATION: An outcome of all these processes, increase the social tensions, decrease the trust and harms social cohesion.

3.2.1 Changing Dynamics in the Labour Market

Coexisting with the rapidly diffusing technological advancements, the change of the economic system initiated concomitant changes in the labour market and employment conditions. The changes in the economic system, as Harvey explains include a radical restructuring in the labour market (Harvey 1989, 150) and include flexible employment arrangements (Harvey 1989, 151). Davis (2005, 99) explains, “The globalization of capital and labour affected both urban employment patterns

and shifts in the sectoral character of urban economy”. These changes certainly had their ramifications on the urban space and environment.

Labour market process, Kaufmann and Hotchkiss (2006) explain, are under the influence of three primary forces: market forces (heterogeneous demand and supply of labour), institutional forces (fragmentation of sub-markets, pricing and distribution of labour) and sociological forces (the qualifications and the quantity of the labour force). Labour market process influence the outcomes such as the changing demand and composition of Labour Supply and demand, the structure of earnings, unemployment and the similar.

Labour markets have been changing firstly with the transition into post-fordist forms of production. Post-fordist production includes the vertical disintegration and flexible organization of production activity, supported by technological developments and improvements in the communication/transportation systems. New types of productive activity have emerged with this type of production such as sub-contracting, just-in-time production and the similar. New forms and organization of production, primarily aiming to decrease the cost of production, caused the search for low waged labourers in developing or undeveloped countries of the world. Therefore a global organisation of labour force has also taken place.

The changes experienced in production forms and practices have also reshaped the urban geography both physically and socio-economically. Hence, this transformation in forms of production initiated new dynamics within the land and property market as well. The details will be discussed in the remaining parts of the study. In the recent times, the dispersion of multi-national firms, foreign direct investments, partnerships between national and foreign firms increased the economic monopoly of large capital owners. Those small capital owning manufacturers, craftsmen and retailers have not been able to compete with them. This situation and the changing consumption patterns cause the loss of traditional forms of jobs in the case of Turkey.

Global circulation of capital and the expansion of neo-liberal economic policies and practices brought forth the rise of service sector, financial sector and new trends in consumption, life-styles and so on. The rise of service sector, especially finance sector created a demand for highly paid educated professionals, directors; moderate or low waged service sector jobs and so on. While the changes in the characteristics of the available jobs, expecting different technical skills, education and experience levels provided new job opportunities for many, for the unqualified, uneducated parts of the society chances of employment diminished. This new organisation of labour force, neo-liberalisation and privatization policies, exacerbated income disparities among the inhabitants and caused the emergence of very variant styles of living and consumption and the increase of socio-economic polarisations.

The main argument presented in the study asserts that the economic restructuring conducted within the neo-liberal agenda of globalization, brings new dynamics to the labour market, where only the share of work force with certain qualifications are employed. The functioning of the labour market is primarily influenced from the global circulation of goods and information; and from the deregulation process mastered by the governmental practices defining new urban and economic policies and the neo-liberal restructuring of local economies. Deindustrialisation and new sectoral differentiations (the rise of new sectors) (Castells 1989, Sassen 2000) are among the major processes observed in the recent history of labour market functioning, which has led to the change of labour demands and structure of employment.

Primary outcome of the contemporary conditions of functioning of labour markets can be summarized as increasing income disparity, changing employment opportunities in the labour market, exclusion of the work force with limited skills or professionalized in downgraded sectors. The changing employment patterns influence the structures of earnings and the capacity of urban inhabitants with different qualifications to earn money. The change in the economic capacities of urban, inhabitant groups lead also to the spatial segregation within the city and the

emergence of enclaves in relation to socio-economic profiles (Kempen 2004, Simon 2004).

3.2.1.1 Changing Sectoral Distribution in the Economy

In relation to the above mentioned deindustrialization process, employment opportunities improved in service sector and finance jobs. While more qualified workforce is employed in the financial activities, both qualified and unqualified work force is employed within the massive amount of service sector jobs, with high and low wages. Besides the positions created in these sectors, there is still the demand for low wage industrial labourer, in the production sector with the aim of increasing export, being part of international production activity by providing low waged labour force. As an outcome of the overall transformation of the employment conditions, low waged, short-term, temporary or part-time jobs increased in the labour market; and provided ground for the exacerbation of income disparities within the urban society.

The primary driver of the change in the labour market is explained in many accounts as the deindustrialization process (Castells 1989, Sassen 2000), which has led to the decrease in importance of the manufacturing sector and its replacement by services and financial activities as a major source of economic development for cities and countries. This transformation has caused the decrease in manufacturing jobs in the urban labour market. The disintegration of production, in a global scale within the transition from fordist to post-fordist production methods and the increasing automation of production due to developing technologies lead the closing down of some/certain plants on the one hand; while on the other, production sites are moving to various scales of production zones and sites causing new organisations within the urban geography. Moreover, this change in the available jobs has spatial and geographical reverberations. The moving out of production sites from the city, or their closing down may also create a residential relocation for the workforce located near to their works. This transformation in the labour market has implications for the

available urban work-force. Employment opportunities decrease for former industrial workforce and for the unqualified workforce.

3.2.1.2 Changing Actors in the Economy

The changing demands for economic activity due to changing consumption and life style patterns in the market has lead the way to the dominance of the transnational capital within local economies. Accordingly, small scale retailer and manufacturers working in traditional activities loose demand and cannot compete with these economic powers. As an outcome, economic difficulties for small scale entrepreneurs and work force with low skills and working in downgraded or traditional sectors have initiated.

3.2.2 Changing Dynamics in the Land Market

The commodification of urban land is introduced above as a prominent phenomenon observed in cities, under the impact of globalization. It is through the land market that the impacts of this process are diffused into the city geography and into the everyday life, actuality. Furthermore, it is the urban rent that is in the focus of the transactions taking place in the land market. Today we can talk of the generation of a multiplicity of rent surfaces within the city, through the operation and implementation of various urban policies and development programs. Hence all of the decisions, interactions, transactions and practices taking place within the land market have direct effects on the shaping of the urban socio-economic geography.

Land Market comprises a variety of actors, who are commonly interested in the common 'product' – urban land and real estate. These are for instance public actors such as central and local governments, land or real estate owners, the commissioners, real estate agencies, real estate experts, the investors, the developers, the purchasers, tenants and so on; and their activities primarily comprise as in any market the supply and demand sides.

Demand for New Spaces and Revaluation of Land and Real Estate

A market comprises “interactions of the forces of demand and supply” (Ratcliff 1949, 281) and activities taking place within land market set the land and real-estate values and price levels. The value of urban lands, whether vacant or already developed, should be above all taken into consideration with reference to their relative positions within the city, in terms of juxtaposition, competition or other comparative issues.

The relative values of urban land are not only determined through the interaction of supply and demand. A different group of activity, organised by the administrative level influence and manipulate the establishment of the relative value of urban lands (that are rarely vacant within the contemporary context of Istanbul) on two possible bases. First is the actual formalisation, institutionalisation or implementation of the given decisions and policies regarding the city and its’ development. Second is merely on the basis of the circulation of the verbal information about the decisions to be made and policies to be developed. Their activities does not only set the relative land values but also create pressures, and set trends of investment or purchase through speculation.

There are other sets of activities and characteristics that influence the relative value of urban land. These include mostly the operation of decision-making bodies such as various levels of (public) administrations, institutions or powerful private (local or international) investors. These can be explained as a more powerful group in terms of capital or political power. These are for instance the central government and its institutions, the local administrations and their institutions; international investors, capital owners and organisations; or local investors.

Within a simple account the activities taking place within the land market, besides the provision of housing and social infrastructure include areas and projects of new development, large scale development projects, urban regeneration sites, the revitalisation and restoration of historical urban areas, urban gentrification areas,

urban areas with changing function, urban reconstruction areas, transformation-redevelopment of urban squatter housing areas, redevelopment of old industrial areas and so on comprising housing; recreation, cultural activity, health, education, technology, retail or business areas.

The relevant group of activity and their set of practices are part of the land market along with other participants of the markets. The decision making group, as an actor, can be influencing on both the demand and the supply side of the market, depending on the given introduced or implemented decision. It can be further claimed that every decision given, every policy developed at that level of the urban scene, whether initiated or not, are re-evaluated within the activities and practices of the daily basis of the land market. Because, it is the minor buying, selling and speculating activities of individually focused private agents, which accept or reject, which appropriate or manipulate the decisions developed from 'above'. Therefore it can be claimed that the actual implementation of such decisions and policies are re-considered within the daily minor activities of the market. At that level of the market, decisions and policies may be rejected; they may fail and create negative outcomes according to the response of the active actors of the market. And finally it is within this functioning that the unconsidered, neglected or concealed consequences and impacts of the decisions and policies are brought into light.

Within this interactive nature of the urban land market, in relation to the responses of the demand forces, the relative land and real estate values are re-established throughout the city space. The relative land values influence also the orientation of various investors, developers to different parts of the city. It is also in relation to these values that various demands of groups with different purchasing power are oriented towards different parts of the city. That is what highlights this process, as the main factor within the emergence of the socio-economic segregation within the city. The form of this segregation whether it is territorially discrete or not is another issue of investigation and discussion. The common motivation of different actors in the functioning of such markets is the profit gained at the end of interactions.

Economic rent includes excess returns. The logic behind seeking rent is to make more money without making more production. Economic rent is explained in *Wikipedia* as the difference between what a factor of production is paid and how much it would need to be paid to remain in its current use. Accordingly, “there are multiple mechanisms that can create economic rent: political contrivance, network effect, monopoly power, star power, etc.” (June 2007)

All the actors of the land market have a motivation for the generated rents. Yet there is one group of actors who may be the least interested of all. These are the actors with the least purchase powers. These groups have a difficulty to access into the land market; yet if they have the minimum opportunity they may also seek excessive profits through buying and selling property. Hence the accessibility of urban inhabitants into land market is an important criterion for inequality, related to the (common) legitimisation or urban policies and decisions.

The Restructuring of the urban geography

Marcuse and Kempen, in their investigation for a “new spatial order of cities”, starting from the period that is often described as globalizing economy, mention that this new spatial pattern comprise (deep) divisions of “culture, function and status”. (Marcuse and Kempen 2000, 3)

Boundaries between divisions, reflected in social or physical walls among them, are increasing. The result is a pattern of separate clusters of residential space, creating protective citadels and enclaves on the one side and constraining ghettos on the other, in a hierarchal relationship to each other. (Marcuse and Kempen 2000, 3-4)

The actual repercussions of implementations and their real level of integration into the city are issues that are recently being questioned. Discussions in this field emphasize primarily: the private sector based, speculative and real estate oriented nature of these projects (Swyngedouw et al. 2002); the related issue of the uneven distribution of created benefits and opportunities – such as the created wealth and employment, the improved physical conditions of the built environment etc. – and

the rising problems like social and spatial fragmentation and exclusion. (Swyngedouw et al. 2002)

The main argument presented in the study, regarding the functioning of the land market is that the changing priorities of urban policies and implementations within the neo-liberal agenda of global integration bring new dynamics to land and property markets, which increase socio-spatial segregation in the city and causes degradation in the living conditions of those who are open to pressures. There are two major processes that characterize the contemporary land market functioning. First process comprises urban land development and redevelopment activities such as large scale urban redevelopment projects conducted by public or private agents; micro scale redevelopment implementations pursued by individual property owners, redevelopment realized through the privatization of public land, or other project based urban implementations. This group of activity became an important part of urban development today because of the scarcity of vacant urban land within the inner city areas. Second process is shaped by the spatial demands of global activities. It is mainly the transformation of land-use patterns with the deindustrialization of cities and with the increasing commercial real estate demand in certain parts of the city. The expansion of commercial and business activities create pressures of redevelopment on the already developed urban areas, and it is usually realized within the market mechanism.

The changing dynamics within the land market, as explained above leads in general to socio-spatial segregation (Gotham 2001) and to the reconfiguration of urban geography (Kesteloot 2004). Market or state led transformation of land-use patterns, and urban redevelopment cause in many cases the revaluation of urban land and property, gentrification; and in relation the socio-spatial marginalization of low income groups.

3.2.2.1 Urban Redevelopment Process and Gentrification

The new dynamics that are initiated within the land market comprise the implementation of projects for the redevelopment of the already developed land and built structure, to (re)produce urban land to invest in, especially in the already urbanized and increasingly valuable parts of the city. As Gotham (2001, 434) mentions urban redevelopment is observed to be a global phenomenon. With this main drive in the land market interface, the transformation of the land-use patterns becomes possible, and the urban geography is re-configured in terms of functions. The implementation of large scale projects are also the outcome of such an approach. The allocation of important primary functions to the redeveloped lands and structures; the improving accessibility of urban areas due to developing transportation networks and the centralization of urban areas increase the attractiveness of certain localities, appeals more investment and leads to the revaluation of land and real-estate and the emergence of speculative transactions in those places. Hence, the primary outcomes of these dynamics in the land market can be accounted as value increases in land and property, speculation and gentrification. In parallel to this trend and in parallel to the dominant approach of the neo-liberal economic system; the interest of investors (whether private or public) turned in to obtaining rent from this transformation and redevelopment process.

Consumer taste for gentrified spaces is, instead, created and marketed, and depends on the alternatives offered by property capitalists who are primarily interested in producing the built environment from which they can extract the highest profit. (Gotham 2001, 438)

Another outcome of the rising rent and property values and the increasing pressures of “global competition and transnational circuits of finance capital” with their increasing demands is the abandonment of the urban residences by the middle-class, or the obligatory displacement of the low income groups from their residence (Murray 2004).

3.2.2.2 Functional Transformation of Urban Areas

Transformation in the functions of urban areas is a major trend of development in the inner city areas, in developing cities. Cities that are in a restructuring process like globalizing cities become the target of many national and international investors. This situation increases the demand for land and commercial real-estate in existing or developing central business districts of cities. The repercussion of these increasing demands in the land market is in general the market-led transformation of the land-uses in urban areas. This pattern of development has led to the construction of similar built environments around the world (Fainstein 1994, Murray 2004, Sassen 1991). The clustering of high-rise, modern, office buildings, residences and shopping malls, the construction of elite landscapes are part of this process. As Murray (2004) explains the emergence of these new urban patterns has become a significant dimension of contemporary urbanism, initiating new types of segregation within the city. The creation of controlled, luxurious spaces causes also the exclusion of inhabitant groups from the daily life and public spaces within the district they reside/work.

3.3 Social Resilience Framework for Evaluating the Socio-Spatial Impacts of Urban Transformation

Since the 1980s onward, cities have started to be accepted as ‘engines of economic development’ (Le Gales 2004, 239) whether they are localities of business activity, productive activity or places of consumption. However, being under the influence of the wider processes of globalization, cities are facing more problems than ever. They develop, redevelop, decline, shrink, revitalise, expand, grow; try to cope with these transformations and strive to respond to the demands of globalizing neoliberal capitalism at the same time. Increasing urban competitiveness had been an important strategy in this direction.

With the influence of growing concerns about the experienced social problems, competitiveness is no longer accepted as the only criteria through which the new

urban situation can be discussed. Fainstein (2001) states, the competitiveness of a city should not be discussed when the quality of life of its inhabitants is poor, uneven and imbalanced. Accordingly, the notion that “quality of life” should be among the indicators of ‘civilised and progressive societies’ became more and more accepted. It had been observed that, if not executed considerately, this struggle for competitiveness may inevitably bring social costs like social exclusion, social polarisation, divided labour market, income disparities, socio-economically directed spatial fragmentation and environmental costs like pollution, abuse of resources and so on. (Turok 2005)

Accordingly, maintaining the future well being and the quality of life of inhabitants is accepted as an important criterion for evaluating the impacts of globalization / neo-liberalisation. The resilience framework provides a parallel approach by emphasizing the importance of the adaptive capacities of inhabitants in dealing with the slowly emerging or sudden changes in the conditions of working and living.

This study is not interested in every dimension of the process of change, but in the particular ones that are shaped under the influence of global processes and pressures. Those cities, which became a hub of global activities, where foreign investments are concentrated, and which are integrated in to the global network of cities; experience population increases and concentration. Multiple facets of globalization can be observed within the different experiences of cities. These are without a doubt cities that are experiencing a multiplicity of new problems caused by globalization, or rising along with their increasing globalization (opening into global arena-interaction). The resilience framework, as used in this study, emphasizes the ability of urban inhabitants to cope with stresses, “absorb changes” (Holling 1973) and to maintain their function and structure (Nelson et al. 2007, Walker and Salt 2006, Walker et al. 2004) during and after the experience of disturbances.

3.3.1 The Conceptualisations on Urban Resilience and Social Resilience

The resilience of cities is especially studied in many examples within the field of ecology, focusing on sudden or slowly emerging disturbances such as environmental change, hazards or disasters. These studies consider ‘cities’ as ‘social ecological systems’ (SEs). There are also studies discussing urban resilience in face of terrorism (Coafee 2009, Coafee et al. 2009) and poverty (Saanchez-Jankowski 2008). The increasing number of academic studies on resilience brings forth the role of resilience in providing social and economic development, diversity and sustainability in social-ecological systems. (Gunderson and Holling 2002, Berkes and Folke 1998, Adger *et al.* 2001 as cited in Folke *et al.* 2002)

It is seen that resilience thinking is used as a model of explanation and evaluation, which had been applied to various cases, in many different contexts and in varying disciplines. In every study, a multiplicity of helping concepts and constituents of resilience are introduced in relation with the subject of study. Resilience approach is applicable to the elaboration of different ‘systems’ confronting different kinds of stresses. Different applications in the academic literature are for instance, human beings confronting adversaries in the field of psychology (Çakır 2009, Earvolino-Ramirez 2007, Fraser and Richman 1999), ecological systems facing environmental change in biology, social and ecological systems (SEs) facing environmental hazards in environmental engineering, biology and planning, and so on.

Every different discipline and investigation introduces new dimensions of resilience. This situation causes a plethora of resilience concepts. This study aims to elaborate in more detail the urban and social dimensions of resilience. In doing so, it is aimed to keep the used concepts as basic and as clear as possible. The concept of resilience is defined in the field of ecology and connotes “the capacity of a system to respond to disturbances” (Baud and Hordijk 2009) – absorb internal and external shocks and stresses, perturbations – and maintain a composed functioning (Adger 2000, Baud and Hordijk 2009, Resalliance 2007). The work of C.S. Holling (1973) is mentioned

to be the first work in the field of ecology, within which the ‘resilience’ concept had been used. (Beatley 2009, 3)

Resilience can be explained as the set of characteristics, which provides a system the ability to ‘cope with’ and ‘adapt’ to changing conditions when facing external disturbances and stresses. Pelling defines resilience to natural hazards as “the capacity to adjust to threats and mitigate or avoid harm” (2003, p.5). Resilience is mainly a system’s characteristic, and it indicates *capacities* influencing the process of adaptation to changing conditions, in positive ways. Therefore, the resilience of a system contributes to its’ process of *adaptation* to changing conditions. Nelson *et al.* explain adaptation as “a process of deliberate change in anticipation of or in reaction to external stimuli and stress” (Nelson et al. 2007, 395)”.

We define *adaptation* as the decision-making process and the set of actions undertaken to maintain the capacity to deal with future change or perturbations to a social-ecological system without undergoing significant changes in function, structural identity, or feedbacks of that system while maintaining the option to develop. (Nelson et al 2007, 397)

Resilience determines or influence the way the process of adaptation build up. Adaptation can even be expressed as the goal of resilience. It is important to note that, as Nelson *et al.* points out, adaptation aims to take advantage of new opportunities and it involves change (2007, 396, 399).

What is especially acclaimed in studies using a resilience perspective is the capacity of the systems to perform a positive change, readjustment, restructuring (the adaptation process) in response to perturbations, rather than resisting without changing. When bringing about ‘resilience thinking’, Holling (1973) introduces resilience as a much more desirable attribute of a system rather than stability. He introduces “persistence by maintaining flexibility” as a major strategy for evolution or ‘staying in the game’. (Holling 1973, 18)

This is also emphasized in many definitions given in the literature. Nelson *et al.* (2007, 398) define resilience as “the amount of change a system can undergo and

still retain the same controls on function and structure while maintaining options to develop (Carpenter et al. 2001; Walker et al. 2002)". Walker in his different collaborative works gives similar definitions:

Resilience is the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and reorganize while undergoing change so as to still retain essentially the same function, structure, identity, and feedbacks. (Walker et al. 2004, 1)

Resilience is the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and still retain its basic function and structure. (Walker and Salt 2006, xiii)

This approach in resilience studies is discussed as the 'non-equilibrium paradigm' by Pickett, Cadenasso and Grove (2004). They suggest that the non-equilibrium paradigm is helpful in founding an analogy between the ecological and urban conceptualisations of resilience.

The non-equilibrium paradigm asserts that after disturbances, systems cannot turn to a stable equilibrium point. The approach accepts that ecological systems are open to different flows, they may be externally regulated, they have multiple or no stable states, they have probabilistic dynamics and finally that human beings are part of these systems. (Pickett et al. 2004, 373)

The resilience approach is founded on the understanding that the natural state of a system is one of change rather than one of equilibrium. (Nelson, Adger and Brown 2007, 398)

System Characteristics and Disturbances

In their conceptual analysis on the resilience of SESs, Walker *et al.* explain that "Resilience of a system needs to be considered in terms of the attributes that govern the system's dynamics" (Walker et al. 2004, 1). The analysis of these attributes, which will also be mentioned as 'components of resilience' in the following section, facilitates the assessment of the resilience of various systems.

As studies on urban resilience increased in number, different attributes enhancing the adaptive potential and the resilience of urban systems have been elicited. However, resilience is not only conditioned internally by system attributes; it is also influenced, both internally and externally, by the nature of the ‘disturbance’ causing stress. The resilience of a system is relative to the characteristics of the disturbance. Moreover as Nelson *et al.* explains disturbances can also influence system characteristics:

System disturbances not only affect the level of adaptedness but also influence system characteristics and the types of adaptation processes that are possible or appropriate. These disturbances represent the uncertain, but inevitable, sources of change in systems. They may be social, biological, or physical in nature. But all of them will affect the relationships and the feedbacks within a social ecological system. (2007, p.401)

Following the increasing number of studies on urban resilience, different types of disturbances influencing cities have also been discerned. Besides unexpected shocks such as natural hazards, the influence of slowly emerging and continuous ‘background’ stresses had also been recognized. Cities, rural or urban communities conceptualized as Social Ecological Systems, have been analysed in detail, with the aim of evaluating policies that improve hazard mitigation and coping mechanisms in the city. Folke *et al.* gives a covering definition of resilience in this sense:

Resilience, for social-ecological systems, is related to (i) the magnitude of the shock that the system can absorb and remain within a given state; (ii) the degree to which the system is capable of self-organization; and (iii) the degree to which the system can build capacity for learning and adaptation. (2002, 438)

Different studies unravelled the significance of various urban components that can be mobilized in case of emergency. (Adger 2002, Beatley 2009, Folke et al 2002, Nelson et al 2007, Pelling 2003) It is frequently mentioned that to cope with unexpected potential change, urban systems should be prepared in terms of urban infrastructure, economy, communication systems, institutions and the similar. But also, they should have the ability to make instant adjustments (Pelling 2003, 48),

hence to be adaptive, creative and open. Similarly Nelson et al. underlines the importance of ‘preparation for surprises’ and ‘system renewal’ in resilience framework (2007, 412). Both being prepared and being able to make instant adaptations, within the urban context, require an institutional structure that enhances resilience socially and politically (Adger 2000, Pelling 2003).

What kind of disturbance is influential in cities?

Cities are always open to radical stresses such as hazards, natural or unnatural shocks and so on. However, there are also “wider political and economic trends” influencing urban functioning (Pelling 2003). Globalization is similar disturbance acting upon certain cities today. Urban (social) resilience under the influence of these kinds of disturbances will be discussed in this research study.

The social resilience of a community must be seen within the context of the wider political economy. Many social trends act to reinforce existing inequalities, and some types of social capital are exclusionary in nature. (Adger *et al.* 2002, 358)

Globalization can be accepted as the primary factor directing the urban transformation and the major disturbance upon the resilience of urban systems today. Global processes exert stresses and stimuli operating continuously and subtly different than the occurrence of unexpected perturbations, put still pushing inhabitants into unexpected situations. In these terms the frame of this study is distinguished from urban resilience studies against natural disasters or hazards.

There are also different risks and stresses specific to the urban life entering the scene. In distinguishing rural and urban system’s vulnerability, Pelling (2003, 56-8) underlines that urban life is more commodified, that in the city complexity and environmental risk is greater, and greater social fragmentation exist because of high residential mobility and the loss of supportive social networks. Processes as poverty, unemployment, homelessness influence negatively the social resilience of urban

systems, by weakening the social relations, social connectedness and the social cohesion.

What is seen within the transformation of the urban environment today are the persistent stresses, operating in the ‘background’ of urban life, like the incoming investments and constructions, parallel to the changing economic and political conditions and contexts. This factor is also expressed in different studies; for instance, Adger *et al.* explain:

The capacity of a community and of its component parts to adapt and respond to change – its capacity to mobilise new resources, access new opportunities, and influence higher level processes – is influenced strongly by its location within the broader socio-political context. (Adger *et al.* 2002, 358-9)

The transformation of the urban environment – the elaborated disturbance upon cities – causes the reconfiguration of the socio-economic geography, aggravates the socio-spatial segregations and brings about unfavourable conditions for several inhabitant groups. The changing living and working conditions push part of the inhabitants into a vicious circle of daily struggle. This daily challenge of survival becomes more obvious in recent times. As Pelling also points out, this situation of “day-to-day survival”, overwhelms vulnerable inhabitants, especially the poorest ones; and “consumes all available energies and resources” (2003, 55). To sum up, the disturbances born out of ‘urban transformations under the influence of global processes’ are rather experienced (by the urban population) on a daily basis. That is why the presented study will discuss the issue of adaptation and resilience within this daily perspective.

This study aims to discuss the social dimensions of the resilience of urban systems under the impacts of globalization. Within this perspective, the study investigates the development of a growing business centre in Istanbul and the (re)development of its’ surrounding area. The aim is to discuss the impacts of new developments on the reconfiguration of urban socio-economic geography and on the social resilience of the urban system. Urban systems are complex, dynamic and contingent phenomena.

The non-equilibrium paradigm in resilience studies, as explained by the authors, with its complex undertaking, makes it possible to apply resilience concept to urban systems.

The introduced model of explanation in this research study suggests similarly that urban systems are firstly; open to the flows coming from ‘global processes’. Global processes will be explained in the following section as a major disturbance for contemporary urban cities. Secondly, it asserts that the system characteristics (the local socio-political and physical context) and system functioning (the functioning of urban interface mechanisms) are determining for the resilience of urban systems.

Nelson et al. emphasize the importance of system functioning in similar ways, within the social ecological perspective:

The resilience framework has developed to incorporate ideas of complex systems and in so doing emphasizes the functioning of the social-ecological system as a whole. The focus is on the relationships between the system components, not on the functioning of individual components in isolation. (Nelson et al. 2007, 399)

Interface mechanisms helps representing and explaining the complex functioning of the urban system. They are conceptualized here as the ground where the actual socio-spatial production and re-production of urban environment, including the production and reshaping of the built environment and the restructuring of the urban socio-economic geography, takes place. Globalization and governmental processes determine the changing urban legislations, policies and new forms of urban implementations; and they are accepted as a primary influence upon the city. Along with the characteristics of the locality they determine the functioning of interface mechanisms – the urban system. Urban resilience, within this context, is determined in all of the three fields.

The resilience of an urban system is directly interrelated with its inhabitants. Therefore it is indispensable to acknowledge ‘the role of human perception, learning and resultant actions’ within the idea of ‘urban resilience’ (Pickett et al. 2004, 379).

The idea of urban resilience makes it necessary to consider economic and social resilience besides ecologic resilience. The social dimension of urban resilience is investigated in this study; however, the economic, political and similar urban dynamics will be elaborated with reference to their influence on the social organisation and functioning of the city.

Social resilience has economic, spatial and social dimensions and hence its observation and appraisal require interdisciplinary understanding and analysis at various scales. But it is important to note that, because of its institutional context, social resilience is defined at the community level rather than being a phenomenon pertaining to individuals. Hence it is related to the social capital of societies and communities. (Adger 2000, 349)

Social resilience concerns above all the resilience of the urban community. Adger (2000, 347) defines social resilience "as the ability of groups or communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances as a result of social, political and environmental change". Adger *et al.* (2002 358) emphasize that "communities are changing constantly" and the importance of focusing on "their capacity to deal with external shocks" in the study of social resilience.

Social resilience elaborates the resilience of communities; hence, the institutions that govern and organize them and their self-organisation are introduced as important factors of social resilience. Adger (2000) introduces institutions as an important dimension of social resilience.

Institutions in this case are defined in the broadest sense to include habitualized behaviour and rules and norms that govern society, as well as the more usual notion of formal institutions with memberships, constituencies and stakeholders. (Adger 2000, 348)

What is defined as institutions by Adger (2000), including for example property rights, is similar to the conceptualisation of interface mechanisms introduced here. However, urban interfaces include also the transactions between different urban actors. In this sense it relates to the self-organisation potential and the level of

participation available in the urban system. Hence by improving participation and governance, interfaces contribute to urban social resilience.

Resilience thinking is above all about complexity and change; therefore it would be impossible to capture it by a single indicator (Adger 2000). When the subject of study is the city – the urban system, there arise the need to discuss urban processes with reference to their economic, social, cultural, politic, as well as demographic and spatial dimensions.

Social resilience can be examined, for example, by reference to economic, demographic and institutional variables in both temporal and spatial fashions. (Adger 2000)

Within the different studies discussing the social resilience of urban systems some major system attributes and proxies are commonly determined as indicators helping the assessment of resilience. The emphasized component of resilience comprise first of all economic factors, especially livelihood assets. Adger et al. define (social) resilience as “the ability of communities to absorb external changes and stresses while maintaining the sustainability of their livelihoods” (2002, 358). As explained by Pelling (2003), also livelihood assets of the urban community include firstly income generating conditions such as labour, tools of the trade, human skills, and productive assets; then housing and possessions, which can be accepted to provide economic and physical insurance to inhabitants.

The second and one of the most mentioned dimension of urban social resilience is social capital. Social networks, household relations, “bonding” and “bridging” capital (Woolcock and Narayan 2000), trust, vertical and horizontal partnerships contributes to the self-organisation of the community (Pelling 2003) and increases the adaptive capacity of the urban inhabitants and their ability to cope with stresses. For Nelson et al. (2007) social capital allows autonomous action.

In addition to a focus on livelihoods, the local ‘community’ is increasingly being seen as a factor that shapes individual and collective vulnerability and a resource to build individual and collective resilience. (Pelling 2003, 56)

With reference to the definition of resilience perspective provided by Fraser and Galinsky (as cited in Çakır 2009, 22), in the field of human psychology, the strength of communities is a mean of overcoming problems and difficulties that are faced. Borrowing some of the factors from psychological resilience studies, within the study of social resilience at the urban level, the support mechanisms created by the inhabitants of the same locality, their trust to each other and their potential to come together for participation and (self)representation are determining attributes.

The third dimension of resilience is the institutional structure. As stated above, Adger (2000) relates social resilience primarily to institutions. He defines ‘(collective) Institutional Resilience’ as the "institutional architecture which determines resilience" (2000, 349). He also emphasizes the role of institutions in nurturing social capital.

Thus the resilience of institutions is based on their historical evolution and their inclusivity or exclusivity, and hence how effective they are in oiling the wheels of society. Indeed the social capital of communities is taken here to mean the existence of integrating features of social organization such as trust norms and networks (e.g., Pelling, 1998). (Adger 2000, 351)

Institutional functioning contributes also to the inclusive redistribution of power, providing the ground for participation and governance, which are the fourth important dimension of resilience, discussed in the literature. For Pelling (2003, 9) “the existence of positive and inclusive social organization and leadership” is an important factor decreasing the vulnerability of societies. Pelling (2003) explains “participation enables the responsiveness of individuals and communities to external interventions” and builds adaptive potential for communities. Finally, resilience can also be followed from demographic indicators. (Adger 2000, Pelling 2003, Nelson et al. 2007)

To sum up, resilience at the level of community “can be conceived as made up of, or shaped by, the dynamic structures of livelihoods, access to resources, and social institutions” (Adger et al. 2002, 358). Pelling notes down that access to rights,

resources and assets are the most important dimensions of social resilience (2003, 49). The relation of the concept of competitiveness with the logic of neo-liberalism limits its scope with the expectations of this discourse. Consequently, with the influence of growing concerns about the experienced social problems, competitiveness is no longer accepted as the only criteria through which the new urban situation can be discussed. Fainstein (2001) states that the view that “the competitiveness of a city where the quality of life of city inhabitants is poor, uneven and imbalanced” becomes more and more unacceptable. Within this context, the concept of social cohesion had been introduced as a critical dimension and the sine qua non of a “true economic development”, prosperity with the disposition among professional circles to surmount the experienced problems of social exclusion and polarisation. This concern had risen, with the increase in the observed shortcomings of economically focused urban projects and implementations for the sake of enhancing competitiveness and providing economic growth. It had been observed that, if not executed considerately, this struggle for competitiveness may inevitably bring social costs like social exclusion, social polarisation, divided labour market, income disparities, socio-economically directed spatial fragmentation and environmental costs like pollution, abuse of resources and so on. (Turok 2005)

The prices to be paid by the unfavoured groups entered to academic and political discussions under the heading of ‘social exclusion’. (Byrne 1999) As Boddy and Parkinson (2004) explain the notion of social exclusion implies above all that there are processes that cut people off from the mainstream of society. It also implies the exclusion of people from relationships and networks such as normal activities, common values. Moreover it is related to a lack of social cohesion (lack of paid job, social contracts and education; and a propensity to crime) and finally it is related to the weakening of ‘social capital’.

Social cohesion, the concept that has later been introduced, is defined in general terms as “the bonds that tie together people of different income and employment statuses.” (Fainstein 2001) Against the prices to be paid by the disadvantaged groups of the urban population, the need for social cohesion is highlighted in various ways.

Turok et al (2004) explain social cohesion as something about the level of inequality in the society; about social connectedness; about common values; about social order, absence of conflict; about place attachment or territorial identity and ways of life. As Fainstein accounts there are two different approaches regarding the relationship between the issue of competitiveness (economic development) and of social cohesion and social exclusion (Fainstein 2001). First is that competitiveness aggravates inequality; and second is that competitiveness and social cohesion reinforce each other. (Fainstein 2001)

Depending on the view that the concentration of social, economic and spatial problems can be 'detrimental' to the city (or metropolitan) economy (Turok 2005), social cohesion is highlighted by some academicians as a supporting factor for economic development, thus for competitiveness. (Fainstein 2001). This suggestion which is foundational to the second view asserts that social cohesion is fundamental to competitiveness at the national and urban level. Accordingly if large elements of society are excluded from the generated prosperity, this will undermine competitiveness and scare away investment capital. (Fainstein 2001)

Henceforth social cohesion is put forward as a necessary part of the growth and development policies of the administrations. This approach also suggests a particular understanding about the measurement of "economic development". (Fainstein 2001) Fainstein explains that the view that economic development can be measured with employment and income levels (Boddy and Parkinson 2004, Fainstein 2001, Turok 2005, Turok 2004, 2005) had been replaced by the view that it should also be measured within the improvements in the quality of life and in the "capabilities" of people (Sen 1993, Nussbaum 2000); and also in the social inclusion of all groups of inhabitants (Bhalla and Lapeyre 1997). As Turok et al. (2004) explain the emphasis made on social cohesion indicates a concern that inequality and division in society will threaten collective well being through conflict, crime and disruption; and that a cohesive society 'hangs together' and this positively influence the general welfare through interaction and mutual obligation.

3.3.2 Building Adaptive Capacity for Social Resilience

The outcomes of the changing dynamics within land and labour markets create various levels of socio-spatial vulnerabilities for different social groups in the city. Given the new roles and duties appropriated by states, within the present condition and context of neo-liberalisation; and given the contemporary state of market economies; urban inhabitant groups are struggling with the limited (economic and political) power and capacities they have; and they are observed to be brandished under the influence of the operations of more powerful actor groups. Social and economic condition of social groups is influenced from the successively and rapidly changing conditions of living in relation to the transforming urban environment.

Various social groups (defined primarily by their socio-economic situation) are in vulnerable positions; have differing levels of vulnerabilities against these different operating forces; facing the successive, rapidly materializing transformations driven by global processes. The way these groups are influenced by the transformations that take place, whether they are able to sustain their living standards, whether they break-down, whether their living standards improve or deteriorate is accepted in this study as a function of their level of resilience.

Resilience is an important factor that conditions the impact of urban transformations on the integrity and sustainability (living standards) of the inhabitants. Whether they are able to maintain or improve their life standards or whether they break down can be accepted in relation to resilience. Therefore today, the level of social resilience in the city (of the urban population) is a determinant of social cohesion, prosperity and well-being that should be equally shared among the different users of the city.

Urban social resilience is accepted in this study as the ‘resilience’ of its inhabitants and users, which is primarily determined by their adaptive capacity: their ability to adapt to changing conditions, to maintain their integrity, to sustain their minimum life requirements and their ability to cope with external stresses; The Adaptive capacity of individuals or social groups are determined (i) by the livelihoods and

assets they have; (ii) by the participatory power they attain – the potential of creating any political influence within the decisions taken on the city, hence their lives and the possibility they attain in turning the course of urban implementations to their benefit. (iii) By the existence of (positive) social capital through which they can found networks of support and collaboration that will protect them, minimize the negative impacts, provide them additional support and which will lead them to invent/create informal/buffer mechanisms in coping with changing conditions.

The social capital and self-organization capacity provide adaptive capacities to inhabitants that are not given and will not be provided by the governments within the domination neo-liberal system. Although social resilience is primarily defined by the adaptive capacities of urban inhabitants, it can also be strengthened by state led policies and interventions; yet, within the neo-liberalization of states this support remains limited and partial. Henceforth, the adaptive capacities of urban inhabitants become more important than ever.

The adaptive capacity that can be (effectively) strengthened by states is of crucial importance for the positive development and resilience of the urban population/society. This type of resilience will support social and economic well being by assuring equal redistribution of resources and wealth, by assuring equal access to rights, and assuring equal participation into decision making processes. However the social resilience empowered by states depends to the political stance of governments, and in the domination of neo-liberal ideology the socio-economic well being and resilience of the society is dependent to their individual adaptive capacity. Accepting that the dominating economic context is the free market environment, there is very limited institutional/administrative support; hence the resilience of urban inhabitants are left to their own capacities.

Adaptive capacity implicates a higher degree of resilience in the adaptation process in Resilience studies. It alludes to greater power, ability and resources to adapt to the transformation process experienced by the urban inhabitants. The Investigation of the adaptive capacity, as the major component of urban social resilience, helps to

understand the extent to which the inhabitants of the three zones are vulnerable to the experienced and upcoming changes in the place they live and work.

As Nelson et al. (2007, 395) explain adaptive capacity is a core feature for resilient SESs, and represents the dynamic and system oriented view in Resilience thinking. They define the concept as follows:

Adaptive capacity is a way to describe the preconditions necessary for a system to be able to adapt to disturbances (Nelson et al 2007, 397)

Accordingly, adaptive capacity implicates “increasing the ability of individuals, groups, or organizations to adjust to changes and implementing adaptation decisions, i.e., transforming that capacity into action. In this context, adaptive capacity refers to the preconditions that are necessary to enable adaptation and includes social characteristics and physical and economic elements” (Nelson et al 2007, 397)

The livelihood assets of the inhabitants, the available resources for future instability, their flexibility in moving, and the existence of social capital within the local communities are the main determinants of the adaptive capacity of the residing and working inhabitants within the case study area. Dictionary definition for livelihood is “support” and “subsistence”. The set of available resources are in general represented by the concept of livelihood in the literature. It is primarily represented by two types of assets. First are labour, human skills or tools of trade. Labour is a vital asset in “the commodified economy of the city” (Pelling 2003, 58). Second is possessions such as housing. Similarly housing is one of the most important assets, especially for the urban poor. (Pelling 2003) As Pelling explains, “Those people without access to safe housing (the homeless, those living in slums, squatter settlements or cramped rental accommodation) will be amongst the most exposed to, at least able to cope with, shocks from environmental hazard...” (Pelling 2003, 59)

3.3.3 Changing Socio-Spatial Vulnerabilities

The investigated labour and land market processes, with reference to the general problematic of the study cause different socio-economic vulnerabilities or create new opportunities. The opportunities and vulnerabilities brought by the transformation process in the labour market can be explained as follows:

Changing sectoral differentiation in relation to the economic restructuring process, change in the number and type of available jobs: Employment opportunities and wage levels increase for skilled and educated work force. The risk of job losses followed by long term unemployment due to deindustrialization and spatial re-organisation of production create vulnerabilities for the households. Employment opportunities decrease for those who cannot be employed in the leading sectors. Employment in the leading sectors includes a large share of low-paid, short-termed jobs causing socio-economic vulnerability for those who are employed as such.

Emergence of monopolistic actors in the market: The decrease in demand for the service provided by traditional kinds of retailing, artisanal production and manufacturing due to newly introduced services and products in the market, increase the economic vulnerability of the workforce and entrepreneurs working in these sectors. Small scale business owners are vulnerable against the presence of larger commercial establishments in their vicinity. Accordingly, it is asserted in this study that: (1) those who have knowledge in leading sectors are able to benefit from the transformation process. Unqualified workforce working with lower wages is more vulnerable against the fluctuations in the economy; (2) Those who are unqualified for the employment opportunities in the rising sectors, and those who have instable employment conditions are more vulnerable against the transformation of the economic structure; (3) Small scale retailers and producers working in downgraded activities, who cannot respond to the changing market demands are harmed from the increasing powerful actors in the economic system. Socio-economic vulnerabilities and opportunities that rise in relation to the transformation process in the land market can be summarized as follows:

Gentrification of an urban area increases the costs of living in that area, bringing economic difficulties to the former residents of the area. Urban transformation process brings future unpredictability and economic costs and increases the economic and social vulnerability for the inhabitants with low adaptive capacity. Gentrification of an area changes the socio-economic composition of the area and increases the tensions between different social groups, or on the contrary, improves social cohesion.

Pressures of moving-out or displacement: Redevelopment projects may require the displacement of the inhabitants from their residence temporarily or permanently. Increasing rent push tenants to move to areas with lower rent levels, yet in more isolated parts of the city.

The study argues within this framework: (1) in redeveloping or gentrifying locations, Property owners adapt more easily to the transformations, and benefit from the process of urban transformation. (2) Tenants, especially with low income levels or temporary employment are negatively influenced from the process of urban transformation. (3) Due to increasing land values or the re-construction of the building stock, tenants feel the pressure to move out and become socio-spatially marginalized within the system. (4) Low income groups are marginalized in their everyday lives within the district they live due to changing building stock, changing composition of inhabitants and gentrification. (5) Inhabitant groups with strong social networking cope better with the transformation process.

CHAPTER IV

GLOBALIZATION IN TURKEY AND ISTANBUL

Like many other developing countries, Turkey made serious efforts to enter into the global economic system (Turkish Central Bank Report 2002). To overcome the economic struggles of the crises experienced in the 70s, the government of the late 70s claimed the inefficiency of Keynesian policies, which had been followed until that time and launched a liberalisation scheme for the country, which includes reforms in economic, legal, administrative fields. By the early 1980s, with the launched programs, a neo-liberal restructuring in the economic and political structure of the country has initiated and continued up to the end of 90s.

However the transition to a new system has not been that smooth. The adaptation in both administrative and social spheres have been problematic, moreover the country has faced serious economic crises in the 1990s and the beginning of 2000s. The restructurings favoured however, certain groups, especially those with economic power or those who held elective force. This has led to the polarization of different social groups economically and spatially. In that period some have been marginalized from the system; facing poverty, unemployment, economic breakdown. On the other hand informal dwelling and working practices continued to increase.

The contemporary economic system, and the different dominant conditions and dynamics that determine the patterns of urban development in Turkey and Istanbul today are rooted primarily in the implementation of these neo-liberal policies. The change in the general governmental policies in Turkey since the 1980s has shaped the contemporary conditions of labour and land market structurally. Both the conducted policies and the adaptation process to these transformations can be accepted as the source of many transformations in Turkish cities today. Especially

the city of Istanbul as being the main locus of implementation of these policies because of the great share of population and economic activity it hosts and the regional, international and global characteristics it holds.

4.1 Economic Restructuring in Turkey after the 1980s and Changing Labour Market Dynamics

To understand the new dynamics that are effective in the urban development and the functioning of urban land and labour markets it is necessary to investigate the main traits of the changing government policies that have affected them. Three main periods in Turkey's near history can be defined in terms of the general political, economic and social trends of development in Turkey and in terms of the characteristics of urban development pattern.

The first period comprise the 1960s and 70s, when developmentalist Keynesian policies were followed. This period and the earlier years of Turkish Republic differentiate sharply from the periods that come after the late 70s. Keynesian policies can be defined by the objectives such as administrative modernization, interregional equalisation, and efficient delivery of public services (Brenner 2003). Turkey faced difficulties in meeting these responsibilities and faced problems in equally providing social services and redistributing welfare, due to its weak economy. Similar to other developing countries in the world, Turkey followed the import substitution policy for assuring economic development (Boratav 2003, Kepenek and Yenitürk 1994, Onaran 2009, Öniş and Şenses 2009). Due to external economic crises (first oil shock in the 1973-1974) these policies could not be carried on and the economy failed to grow. As a remedy for the growing economic problems, governmental policies shifted to “a more outward-oriented economic development strategy” (TCB 2002, 4).

On the other hand, migration from rural and undeveloped areas to cities continued with increasing magnitude, and formed large demands for housing, infrastructure and work in urban areas. Although comprehensive planning studies were conducted

in this period, the pace of provisions could not catch up with that of demands. These groups of migrant that have not been accommodated settled in informal housing areas and invented informal solutions for their problems. Squatter areas and informal economic practices rooted to the early periods of urbanisation, increased with pace and became later a significant phenomenon, which occupied politicians up to today.

Housing provision, working the squatter housing problem out and the problem of land supply were the main issues of this period. The approach to overcome this problem had been to regularise these developments, by including the squatted lands into the planned urban zones through producing specific plans (“slum area improvement plans”), which are defined with the first law on squatter housing in 1966 (Law number 775). Satisfying land demand through re-using squatter lands caused the generation of low qualified urban settlement zones and the uncontrolled and unplanned development of the urban macro form. However, no significant measure had been taken to prevent the further increase and development of squatter housing, and that is why illegal urbanisation remained long time as an unresolved problem in Turkish urbanisation.

Beginning from the early 1980, more liberal ideologies have started to be supported by governments. A new economic program had been launched and a transition period to a neo-liberal economic system had started. The new economic program that has been launched, also known in Turkey as the 24th January Decisions, can be accepted as the initiation of the economic liberalisation and deregulation process (and administrative decentralisation) in Turkey. This new approach called the dropping down of protectionist, inward looking, and welfare distribution principles and emphasized the importance of opening Turkish economy to inter-national transactions ((Boratav 2003, Kepenek and Yenitürk 1994, Mütevellioglu and Işık 2009).

Following the economic crisis and turbulence in the economy, the social unrest and the problems in the political regime during the late 1970s and the social unrest in the society brought radical changes to the economic policies. The high rate of inflation,

lack of foreign reserves and increasing unemployment during the 1977-80 period enforced radical changes in the economic development and industrialisation models. In fact, 1980s became the turning point of economic policies in Turkey; from protectionist attitudes dominating economic policy prior to this period (Kazgan, 1985) to increasing reliance on market forces.

The economic liberalisation of Turkey included three main steps as explained in the report prepared by Turkish Central Bank: trade liberalization, financial liberalization and structural reforms. Trade liberalization included the expansion and consolidation of export incentive and schemes up to the mid 80s. Since 1980s import regulation had been gradually loosened. Finally the establishment of Customs Union with the EU, and the removal of all duties in January 1996 are part of the trade liberalization process. Since the 1980s connections between individual economies around the world increased and a global financial market have been constituted. The liberalization of domestic financial markets in most of the industrialized countries has been followed by most of the developing countries (TCB 2002). After the military coup of 1980, the first government implemented new entrepreneurial policies to restructure the economy. The existing system was criticised increasingly for the dominance of central government and its agencies; bureaucratic structure of the public administration; lack of transparency in public administration; and insufficiencies in democratic participatory governance practices. Thus, the main strategy was adaptation to the new economic conditions and bringing remedies to the urgent social problems. In 1984, the Local Government Reform was carried out. Transfer of power and resources from central government to elected bodies, namely the municipal movement enhanced the political status of metropolitan municipality mayors significantly.

In the transition Period (1980s and 90s), while some laws aimed to conserve cultural and environmental assets of the country, other laws caused the uncontrolled and piecemeal development of cities. In earlier national policy documents economic concerns about cities and the imbalanced development of regions are widely discussed. The first attempts of administrative decentralization with the aim of

improving urban governance, and through increasing the authorities of local governments and increasing their financial independence have also emerged in this period. Industrialisation and the establishment of organised industrial zones is another determined field of action within this period. The legislative background for the production of clustered industrial spaces and to attract capital to industrialisation is introduced in this period. Both in the Transition period and in the following Post-Keynesian period (Late 1990s and 2000s), urban governments gained more authority and became more independent, planning procedures have been deregulated piece by piece. This situation increased the uncontrolled expansion of cities due to the inconsistency among the separately produced plans comprising the same area.

Third period beginning from the late 1990s continuing up to today can be named as the post-Keynesian, neo-liberal period. An increasingly entrepreneurial mode of governance has been dominant in this period. In this period the Turkish economy had been fully “exposed to the forces of financial globalization” (Öniş and Şenses 2009, 1) with the opening up of the capital account. However the interaction with global markets and economies continued to bring on difficulties. It has been observed that the economy was not adequately equipped for this sharp transition. 1994, 1999 and 2000-2001 economic crisis showed that the economic structure was still quite fragile in Turkey (Öniş and Şenses 2009, TCB 2004). This situation brought continuous demand for new reforms and change during the 1990s and first half of the 2000s. During the 1990s, besides the important changes in economic system and deregulation related to trade and finance systems in the previous decade, several important changes has been introduced in Turkey in order to comply the rules of EU and other international institutions, which have affected also the existing structure of governance (Altaban and Duyguluer 2004).

Turkey’s global expansions continued with more pace and intensity after the transition period of 80s, during the 1990s and 2000s. After the turn of the millennium, both the country politics and the urban policies took a new turn, where the attempts of integration with the world economy intensified. The general approach of the central governments within the 2000s depended on enhancing the

market economy, increasing the interaction with foreign capital, and intensifying privatisation. (Onaran 2009, Mütevellioğlu and Işık 2009, TCB 2002).

In the Post Keynesian period, intensifying privatisation and deregulating planning procedures within the scope of facilitating the integration to the world economy were the main goals. Decentralisation of planning authorities continued with the distribution of sectoral planning authorities to different administrations. For instance, TOKI (Housing Development Administration) gained more authority and independence through the provision of exceptional privileges. The legislative restructurings in the last period, facilitated developments and redevelopments outside the valid plans, the possibility of an uncontrolled increase in urban density or scattered development through projects outside the city. The commodification of urban land is also promoted through the urban redevelopment projects. In recent times, the decentralisation process continued, giving local authorities many responsibilities regarding the provision of services. The production of urban transportation plans became mandatory for cities. Moreover, environmental and ecological issues and urban redevelopment and renovation projects are first started to be pronounced within the last decade.

Labour Market Dynamics

The neo-liberal approach prescribes a free market economy, “which is based on deregulation, flexibility and privatization” to assure economic growth and generating wealth; but it also hold up these attributes in social and political fields (Mütevellioğlu and Işık 2009, 162). As Mütevellioğlu and Işık conveys, examining the neo-liberal restructuring of the labour market gives us the opportunity to observe the direct impact of neo-liberal policies on the living and working conditions of the workforce. This approach supports the framework presented in this thesis study.

So, what are the primary impacts of neo-liberalism on the labour market in general, and what did Turkey experienced in this respect. The main characteristics of the neo-liberal global economy is the establishment of an international division of

labour (Mütevellioglu and Işık 2009) with the help of flexible modes of production, the technological developments and the shift towards post-fordist methods of production as explained previously (Castells 1989, Harvey 1989). This is followed by the disintegration of production and its reorganisation on a global scale, leading to the allocation of low cost production units in parts of the world where cheap labour is found and administrative and creative units of production where qualified workforce is. In its process of global integration, Turkish economy relied on the assuring its competitiveness through low wage employment provision and this policy in general caused the decline of wages (Onaran 2009: 249) and supported the accounted growth of exports in the post 1990 period..

The main characteristics of the economic liberalization of Turkey especially after the 2000, was governed by economic growths which did not provided employment increases, the decreasing share of agriculture as an economic activity, the rising share of service sector employment and wage earners (Mütevellioglu and Işık 2009, 160) The size of informal economy also continued to grow within the post 1980s economic liberalization period. It is accounted in many studies that the observed economic growth of Turkey was one without the growth of employment (Mütevellioglu and Işık 2009, Onaran 2009). Mütevellioglu and Işık relates this situation to the economic growth model of Turkey which depends on speculative capital movements, which is another important dimension of neo-liberal restructuring of economies.

Another experienced aspect of the global integration process of the Turkish economy, is the increasing Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) flows. İzmen and Yılmaz (2009) explain that the FDI inflows to Turkey have significantly raised since 2005, with the initiation of the membership negotiations with the European Union. The authors express that FDI is of great importance for especially developing countries, with its contribution to the economy through the creation of employment, through the transfer of technology and know-how to the country, the positive spill-over effect of the investments of multinational companies and so on; however, these positive aspect are not guaranteed and other negativities may occur.

The figures show that the FDI stock tripled up within the course of 2005-2007 (İzmen and Yılmaz 2009, 174). It is the services sector, which attracted the majority of the inflows. Foreign owned or affiliated companies also increased within the same period.

An important outcome of the economic globalization, and increasing share of foreign capital in the market, as mentioned before, is the increasing vulnerability of domestic small scale commercial establishments. Özar (2009, 216) accounts that, despite the proclaimed supports for the small and medium scale establishments (SMEs) by the Turkish government, large enterprises have rather benefited from the conducted policies.

4.2 Urban Policies and Legislations after the 1980s, and Changing Land Market Dynamics

The liberalization in the governmental policies in Turkey was primarily supported by the restructuring of the legislative framework, especially regarding the local and urban fields. Legislations on urban development and public administration have been reformed parallel to the general line of country politics (Duygulu 2008). Legislative operations determined seriously the patterns of urban development in Turkish cities.

Besides supporting and opening the way for the implementation of governmental policies, urban legislations are significant for the determination of dominant urban development forms and the socio-economic reconfiguration of urban geography in several ways. Urban legislations organise the relations between actors; allows and restricts various kinds of implementations and different forms of investments. These are also the major ground of legitimacy for all kinds of activity that is performed within the urban environment. Therefore, within the functioning of the city and the operation of urban ‘interface mechanisms’, the legislative framework is a determining factor. Besides conditioning the production of new living environments, introduction of new conditions of living and new levels of environmental quality and

the re-production of the already developed and in use urban environments; the reforms made in urban legislations influence both the economic and social resilience of the city, contributing at the end to the continuous re-structuring of the urban geography.

The introduced urban and related legislations in the post 1980 period constructed the decentralisation and localisation of authorities, the loosening of state control and inspection and the introduction of market economy (Altınok 2006, Gülen 2009, Kazgan 2004, Kongar 1998). What is seen is the dropping down of centrally controlled planning organisation, the comprehensive approach and the more top-to-down procedures had been dropped down (Altınok 2006, Tekinsoy 2008). The expressed aim behind this operation was to strengthen the “local democracy”, however it is expressed by Duygulu (2008) that it opened up new opportunities for municipalities by assuring the revitalization of the construction sector through the provision of procedural facilitations.

Two main stages in the transformation of urban legislation in Turkey are observed. First stage is the post 1980s, which is characterised by Turkey’s first acquaintance with liberalisation. Second stage is the post 2000s up to today, where policies regarding the establishment of market economy, capitalism / neo-liberalism, decentralisation are being widely implemented with further focus on integration into the international and global networks and with more direct supervision and guidance of international institutions, such as EU, IMF, WB, UN.

The period after the 1980s is characterised by the governmental policies of “liberalisation” (Altınok 2006, Gülen, 2009, Kazgan 2004), promoting the decentralisation and localisation of authorities, the loosening of state control and inspection, and the introduction of market economy. After the turn of the millennium, both the country politics and the urban policies took a new turn, where the attempts of integration with the world economy intensified (Onaran 2009). It is observed that the Turkish government of the last 6 years started a wide legislative restructuring process in many fields. It is frequently mentioned that the general

approach of the central governments within the last decade, the 2000s, depended on enhancing the market economy, increasing the interaction with foreign capital, and intensifying privatisation.

The general policies of the consecutive governments of the Turkish Republic, since the 1980s, were fostering a new perception on cities and urbanisation. This new understanding, which dominated the predisposition of urbanisation in Turkish cities within nearly the last three decades, have been legitimized and disseminated by their supportive set of laws and law amendments. The commodification of the urban land with the help of supportive laws and policies should also be accepted as an issue of generating rent, wealth transfer and maintaining political permanence. The commodification of urban land has been fostered by the general policies of the governments in Turkey, as in many other countries in the world. It has been comprehensively established within the successively introduced new laws and the amendments made in existing laws.

This perception however, was not only peculiar to Turkish politics. It is influenced by further 'global processes' such as the functioning of the global economy, financial networks, network of cities and similar. It is also implemented in different parts of the world, each with the experience of different conditions. The domination of this new perception on cities and the parallel increasing commodification of urban land bring along important problematic processes. The related transformation of the urban legislation is accepted as a multi-dimensional process with important effects on the social, economic, cultural and physical formation of the city. It influences directly the conditions of living of urban inhabitants, and re-structures the urban socio-economic geography.

Two main transformations can be accounted within the legislative reforms in Turkish urban development. One is the distribution of different planning authorities to numerous institutions, and the other is the removal of the stipulations of the building code through several methods. Both processes enhanced the commodification of urban land.

The overall review of the experienced transformations in urban legislations, starting from the 1980s, reveals the actualisation of two problematic processes in Turkish urbanisation. First is the legitimization of 'planning exceptionalities' through subsequently introduced law amendments, especially with the works of the last government, since 2001. Second and in relation to the first one, is the legitimization of the planning for increasing urban rent. Both of these processes concretize a new perception on the city, amplifying mainly the economic aspects of the city and increasing the commodification of urban land. Both processes prepares the ground for the formation of problematic practices within the city.

Planning exceptionalities includes firstly, the distribution of the authority to make and approve plans to diversified administrations, sectoral or local. It includes secondly, the privileges and facilitations provided to 'sectoral' governmental administrations (Duyguluer, 2006), to local authorities, to foreign or resident private investors and occasionally to others, depending on the situation. The distributed privileges claim to provide the efficient and fast implementation of plans and projects, by removing 'redundant' official steps of implementation. They also claim to encourage the realisation of large scale investments. These are economically focused concerns. Hence, with these attempts Turkish government declares the aim of fostering economic growth. However, the legitimization of these kinds of exceptionalities creates several problem areas. One of which regards the operation of urban and regional planning in Turkey; the other regards the socio-economic polarisations in cities, through the generation of urban rent and its unequal redistribution. The distribution of equivalent planning powers to different authorities causes the loss of comprehensiveness in the overall planning process and damage the planning hierarchy.

The legitimization of the generation of urban rent is also related to the created and unequally distributed privileges in urban development and re-development implementations. The privileges that facilitate the implementation of the 'urban projects' accelerate the generation of economic values out of urban land. The problematic side of the urban rent is its' inefficient, unequal and disproportionate

redistribution. The generated rent is observed to be transferred to the already capital owning investors and similar ‘powerful’ actors. The problem is aggravated when occasionally private interests supersede public interest in the re-distribution and use of the generated urban rent.

These issues are highly problematic because they intensify social, spatial and economic inequalities and polarisations within the city. They are guided by the central government and are primarily based on its’ law making power. Facilitating the generation of urban rent, and doing this in purpose is as problematic as generating urban rent that is shared among a very limited group of urban actors and that is extracted from other actors (urban dweller’s) property rights – the compensations for which can never adequately be made. This process of rent generation further initiated a continuously recurring mobility within the city including the displacement of former populations, their move towards other residential or working areas and their replacement by other inhabitant groups. This process of displacement and replacement is determinant in the re-structuring of urban socio-economic geography. While it is profitable to only a part of the urban actors; it rather brings unfavourable conditions and losses to other greater numbers of urban inhabitants.

The experienced legislative makings and re-makings in Turkey, within the course of the last three decades and more, are observed to influence primarily the economic transactions that take place within the urban mechanisms. For instance, this is done via introducing new types of urban investments, new methods of land and property development, new mediums and grounds for re-developing the existing urban land; by giving wider authorities to a multiplicity of (public) institutions and by relieving legislative restrictions and conditionings. Accordingly, it can be asserted that urban legislations themselves became a medium through which urban rent is generated with the production of economic values through developing and redeveloping urban land. In other words, the legislative reforms turn into a tool, with which urban space is used according to specific visions and programs. The reconfigurations within the urban legislation are also important as they make possible various kinds of

implementations via full authorization or via the use of gaps and discrepancies within the legislation.

Transformations in the Land Markets and New Urban Development Patterns

With the legislative re-structuring of the post 80s and post 2000s, authority distribution in urban planning, land development and public administrations (urban governance) became decentralized. This fragmentation provided wider authority to local municipalities and distributed part of the former responsibilities of the central state. For instance, the responsibility of providing social services is transferred to local administrations. The autonomy obtained by local governments has let them to follow a market based approach.

The introduction of housing and construction sector as a stimulant of economic activity in the 1980s is complemented with the legislative remaking following this approach. Likewise, land and real-estate development has been projected as a profitable area of investment in this period. The governmental support in this economic sector has never ceased and massive construction and redevelopment activity have been realized since then. This economic activity has also been supported with the introduction of new administrative units and sets of law. The Housing Development Administration (TOKI) was founded in the 1984 (Law number 2985), with the role of providing housing for low and middle-income groups. The law on Mass Housing opened the way for the implementation of several mass housing projects in major metropolitan areas. On the other hand, the introduction of increases in building rights in cities through planning mechanism boosted the construction activity in cities. A similar trend of construction activity rose with the operations concerning the regularization of squatter housing areas.

Table 4. 1 Legislations Concerning Squatter Housing Areas

La w No.	Date	Law Title	Characteristics	Spatial consequences
775	20.07 .1966	Law on Squatter Housing	775(1966) The law defines the procedures to clear squatter housing zones, to improve these zones, and to prevent further squatting. (Tekinsoy, 2007: 322)	Regularisation of illegal squatter housing areas, satisfying land demand through the transfer of squatter lands caused the generation of low qualified urban-settlement zones. Also foster the transfer of urban rent to squatting population and other intermediary actors.
298 1	24.02 .1984	Building Amnesty Law	2981 (1984) This law defines the procedures that will be administered upon the illegally constructed buildings; and organise the applications, inspections, detections, evaluations, implementations and notifications regarding this process.	
329 0	07.06 .1986	Law on Amending Some Articles of The Law No 2981 Regarding The Procedures to be Followed For Illegal Housing	3290 (1986) amends 2981 . This law expands the coverage of building amnesty, increase the share of land that will be expropriated for public amenities (%35); and excludes the Improvement plans from the bindingness of 3194 - the building code.	Regularisation of illegal squatter housing areas, satisfying land demand through the transfer of squatter lands. Increase the scope of slum area improvement plans.
336 6	18.05 .1987	Law On Amending The Law No 3290 and Some Articles of Law No 2981	3366 (1987) amends 2981 and 3290 ; introduces the concept of "squatted areas" and authorizes the implementation of slum area improvement plans in these areas. This keeps the development process in this areas free from the bindingness of the development law. This law expands the definition of squatter housing and the scope of building amnesty.	

A new legislative background has been formed for the aim of regularizing squatter areas beginning from 1966 (see table 4.1), which increasingly provided the governments and private investors, the opportunity to redevelop land to their interest. With the amendments in squatter housing laws the extent of ‘slum areas’ to be regularised has increased. Hence the transformation of illegal lands into planned areas and the consequential uncontrolled expansion of the city continued. The implementation of slum area improvement plans provided the squatter housing

dweller's higher construction rights to accomplish the regularization of those urban areas. This transfer of urban rights provided these communities access to urban rent. In return to this distribution of wealth ruling political parties obtained the political support of these inhabitant groups. City dwellers who have squatted informally on public land, or who lack building permissions in the house they live received very high building rights.

Table 4. 2. Legislations on Mass Housing and Housing Development Administration (TOKI)

Law No.	Date	Law Title	Characteristics	Spatial consequences
2985	02.03. 1984	Law on Mass Housing	2985 (1984) This Law defines the roles and implementations of The Housing Development Administration that provide housing for low and middle income groups; it also defines the necessary terms of Toki's construction activities.	Provision of low cost housing for low income groups, also with the aim of preventing slum areas, however later turn into the unnecessary use of treasury public land. The development of housing and working spaces outside city boundaries cause the emergence of scattered settlement areas.
4767	27.06. 2002	Law on Amending The Law on Mass Housing (2985)	4767 (2002) Amendments on 2985 (1984) organises the provision of credits for housing damaged by the earthquake.	Land requirement , use of treasury property
5162	05.05. 2004	Law on Amending The Mass Housing Law and Turkish Housing Administration Fields of The Annexed Tables of The Decree Law on General Staff	5162 (2004) Amends the law 2985(1984) and gives Toki the authority to implement slum area improvement and redevelopment projects and the authority to make, amend and approve all scales of plans.	Sectoral planning authority given to the Housing Development Administration, facilitate its implementations
5610	22.03. 2007	Amendments on The Law on Mass Housing (2985)	5610 (2007) Amends 2985 (1984), adding details about the abolishment of the mass housing fund and the dividends distributed from this fund.	Facilitating the implementations of the Housing Development Administration

Similarly in the Post-Keynesian period, the roles of Housing Development Administration (TOKI) increased in time (see Table 4.2). TOKI is further given the authority to implement slum area improvement and redevelopment projects and the authority to make, amend and approve all scales of plans, in 2004 (law number 5162). With its increasing authorities TOKI became an indispensable ally of governments in the realisation of different kinds of urban implementations.

The examination of the different urban legislations shows similar ways through which the re-valuation of urban land becomes possible. Within the 1980s, mediums of generating urban rent were supported and legitimised by some legislative interventions. These include making and modifying different scales of urban plans. (with law 3194); implementing slum area improvement plans (law 2805/2985) and implementing mass housing projects (law 2985) The possibilities widened up with the ensuing legislative restructurings. Below is given main plan and project types that make possible the ‘re-production’ of urban land and the production of extra economic values.

- i. Urban master and implementation plans in rule. Urban development according to the valid plans. Law number 3194.
- ii. Slum Area Redevelopment (Improvement) Projects: Slum area improvement plans make the creation of urban rent possible. The ‘produced’ / obtained wealth is transferred to the squatter owners, to mediating investors (yap-satçı) and to local administrations. Law numbers 775, 2981, 3290, 3366.
- iii. Mass Housing Projects: Housing Development Administration (TOKİ) coordinates, Law number 2985 and 5610.
- iv. Tourism Development Plans: Ministry of Tourism and Culture coordinates, Law number 2634
- v. Urban Development Projects in sites that ‘should’ be renewed or conserved. Metropolitan and District municipalities coordinate. Law number 5366. Related laws: 2863 (Conservation Law), 5216 (Metropolitan Municipalities Law)

- vi. Urban Redevelopment Projects in sites that are defined by municipalities or province administrations. Law number 5393, article 73.
- vii. Development and re development projects as precautions against natural hazards, HDA coordinates. Law number 2985 and 5610.
- viii. Partial Urban Implementation Plans (Scale 1:1000), District and metropolitan municipalities produce. Law number 5393.
- ix. Land and Property Privatization, Turkish Privatization Administration. Law number 4046, 5398 and 5793.

The changes that were introduced did not only change the administrative structure, but defined the basis of mode of entrepreneurship in urban land and property markets. At this stage, it is possible to see that urban practices became the concern of affluent groups that are connected to foreign real estate companies, while the different coalitions appeared between them and local and central government departments. The role of NGOs in these newly introduced processes was limited to expressing their concerns and doubts on projects and decisions of local governments that have been defined in collaboration with the big real estate developers.

The new types of projects and implementations (new developments) cause the revaluation of urban land and property, which opens the way to extracting rent. These processes become factors that may trigger different processes in land and property markets; such as initiating residential or workplace displacement, the gentrification of the area, the production of restricted built environments. These projects and implementations change also the employment pattern within the city. While creating new employment opportunities for some, they may also cause the loss of other jobs and traditional forms of work. The alteration of the built environment, living and working conditions change also the nature of social relations between the inhabitants of the area. Problems like the dissolving of social bonds and networks; poor adaptation to the changing conditions of living, rising reactions and resistances are possible to occur. Under the influence of such dynamics, the restructured urban geography include increasing socio-spatial polarisations, income polarisations; emergence of new forms of unemployment,

poverty, homelessness; rise of social unrest; and the loss of urban socio-cultural memory and heritage.

Two main urban development patterns are observed to be dominant in the contemporary development of Istanbul and Turkish cities. First, is the market or state led, redevelopment of the existing urban land. These developments whether realized according to plan documents or within the functioning of the urban land and property market, make use of the already developed urban land. The outcome of this kind of urban development is mainly the transformation of the building stock, leading to land-use changes and to the densification of the urban core (see table 4.3).

Table 4. 3 Different Urban Development Patterns and Their Legislative Background

Market or State-Led Urban Redevelopment Projects	Redevelopment of Slum Areas	Projects conducted by Housing Development Agency
		Redevelopment within the Market
	Redevelopment of the Inner City Areas	Redevelopment within the Market
		State-led Market Transactions
Market or State-led New Developments	Disaster Mitigation Projects	
	Large Scale Projects	State-Led
		Private Investments by national or international actors
	Projects Led by the Private Investors	Developments within the Market

The redevelopment in the inner city areas are in majority realized within the market, conducted by private actors or public-private partnerships. These developments focus mainly on the private interest of the investors or developers. Redevelopment projects provide economic benefits for instance by the obtained increase in building rights, by the functional transformation of the real-estate or the improvement in physical quality. That is why urban redevelopment implementations have become an important area of investment, and urban development type within the contemporary era.

However the amount of urban land in the city that can be redeveloped is limited. The transformability of the building stock depends on the authorization pattern, ownership pattern and plan specifications within the area. That is why this kind of urban development is in many occasions publicly led. As discussed in the transformation of the legislative framework, with the introduction of new laws and decrees, local governments or central administrative units such as Housing Development Agency are given the authority to conduct large scale redevelopment projects within the city. These projects may have different aims like slum area improvement, redevelopment or like the renovation of obsolete areas. The implementation of such large scale projects necessitates the re-allocation of urban inhabitants within the area or city. This requires an efficient organisation to be provided by the governments, otherwise the settled population in the re-development area will lose their residence and further social problems will arouse. However, the implementation of such large scale urban redevelopment projects within the city, although a residential re-allocation of former residents is programmed, will always cause the displacement of former residents of the area. Another method through which local and central governments obtain urban lands to be redeveloped, is through assigning new uses and construction specifications through legislative and planning instruments on publicly owned lands and parcels. Through privatization, or through public – private collaborations, urban land that is ‘re-produced’ as such, becomes available for further developments and investments.

The redevelopments that take place within the urban core have major socio-spatial and socio-economic repercussions. The urban geography is reconfigured socially and economically within this transformation process. Firstly, newly constructed and old built structures may take place side by side, having both various influences upon each other. The new developments may initiate a shift in land-uses from residential to business, from industrial to commercial and the similar. The functional changes, along with improving physical qualities may cause increases in the land and property values and may further attract new users and residents to the area. Such transformations in total generally leading to gentrification in general, create new pressures upon the former residents of the area. The dislocated functions and their

users and residents move and relocate to different parts of the city. Due to the increasing income differences within the urban population this type of restructuring of the urban geography leads to the socio-spatial segregation of different social groups.

The second type of urban development observed in contemporary cities, comprise new developments, which can be both privately or publicly led. This type of urban development especially includes new constructions in the urban fringes. New developments have a multiplicity of forms. These may be conducted by the state organizations for creating large scale attraction points of specific functions (recreation, sports, research, etc.) contributing to the global competitiveness of the city or for providing low cost mass housing. These developments comprise also market led developments like gated settlements and commercial estates. The increasing quantity of such private investments, within the last decades contributed to the creation of segregated residential areas within the city.

A significant city within which these developments can be followed, and which can be amplified within the 'local' context of Turkey is Istanbul. The growing importance of Istanbul in Turkey, its development trends and its position as the place of implementation of global integration and competitiveness policies is discussed in the following section.

4.3 Istanbul: "The Global City in the Making"

Within the course of last three decades Istanbul became an important "mega-city", a competitive centre in the global scale. The city experienced important developments in terms of "economic growth, productivity, trade and tourism. The continued attractiveness of Istanbul is evident from the increasing share of Istanbul in total population, which rose from 8,5 % in 1970 up to 14,8 % in year 2000. Today is estimated that about one fifth of the population is living in Istanbul (see Table 4.4.).

Istanbul has been at the centre of global competitiveness discussions since the 1980s by its growing importance as the economic centre of the country and the region (Ercan, 1996: 83). The idea of making Istanbul an international business centre had been established since the second half of 1980s. (Öktem 2005) In the year of 1993, Keyder and Öncü had prepared one example of such a study. In their research Keyder and Öncü (1993, 8) “explore the opportunities and constraints which will shape Istanbul’s probable success or failure in seizing the opportunities offered by the historical moment.” This historical moment was the times when the world was impressed by the economic benefits attained by some cities in their ‘globalization’ process. The approach of this document shows an example of ‘entrepreneurial cities’ idea within the context of ‘international world economy’ (Keyder and Öncü 1993, p. 8). This approach introduces the city as the economic asset of Turkey within the global network of cities where Istanbul will compete with others.

Table 4. 4. The population increase in Istanbul compared to population increase at national level

YEAR	ISTANBUL	The ratio of population of Istanbul in total %	PERIOD	Rate of population increase % ISTANBUL	Rate of population increase % TURKEY
1970	3.019.032	8,48	1965-1970	5,65	2,55
1975	3.904.588	9,68	1970-1975	5,28	2,53
1980	4.741.890	10,6	1975-1980	3,96	2,09
1985	5.842.985	11,53	1980-1985	4,26	2,52
1990	7.195.773	12,74	1985-1990	4,25	2,19
2000	10.018.735	14,78	1990-2000	3,37	1,41
2010	13.120.596				

Source: TUIK, 2011

Within this political and legislative context Istanbul became the locus of implementation of different ‘neo-liberal’, place based policies led by central and

local governments. Istanbul is a city, within which we can follow developments in relation to globalization, and through which we can best amplify this experience within the local context of Turkey. Istanbul has been the focus of the liberalisation and global integration process led in Turkey since the 1980s. As the economy became open to foreign investors, Istanbul began to host increasing numbers of foreign investors, entrepreneurs, residents and visitors. The increasing foreign actors in the city formed a growing demand for urban land, real-estate and infrastructure

Istanbul is the main core of the Turkish economy, which creates 21.5 % (2001) of the total GDP of Turkey. This very high share of Istanbul in the total GDP also indicates the dominance of Istanbul in various activities and its very important role in manufacturing production (28.3 per cent of GDP and 33.8 % of employment in the manufacturing sector in Turkey). The economic developments experienced in Istanbul comprise three processes; namely the increase in global activities, the change in the composition of employment and the increase in the foreign capital (Eraydın 2011). The composition of the economy remained the same except the rise of financial services jobs (Eraydın et al. 2011).

With the increasing migration to Istanbul, the growing demand for employment opportunities have been satisfied with the “labour intensive production sectors” and the “informal low paid jobs” (Eraydın et al. 2011). Although employment increased in the overall, this increased has not been sufficient to meet up the increasing population, and therefore caused the rise of unemployment rates (Eraydın et al. 2011). Labour market restructurings, such as programmes for workers who had lost their jobs due to the privatization of state manufacturing firms and support for entrepreneurs investing in less-developed regions, such as a decrease in social security premiums for new employees (OIK 2007). However, none of the new measures have been enough to slow down the rise in unemployment.

Especially after the turn of the 21st century, the analyses on Istanbul, just as many other cities around the world, emphasized the inveterate problems of contemporary cities in the grip of global trends and pressures. These are the issues such as social

polarisation, exclusion, and inequality. Güvenç and Işık (2001) assert that we need formulations other than those that dwell heavily on binary oppositions. For instance, as Güvenç and Işık (2001) explain depending on their research on the social geography of Istanbul, the geographical experience of social segregation in Istanbul, although a growing one, is a 'soft' and a 'multi-layered' one and the coming together of different groups is similar to a 'superimposition' (Güvenç and Işık, 2001). The social structure of a city facing globalization, may comprise different forms of coming together and segregation; causing in their turn different forms of exclusion and inequity whether implicit or explicit. These different forms of social exclusion and cohesion that are shaped under the influence of global trends and pressures, is another field of investigation which will partly be discussed in this research study.

Different studies conducted on İstanbul, show the signs of a growing spatial segregation within the city (Kurtuluş 2005). Türkün and Kurtuluş (2005) explain that in every different period, the spatial transformation of İstanbul has been driven primarily by the economic policies of the period, which defines the social structure. The authors explain that the Istanbul has entered into a new transformation phase after the 1980s, and with the 2000s the socio-spatial segregation in the city became increasingly apparent. The conducted neo-liberal policies have been the main drive of this recent phase of urban transformation in Istanbul, and the city has been the main location of observation for the impacts of globalization in Turkey (Türkün and Kurtuluş 2005, 10). In this new phase of urban development in Istanbul, the city space became the primary instrument of capital accumulation, rent extraction "fed by the demand created by the global luxurious consumption culture" and supported the implementation of large scale urban investments (Türkün and Kurtuluş 2005, 15)

Within the influence of the globally open stance of Turkey, the main implementations and investments, in the fields of built-environment, urban infrastructure and transportation, that shape the city of Istanbul today includes developments, which evolve in response to the demands of the foreign capital, as well as the operations of the government and municipalities, and of the market. To

host global city functions, Istanbul faces the task of responding to land and property requirements of foreign investors and entrepreneurs; of providing the necessary infrastructure for their activity and of providing work force and complementary economic activity especially in ‘specialized’ services (Sassen 2001). With the expectations of the governments to obtain economic vitality through hosting international activity, responding to the demands of foreign capital constituted an important objective in urban policies. The real-estate demands of foreign entrepreneurs comprise primarily commercial, office and residential spaces. To attract foreign investors and multi-national firms, municipalities also work to improve urban infrastructure and transportation facilities.

An important part of the urban development in Istanbul is directed by different levels of municipalities and the central government, in compliance with determined prospects. The most prominent implementations directed by municipalities and governments are what is called ‘flagship projects’, projects that aim to represent the city or the region in the global arena and to increase its global competitiveness. These are usually large-scale activity spaces – recreational, cultural, touristic, sportive, residential, commercial or to host business activities. These kinds of implementations are believed to trigger economic vitality by creating employment, by attracting business and so on. These kinds of projects require in general large parcels, which can be obtained through using undeveloped public (reserve) land within the municipal boundary or through redeveloping inner city areas. Land for such projects can also be provided by assigning a functional change former public land and lending to private (national or foreign) developers through privatization. A second type of public implementation comprises large scale re-development plans and projects. This type of implementation gives the municipalities the possibility to pursue rentable construction / development activity within the city and, in a way, to intervene to its spatial organisation.

The urban development in Istanbul is also shaped by the market, private initiatives. The minor development activity is directed towards speculative trends in the city. Among these developments, large scale commercial and residential investments

receive the support of municipalities. The development activity within market is also oriented towards the planned functional transformation of certain urban zones, such as production sites or squatter zones, or the specific development areas designated within the valid plans. These types of developments can be defined as the most prominent ones observed in Istanbul among countless other forms of urban development.

Especially after the turn of the 21st century, the analyses on Istanbul, just as many other cities around the world, emphasized the inveterate problems of contemporary cities in the grip of global trends and pressures. These are the issues such as social polarisation, exclusion, and inequality in general terms. The geographical experience of social segregation in Istanbul, as Güvenç and Işık (2001) mentions, although a growing one is a 'soft' and a 'multi-layered' one and the coming together of different groups is similar to a 'superimposition'. Hence, investigating the socio-economic restructuring of the urban geography, multi-dimensional (complex) clustering, networks and interactions within the social phenomenon should be sought. Even though the outcomes are sometimes anticipated, the profound changes they induce in the living and working conditions of urban residents are not or cannot be prevented. One of the reasons behind this is the superseding of the interest of (neo-liberal) capital the public interest and the 'spatialization of power' as Sassen (2004) formulates. Decentralization and privatization decrease opportunities for coherent collective action and often reinforce the uneven distribution of power over resources. (Adger 2000, 756) as cited in Pelling (2003, 63)

The implementations and investments directed within the neo-liberal perspective of globalization initiated a redevelopment process, where the urban geography is socio-economically restructured; the urban environment is physically transformed and ecologically challenged. Both globalization and this urban transformation exert new types of pressures upon city users. Whether urban communities can cope with and adapt to these transformations/pressures; and to what extent urban social resilience erode in these processes are the main subjects of discussion in this study.

The case of Istanbul will be elaborated in this study with two primary aims. To investigate the urban interface mechanisms as the primary fields that transmit the administered – ‘engineered’ – urban facts into the actual social structure. Within the conceptualisation of the study, the idea of interface mechanism connotes a process or a set of practices/actions that determine the influences of globalization as a body of practices, decisions, policies, values and knowledge, on the recent economic, social, cultural transformations experienced in the urban environment.

CHAPTER V

THE RESEARCH STUDY

The main traits of recent urban transformation in Istanbul, as in many globalizing cities around the world, include the spreading out of socio-spatial segregation, income polarisations; which may lead to the emergence of new forms of unemployment, poverty and homelessness; the rise of social unrest; the loss of urban socio-cultural memory and heritage and the similar.

The study aims firstly to depict how the urban environment is transformed vis-a-vis the new trends of investments taking place in the case study area. Then, it investigates how the social resilience in the urban areas is influenced from the transformation of the urban environment and the restructuring of the built environment. In relation, a research on the role of urban (social) resilience on the present and future conditions of living and working of urban inhabitants is developed.

To elaborate how the social resilience of cities is influenced from the urban transformation trend aiming to assure global integration; and to elaborate to what extent urban social resilience may influence the reverberations of the process and may be influenced from the local context, characteristics and functioning; a specific area had been investigated in Istanbul. The study focuses on the growing business centre of Istanbul, one part of the Büyükdere Avenue, located on the Levent-Maslak axis, pronounced today as the global finance and office centre of Istanbul; and on the development process of adjacent residential neighbourhoods. (See figure 5.1)

The research design is based on the major arguments asserted within the study framework. The research study aims firstly to understand the development of the case study area, to find out its particularities; and secondly, to analyse and to test the

hypotheses that are put forward. The developed hypotheses framework is given in table 5.1 and 5.2. The hypotheses framework present the created vulnerabilities and opportunities in relation to the changing outcomes of the functioning of land and labour market and put forward the role of different attributes of resilience in dealing with these problems and adapting to changing conditions.

Table 5. 1. Research Hypotheses on the Created Vulnerabilities in Relation to the Transformation of the Labour Market and the Role of Social Resilience

Primary Outcomes of Changing Interface Dynamics	Vulnerabilities and Opportunities			Related Hypothesis to be Tested
1-1	1_1	1_2	1_3	Hypothesis 1-1
Changing sectoral differentiation - Employment opportunities and wage levels increase for skilled and educated work force.	Employment opportunities decrease for those who cannot be employed in the leading sectors.	Employment in the leading sectors includes a large share of low-paid jobs causing socio-economic vulnerability for those who are employed as such.	Employment opportunities and wages increase for skilled, educated workforce	Only those who have knowledge in leading sectors are able to benefit from the transformation process. Unqualified workforce working with lower wages is more vulnerable against the fluctuations in the economy.
1-2	2_1			Hypothesis 1-2
Changing sectoral differentiation - Employment conditions decrease for industrial workforce. Low-waged employment opportunities arise in the service sector.	The risk of job losses followed by long term unemployment due to, the relocation of industry and vulnerabilities for the low qualified workforce			Those who are unqualified for the employment opportunities in the rising sectors, former industrial workforce residing in the city are more vulnerable against the transformation of the economic structure.

Table 5.1 (continued)

2	2_1	2_2		Hypothesis 2
Changing actors in the market: Economic difficulties for small scale entrepreneurs and their work force working in downgraded or traditional sectors.	The decrease in demand to traditional kinds of retailing, artisanal production and manufacturing due to newly introduced services and products in the market, increase the economic vulnerability of the workforce and entrepreneurs working in these sectors	Small scale business owners are vulnerable against the presence of larger commercial establishments in their vicinity		Small scale retailer and producers working in downgraded activities, who cannot respond to the changing market demands, are harmed from the increasing powerful actors in the economic system.

Table 5. 2. Research Hypotheses on the Created Vulnerabilities in Relation to the Transformation of the Land Market and the Role of Social Resilience

Primary Outcomes of Changing Interface Dynamics	Vulnerabilities and Opportunities		Related Hypothesis to be Tested
1	1_1	1_2	Hypothesis 1
Gentrification, value increases and speculation in urban land and property, rising rent levels.	Urban transformation processes bring future unpredictability and economic costs and increase the economic and social vulnerability for the inhabitants with low adaptive capacity.	Gentrification of an urban area increases the costs of living in that area, bringing economic difficulties to the former residents of the area.	Tenants, especially with low income levels or temporary employment are negatively influenced from the process of urban transformation.
2	2_1		Hypothesis 2
Increasing opportunities of investment: Increasing interest in obtaining economic value from the transformation process	Inhabitants with property ownership and capital will be searching for opportunities of obtaining benefits.		In redeveloping or gentrifying locations, Property owners adapt more easily to the transformations, and benefit from the process of urban transformation.

Table 5.2 (continued)

3	3_1	3_2	Hypothesis 3
Residential segregation of social groups within the city due to forced or voluntary displacements	Redevelopment projects may require the displacement of the inhabitants from their residence temporarily or permanently, that will create a major disturbance in their lives	Increasing rent push tenants to move out from their residences to areas with lower rent levels	Due to increasing land values or the re-construction of the building stock, tenants and low income families feel the pressure to move out and become socio-spatially marginalized within the system.
4	4_1	4_2	Hypothesis 4
Dissolving Social Bonds	The Private interest oriented lifestyles, endanger the creation of social capital / diminish social networking		Inhabitant groups with strong social networking cope better with the transformation process.
	The construction of gated/controlled structures within the city cause the exclusion of inhabitants from urban spaces		Low income groups are marginalized within the area they live due to changing building stock, changing composition of inhabitants and gentrification

5.1 The Case Study Area and Its Transformation

Along the Büyükdere Avenue, which is located between the two Bosphorus bridges, The Levet-Maslak axis developed as a business centre, “hosting many global city functions” (Sassen 2004), as the extension of similar central Business District (CBD) development in Şişli, Zincirlikuyu and Barboros Boulevard. (Berköz and Eyüboğlu 2007, 368) The axis starting from Şişli-Zincirlikuyu up to Maslak constitutes the backbone of the new CBD (Özus 2009, 625) of Istanbul. Depending on conducted researches; the area today hosts many of the producer service firms and it is of highest preference for foreign direct investment (FDI) firms (Berköz and Eyüboğlu 2007, 379). It is also observable that the “major skyscraper cluster” of Istanbul is located there, hosting “a number of Turkey’s well-known office developments” (Özus 2009, 625). Dökmeci and Berköz (1994) explain that since the end of 1970s, parallel to the deregulation and neo-liberalisation of the Turkish

economy, the demand for larger office spaces have risen. Büyükdere Avenue, being a former industrial district, provided opportunity for the actualisation of many large scale projects, with its large parcels and good connections (Çıracı and Kerimoğlu 2006).

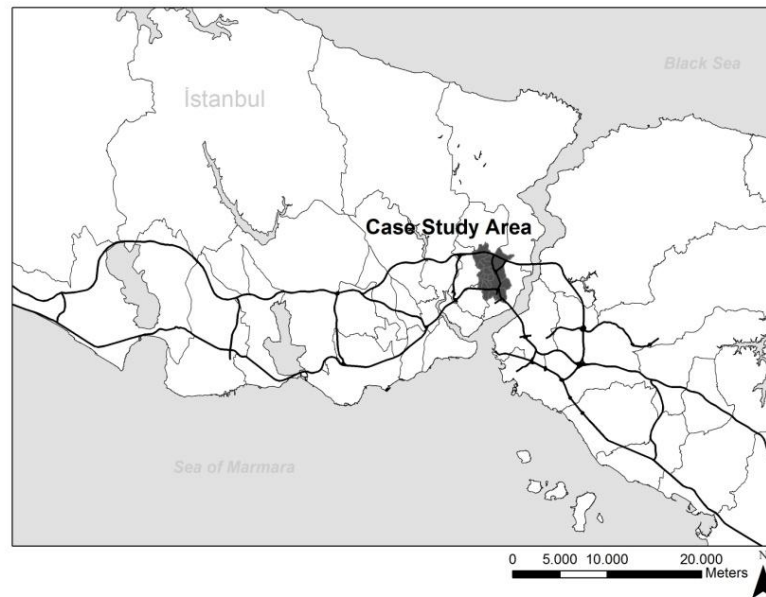


Figure 5. 1. The Position of the Case Study Area in Istanbul

The research will investigate both the neighbourhoods where these office developments take place and the adjacent residential neighbourhoods where the impacts of these developments are strongly experienced (See figure 5.1). The area is significant for the research study first by being a locality where the “organisational side of the global economy” such as “state of the art office districts ... services and residential complexes for the strategic workforces” (Sassen 2004) can be found. Second, by having been developed on a locality surrounded by established residential neighbourhoods of up to sixty years of past, the pressures born out of the functional change of the area and of the rising property values are felt directly by the

inhabitants. This pressure is accepted in this study as the major disturbance upon the residents of the area.

5.1.1 The Development of Büyükdere Avenue, Levent-Maslak Axis

The Levent-Maslak axis, along the Büyükdere Avenue, became a major central development axis within the last fifteen years. Levent-Maslak axis that is located on the European side of the metropolitan area constitutes the backbone of the new CBD of Istanbul along the radial highway corridor and subway line, which is connected to the airport as well as to sub-centers on the Anatolian side of the city, namely Kavacik, Altunizade and Kozyatagi. It is the extension area of the existing CBD, which now hosts major buildings used as offices by large domestic and international firms, especially major banks. Today it is a central office district where most of the producer services firms are located. In terms of built environment characteristics, it is the district along which high-rise developments are agglomerated. As Özus (2009, 625) describes:

Levent is one of the main business districts of Istanbul, located on the European side of the city. It forms part of the borough of Besiktas, and one of the city's major skyscraper clusters is located here. Levent is the home for a number of Turkey's well-known office developments. Levent-Etiler and Sisli-Zincirlikuyu have been the natural expansion corridors of the old CBD along the radial highway.

In the pre-1950 period this was a nearly rural area, where low income people were living. It has considerably changed after a high income residential area Levent Housing Development project was developed. In the 1950s, in the remaining parts of the area different types of manufacturing firms, especially firms in pharmaceuticals and automotive industry were located, together with the industrial zones defined by the *Industry Plan* targeting small industrial development on the western side of this axis as well as at some of the surrounding districts (see Table 5.3).

Table 5. 3. The Development of the Levent-Maslak Axis in 1950s

	Main Process	Explanation
Major characteristic	Rural area, directed by village administrations	
Political Context	Interventionist economic policies: State control industrial development	
Plans, projects and outcomes	"Consultants' Group Plan"	
	The construction of Levent Housing Area	Low income housing (turned into high profile residential district in time)
	Designating Industrial Uses to the Area	The establishment of pharmaceutical and automotive industries in Zincirlikuyu
	The Plan of Industrial Development, by " Consultants' Group "	Assigned industry in Mecidiyeköy, Levent, Şişli, Bomonti etc.

Source: Öktem 2005

The Levent-Maslak axis was defined a mixed zone with residential and industrial activities, although increasing numbers of squatter houses flourished around the industrial enterprises leading to big squatter neighbourhoods in this part of the city, such as Gültepe, Seyrantepe, Çeliktepe, Sanayi neighbourhoods and Ayazağa quarters. The 1974 Plan aimed to control the informal housing areas by allocating land to the Istanbul Technical University for the extension of Campus as well as to the military (see Table 5.4). The construction of the first Istanbul Bridge, on the other hand, created favourable conditions for development to this axis, by increasing its accessibility from Asian part of the city, which became the potential extension area of the existing CBD. Therefore, the Levent-Maslak axis has attracted the interest of the big enterprises looking for new office spaces and they began to buy land from this part of the city for that purpose.

Table 5. 4. Development of the Area in 1960s-70s

	Main Process	Explanation
Major Characteristics	Mixed land use comprising industries, squatter housing, areas devoted to public use	
Political Context	Military coup of 1960	
Plans and projects	Industrial Development Plan	Development of industrial areas along the axis Increase in squatter areas (Gültepe, Seyrantepe, Çeliktepe, Sanayi and Ayazağa)
	1974 Master Development Plan (Nazım İmar Planı)	The establishment of university campuses (ITU) Allocating lands as military areas in Ayazağa The land investments of big enterprises for future developments, waiting for land re-valuation Further development towards north, Black Sea coast had been restricted by Istanbul Metropolitan Planning Bureau
The Development of the Area	Maslak-Ayazağa chosen for the allocation of industrial uses	
	The construction of the 1st bridge (1974)	Development along the axis intensified

Source: Öktem, 2005

The major changes in this area began after 1980s; under the new political context defined by neo-liberal policies (see Table 5.5). The new government and the mayor had important aspirations for Istanbul. While the plans prepared for Istanbul restricted the development on this axis and defined the new CBD nearby the existing one, with the pressure coming from large capital groups and due to their organic relations with governments, developments have taken place along Büyükdere Avenue despite the Essen plan and the 1980 master plan. Headquarters of some of the big domestic firms have been built along the axis. Office investments are attracted to this axis due to its accessibility advantages and the prestigious developments that have taken place on this axis. While the plan for Istanbul in 1980

did not aim a sprawl to the north, thereby it allowed limited extensions to the CBD, the later partial plans designated the Büyükdere Avenue as the commercial zone and provided high development rights.

Table 5. 5. Post 1980s: The plans and projects for Büyükdere Avenue during 1984-1989

	Main Process	Explanation
Political Context	"Anavatan Party" (ANAP) Government (1984-89)	Neo-liberal policies after the Military Coup Increasing relations with international financial institutions, economic deregulation, privatization, export oriented growth
	Mayor of Istanbul Bedrettin Dalan	Followed the same approach
	Transformation of Planning Legislations	The decentralization of the planning practice
Plans and projects	The general vision for Istanbul developed by the central government (support given by powerful capital owners)	Istanbul will become the local international centre of commerce, culture, finance of Middle East and Europe. The provision of the required urban infrastructure: skyscrapers, highways, luxury hotels and residences, shopping malls and so on
	"Operations of Dalan"	Moving heavy industry out of the city Constructing new built environments Constructing connection roads and highways
	Essen Plan - 1986 (one of the projects for creating an international financial centre in Istanbul)	Choice of location for the development of sky-scrapers: Dolapdere-Piyalepaşa axis, the plan has not been fully implemented and was the focus of criticism.
	1980 Master Development Plan (29.7.1980)	Did not support the development of the city towards the north.
	Boğaziçi Öngörüm ve Etkilenme Alanları Planı (Bogazici Front View Plan)	Zincirlikuyu-Levent declared as Administrative Centre, Built up area/Total size of the parcel
	1988 - Büyükdere Caddesi Güzergahı Ticaret Alanları Uygulama İmar Planı (Implementation plan for commercial zones along the Büyükdere Avenue)	Floor Area Ratio (Built up area/Total size of the parcel)=4,5 for the Şişli-Büyükdere axis
	1988 - Ayazağa Revizyon İmar Planı	Floor Area Ratio =2,3 for Maslak

Source: Öktem, 2005

Beginning from the 1990s onwards the Levent-Maslak Axis and the Büyükdere Avenue experienced major transformations in terms of the building stock and land-use, due to the development of the transportation and telecommunication technology, and increases in foreign investment and international trade. Multi-centred distribution of work places in the urban area contributed to the decrease of the importance of accessibility to the old CBD. The result is that most of the new office developments taking place not at the CBD, but in new areas having the potential for transformation. The areas around the Büyükdere Avenue have the following characteristics that induce commercial property developments by transformation of existing uses:

Firstly, it still comprises large industrial parcels which are preferable parcels for investments, such as construction of office blocks, shopping malls, residences and the similar. This creates the first field of pressure exerted to the area. Secondly, the modern offices caused land values to increase in their surrounding areas, which induce transformation of squatter housing to high-income residential areas. The districts around this area, where low income families live have been also the focus of redevelopment interests. The Greater city municipality planned to open a redevelopment project contest in 2008, but then gave up for financial reasons. This shows the interest for redeveloping the area, transforming its functional and social character.

Thirdly, there are still considerable number of industrial establishments at small to medium size, located in certain parts of the axis, such as in Ayazağa and Maslak. This makes the axis the meeting point of both service sector employees and industrial workers. It also shows an important potential for transformation, since there is a permanently increasing share of financial services sector in Istanbul. They are primarily located in the Levent part of the Büyükdere Avenue, forming one of the major central office districts of Istanbul. In Istanbul all of the headquarters of prestigious banks and well-known industrial companies, research and development, advertisement, real estate and insurance companies, shopping malls and hotels are

congregated in these new sub-centres (Özus 2009, 624), which have good connections with the case study area that became the core for international activities.

The significance of Büyükdere - Maslak axis today can be attributed firstly to the concentration of office buildings. Being the area where the headquarters of many national and international firms, financial establishments and trading activities are located, Büyükdere Avenue axis is also the major location where integration into global markets is realized. In terms of hosting the much of global city functions and providing the necessary infrastructure and built environment requirements of global economy within Istanbul, Büyükdere is also significant in Istanbul's integration into global markets. And finally the area is also a promising urban investment zone for international capital. And secondly to providing connections among different important urban areas: sub-centres industrial areas, water basins, northern forest areas, wholesale retailers, high profile residential areas.

Büyükdere Avenue, Levent-Maslak Axis development shows an example for inner city transformation under the operation of market mechanism. It is an illustrative case to show how the market pressures are important to shape the urban form and the need to provide new spaces for new functions within the metropolitan area. If this is not successfully handled in the plans and with relevant instruments and deliberate projects, what happens will be the dominance of the market mechanism, which asks for development or redevelopment of areas the most suitable to the needs of the private investors. However such a process aims to maximize private benefits, which will not assure optimum results in terms of social benefit. (see Figure 5.2)

The change in the land use pattern and decentralization of the industry can be evaluated as positive transformations, leading to the reduction of flows of goods and production in the central locations, however in terms of social resilience it has negative connotations. The workers living in nearby neighbourhoods now have to either find new jobs or move to other parts of the metropolitan area following the industries.

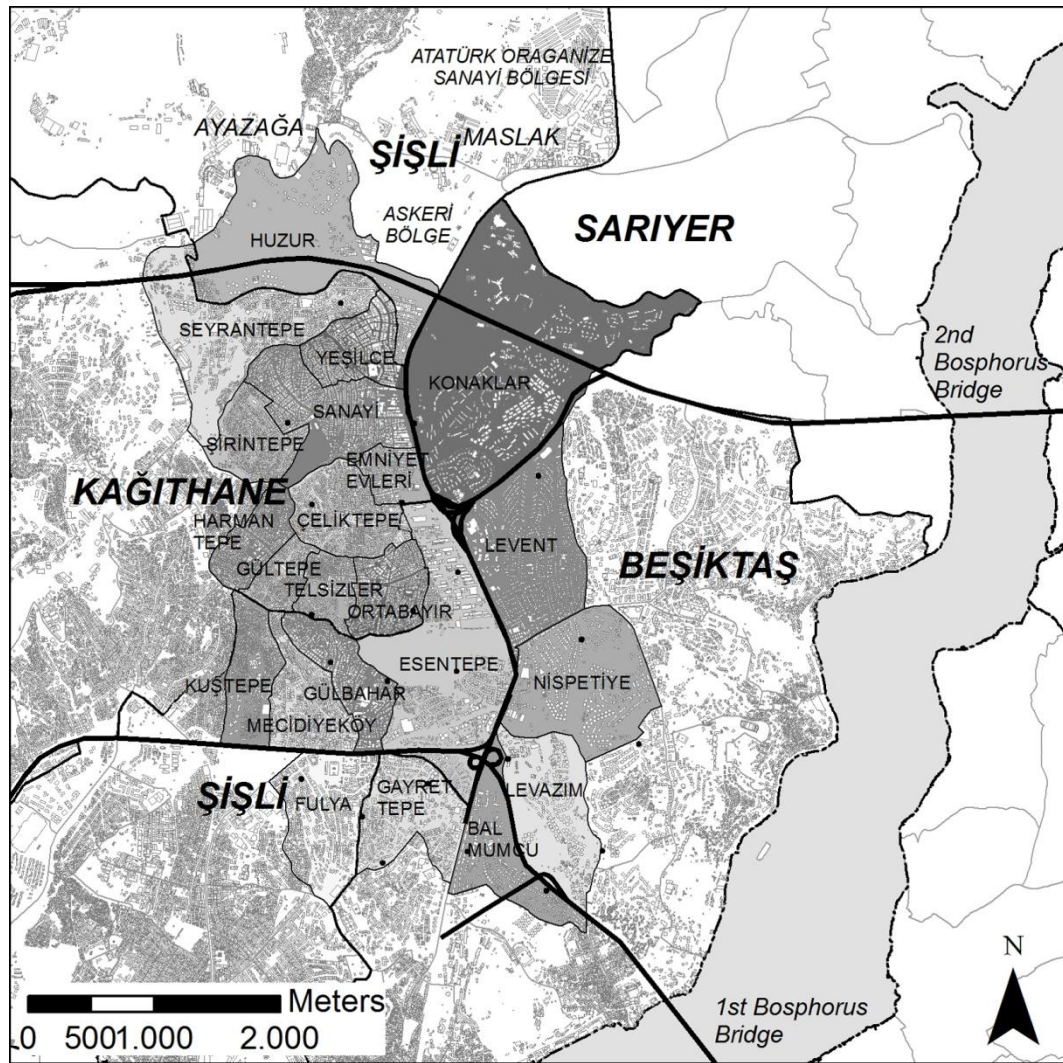


Figure 5. 2. The Case Study Area Neighbourhoods

The case study is an illustrative case on the impact of global economy enforcing metropolitan areas to host global city functions, opening up to global networks, attracting foreign investment. Similarly it shows the revalorization of land, generating economic value from redevelopment projects. The evaluation of the development process of the case study area with reference to the concept of ‘Social Resilience’ shows that by becoming an important part of the CBD in Istanbul, the area contributes to the economic resilience of the city and also contributes to the social cohesion of the city. The same characteristic effects negatively social resilience, by diminishing the job opportunities for part of the population, by

enhancing social exclusion and weakening the social relations among the inhabitants.

5.1.2 The Significance of the Case Study Area

The area comprises different characteristics at the same time and therefore provides a rich case for studying the impacts of the neo-liberalisation process experienced in different fields of life. The first part of the case study area is the Büyükdere Avenue office area. This is the heart of the study area where state of art office and residence buildings are built. The area is an already developed office centre, including most of the producer service firms of Istanbul (Berköz and Eyüboğlu 2007) located in high rise office buildings. This part can be is the high-rise building axis. The Büyükdere Avenue (including offices, residences and other functions) is a typical example of the global patterns of urbanism emerging within the process integration into global economic networks. This include hosting international firms, attracting foreign investment, the development of financial centres-producer services sector, the emergence of new functions related to new consumption/living styles and so on.

The second part is the Levent-Etiler, where high income residential areas are located. However the area includes also a large quantity of commercial uses. The third part of the case study area comprises the neighbourhoods of the Kağıthane district, which are adjacent to the Büyükdere Avenue or in an interior strip. These neighbourhoods include lower and middle income residential areas, with dense populations. Within the Kağıthane district, two neighbourhoods are of distinctive characteristics. These are Sanayi and Yeşiltepe neighbourhoods. In these neighbourhoods, small scale industrial, manufacturing workshops and warehouses are located. The uses are potentially subject to future redevelopment projects. Another important share of Levent-Maslak Axis, case study area is constituted with Potential Parcels to be developed. These are mainly the large industrial parcels along the office/high-rise axis, belonging to private or public actors and accepted as potential and on-going, investment and redevelopment areas.

The current and potential development pattern of the surrounding areas provides an opportunity to observe the pressures and impacts of the development of the Büyükdere Axis (of global trends of development) on its vicinity and the city in general. Büyükdere Avenue (Levent-Maslak axis) represents an example for the emergence of a global financial-office (producer services) centre through its certain aspects:

Function (Land-use) Wise: The concentration of office buildings, financial functions, headquarters etc; responding to the requirements of the global economy, emerging as an outcome of the economic restructuring process under the influence global processes.

Built-Environment Wise: The concentrations of high rise buildings, ‘modern’ office spaces with adequate supply of infrastructure and services, which respond to the expectations/standards of global architecture trends, are located there. These are also spaces that are restrictedly accessible. The developments within transportation network supported these developments.

National Policy Wise: these developments are also part of national agendas. The post 1980 policies in Turkey explicitly supported the development of the area. These policies have the aim of enhancing global integration, with an explicit neo-liberal (“open economy”) discourse.

Besides, the development of the office zone along the Büyükdere Avenue axis, as a precise example of the transformation experienced in Istanbul under globalization, there are other characteristics that are meaningful for the scope of the research like the existence of potential land lots to be developed or redeveloped, and parcels that are within the process of redevelopment.

5.2 Methodology of the Research

The transformation of the socio-spatial conditions in the case study area and different components of urban social resilience have been analysed within the case study area with the mentioned aims. The research implementation had been composed of several stages during the course of one year.

5.2.1 Preliminary Investigations

The first stage consists of preliminary investigations within the site comprising two field trips. The first field trip, realized in December 2009, aimed at making preliminary observations within the field, discovering the characteristics of the different neighbourhoods. In this trip, semi structured interviews had been conducted with the *muqhtars* of the majority of the neighbourhoods of the case study area.

First Field Trip

Preliminary observations in the site aimed at perceiving the daily life and dynamics within the site. In this trip the site is analysed in order to discover the different types of spatial, economic and social patterns and to understand whether or not they differentiate from each other. The geographical area of the first field trip is given in figure 5.3.

Within this field trip nine semi-structured interview and conversation had been realized with the director of neighbourhood administrations, named as ‘muqhtar’ in Turkey. These interviews aimed at understanding the social and spatial problems faced within the neighbourhoods and whether the expansion and development of central business activities, and the new urban development forms affect inhabitants who live or work in the neighbourhood. The interviews also aimed to understand relations in-between the inhabitants of different neighbourhoods. The semi structured interview form of the first field trip and its findings can be found in appendix A.

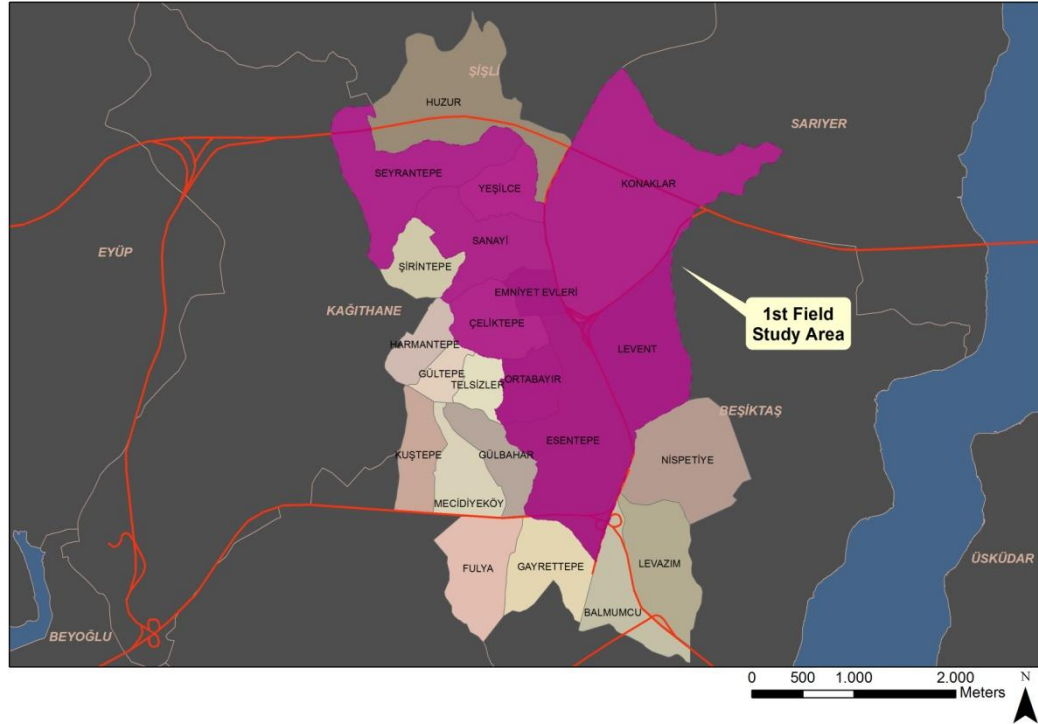


Figure 5. 3. The First Field Trip Area

These preliminary studies revealed the different dynamics effective in the everyday life of the area. Likewise major threats and pressures felt by the users of the area are aimed to be understood. On the other hand the expectations and feeling of insecurity among the neighbourhood users are aimed to be understood. The preliminary findings constructed the ground for the design of the following stages of the research including the zoning analysis and questionnaire design.

Second Field Trip

The second field trip conducted in April 2010 comprised firstly gathering relevant documents and data from local administrative units and secondly, pilot studies for the questionnaires. Local Administrative Institutions that have been visited and communicated are firstly the district municipalities of Şişli, Beşiktaş, Kağıthane, secondly, different units of the metropolitan municipality of Istanbul, and finally the centre for the Istanbul metropolitan planning office (IMP). The past and present

studies related to the case study have been interrogated within these visits. Data and documents (digital or printed) on the valid plans have been collected. Conversations with officers have also been conducted about the development of the districts comprised in the case study area and verbal data had been obtained. The collected data and information are used and incorporated to the further stages of the research study. After conducting preliminary observations in the field a pilot questionnaire had been prepared and implemented in the site with several inhabitants residing or owning workplaces in the area. The pilot study aimed to check how the interviewees respond to the questions.

5.2.2 Statistical Data on the Case Study Neighbourhoods

After understanding the different dimensions of the case study area through field trips, the differentiating characteristics within the case study area have been studied. It had been observed that three different zones within the area can be defined. Accordingly the second stage of the research includes zoning analyses, conducted by using the statistical data of national population censuses of the years 1990 and 2000. The acquired data on employment, household and demographic indicators had been analysed in the neighbourhood level. The neighbourhood unit is the smallest spatial administrative unit, upon which data can be gathered. That is why the geographical boundaries defined in this study make use of the neighbourhood boundaries and data. On the other hand district level analysis provide a wider data set, within which differentiations can exist and using district level data may cause to omit meaningful details.

In order to reveal the disposition of different zones, primary indicators on the socio-economic profile of the neighbourhoods retrieved from the population census data, year 2000 have been analyzed by calculating the z-scores to standardize the variables. The suggested three zones depending on the field studies have been tested with these analyses and proved to be meaningful zones.

As the next step, the change in economic, demographic and social indicators within the ten years span (1990 – 2000) have been analysed in order to lay bare the transformation experienced in the area in this time period. However it is necessary to mention that the 1990 national population census data have a major problem. The 1990 census data is collected according to a sample (5% sample). On the neighbourhood scale the significance of the sample may be insufficient and lead to generalizations. The census data had been useful in verifying the distinction between the defined zones of the case study area. Both of the analyses have been mapped within GIS medium, using the geographical data obtained by the Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul and Istanbul Metropolitan Planning Office combined with the statistical data obtained from Turkish Statistical Institution.

5.2.3 Understanding the Different Dynamics of the Case Study Area: Defining the Zones

Depending on the preliminary observations and statistical analyses on the field, three different zones have been differentiated within the case study area (see figure 5.4). The area includes three different zones distinguished according to their overall profile. The first zone comprises the main business conglomeration within the study area, which has recently developed along the Büyükdere Avenue as an extension of an important business axis of Şişli. The neighbourhoods along both CBD axes are included within this first zone. The recent developments on the western side of Büyükdere Avenue, which are located in Esentepe and Emniyet Evleri neighbourhoods comprise recent business activity conglomeration such as luxurious office blocks, shopping malls, and residences.

The representative neighbourhood of the zone is the Esentepe neighbourhood located along the west of Büyükdere Avenue. It has become today one of the main central areas of the city, as the extension of Mecidiyeköy district, which is a major CBD area since the 1970s. The development of the area dates back to 1950s, when former pharmaceutical and automotive industries were established (Öktem, 2005). The development along the axis intensified with the construction of the first

Bosporus Bridge in 1974, and with the supportive decisions of the central and local governments after 1980s, aiming to make Istanbul an international business centre.

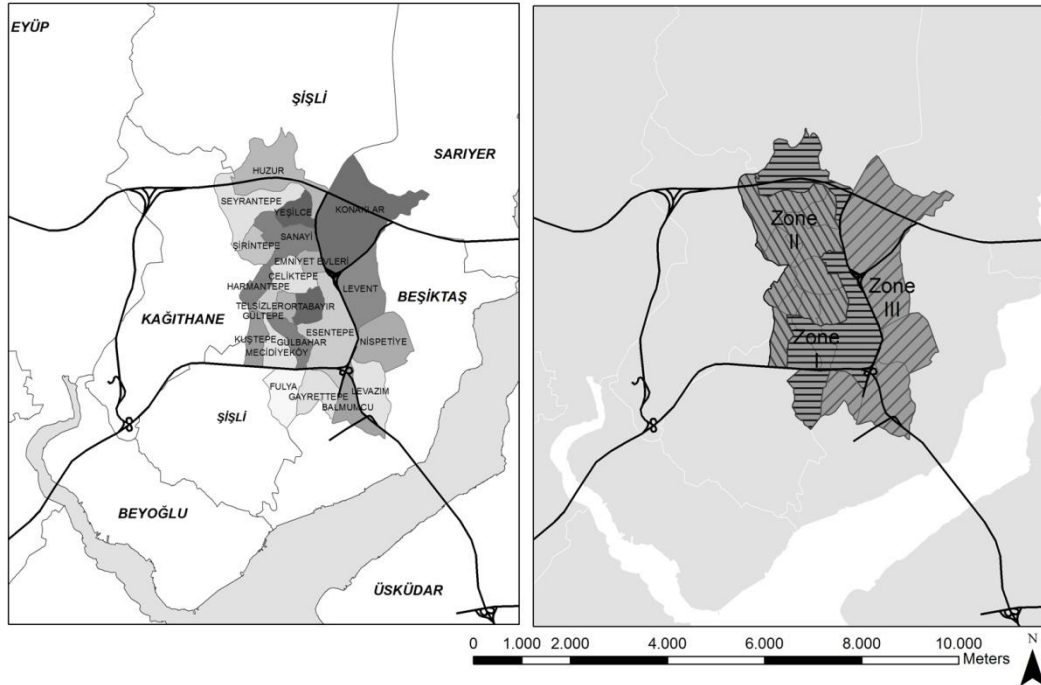


Figure 5. 4. The Case study Area Neighbourhoods and Zones

With the first introduced plan (Boğaziçi Öngörüm ve Etkilenme Alanları Planı) Zincirlikuyu-Levent area had been determined as an administrative centre. A partial plan considering the ‘Büyükdere Avenue Destination’ had been introduced in 1988, and assigned a very high floor area ratio (4.5) to the area. Due to those rates high rise construction became possible in the area, which later caused the increase of land speculation and attracted more investor. In the late 1980s, the contemporary development pattern of an international business centre in Büyükdere – Maslak axis had therefore been initiated with the support of the government; but also with the pressure coming from large capital groups having organic relation with the government (Öktem, 2005). The following local government of early 1990s, did no longer supported the further development of Büyükdere Avenue, in order to prevent

further expansion of the city towards the northern forest reserves, and reduced the floor area ratios (to 3) (Öktem, 2005). This caused discontent among private investors; however, despite the disinclination to support the development of the Büyükdere-Maslak axis in some periods, the area continued its initial development trend up to today. The recent governments also support the development of the area as the international business centre of Istanbul. The land lots and ownership patterns were suitable for these developments since the beginning, yet the problem is not providing transnational or national corporate enterprises land and office space and furnishing them necessary infrastructure but it is to turn this process in to an instrument of capital accumulation through the generated rent.

The second zone is composed of residential neighbourhoods of the Kağıthane district, located on the west side of the Büyükdere Avenue. The large area comprising a considerable number of housing units today is a former squatter housing area, which had been built up, in the 1960s, in relation to the former industrial establishments along the axis. The area had been legalized with the implementation of 'slum area improvement plan' introduced in 1986. Today the majority of these neighbourhoods are residential, with commercial activities along the main arteries. In some of the neighbourhoods, there is still a concentration of automobile workshops and other small scale production activities. In few locations there are illegal housings waiting for redevelopment. On the fringes of the area, along the TEM highway there are large scale investment and implementations taking place. This is an important zone of influence of the constructions and investments that are actualized along the Büyükdere Avenue.

Kağıthane neighbourhoods located along the Büyükdere Avenue are of high residential popularity for permanent or temporary; low and middle income inhabitants of Istanbul due to the increasing accessibility of the area owing to the improvement of public transportation and highway connections within the last two decades; to the legalization of the building stock, which produced a massive amount of housing units of moderate rents and qualities within the area; to the presence of many universities near the area and to the rising attractiveness of the area as a result

of the adjacent luxurious work and residential spaces. The population of the area still continues to increase.

The third zone comprises the Levent district, located on the east of the Büyükdere Avenue. The development of the area dates back to 1950s, to the construction of Levent Housing area. The area is composed of separate housing units, which have turned into a commercial area with very high property values within the course of last 20 years. This caused a considerable decrease in the resident population within the area. It can be observed today that the area hosts high income groups and expensive activities. In 2008 one part the former housing area became a conservation site where commercial uses have become limited. This decision had become a factor influencing the dynamics of the area.

This differentiation among zones can also be observed in an analyses based on the data from National Population Census 2000, comprising the indicators on education levels, position in work and sector of employment. The obtained percentages had been compared by using the normalization or standardization technique. Standardization is a useful technique, which is applied via the calculation of *z-scores* for the variables at hand (Fraser 2010). *z-score* is the distance between the observed value and the mean of the distribution, in standard deviations (Doane and Seward 2007, 140; Sun, 2010). It calculates how much the observed value deviates from the mean and transforms it in to a ‘dimensionless quantity’ (Sun, 2010). It is calculated “by dividing the deviation from the mean of the observation by the standard deviation of the distribution” (Sun, 2010).

The normalized values (*z-scores*) of different social indicators for the different suggested zones are shown in table 5.6:

Table 5. 6. Standardization Analysis for the Differentiation among Zones

Indicators	Low level Education	Middle Level Education	High Education	Employer (position in work)	Administrative employees (sector of employment)	Service sector, commercial etc. employees (sector of employment)	Non-Agr. Activities (sector of employment)
Zone	Z- scores						
ZONE 1	0,09	0,03	-0,14	-0,22	0,14	1,06	-0,50
ZONE 2	0,95	-1,01	-0,92	-0,87	-1,06	-0,13	1,15
ZONE 3	-1,04	0,99	1,06	1,09	0,92	-0,93	-0,65
AVERAGE	60,04	22,28	17,68	8,68	23,59	44,47	31,66
STANDARD DEVIATION	22,19	7,51	14,75	5,04	13,17	4,38	13,13

Source: National Population Census Data, 2000, TUIK

5.2.4 The Questionnaire Study

The third stage of the research study focused on the preparation of three different questionnaire forms for the different users of the area: households, large scale offices (5 to 5000 employees) and small scale retailers (*'esnaf'*). Questionnaire forms had been finalized in May 2010 and applied within the case study area, during the summer of 2010. The questionnaire forms can be found in *Appendix B, C, D*.

The questionnaires aimed to understand the different dimensions of the transformation process within the case study area. The questionnaires investigated how the dimensions of social resilience – adaptive capacity of inhabitants – is influenced from this process, to what extent the inhabitants and workplaces are influenced from this process and what is their perception on what is going on around them.

The household questionnaire sample includes 250 inhabitants residing in the case study area. The sample comprises households from three different zones. The geographical unit of data collection is the neighbourhood level. The questionnaire study comprised two neighbourhoods from Zone 1 (Emniyet Evleri, Esentepe),

where 43 questionnaires had been applied; two neighbourhoods from Zone 2 (Çeliktepe, Seyrantepe), where 100 questionnaires had been applied; and three neighbourhoods from Zone 3 (Gayrettepe, Levent, Nispetiye), where 107 questionnaires had been applied. The offices questionnaire sample includes 50 workplaces located in Zone 1 (Esentepe) and Zone 3 (Levent) neighbourhoods, where the offices are concentrated and applied to respectively 26 and 25 establishments. The retailers (*'esnaf'*) questionnaire sample includes 50 retail and services shop located in Zone 2 (Sanayi, Çeliktepe) and Zone 3 (Levent) where these types of shops are concentrated and applied to respectively 20, 20 and 10 establishments. The two neighbourhoods in the Zone 2 are also representative of two different profiles in the zone. Sanayi is where small scale manufacturers, workshops and storehouses exist, Çeliktepe is closer to high-rise offices and commercial workplaces exist in high quantity. The total of four hundred (400) questionnaires has been conducted by a professional research firm in Istanbul, in August 2010.

The structure of the questionnaire include two groups of question. First group of questions aim to investigate the different characteristics of the study area and the way the area has transformed in terms of land-use functions, residents, socio-economic profiles, urban environmental quality, conditions of living of the inhabitants, and so on. These questions are multiple choice questions. These questions investigate the following issues: Demographic information on the residents of the study area, the socio-economic profile (education, property ownership etc) of the inhabitants and shop or business owners within the area, the location preferences of the users (residents and shop/business owners) of the area, and their patterns of mobility within the city before moving to the area, the pressures felt by the users of the area.

The second group of questions aims to reveal the perception of the users, on the transformation of the area. The questions are asked within a seven scale 'Likert-type' scale. This group of question interrogates the following issues: the changing investment plans of the users of the area vis-a-vis the changing property values. Their approach towards urban redevelopment implementations, the change in their

conditions of living and working, the change in their social networks and relations, their level of participation into urban governance, their approach towards the operations of the municipalities, their approach towards the discourse of ‘Istanbul the global city.’ The questionnaire forms can be seen in appendices B, C and D.

5.2.5 Analyses on the Adaptive Capacity of the Users – Social Resilience

Within the next stage of the research study, analyses on the adaptive capacity –social resilience – of the users of the case study area had been conducted. First step of the analyses depends on determining the prevailing disturbances felt in the case study area. The major disturbances experienced in the case study area relates to the physical and functional transformation and redevelopment of the area. This process, along with wider processes in relation to neo-liberalization, triggers new dynamics within the functioning of urban land and labour markets. This kind of disturbances and threats are external stresses acting upon urban population working and residing within the area. The specific conditions of working and living that arise as an outcome of the functioning of interface mechanisms cause the creation of new socio-spatial and socio-economic vulnerabilities. To understand the adaptive capacity of urban inhabitants, it is necessary to lay down the major transformation trends that took place within the case study area, and major processes that set the direction of the development within the case study area. Likewise potential disturbances and threats upon the users of the area can be understood.

Additionally it is necessary to take into consideration the present situation and possible future development trends of the area in order to determine the stresses and disturbances faced by the urban system. In order to evaluate the impact of these developments on the adaptive capacity of urban social groups, it is necessary to reveal the main disturbances within the case study area. With this aim additional analyses on the contemporary attributes of the area had been conducted. In order to understand the present situation of the case study area additional descriptive analysis on the land-uses within the area has been conducted. The analysis combined the geographical and numeric data obtained in digital format from the Istanbul

Metropolitan Planning Office and Metropolitan municipality of Istanbul; and realised in GIS software.

The analysis on the role of social resilience is based on testing a number of hypotheses posited by the study. The hypotheses are arguments on the role of the adaptive capacity of different social groups in coping with the change in the conditions of living and working as the outcome of the urban interface mechanisms. It is asserted in the study that dynamics of the complex operation of the interface mechanisms, namely land and labour markets, are changing under the influence of global processes and globalization, the neo-liberalisation agendas of the governments. According the outcomes of land and labour markets cause the actual production of the transformation of the urban environment and conditions of working and living, leading to the creation of socio-spatial vulnerabilities for certain social groups. These vulnerabilities are accepted in the study as the decreasing capacity to maintain a living, which is necessary ensure requires economic assets, education, capabilities of working and earning money, social needs and so on. At this point, the study asserts that the adaptive capacity of urban inhabitants – resilience – is a determining factor for the present and future ‘well being’ of inhabitants. The hypotheses framework that aims to relate the changing dynamics of the interface mechanisms, the created vulnerabilities and social resilience, is presented in chapter 6. To test the postulated arguments, analyses are conducted using the data obtained from the questionnaire study.

5.3 Increasing Global Functions and Redevelopment Demands in the Case Study Area

The efforts to carry Istanbul into the global arena supported by the governments had primarily affected the urban environment. With the increasing global relations, foreign firms increasingly entered into Turkish economy and into the urban space. With these developments, global functions have concentrated in Istanbul, creating new demands in the commercial real-estate market of the city.

Büyükdere – Maslak Axis is one of the most important central areas hosting such activities. Along the axis and in its vicinity, the rise in the demand for commerce and office spaces can be observed from the increasing number of retail, service and office spaces within the area. The concentration of both national and international firms in the area, as well as the increasing complementary functions around them has initiated two major transformations in the urban environment. Firstly, the building density is rising continuously; and secondly, industrial and residential buildings, vacant or in-use, have started to attain central functions. These transformations, lead to the demolishing and re-construction of the present building stock; or to changes in building functions. This trend of development has also been supported by the principles of development set in the plan documents. To investigate the different characteristics of these transformations observed in the urban space and built environment several analyses had been conducted.

5.3.1.1 Increasing Building Density

First analysis investigates the quantity (number) of high-rise buildings constructed in the field since the 1980s. The increasing number of high-rise buildings can be accepted as an indicator of the centralization of the Büyükdere – Maslak Axis. The expansion of the CBD along the axis means also the increasing number of visitors to the area, who will also create an economic vitality. However the increasing numbers of users may also bring problems. To investigate the increasing number of high-rise buildings and their distribution among different zones a GIS analysis is conducted on the geographical distribution and floor numbers of buildings that are higher than nine storeys. The result is given in Table 5.7.

Table 5. 7. Number of High-Rise Buildings and Their Distribution among Different Zones

Zone	Buildings Higher than 9 storeys	CBD Functions (Commerce, Services, Administrative, Hotels etc.)	Residential and Commercial Mix Uses
I	199 (48,3%)	20 (10%) (<i>within zone</i>)	95 (48%) (<i>within zone</i>)
II	23 (5,5%)	3 (13%) (<i>within zone</i>)	8 (34%) (<i>within zone</i>)
III	190 (46,2%)	28 (14,7%) (<i>within zone</i>)	41 (21,5%)(<i>within zone</i>)
Total	412 (100%)	51 (12,4%) (<i>within study area</i>)	144 (34,9%) (<i>within study area</i>)

Source: GIS analysis. Building based data obtained from IMP Office, Urban Design Group. Data date: 2006.

The majority of high rises are constructed in the near time. Their development is significant as they show the increasing central functions within the study area. High-rise development has also become a symbol of globalizing cities. They also constitute an attraction addressing to foreign firms and investors.

The transformation of the case study area in this direction still continues. The centre of this transformation takes place along the Büyükdere Avenue. The data shows that by the year 2006, the area hosts 412 building that are higher than 9 storeys, 295 building higher than 10 storeys, 56 building higher than 15 storeys, 36 buildings higher than 20 storeys. Most of these buildings serve as command centres for national firms. Today, the building that will be the highest structure of Istanbul is constructed within the area (Zone 1). These buildings also provide private commercial spaces and residences.

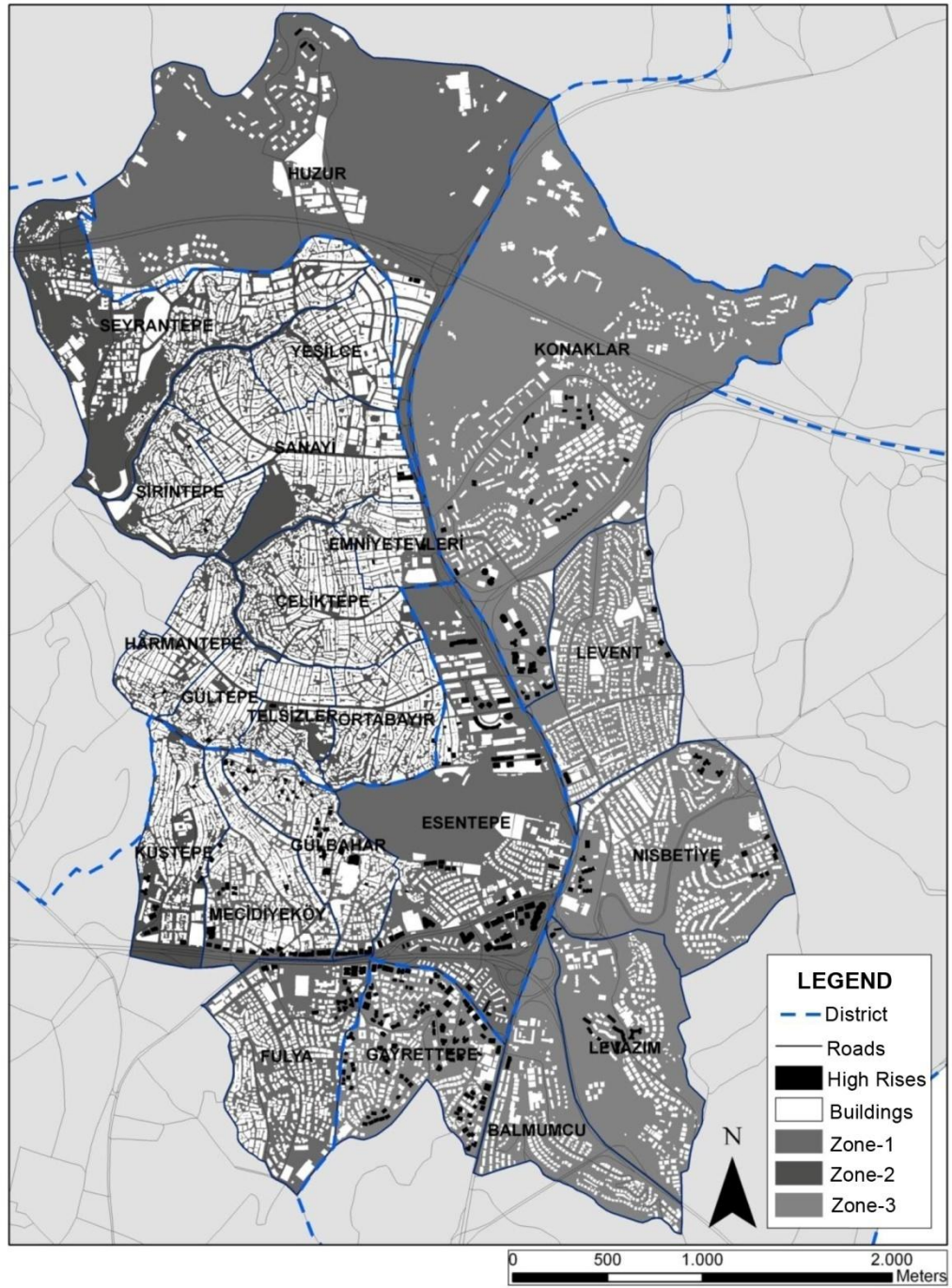


Figure 5. 5.High-Rise Buildings in the Case Study Area

Source: ArcGIS analysis. Building based data obtained from IMP Office, Urban Design Group. Data date: 2006.

High-rise buildings are especially concentrated in Zone 1 and 3 (see figure 5.5). In Zone 2, due to its former transformation from illegal building stock, the development of high-rises is difficult. Hence the number of such buildings and uses is limited in the zone. The non-residential uses in high-rise building are larger in the zone 1, where the business activity is also more concentrated than the other two zones. When the construction rates given in the district implementation plans are investigated, it is understood that this trend of transformation is also supported by the municipalities and plans. It is with the increases in construction rates along the Büyükdere Avenue, that the construction of high-rise buildings becomes possible.

5.3.1.2 The Change in the Population of Case Study Zones and Neighbourhoods

The transformation along the Büyükdere Axis, also in Beşiktaş – Gayrettepe region, influenced demographic and employment patterns within the case study area. According to research findings, the transformation of the built-environment is progressing in all of the zones. The population numbers of the neighbourhoods, indicate that there is a limited change observed in zone 1. Moreover, the neighbourhood of Esentepe, which is the main locus of increasing business functions, is observed to lose population (see Table 5.8). This can be accepted as an indicator of the centralization of the area. On the other hand, it is observed that the population of zone 2, where low priced housing can be found, is increasing (see Table 5.6). In fact this zone is providing housing for the workforce working in the area and for many low income families and inhabitants. Zone 3, where the housing prices are highest experience an increase in the overall population. However for this zone too, in the neighbourhoods where business activities increase, the population decrease (see Table 5.8, 5.9).

Table 5. 8. The Change in the Population of the Zones, 1990 – 2007

Zone	Year 1990	Year 2007
I	65077	86499
II	143650	214828
III*	36468	54722

*No data for Levazım and Gayrettepe neighbourhoods

Source: Zone populations calculated from TUIK neighbourhood populations.

Table 5. 9. The Change in the Neighbourhood Populations, 1990 - 2007

District	Neighbourhood	1990	1997	2000	2007
Beşiktaş	Balmumcu	7323	-	-	2541
Beşiktaş	Gayrettepe	-	-	-	13437
Beşiktaş	Konaklar	8444	-	-	16360
Beşiktaş	Levazım	-	-	-	6187
Beşiktaş	Levent	6090	-	-	2982
Beşiktaş	Nispetiye	14611	-	-	13215
Kağıthane	Çeliktepe	23819	27885	28600	34115
Kağıthane	Emniyetevleri	8828	8171	7768	9148
Kağıthane	Gültepe	11161	12744	12627	14828
Kağıthane	Harmantepe	16045	18590	18568	22291
Kağıthane	Ortabayır	15993	19732	20904	25386
Kağıthane	Sanayi	22263	25809	28419	34960
Kağıthane	Seyrantepe	9395	13017	15406	19435
Kağıthane	Şirintepe	11281	16618	17010	21679
Kağıthane	Telsizler	9910	9921	10268	12705
Kağıthane	Yeşilce	7056	8306	9214	11653
Şişli	Esentepe	7384	-	-	6800
Şişli	Fulya	17235	-	-	18505
Şişli	Gülbahar	10474	-	-	21737
Şişli	Huzur	4647	-	-	9978
Şişli	Kuştepe	16727	-	-	17776
Şişli	Mecidiyeköy	16509	-	-	20331

Source: TUIK population data, Kağıthane district municipality Implementation Plan Reports.

5.3.1.3 Actual and Potential Redevelopment Areas

The agglomeration of financial institutions and corporate centres within the area create pressures over traditional forms of establishments to move out. A major example for such uses is the small scale manufacturing activity. The case study area includes an area where small scale manufacturers, car repair workshops and warehouses are concentrated. These uses are located in Sanayi and Yeşiltepe neighbourhoods in Zone 2 (see Table 5.10). These workshops with limited capital are prone to face difficulties to adapt to the changing atmosphere around them. A similar transformation however is difficult to achieve in that zone because of the small sized land lots and to the complex ownership pattern in developed in relation to the illegal developments that was once dominant in the area. Within this frame, this manufacturing area is a candidate for the implementation of large-scale redevelopment projects. Especially the second zone where the income level is the lowest within the area in general, the small scale workshops and shops are under certain threats. It is difficult for the small scale establishments to compete with the international capital and large capital owning firms. The decrease in the demand for the services and products provided by small scale entrepreneurs, because of the increasing presence of international firms, complicates their economic sustainability. On the other hand the extension of the central business functions into the area, brings vitality to the area, and increases the traffic of customers to the area, which may influence positively the works of many establishments in the area.

5.3.1.4 Urban Areas Transformed into Commercial Functions

The transformation that took place on the former industrial parcels constitutes an important determinant of the contemporary characteristic of the built environment in the study area. Part of the industrial plants are still in function, however the moving out of the large scale industry to organized zones structurally shaped the development pattern within the area today. The important aspect of being developed on former industry parcels is related to the form of these parcels. The long and narrow but large shape of the parcels, added to the increase of construction rates gave opportunity for the development of large structures like high-rise buildings, or

shopping malls and so on. There exist still parcels within the area that can be accepted as potential development/redevelopment areas. This makes the axis an attractive investment area for investors. For instance, a large land lot owned by the metropolitan municipality of Istanbul, named as the “IETT” land, had been open to privatisation, to attract investors for the construction of another high rise Office and residence building in the area. However the privatisation tendering process has faced several problems and the project is still suspended.

Table 5. 10. The Different Land-Uses in the Study Area, Their Transformation

Land-Use	Area (ha)	%
Potential Redevelopment Areas	16	1,09
Residential Areas with Increasing Density	54,4	3,71
New Developments	104	7,09
Limitedly Transformed Former Squatter Housing Areas	336,6	22,93
Limitedly Transformed Residential Areas	391,6	26,68
Areas Transformed into Central Functions	152,3	10,38
Industrial Areas	93,8	6,39
Military Areas	262	17,85
Sport and Recreation Areas	43	2,93
Public Service and Infrastructure Areas	14	0,95
Total	1467,7	100,00

Source: GIS analysis. Building based data on Şişli, Kağıthane, Beşiktaş districts obtained from Istanbul Metropolitan Planning Office (IMP), date 2006.

This type of brown-field redevelopment has also widely taken place in industrialized countries, with the same process of moving out or closing down of former industrial plants. This major move of functions provided large parcels within the city boundaries that can be developed with different functions. In Turkey the rate of such brown-field areas is very limited; therefore the transformation along the Büyükdere Avenue provided great opportunities for large scale projects.

Especially the rising central business district functions in the area and hosting global functions within this frame is a descriptive feature for the new character of the area. This character of new development forms within the area will trigger further redevelopment, functional change and gentrification. According to the calculations made in the site maps, it is observed that 10% of the area has turned into central functions (see Table 5.10, and Figure 5.6). This area consist mainly of shopping malls, office blocks and residences that are constructed upon former pharmaceutical and chemical industrial plant parcels; and partly of housing uses transformed in to business ones.

Commercial real-estate supply increased with the transformation of the area. This type of development, sharing commonalities with other cities around the world, is a mark of entrepreneurial mode of governance and urban policies and the investments of foreign capital. Hence Büyükdere avenue, Levent – Maslak Axis represents the capital oriented developments observed in globalizing cities. There are still potential redevelopment areas within the site. On the other hand, when the maps of the years 1987 and 2007 are compared, it is seen that the 7% of the area consist of new developments.

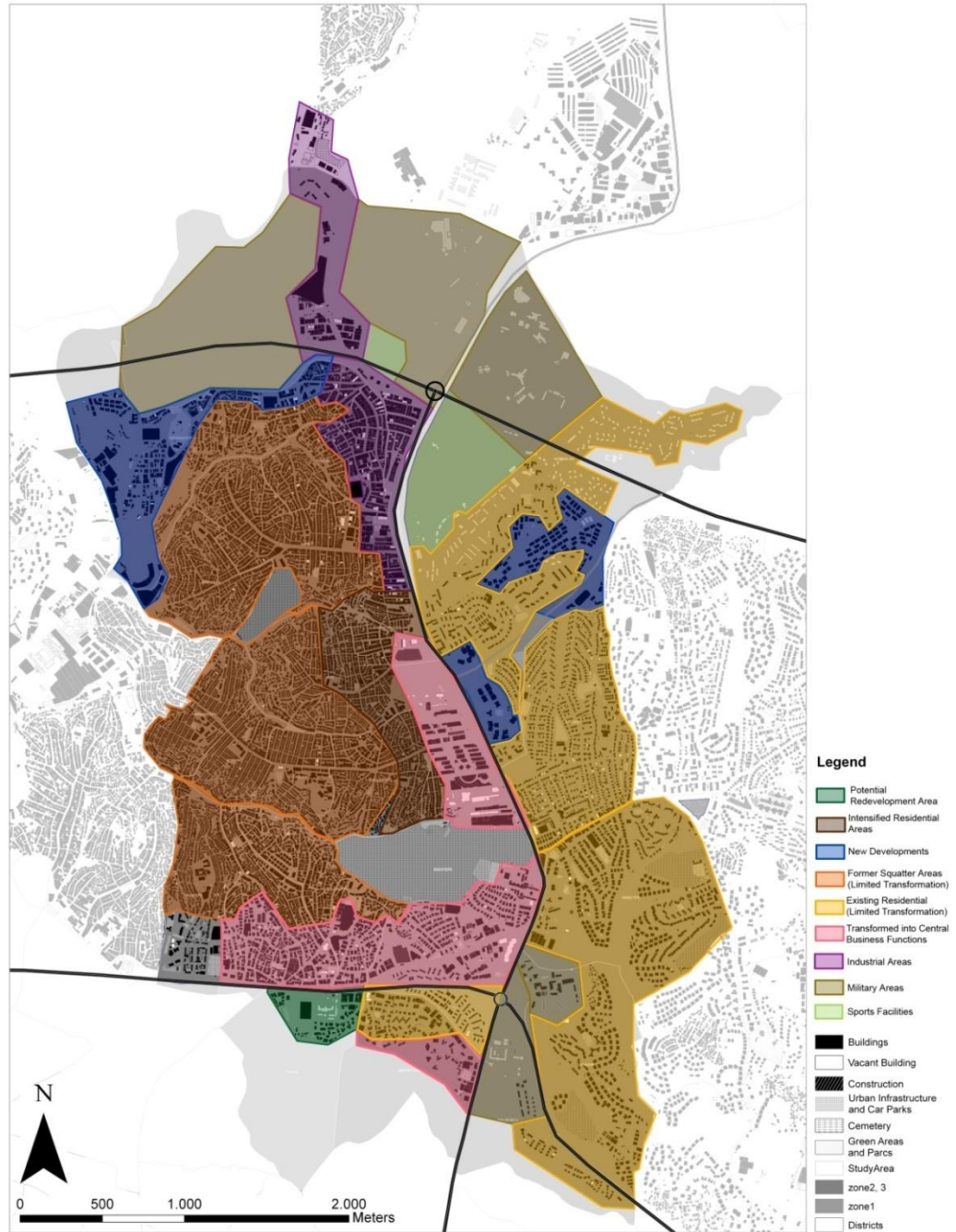


Figure 5. 6. The Different Land-Uses in the Study Area, Their Transformation

Source: GIS analysis. Building based data on Şişli, Kağıthane, Beşiktaş districts obtained from Istanbul Metropolitan Planning Office (IMP), date 2006.

When the workplaces and offices in the Esentepe neighbourhood are investigated according to the questionnaire findings, it is seen that the 53.8 % have moved to the area after the year 2000 (see Table 5.11).

Table 5. 11 The Date of Moving into the Area for Large Scale Workplaces

Location	Esentepe	Levent	Study Area
Percentage of commercial establishments that moved to the area after 2000	53,8%	24,0%	39,2%

Source: Offices Questionnaire, summer 2010

This shows the functional transformation of the area and the attractiveness of the area as a new (sub) centre within the city. Moreover, the questionnaire study reveals that the reason the firms moving from other districts to here, is that they enlarge their business, and none of the investigated firms would prefer another location within the city (see Table 5.12).

Table 5. 12 The Reason of Moving into the Area

Reason of Moving into the Area (%)	Esentepe	Levent	Study Area
Because of the Location	7,6%	4%	6%
Growing Business	34,5%	28%	31,4%
Changes in the Ownership Statuses	0	8%	4%

Source: Offices Questionnaire, summer 2010

5.3.1.5 Increasing Number of Foreign Capital Firms in Producer Services Activity

With the increasing global character of the city, the economic functions have started to change. Producer services activities are observed to be increasing within the area. The share of foreign capital firms is similarly increasing. The reason behind this

increase is the attractiveness of the area as a business centre, its accessibility and appealing image. According to a study conducted on the data of Under-secretariat of Treasury and Foreign Trade, dated 2005, (Eraydın et al. 2008) there exist 518 foreign capital firms within the case study area. This number is the 10% of the total foreign capital firms in Istanbul and 5% of the firms in Turkey. More than half of the foreign capital firms are partly or fully European firms, this rate is followed by Middle-eastern capital with 20%, USA with 10% and others.

Table 5. 13 The Distribution of Foreign Capital Firms within the Case Study Zones

Zone	I (%)	II (%)	III (%)	Total
Percentage of Foreign Capital Firms	38,01	8,94	53,05	100

Source: Offices Questionnaire, summer 2010

The analysis conducted for the research, using the data of a formerly conducted study on foreign capital firms in Istanbul (2006) showed that 53% of the foreign capital firms are located in the Levent neighbourhood (Zone 3), followed by Şişli district neighbourhoods with 38% (Zone 1). However, this rate in Kağıthane neighbourhoods (Zone 2) is very low in comparison to others (9%). These numbers are also representative of the differentiation between the zones of the case study area (See Table 5.13). 19.6 % of the interviewed workplaces are exporting products (see Table 5.14) and 7.7% of them have foreign shares in their capital.

Table 5. 14 The Percentage of Export Making Firms

Neighbourhood (Zone)	Esentepe (I)	Levent (III)	Study Area
Exporting	23,1	16,0	19,6
No Exporting	76,9	84,0	80,4
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Offices Questionnaire, summer 2010

The increasing share of foreign firms and foreign capital in the Istanbul economy indicates the growing position of the city as an international economic centre. The functional transformation within the area is expected to continue within this direction; and if it continues this trend of transformation will increasingly exert pressures upon the residential building stock and cause the creation of new vulnerabilities. The persistence of foreign capital within the local economy, which are functioning especially in production activity and the attraction of new firms are influenced from the impressions of other firms on the economic conduct in the country (Eraydın et al. 2008).

5.3.1.6 Sectoral Distribution of Land-Use Functions in The Area

According to another GIS analysis conducted on a comprehensive land-use data obtained from Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul, dating 2006; the land-uses on the ground, first and second floors of the buildings within the area had been investigated (see Table 5.15). The analyses show that, the rate of residential uses on the ground floor is 57.14%. Buildings that have residential uses on their ground floor are mainly located in Zone 2 (59%). Commercial functions are 15% within the area in general. The rate decrease to 2.17% in the first floors and %0.46 in the second floors. The share of ground floor commerce functions is highest in the Şişli district (Zone 1). When the service functions are examined, the overall rate in the case study area is 3.95%. In Beşiktaş district this ratio is highest (11% on the ground floor, 9,2% on the first floor and 3% on the second floors). In Şişli this ratio is approximately 6% in every floor and in Kağıthane service functions are significantly low (1%). However when the manufacturing functions are investigated, Kağıthane district have the highest share (6.5%). The overall share of manufacturing within the study area is 4.51%.

All in all, it is observed that service functions are more concentrated in zone 1 and 3. These are the districts where central activities are observed mostly. On the other hand, Kağıthane district is a highly residential district, however the rate of ground

floor commerce is high. The zone where the commercial functions are most concentrated is the third zone.

Table 5. 15 Case Study Area Land-Use Analysis

Percentage of Building Usages (%)	BEŞİKTAŞ			KAĞITHANE			ŞİŞLİ			Study Area (%)		
	Ground	1 st Floor	2 nd Floor	Ground	1 st Floor	2 nd Floor	Ground	1 st Floor	2 nd Floor	Ground	1 st Floor	2 nd Floor
Residential	54,17	52,35	38,15	59,35	65,80	57,90	53,89	53,98	46,20	57,14	60,66	51,80
Culture	0,44	0,17	0,05	0,03	0,02	0,00	0,10	0,00	0,01	0,12	0,04	0,01
Health	1,23	0,98	0,37	0,09	0,11	0,07	0,34	0,31	0,28	0,34	0,30	0,17
Sports	0,22	0,02	0,00	0,11	0,03	0,02	0,15	0,06	0,00	0,13	0,04	0,01
Commerce	9,18	2,88	0,47	15,64	1,72	0,45	17,08	2,77	0,46	15,00	2,17	0,46
Tourism	0,12	0,10	0,10	0,02	0,04	0,05	0,06	0,07	0,07	0,05	0,06	0,06
Military	2,58	0,84	0,39	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,40	0,13	0,06
Vacant	2,34	1,53	0,64	8,00	2,52	1,83	6,93	3,39	2,32	6,84	2,59	1,77
Storage	0,39	0,12	0,00	2,22	0,49	0,20	1,57	0,57	0,16	1,77	0,45	0,16
Education	1,30	1,13	0,64	0,40	0,36	0,30	1,48	1,36	1,09	0,82	0,74	0,56
Services	10,88	9,75	3,27	1,17	1,28	1,10	6,07	6,99	6,15	3,95	4,08	2,74
Administrative	1,40	0,86	0,44	0,24	0,05	0,01	0,25	0,12	0,10	0,42	0,20	0,10
Manufacturing	0,10	0,00	0,00	6,50	3,12	2,30	2,68	1,30	0,82	4,51	2,16	1,56
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: ArcGIS analysis. Building based data obtained from IMP Office, Urban Design Group. Data date: 2006.

5.3.1.7 Sectoral Differentiation among Foreign Capital Firms

The investigation of the sectoral distribution of foreign capital firms with reference to the data obtained within and the study conducted by Eraydın et al. (2008), shows that 60% of foreign capital firms are functioning in the field of wholesale or retailing

commerce. Their share is lesser in the sector of social, communal and personal services. The analysis shows furthermore that a very small (6.10%) share of these firms is located in the Kağıthane residential area, the majority is located in the 1st and 3rd zones, where the central business functions are more condensed. (See Table 5.16)

Table 5. 16 The Distribution of Foreign Capital Firms According to their Sector of Activity and Zone

Zones	I (%)	II (%)	III (%)	Total
Agriculture, Forestry and Hunting	0,00	0,00	1,22	1,22
Mining	0,61	0,00	0,41	1,02
Manufacturing Industry	0,20	0,20	0,20	0,61
Electricity, Gas and Water	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
Construction	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
Wholesale or Retailing	22,97	6,10	31,50	60,57
Restaurant and Hotels	3,66	1,02	3,86	8,54
Transportation, Storage and Communication	2,44	0,20	4,88	7,52
Financial Activities	3,05	0,00	2,03	5,08
Real Estate Activities and Producer Services	0,41	0,00	0,61	1,02
Education	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
Health and Social Services	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
Other Social, Communal and Personal Services	4,67	1,42	8,33	14,43
Total	38,01	8,94	53,05	100,00

Source: Analysis conducted on the data obtained from Eraydın et al. 2008

5.4 Conclusion

The introduced aims of the study were firstly to explain the transformation of the urban environment by using the conceptualisation of urban interface mechanism. The main processes that are triggered within the land and labour markets with the influence of the neo-liberal restructuring process the country went into had

constituted the primary part of the research framework. The hypotheses that are further developed are based on these processes and their assumed outcomes. With the use of this framework, the explanatory potential of interface mechanisms had been tested. The case study area constitutes a significant example for the research study, as it constitutes an urban area where most of the accounted processes within interface mechanisms can be found.

In terms of the labour market dynamics, the experienced processes in the case study area are not limited with the area boundaries. These are in general processes that are experienced city wide, or even country wide; such as the emergence of a new sectoral distribution, the changing employment opportunities, the entrance of foreign firms and capital in to the economy and the similar. However the study area is seen to be significant for the research especially with several attributes.

Firstly, it hosts a major concentration of foreign firms or firms affiliated with foreign counterparts, as seen in the analyses presented in section 5.3.1.5. It is also an important area where the main offices of many globally operating firms are located. This makes the area an international business centre both physically, with its high-rises and functionally, as it had been laid bare in section 5.3.1.1.

Secondly, in terms of the diversity of economic activities that takes place, the study area is also a significant one. The area increase both modern business environments of finance and service sector, elite shopping environments such as shopping malls of shops, more traditional, small scale retailing spaces or small scale manufacturing workshops and warehouses. The distribution of different functions, in different districts had been examined in the section 5.3.1.6, and different specialisations in the case study zones have been detected. All of this variety is located within the same area, however as more homogeneous clusters. Their presence provides the opportunity to observe and analyse the different processes these work places are going through with reference to the experienced transformation in the area. Furthermore the area also includes a spectrum of residents with different socio-economic backgrounds. The variety of the residents provided data for understanding

and comparing the experience of different labour force groups with differing qualifications. Finally the case study area went through a transformation where industrial establishments left their place for the construction of office block, where financial, service, commercial or public establishments have located. Hence the area constitutes an example for the re-organization of production activity in space; and the former industrial workers who have located in former squatter housing dwelling units bear the impacts of this transformation.

In terms of the land market dynamics, the case study area went through an important transformation process and this process is still continuing. The area provides many examples for the functional transformation of the urban areas, which influence the restructuring of the urban geography; and for the generation of economic values through transformation. The area includes henceforth different types of transformation patterns, one of which is the regularization of slum areas, the second is the transformation of industrial zones and the other is the gentrification of inner city zones. These different processes represent the examples of the discussed changes in the land markets around the world. The depiction of different urban redevelopment and transformation trends has been presented in section 5.3.1.2.

The second introduced aim of the study was to understand the creation of different levels of vulnerabilities or opportunities within the process of the above discussed transformations of the land and labour markets. These vulnerabilities are considered within the research frame, with reference to the different socio-economic profiles of the residents of the case study area zones. Based on the assumptions made upon the created vulnerability and opportunity areas, the hypotheses are constructed. The hypotheses aim to understand the role of urban social resilience for the future conditions of living and working of urban populations, in their confrontation with globalization and neo-liberalized policies. This constituted the final aim of the research study. The analyses presented in the next chapter test the asserted hypotheses and

CHAPTER VI

RESEARCH FINDINGS ON THE IMPACTS OF THE TRANSFORMATION OF BÜYÜKDERE – MASLAK AXIS

The research study aims to test the asserted hypotheses regarding the role of social resilience in the adaptation of different user groups of the case study area to the experienced transformations. The hypotheses aims to set the relation between emerging vulnerabilities due to the changing dynamics in the interface mechanisms, and the contribution of the different levels of adaptive capacity of user groups. The adaptive capacities of urban inhabitants are defined in this study with their livelihood assets, social capital, and participatory power.

According to the general hypotheses of the study, the new dynamics in the urban functioning brought by the neoliberal agenda of the globalization process and new types of implementations, determine the transformation of the urban environment. The continuous urban transformation and the changing conditions of living in the city bring new socio-spatial vulnerabilities to the urban population. The adaptive capacity of different social groups (including their livelihoods and assets, social capital and participatory power) increase their ability to cope with the continuous transformation of urban environment under the influence of globalization.

Within this frame of study, the changing dynamics in land and labour markets and the possible vulnerabilities, as well as opportunities they create are determined. Sub-hypotheses have been developed to set the relation of these conditions with the adaptive capacity of different user groups. The main characteristics of the presented arguments are given in Figure 6.1.

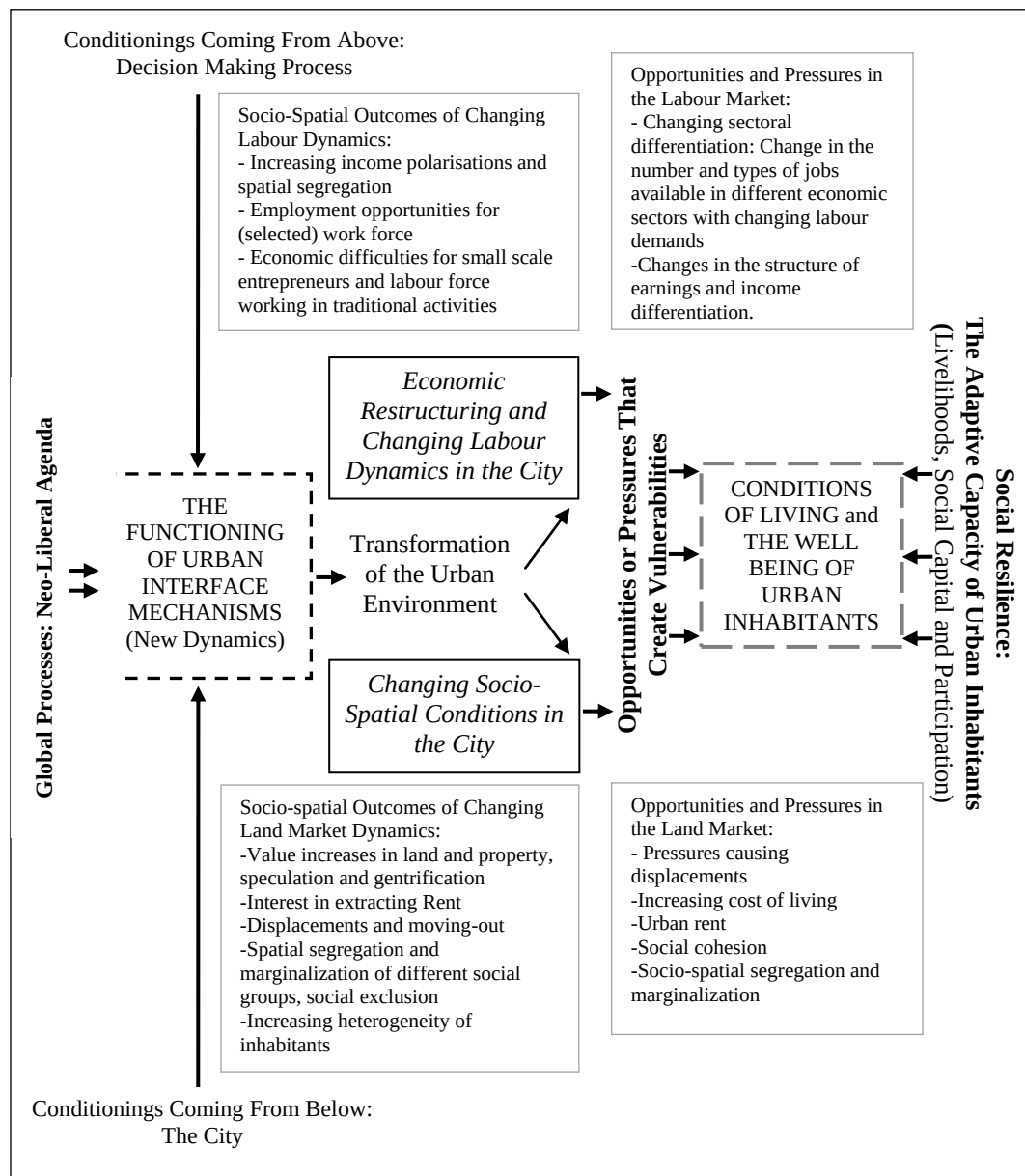


Figure 6. 1. The Role of Social Resilience in Coping with the Pressures Generated by the Transformation of the Urban Environment

6.1 Research Findings on the Changing Conditions of Living and Working under the Influence of Changing Labour Market Dynamics

The global economic deregulation process experienced within the last three decades brought new dimensions to local economies. The primary economic sectors shifted from production to finance and services. The labour markets have also been restructured with these developments. The opening up of the Turkish economy to the global networks brought similar changes in the economy. Istanbul had been the centre of international and national economic and financial activities in this process and within the case study area the spatialization of these new economic activities can be observed in forms of high-rise office and residence blocks, shopping malls and other commercial structures. The development of Büyükdere (Levent – Maslak) axis, as the financial centre of Istanbul, commands the labour market conditions of the city in general.

Büyükdere Avenue, developing as the extension of a major central district in Istanbul, Gayrettepe, became the centre where global connections and networks are rooted. New investments, office and residential structures placed along the axis are different than traditional forms of work. The new economic activities that are established within the area influence the employment opportunities both within the area and the city in general. In this sense the transformation of the case study area influence the economic capacities and capabilities – livelihoods – of the inhabitants. The functional transformation of the area is also related to the spatial aspects of the area; such as the building stock, building parcels, juxtaposition, infrastructure etc.

In parallel to the neo-liberalisation in the economy and the changes in the modes of production, the activity in producer services, other specialized services and finance activities increased in number. These changes influenced the overall dynamics of the labour market. While demand for workforce increased in developing sectors, it decreased in other more traditional sectors. These changes in the conditions of living and working influence the adaptive capacity of different social groups in terms of their livelihood assets. An important determinant in this respect is whether the work

force can respond to the changing employment opportunities and adapt to the new context. This depends on their qualifications – education, skills and training. Within this frame certain analyses had been conducted.

The dominance of new economic sectors within the city economy in general, as well as the case study area, is important both for the different scales of workplaces taking place within the area and for the residents of the area. Traditional forms of works are started to be replaced by the new types of economic activities, pushing part of the workplaces to difficulties; especially in Kağıthane neighbourhoods, where the workers of the former industrial establishments used to reside. While new activities attracted new residents to the area, the works of the former residents moved to distant locations like industrial zones or closed down. It is accepted in this study that the neo-liberal agenda of globalization, brings new dynamics to the labour market, where only the share of work force with certain qualifications are employed, other groups work with deteriorating wages and in instable conditions or become unemployed. Within the frame of this general argument the conducted analyses investigate the different outcomes of the changing labour market dynamics and the different socio-spatial vulnerabilities they create.

The adaptive capacity of urban inhabitants are mainly determined by the economic (financial), physical, social assets and the human capital owned. In this respect the labour market is a primary determinant of the adaptive capacity of the households, by conditioning their employment situation. Similarly human capital defining the abilities of the inhabitant for working to produce the economic value has an important share in determining individual adaptive capacity. Human capital analysed in this study with the level of education. It is asserted in the study that both the level of knowledge (education) and the field of knowledge (profession) should be considered as determinants of the economic sustainability of the households and families within the contemporary conditions of the urban labour market, which is characterized by changes in the types and sectors of available jobs, change in the structure of earnings and the operations of international capital within the local

urban market. The following hypotheses argue the role of social resilience for the consolidation of means of living for households and families.

6.1.1.1 Change in the Number and Types of Available Jobs

With the establishment of new sectors in the economy, employment opportunities in the labour market changed. This can be accepted as the primary outcome of the change in the labour market dynamics. The leading sectors of finance and specialized services employ different types and quantities of workforces. At the one edge of this range, there is administrative, professional jobs requiring high levels of education and skills, at the other standardized jobs seeking minimum qualifications. In between the two there is a variety of job positions. Within this context while the employment opportunities enriched for selected work force with high qualifications; employment opportunities for former industrial workforce and for workforce with low qualifications decreased. In service sector jobs with higher wage levels, for the educated, skilled, trained professional workforce increased. A parallel increase took place in low waged service sector. Accordingly the study posits that those who have knowledge and skills in leading sectors are able to benefit from the new sectoral differentiation, and the unqualified workforce working with lower wages are more vulnerable against the fluctuations in the economy (Hypothesis 1.1).

The shift in the leading sectors is the most mentioned process in the literature. The process is also explained as the main source of the inequalities rising in cities around the world. The main reason of the mentioned income polarisation is in fact the dual characteristic of the available employment opportunities in the labour market and economy. The duality consists firstly of positions that are highly paid but demanding professional, educated and skilled work-force. Such positions are usually in the finance sector or they are management and administrative positions within the command units, head quarters of large enterprises. It has been seen around the world that a new class emerged with this new (white collar) employment profile. On the other hand there is a larger group of the work force, who also work in these rising sectors, which constitutes a large share in the economy today, but in lower rank

positions with lower wages and security. This wider group is becoming increasingly poorer, with the fluctuations of the economy, are easily influenced from shocks and crises.

In Istanbul too such a transformation had been observed. Since the late 80s, banking and finance sector has been liberalized and increased its activity. Similarly the service sector has been developing occupying nearly %35 of the economy today. Similarly the share of population working in the high rank position in those sectors increased. The case study area is also an important indicator of this process, as experienced in Istanbul. The Büyükdere Avenue is one of the main centres that host the main agglomeration of head-quarters of important (large) firms and banks in Istanbul. Another type of activity employing highly qualified professionals is different kinds of foreign firms and institutions, (active in different fields). The share foreign capital firms hosted in the case study area is very high. Similarly there are international institutions having offices in Istanbul. All in all there is considerable amount of population working in high rank positions in those sectors. According to the hypothesis presented here, and in relation to the observations noted in the literature, this workforce, pursue their own life style, in terms of their living environment, consumption style and social relations. It is also known that with their higher economic power and other relation this rising class are more resistant to fluctuations in the economy, can access to a wider set of resources and are therefore less vulnerable to the changes in the economic system.

This and the following analyses investigate primarily this transformation and the level of adaptation of different groups of inhabitants to this process. It is seen within the analyses made that the area hosts those significant groups that characterize the contemporary economic system. The most important characteristic of the area is that it comprises different people and function side by side. Next to each other there is the area of newly rising buildings where both the new professional class is working and residing in the residences included in the buildings. This characterizes the 1st zone. The zone is extending along the Büyükdere Avenue, taking under its impact the adjacent areas. On the other side of the Avenue (east) reside the higher income

groups, with higher education levels, as seen from the analyses (3rd zone). There it is seen that the less vulnerable inhabitants are living. When the sectors of working, levels of education and total monthly income levels are investigated, it is seen that households living in the area have been able to adapt to the transformation experienced in the economic structure. Their position in work is also higher. This higher level of adaptation is an indicator that the level of education is an important determinant of the adaptive capacity – social resilience, as it is seen that the education levels were high in the area since the 1990s. This finding supports the presented hypothesis.

The minimum wage level in Turkey in the year 2010 was 544.44 TL; the hunger limit for a 4 person family is 816 TL and, the poverty limit for a 4 person family is 2658 TL per month. With regards to these values, households incomes lower than 1000TL per month are accepted in this study as low income levels. When the total monthly revenues of the households, comprising the earnings of every employed person in the house all together, are investigated (see Table 6.1), it is seen that 15.6 % of the household sample have low incomes. Furthermore families with low incomes are more concentrated in the Kağıthane district. In the study area in general, the income levels are mostly between 1000 and 2999 TL per month, which is defined in this study as middle income level (62%). On the other hand families with monthly revenues between 3000 and 4999 TL are also present within the study area with a share of 11.2 %. The income distribution in different zones, supports the former findings of the different zones, and show that Kağıthane neighbourhoods (Zone 2) hosts the majority of low and middle income families, and upper income families reside more in Zone 3, Beşiktaş neighbourhoods and Zone 1, neighbourhoods with central characteristic.

Table 6. 1. The Level of Total Monthly Revenues within Different Zones

Total Monthly Income		Zone 1	Zone 2	Zone 3	Total
< 500 TL	Count	0	5	0	5
	%	0,0	5,0	0,0	2,0
500-749 TL	Count	4	8	9	21
	%	9,3	8,0	8,4	8,4
750- 999 TL	Count	1	10	2	13
	%	2,3	10,0	1,9	5,2
1000-1999 TL	Count	11	52	32	95
	%	25,6	52,0	29,9	38,0
2000-2999 TL	Count	15	16	29	60
	%	34,9	16,0	27,1	24,0
3000-4999 TL	Count	8	5	15	28
	%	18,6	5,0	14,0	11,2
5000-7499 TL	Count	2	4	8	14
	%	4,7	4,0	7,5	5,6
> 7500 TL	Count	0	0	7	7
	%	0,0	0,0	6,5	2,8
unanswered	Count	2	0	5	7
	%	4,7	0,0	4,7	2,8
Total	Count	43	100	107	250
	%	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Household Questionnaire Study, Summer 2010

To understand the characteristics of the labour force residing in the case study area, the data on the employed household population had been extracted and transferred into another database. From the questionnaire conducted on 250 households a data on 307 employed family members had been produced within the research study. The households that are not working due to various reasons are not included into this new analysis. In more than half of the interviewed families more than 1 household is employed (Table 6.2) therefore it is important to determine the average wage per employed household.

Table 6. 2. The Distribution of the Number of Working Household in the Case Study Area Zones

Number of Working Households		Zone-1	Zone-2	Zone-3	Total
1	Count	18	59	57	134
	%	31,6	49,2	43,8	43,6
2	Count	18	52	48	118
	%	31,6	43,3	36,9	38,4
3	Count	21	9	9	39
	%	36,8	7,5	6,9	12,7
4	Count	0	0	16	16
	%	0,0	0,0	12,3	5,2
Total	Count	57	120	130	307
	%	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Analysis on the Employed Households conducted on the Household Questionnaires

It is seen that a new income distribution based on the working individuals is obtained. Accordingly, 4 % of the employed inhabitants earn less than the official minimum wage levels. These are considered as vulnerable groups in the study. Furthermore the majority of households that earn approximately 1000 TL per month reside in Kağıthane district (zone 2). Finally the income levels in Zone 3, is higher than the other zones. (see Table 6.3)

Given these general characteristics of the area, to test the given hypotheses, the relation between the level of education and income levels is analysed (see table 6.3). The cross tabulation of income and education levels shows that the 40% of primary school graduates earn between 1000-1999 TL; on the other hand the 35% of university or college graduates earn between 2000-2999 TL. A clear relation between wage levels and education can be mentioned. However there are also cases where, households with no degree or primary school graduation earn high levels of income.

Table 6. 3. The Average Income Levels in Different Zones

Monthly Income / Employed Household		Zone-1	Zone-2	Zone-3	Total
0	Count	2	0	3	5
	%	3,5	0,0	2,3	1,6
0-499 TL	Count	0	4	0	4
	%	0,0	3,3	0,0	1,3
500-749 TL	Count	11	4	3	18
	%	19,3	3,3	2,3	5,9
750-999 TL	Count	1	5	6	12
	%	1,8	4,2	4,6	3,9
1000-1999 TL	Count	19	50	42	111
	%	33,3	41,7	32,3	36,2
2000-2999TL	Count	13	42	35	90
	%	22,8	35,0	26,9	29,3
3000-4999 TL	Count	8	12	24	44
	%	14,0	10,0	18,5	14,3
5000-7499 TL	Count	3	2	12	17
	%	5,3	1,7	9,2	5,5
>7500 TL	Count	0	1	5	6
	%	0,0	0,8	3,8	2,0
Total	Count	57	120	130	307
	%	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Analysis on the Employed Households conducted on the Household Questionnaires

The growing fields of economic activity and the expanding global functions demand a labour force with different qualifications. The change in the labour demand has brought new dimensions to the labour market. It is also important to understand to what extent the residents of the case study area are able to respond to these new demands. Their level of education is accepted here as the indicator of this issue. The comparison of questionnaire findings with the national population census data of year 2000, that the Kağıthane residential neighbourhoods comprised in the 2nd zone have low education levels. The questionnaire findings show however a lower share of households with low education levels compared to the census data.

Table 6. 4. The Relation between Education Levels and Average Monthly Income Levels

Income per Month		Illiterate	Literate, Without Graduation	Primary School	High School, Vocational School	University, College	Post-Graduate	PhD	Total
0	Count	0	0	0	0	4	0	1	5
	%	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	80,0	0,0	20,0	100,0
0-499 TL	Count	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	4
	%	0,0	25,0	25,0	0,0	50,0	0,0	0,0	100,0
500-749 TL	Count	0	1	7	1	9	0	0	18
	%	0,0	5,6	38,9	5,6	50,0	0,0	0,0	100,0
750-999 TL	Count	0	0	9	1	1	0	0	12
	%	0,0	0,0	75,0	8,3	8,3	0,0	0,0	100,0
1000-1999 TL	Count	1	3	47	37	18	5	0	111
	%	0,9	2,7	42,3	33,3	16,2	4,5	0,0	100,0
2000-2999TL	Count	0	2	29	22	31	6	0	90
	%	0,0	2,2	32,2	24,4	34,4	6,7	0,0	100,0
3000-4999 TL	Count	0	4	12	9	15	4	0	44
	%	0,0	9,1	27,3	20,5	34,1	9,1	0,0	100,0
5000-7499 TL	Count	0	0	1	2	10	4	0	17
	%	0,0	0,0	5,9	11,8	58,8	23,5	0,0	100,0
>7500 TL	Count	0	0	1	2	2	1	0	6
	%	0,0	0,0	16,7	33,3	33,3	16,7	0,0	100,0
Total	Count	1	11	107	74	92	20	1	307
	%	0,3	3,6	34,9	24,1	30,0	6,5	0,3	100,0

Source: Analysis on the Employed Households conducted on the Household Questionnaires

According to this analysis, the lowest share of low level of education is in the 1st zone (46.9%), where the property and rent values are high, and commercial functions are denser. The highest share of low education levels is observed in the 2nd Zone (62%), residential Kağıthane area, with limited physical and functional transformation (Table 6.4). The change in the education levels of Kağıthane (zone 2) has not been enough to catch up the adjacent residential areas, however an increase is observed (Table 6.5). This may indicate a change in the socio-economic profile of the inhabitants or change in the inhabitants who live in the area.

Table 6. 5. Level of Education in the Case study Area (2000 – 2010)

Zone	Year 2010			Year 2000		
	Low Ed. Level	Middle Ed. Level	High Ed. Level	Low Ed. Level	Middle Ed. Level	High Ed. Level
Zone-1 (%)	46,94	27,21	25,85	57,02	24,82	18,15
Zone-2 (%)	62,04	26,18	10,99	82,32	14,14	3,52
Zone-3 (%)	50,00	23,10	26,61	36,87	28,57	34,56
Study Area (%)	54,76	25,14	19,63	67,62	19,46	12,91
Average	52,99	25,50	21,15	58,74	22,51	18,74

Source: Household Questionnaire Study, summer 2010; National Population Census Data, 2000, TUIK

Table 6. 6. Level of Education of the Employed Households in the Study Area

Level of Education		Zone-1	Zone-2	Zone-3	Total
Illiterate	Count	0	0	1	1
	%	0,0	0,0	0,8	0,3
Literate, Without Graduation	Count	0	7	4	11
	%	0,0	5,8	3,1	3,6
Primary School	Count	17	48	42	107
	%	29,8	40,0	32,3	34,9
High School, Vocational School	Count	14	36	24	74
	%	24,6	30,0	18,5	24,1
University, College	Count	25	24	43	92
	%	43,9	20,0	33,1	30,0
Post-Graduate	Count	1	5	14	20
	%	1,8	4,2	10,8	6,5
PhD	Count	0	0	1	1
	%	0,0	0,0	0,8	0,3
Total	Count	57	120	130	307
	%	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Analysis on the Employed Households conducted on the Household Questionnaires

When the education levels of employed households are investigated, it is seen that the share of primary school graduates is nearly 35%. The share of high school and university graduates are close but lower than this share (Table 6.6). The low levels

of education make it increasingly more difficult for the potential urban work force to respond to the rising expectations of the available jobs and oblige these groups to work in low paid jobs. This situation makes it harder for the urban inhabitants to adapt to the changing conditions of the labour market. In this sense, depending on the questionnaire findings, the 2nd zone appears to be the most vulnerable area to such changes.

The investigation of the relation between level of education and position in work, reveals no strong relation. It is seen that the rate of wage earners in the study area is highest, and the majority of wage earners are primary school graduates, as well as university graduates (see Table 6.7). This situation indicates the presence of different types of jobs for both qualified and unqualified workforce within the area. This finding contributes to the next hypothesis. Although no strong relation between education and position in work is observable, in the following hypothesis it is seen that the position in work influence the level of earnings.

Table 6. 7. The Relation between Education Levels and Position in Work

Position in Work		Level of Education							Total
		Illiterate	Literate, Without Graduation	Primary School	High School, Vocational School	University, College	Post-Graduate	PhD	
Employer	Count	0	3	18	13	11	3	0	48
	%	0,0	6,3	37,5	27,1	22,9	6,3	0,0	100,0
Self-Employed	Count	1	3	19	12	16	2	0	53
	%	1,9	5,7	35,8	22,6	30,2	3,8	0,0	100,0
Wage Earner	Count	0	5	68	49	63	14	1	201
	%	0,0	2,5	33,8	24,4	31,3	7,0	0,5	100,0
Unpaid Family Worker	Count	0	0	2	0	2	1	0	5
	%	0,0	0,0	40,0	0,0	40,0	20,0	0,0	100,0
Total	Count	1	11	107	74	92	20	1	307
	%	0,3	3,6	34,9	24,1	30,0	6,5	0,3	100,0

Source: Analysis on the Employed Households conducted on the Household Questionnaires

The examination of the zone based distribution of households with different positions in work, based on the normalized values, show that employers and self-employed households, who are expected to have greater economic capacity are significantly concentrated in the 3rd zone, where the functional transformation is widely experienced (see Table 6.8). On the other hand, wage-earners are concentrated in the low and middle income Kağıthane district providing cheaper accommodation opportunities with less environmental quality.

Table 6. 8. The Normalized Values of the Distribution of the Position in Work in Different Zones

Z -scores	Employer	Self-Employed	Wage Earner	Unpaid Family Worker
Zone-1	-1,00	-1,02	-1,14	-1,15
Zone-2	0,00	0,03	0,74	0,58
Zone-3	1,00	0,98	0,39	0,58

Source: Analysis on the Employed Households conducted on the Household Questionnaires

The becoming of Levent-Maslak Axis as a globally functioning centre has caused the differentiation in the qualities and quantities of the commercial establishments functioning in the area from those of traditional central activities. When the occupations of the employed population are investigated within the national population census data, it is seen that there is a parallelism between the professions and the income levels of inhabitants (see Table 6.9). For instance, in the 2nd zone, where the lowest income and real-estate levels are observed, 42.8 % of the inhabitants are labourers working in non-agricultural production activity and the share of technical or administrative stuff and managers is observed to be lower than the other zones. On the other hand, the areas where the income levels are observed to be higher and new types of commercial establishments are agglomerated (zone 1 and 3), scientific and technical stuff and free lancer or self employers are higher in share. (23% in zone 1, 27% in zone 3 in total). The share of high status managers

and entrepreneurs is highest in the 3rd zone. The share of administrative staff and service sector employees are similar among the zones. These numbers indicate that Kağıthane residents cannot be included to more prestigious employment statuses. In conclusion, according the population census numbers, residents of the Kağıthane district face more difficulty in adapting to the economic transformation experienced between the years 1990 and 2000. This also indicates a potential vulnerability for residents with low income levels against possible future crises of the economy.

Table 6. 9. The Change in the Occupations of the Employed Population in Different Zones between the Years 1990 – 2000

Zones (Averages*)	Scientific and Technical Staff, Freelancers, and Self employers		Entrepreneurs, Directors and Managers		Administrative Staff and similar		Commerce and sales employees		Service Sector Employees		Labour working in Non-Agricultural Production Activity		Unknown	
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000
Zone-1 (%)	13,02	23,02	1,29	3,68	1,61	18,26	1,71	15,47	4,97	15,48	26,86	23,87	48,72	0,05
Zone-2 (%)	14,87	7,70	0,00	1,44	0,93	13,42	0,21	12,73	2,34	17,47	14,78	46,82	65,68	0,09
Zone-3 (%)	10,87	27,56	5,51	7,37	2,54	11,73	0,81	14,86	4,45	13,99	28,77	24,29	47,06	0,00

* The values indicate the zone averages

Source: National Population Census Data (1990, 2000), TUIK.

When the change in the occupations of study area inhabitants are investigated with reference to the national population census data of 1990 and 2000, a striking increase is observed in commerce and services sector employees. However, the comparison may be unhealthy as the rate of employees with unknown occupations is very high for the year 1990.

The investigation of the change in the sectors of employment of the employed population in the metropolitan (Istanbul) level, within the years 2004 – 2009, it is seen that the employed population in the service sector is slightly increasing (from 31% to 35 %). The share of commerce sector on the other hand experiences ups and downs within the same period, but increase 1% in the overall. Production and construction sector has experienced a slight decrease within the same period (from 42% to 38%). As the values are considered for manufacturing sector alone, a higher decrease may be expected. (See Table 6.10)

Table 6. 10. The Sectors of Employment of the Employed Population in Istanbul between the Years 2004 – 2009

Years	Agriculture	Production and Construction	Commerce	Services
2004	0,5	42,3	25,9	31,3
2005	0,4	42,7	26,0	30,9
2006	0,4	41,4	25,8	32,4
2007	0,3	40,3	26,3	33,1
2008	0,4	40,1	25,9	33,6
2009	0,3	37,9	27,0	34,8

Source: TUIK, 2009

When similarly the sectors of employment of the employed population for the year 2000 is investigated (see Table 6.11); the total share of producer services and social, communal, personal services sector employees is higher in the 3rd zone (59.6%) and the 1st zone (47.9%), while it is lower in the 2nd zone (29.5%) where the socio-economic profile is lower depending on the made observations. This ratio is much higher than the overall Istanbul ratios given in the Table 6.10. This shows the specialization of the area in the services sector, even in the year of 2000.

Table 6. 11. The Sectors of Employment and the Zones of Residence of the Employed Population in the Case Study Area, in the year 2000

Zone Average s	Unde- fin- ed Acti- viti- es	Agricul- ture, Hunting and Forestry	Mining	Manufa- cturing	Electric ity Gas and Water	Constru- ction	Wholesa- le or Retailing Commer- ce	Transpo- rtation Storage and Communi- cation	Real Estate and Producer Services	Social, Communi- cal and Persona- l Service s
Zone- 1	0,08	0,15	0,03	19,39	0,28	6,12	19,44	6,66	19,92	27,94
Zone- 2	0,23	0,26	0,03	32,76	0,38	7,35	21,89	7,57	9,56	19,97
Zone- 3	0,14	0,07	0,10	14,59	0,17	2,55	18,16	4,59	19,79	39,85

Source: National population Census, 2000, TUIK

According to the questionnaire findings, the total share of producer services and social, communal, personal services sector employees 61% within the 1st zone, 42 % in the 2nd Zone, and 43 % in the 3rd Zone. The highest share is observed in the 1st zone where the new office development is observed. It is observed that the share of employees working in the manufacturing sector is higher in the 2nd Zone, where the education and income levels are lower than the other two zones (see Table 6.12, 6.13).

In conclusion of these analyses it had been observed that the 2nd zone, comprising residential neighbourhoods of Kağıthane district, with lower socio-economic profiles, shows lower degrees of adaptation to the experienced transformation in the economic structure. There the share of employees in manufacturing sector is still higher and these are accepted as more vulnerable to unpredictable future changes, when the development trends are considered.

Table 6. 12. The Distribution of the Sectors of Employment of the Employed population according to the Resided Zone

Zone	Manufacturing Industry	Electricity, Gas and Water	Construction	Wholesale or Retailing	Restaurant and Hotels	Transportation, Storage and Communication	Financial Activities	Real Estate and Producer Services Activities	Education	Health and Social Services	Other Social, Communal and Personal Services	Total
Zone-1	7,0	0,0	7,0	8,8	0,0	7,0	3,5	0,0	5,3	1,8	59,6	100,
Zone-2	25,8	2,5	13,3	7,5	1,7	4,2	0,8	0,0	1,7	4,2	38,3	100
Zone-3	4,6	1,5	6,2	23,1	4,6	4,6	5,4	3,1	3,8	6,2	36,9	100
Total	13,4	1,6	9,1	14,3	2,6	4,9	3,3	1,3	3,3	4,6	41,7	100

Source: Analysis on the Employed Households conducted on the Household Questionnaires

Table 6. 13. The Distribution of the Sectors of Employment of the Employed population within the Zones

Zones	Manufacturing Industry	Electricity, Gas and Water	Construction	Wholesale or Retailing	Restaurant and Hotels	Transportation, Storage and Communication	Financial Activities	Real Estate Activities	Education	Health and Social Services	Other Social, Communal and Personal Services	Total
Zone -1	7,0	0,0	7,0	8,8	0,0	7,0	3,5	0,0	5,3	1,8	59,6	100
Zone -2	25,8	2,5	13,3	7,5	1,7	4,2	0,8	0,0	1,7	4,2	38,3	100
Zone -3	4,6	1,5	6,2	23,1	4,6	4,6	5,4	3,1	3,8	6,2	36,9	100
Total	13,4	1,6	9,1	14,3	2,6	4,9	3,3	1,3	3,3	4,6	41,7	100

Source: Analysis on the Employed Households conducted on the Household Questionnaires

With the reorganization of the industry in the city space, employment opportunities decrease in traditional manufacturing jobs for low qualified workforce residing in the inner city areas. The disintegration of production, in a global scale within the transition from fordist to post-fordist production methods and the increasing automation of production due to developing technologies led to the closing down of industrial plants on the one hand; while on the other, industries moved to industrial districts or zones and caused the restructuring of the urban geography. Furthermore, the global competitiveness sought with labour intensive activities restricted the wages in this sector to lower values. The loss of employment due to changing employment dynamics in the sector of industry and the decreasing wages created socio-economic vulnerabilities for the urban labour force with lower skills and education. Those who are unemployed as such, face difficulties in finding jobs. On the other hand due, to increasing levels of unemployment and increased competitiveness in the labour market, even the qualified workforce is employed in low-paid jobs below their rank and leaving no space for the low-qualified. The study argues that those who are unqualified for the employment opportunities in the rising sectors, and former industrial labourers are more vulnerable against the transformation of the economic structure (Hypothesis 1.2).

Adjacent to the new office, residence and shopping mall developments along the Büyükdere Avenue, and forward to inner streets towards the west takes place the residential neighbourhoods of Kağıthane district, which were formerly squatter housing areas (Zone 2). The community living in this redeveloped slum area, still carries the low socio-economic profile of the squatters. However, during the years it is seen that the levels of education had been increasing in the area, although it could not been able to reach the other zones. Similarly it is observed that the composition of the residents in this area, especially in the parts that are close to the Büyükdere Avenue started to get more heterogeneous. These are signs of adaptation observed in this zone. However, in terms of the socio-economic profile, the level of adaptation remained low. There are considerable low levels of income observed in the zone. Although the sectors of employment of the households shifted towards the service sector, it is seen that those wage-earners working in the services sector and residing

in this area have the lower incomes. In this respect, it can be said that the adaptation of the labour force living in this area experienced difficulty to adapt to the changing labour market conditions. There may be two explanations to this finding, which is proved by the low levels of education and income observed in the area.

Firstly, in support to the presented hypothesis, it is known that this residential area is a former squatter housing area, which had been established adjacent to the production sites/industries that used to be located along the avenue, where the high-rise developments are. Therefore the first residents of the squatter area were industrial workers who have settled close to the sites of work. After the moving out or closing down of the industrial plants, and after the legalization of the building stock, the residents of the area continued to live there. This can be observed from the questionnaire findings on the period of residing in the area. Therefore as asserted by the hypotheses, with deindustrialization, former industrial workforce has experienced the difficulties of adapting to the changing system. It is seen that partly the interview households achieved to establish their own business as the level of self-employed is very high in the area, and this group has monthly revenues above the moderate income levels, as explained in the following findings. The other part of the household sample living in this zone are observed to have no or very limited income levels, in parallel to their low levels of education and skills.

Second explanation depends on the recent development of the area. With the rising business and commerce functions in the case study area, it is observed that expensive living and working environments has been, and are still being constructed along the Büyükdere Avenue. In parallel to this development the attractiveness of the area increased. This had been supported with the increasing accessibility of the area, in relation to metro railway and Bosphorus bridges. On the other hand, beside the central functions concentrated in the study area, there are important functions located close to the area, such as university campuses. The residential building stock of these neighbourhoods, which were formerly slum areas is stuck in the middle of all these developments, however due to its low quality urban environment, it still provides housing at low values (rent and purchasing). That is why, the area is

observed to attract inhabitants, temporary residents or students with low income levels, who want to reside in such a central area. Therefore the socio-economic profile of the area remains lower than the other zones, although some improvement is observed. This situation is also highly related to the quality of the built environment. As will be seen in the following analyses on the land market dynamics, due to its primary urban characteristics (morphology, authorization pattern, ownership pattern), this zone can be limitedly transformed and redeveloped within the market, and gentrification process cannot proceed within the area. This situation however is the indicator of great pressures present upon the 2nd zone, which increases the future risks for its residents. This area can be defined as a compression zone surrounded by high value developments from which high levels of rent is obtained.

Within the analyses conducted to test this hypotheses, it is seen that the employment in the social, communal and personal services sector, which constitutes an important part of the sector of employment within the case study area, provide a wide wage range, starting from less than 500 TL to more than 5000 TL. This indicates the different types of jobs and earnings within what had been called the new rising sector. This range of jobs is not observable in any other economic field of activity of the employed household population. In the finance sector, which is the other rising sector of the globalized economic systems, the wages vary from moderate to high, starting from 1000 TL per month; and have much smaller share in the employed population of the case study area (see Table 6.14).

Table 6. 14. The Relation between Sector of Employment and the Level of Income

Income per Month		Manufaturing Industry	Electricity, Gas and Water	Construction	Wholesale or Retailing	Restaurant and Hotels	Transportation, Storage and Communication	Financial Activities	Real Estate Activities	Education	Health and Social Services	Other Social, Communal and Personal Services	Total
No answer	Count	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	5
	%	0,00	0,00	3,57	0,00	0,00	6,67	0,00	0,00	10,0	0,00	1,56	1,63
0-499 TL	Count	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4
	%	2,44	0,00	0,00	4,55	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,78	1,30
500-749 TL	Count	0	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	12	18
	%	0,00	0,00	7,14	4,55	0,00	6,67	0,00	0,00	10,0	0,00	9,38	5,86
750-999 TL	Count	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	12
	%	7,32	0,00	3,57	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	7,14	5,47	3,91
1000-1999 TL	Count	13	3	9	22	3	4	4	0	1	4	48	111
	%	31,71	60,00	32,14	50,00	37,50	26,67	40,00	0,00	10,0	28,57	37,50	36,16
2000-2999 TL	Count	16	2	10	7	1	5	2	3	3	4	37	90
	%	39,02	40,00	35,71	15,91	12,50	33,33	20,00	75,00	30,0	28,57	28,91	29,32
3000-4999 TL	Count	7	0	3	10	2	3	2	1	2	3	11	44
	%	17,07	0,00	10,71	22,73	25,00	20,00	20,00	25,00	20,0	21,43	8,59	14,33
5000-7499 TL	Count	0	0	1	1	1	1	2	0	2	2	7	17
	%	0,00	0,00	3,57	2,27	12,50	6,67	20,00	0,00	20,0	14,29	5,47	5,54
>7500 TL	Count	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	6
	%	2,44	0,00	3,57	0,00	12,50	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	2,34	1,95
Total	Count	41	5	28	44	8	15	10	4	10	14	128	307
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Analysis on the Employed Households conducted on the Household Questionnaires

Table 6. 15. The Relation between the Position in Work and the Monthly Income of the Households

Income per Month		Employer	Self-Employed	Wage Earner	Unpaid Family Worker	Total
No answer	Count	1	1	3	0	5
	%	2,1	1,9	1,5	0,0	1,6
0-499 TL	Count	0	1	2	1	4
	%	0,0	1,9	1,0	20,0	1,3
500-749 TL	Count	2	5	11	0	18
	%	4,2	9,4	5,5	0,0	5,9
750-999 TL	Count	0	0	12	0	12
	%	0,0	0,0	6,0	0,0	3,9
1000-1999 TL	Count	16	17	75	3	111
	%	33,3	32,1	37,3	60,0	36,2
2000-2999TL	Count	10	19	60	1	90
	%	20,8	35,8	29,9	20,0	29,3
3000-4999 TL	Count	13	7	24	0	44
	%	27,1	13,2	11,9	0,0	14,3
5000-7499 TL	Count	3	3	11	0	17
	%	6,3	5,7	5,5	0,0	5,5
>7500 TL	Count	3	0	3	0	6
	%	6,3	0,0	1,5	0,0	2,0
Total	Count	48	53	201	5	307
	%	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Analysis on the Employed Households conducted on the Household Questionnaires

The cross tabulation of the relation of the position in work with the average income levels of the employed households show that there are employers with higher income levels as well as those with moderate income levels; yet the share of low income employers is very low (Table 6.15). However, the share of employers within the sample is the lowest. Employers are in majority house owners and this indicates that their economic capacity is larger (see Table 6.16). The wage earners, having the greatest share within the sample, work in the service sector in majority (30.5% of

65.5%). Self employed population may include large or small capital owning entrepreneurs, with different backgrounds. They are observed to be practicing more in the fields of wholesale, retailing and services (Table 6.17). More than half of the self-employed inhabitants are house owners; however this does not indicate a meaningful relation between ownership status and position in work.

Table 6. 16. The Relation between Position in Work and Ownership Status

House Ownership Status		Employer	Self-Employed	Wage Earner	Unpaid Family Worker	Total
Owner	Count	34	30	98	4	166
	%	70,8	56,6	48,8	80,0	54,1
Tenant	Count	14	23	92	1	130
	%	29,2	43,4	45,8	20,0	42,3
Lojman	Count	0	0	2	0	2
	%	0,0	0,0	1,0	0,0	0,7
No Rent	Count	0	0	9	0	9
	%	0,0	0,0	4,5	0,0	2,9
Total	Count	48	53	201	5	307
	%	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Analysis on the Employed Households conducted on the Household Questionnaires

Table 6. 17. The Relation between the Position in Work and Sector of Employment

Sector of Employment		Employer	Self-Employed	Wage Earner	Unpaid Family Worker	Total
Manufacturing Industry	Count	16	1	24	0	41
	%	33,3	1,9	11,9	0,0	13,4
Electricity, Gas and Water	Count	0	0	5	0	5
	%	0,0	0,0	2,5	0,0	1,6
Construction	Count	4	7	17	0	28
	%	8,3	13,2	8,5	0,0	9,1
Wholesale or Retailing	Count	11	20	11	2	44
	%	22,9	37,7	5,5	40,0	14,3
Restaurant and Hotels	Count	2	0	5	1	8
	%	4,2	0,0	2,5	20,0	2,6
Transportation, Storage and Communication	Count	0	3	12	0	15
	%	0,0	5,7	6,0	0,0	4,9
Financial Activities	Count	0	1	9	0	10
	%	0,0	1,9	4,5	0,0	3,3
Real Estate Activities	Count	0	3	0	1	4
	%	0,0	5,7	0,0	20,0	1,3
Education	Count	0	0	10	0	10
	%	0,0	0,0	5,0	0,0	3,3
Health and Social Services	Count	1	0	13	0	14
	%	2,1	0,0	6,5	0,0	4,6
Other Social, Communal and Personal Services	Count	14	18	95	1	128
	%	29,2	34,0	47,3	20,0	41,7
Total	Count	48	53	201	5	307
	%	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Analysis on the Employed Households conducted on the Household Questionnaires

In conclusion, what is seen in these investigations is the verification of the existence of different wage levels within different sectors and among wage-earners. It is also seen that the more prestigious position in work provides higher economic opportunity and adaptive capacity to inhabitants. However, previous analyses showed that education is not a determinant of the position in work. The reason for this finding is can be the background of inhabitants. It is known that the squatter housing residents who have migrated from rural areas were forming the low qualified work-force in metropolitan areas. However, with the economic values obtained throughout the legalization of the building stock and the higher construction rights that have been distributed; or only with independent entrepreneurship, part of the squatter owners founded business in the city and achieved in business (Kongar 1998, 571).

6.1.1.2 Changing Actors in the Market

The most striking characteristic of the global economy is the deregulation and the internationalization, which opens up the local markets to the investment and practices of foreign capital. With the expansion of the global economic order, multinational capital, operating in leading sectors entered into national economies and their monopoly continued to grow stronger.

This sector and actor based transformation in the market structure have important implications. Firstly, small scale entrepreneurs and their employees, functioning in downgraded traditional sectors start to lose demand. The decrease in demand to traditional kinds of retailing, artisanal works and manufacturing due to newly introduced services and products in the market, increase the economic vulnerability of the workforce and entrepreneurs working in these sectors. Accordingly one of the arguments presented in this study is that small scale retailer and producers working in downgraded activities, who cannot respond to the changing market demands, are negatively influenced from the increasing powerful actors in the economic system and face more difficulty in adapting to changing market conditions (Hypothesis 2).

In terms of workplaces, with the increasing new constructions, the study area is hosting different forms of commercial establishments side by side. The new buildings providing business and commercial spaces are constructed on the former industrial parcels. Within the former residential areas, this transformation is taking place in two directions. Firstly, especially in Levent and other neighbourhoods of the 3rd zone, a comprehensive functional transformation had been observed from residential to commercial and office usages. The area accommodates today high numbers of workplaces. It is also observed within previous analyses that the majority of the foreign capital firms are concentrated in this zone. Therefore the area has developed into a prestigious work and commerce centre within the case study area. This zone complements also the business and service requirements of the offices and head-quarters located in the 1st zone. Within the conducted analyses, it is seen that these commercial establishments are not harmed from the transformation process. It is also stated in the study that especially small scale shops and retailers are more vulnerable to the transformation process. This statement had been verified with the findings of the conducted analyses, for this area. The negative influence can be explained with the lack of competitiveness of the small scale establishments and the decreasing demand to the traditional forms of service they provide. This situation is also valid for the 2nd zone, where also an important amount of retail shops and workshops are located. However it observed in one neighbourhood of this former squatter area, there is a positive development for small scale shops and workshops. This is the 'Sanayi' neighbourhood, where mostly car repair shops and storage units are agglomerated. The improvement in the works of these workshops can be related to the similar process explained in previous analysis. It is seen that the service provided in the area, started to complement the needs of the workplaces and their users. This explains the economic sustainability of the small scale establishments, despite their character completely different to the new developments. Moreover, despite the course of their business/revenues, many retailers expressed their positive opinions on the vitality the centralisation of the area has brought. Yet, it is necessary to mention that both positive and negative implications of the transformation process are found within the research study.

To test this argument, firstly the conditions of the small scale retailers, as the group that is more open to risks, are investigated. When the change in their total yearly revenue within the course of last five years is asked, it is seen that 42 % of the retailers experienced a negative trend of change in their yearly revenues. However 22% of the shops improved their revenues. This number reaches its highest value, where it is most unexpected, in Sanayi neighbourhood where the workshops are gathered (Table 6.18).

Table 6. 18. The Change in the Yearly Revenues of Small Scale Retailers and Large Scale Offices within the Last Five Year

Neighbourhood			Increased	The Same	Decreased	Loss	No answer	Total
Retailers	ÇELİKTEPE	Count	3	4	9	1	3	20
		%	15,0	20,0	45,0	5,0	15,0	100
	SANAYİ	Count	7	3	6	2	2	20
		%	35,0	15,0	30,0	10,0	10,0	100
	LEVENT	Count	1	4	2	1	2	10
		%	10,0	40,0	20,0	10,0	20,0	100
	Total	Count	11	11	17	4	7	50
		%	22,0	22,0	34,0	8,0	14,0	100
Offices	ESENTEPE	Count	12	7	6	0	1	26
		%	46,2	26,9	23,1	0,0	3,8	100
	LEVENT	Count	9	7	5	3	1	25
		%	36,0	28,0	20,0	12,0	4,0	100
	Total	Count	21	14	11	3	2	51
		%	41,2	27,5	21,6	5,9	3,9	100

Source: Offices and Retailers Questionnaires, summer 2010

According to the conducted analyses, the functional transformation within the area has different influences upon different scales of workplaces. According to the questionnaire study findings, large scale offices express that they are more positively influenced from the course of development within the area. 41.2% of these firms have experienced increase in their yearly earnings, within the last five years. The earnings of 31.2% of them remained the same and of 27.6% of them deteriorated. The figures are different for small scale retailers. While only 22% of them

experienced increases in their yearly revenues within the last five years, for the rest revenues remained the same or deteriorated (see Table 6.18). The overall rate of decrease in yearly earnings for retail shops is 34%. Especially the second zone had the worst experience according to the figures. 45% of the small scale retailing shops that are located in Çeliktepe district experienced a fall in their revenues. The comparison that can be made between the change in the yearly revenues of small scale establishments and that of large scale offices (Table 6.18), has shown that the share of establishments that experienced decrease and losses in their revenues is larger for ‘retailers’ (34 %).

When the gross turnover for the year 2009 is investigated (Table 6.19 and 6.20), the highest revenue for retailers is not more than 600.000 TL; and in Levent (zone 3) the majority of turnover values are higher, whereas in Sanayi (zone 2) they are lower. However the highest turnover value is recorded in Sanayi neighbourhood, it is necessary to mention that the rate of answer to this question is low (40%). The expressed gross turnover values for offices are much higher than the retail shops. Here again the rate of answering is 45%. The highest revenue is reported in Esentepe neighbourhood, where the high-rise and luxury office spaces are located.

Table 6. 19. Total Yearly Turnover of Small Scale Commercial Establishments (2009, TL)

Neighbourhoods (zone)		10-25.000	25-50.000	50-150.000	150-300.000	300-450.000	450-600.000	No answer	Total
ÇELİK TEPE	Count	0	0	2	0	1	0	17	20
	%	0,0	0,0	10,0	0,0	5,0	0,0	85,0	100
SANAYİ	Count	7	1	1	1	0	1	9	20
	%	35,0	5,0	5,0	5,0	0,0	5,0	45,0	100
LEVENT	Count	1	0	4	0	0	0	5	10
	%	10,0	0,0	40,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	50,0	100
	Count	8	1	7	1	1	1	31	50
	%	16,0	2,0	14,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	62,0	100

Source: Retailers Questionnaires, summer 2010

Table 6. 20. Total Yearly Turnover of Offices (2009, TL)

Neighborhoods (zone)		50 -500 thousands	500 thousands -1 million	1-1,5 million	1,5-2,5 million	2,5-5 million	5-10 million	10-50 million	>30 million	No answer	Total
ESEN TEPE	Count	3	3	2	1	0	2	0	3	12	26
	%	11,5	11,5	7,7	3,8	0,0	7,7	0,0	11,5	46,2	100
LEVENT	Count	1	0	0	2	2	1	2	0	17	25
	%	4,0	0,0	0,0	8,0	8,0	4,0	8,0	0,0	68,0	100
Total	Count	4	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	29	51
	%	7,8	5,9	3,9	5,9	3,9	5,9	3,9	5,9	56,9	100

Source: Offices Questionnaires, summer 2010

As can be observed from Table 6.20, the share of offices, which experienced a rise and which experienced no difference in their yearly revenues is the higher in comparison to those which experienced falls in their revenues. Especially an important part of the firms that are working in the service sector (44%) have recorded increases in their revenues within the course of last five years (Table 6.21). Firm that experienced loss has a small share (5.9%).

Table 6. 21. The change in the Yearly Revenues of Offices within the Last Five Years

Sector of Employment		Increased	The Same	Decreased	Loss	No Answer	Total
Mining	Count	0	0	1	0	0	1
	%	0,0	0,0	9,1	0,0	0,0	2,0
Manufacturing	Count	0	1	0	0	1	2
	%	0,0	7,1	0,0	0,0	50,0	3,9
Construction	Count	1	1	1	0	1	4
	%	4,8	7,1	9,1	0,0	50,0	7,8
Wholesale and Retail	Count	2	1	0	1	0	4
	%	9,5	7,1	0,0	33,3	0,0	7,8

Table 6.21 (continued)

Transportation, Storage and Communication	Count	2	1	1	0	0	4
	%	9,5	7,1	9,1	0,0	0,0	7,8
Financial Activities	Count	1	2	1	0	0	4
	%	4,8	14,3	9,1	0,0	0,0	7,8
Real Estate	Count	0	0	0	1	0	1
	%	0,0	0,0	0,0	33,3	0,0	2,0
Education	Count	1	1	0	0	0	2
	%	4,8	7,1	0,0	0,0	0,0	3,9
Health Social Services	Count	1	1	2	0	0	4
	%	4,8	7,1	18,2	0,0	0,0	7,8
Other Social Communal Personal Services	Count	8	5	4	1	0	18
	%	38,1	35,7	36,4	33,3	0,0	35,3
No answer	Count	5	1	1	0	0	7
	%	23,8	7,1	9,1	0,0	0,0	13,7
Total	Count	21	14	11	3	2	51
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Offices Questionnaires, summer 2010

When the same analysis is conducted for small scale commercial establishments, it is observed that the commerce and services sectors brought increasing revenues (Table 6.22). 22 % of the interviewed firms declared an increase, and 22% of them declared no change in their revenues. Those who have experienced decline in their revenues are also observed to be in the commerce and service sector. Therefore it is seen that in both sectors there are positive and negative development in business. Overall, there is limited amount of small scale establishments and offices that has experienced losses in the case study area.

Table 6. 22. The change in the Yearly Revenues of Retailers within the Last Five Years (Distribution among Sectors)

Sector of employment		Increased	The Same	Decreased	Loss	No answer	Total
Manufacturing	Count	0	0	1	0	1	2
	%	0,0	0,0	5,9	0,0	14,3	4,0
Electricity Gas Water	Count	2	0	1	0	1	4
	%	18,2	0,0	5,9	0,0	14,3	8,0
Construction	Count	2	0	1	0	0	3
	%	18,2	0,0	5,9	0,0	0,0	6,0
Wholesale Retail Commerce	Count	1	5	5	0	2	13
	%	9,1	45,5	29,4	0,0	28,6	26,0
Hotels Restaurants	Count	0	2	2	1	1	6
	%	0,0	18,2	11,8	25,0	14,3	12,0
Education	Count	0	1	0	0	0	1
	%	0,0	9,1	0,0	0,0	0,0	2,0
Health Social Services	Count	2	0	3	1	0	6
	%	18,2	0,0	17,6	25,0	0,0	12,0
Other Social Communal Personal Services	Count	4	3	4	2	2	15
	%	36,4	27,3	23,5	50,0	28,6	30,0
Total	Count	11	11	17	4	7	50
	%	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Retailers Questionnaires, summer 2010

The observed changes in the yearly revenues in the area indicate the developing sectors in the economy. Apparently, commerce and services sectors are the most preferred sectors for small scale entrepreneurs. For larger offices are more active in the services sector.

Furthermore, the opinion of shop owners on the possible influences of the centralization of the nearby area, on the course of their business is investigated. The responses show an obvious positive expectation in zone 3 (80%) and both positive

and negative expectations in other zones (Table 6.23). When the answers to the previous questions are cross tabulated (Table 6.24), it is clear that those who have experienced an increase in their revenues have more positive expectations from the development of the area.

Table 6. 23. The Expected Impact of the Development of the Area as a Business District on Small Scale Shops

S15_A. "How do you think your business will be influenced from the increasing development of the area you work in, into a business centre"	Çeliktepe (Zone 2)	Sanayi (Zone 2)	Levent (Zone 3)	Total
Better / positive	8	8	8	24
	40,0%	40,0%	80,0%	48,0%
Same	6	5	0	11
	30,0%	25,0%	-	22,0%
Worse / Negative	6	7	2	15
	30,0%	35,0%	20,0%	30,0%
Total	20	20	10	50
	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Source: Retailers questionnaires, Summer 2010

Table 6. 24. The Relation between the Changing Yearly Revenues and Future Expectations of the Shop Owners

S15_A. "How do you think your business will be influenced from the increasing development of the area you work in, into a business centre"		Better / positive	Same	Worse / Negative	Total
Increased	Count	6	5	0	11
	%	54,5	45,5	0,0	100,0
Remained the Same	Count	7	2	2	11
	%	63,6	18,2	18,2	100,0
Decreased	Count	5	1	11	17
	%	29,4	5,9	64,7	100,0
Loss	Count	1	2	1	4
	%	25,0	50,0	25,0	100,0

Table 6.24 (continued)

Unanswered	Count	5	1	1	7
	%	71,4	14,3	14,3	100,0
Total	Count	24	11	15	50
	%	48,0	22,0	30,0	100,0

Source: Retailers questionnaires, Summer 2010

Moreover, when the sector of activity of those who have positive expectations is investigated, it is seen that among those who have better expectations the majority is operating in retailing, restaurants and accommodation and service activities. Among those who have negative expectations the majority is again in retailing and services activity. However when the overall sector distribution of small scale firms is investigated, it is seen that 26% of the shops are retail shops and 30% are service sector shops. (See Table 6.25)

Table 6. 25. The Relation between the Changing Yearly Revenues and Economic Sectors of the Small Scale Commercial Establishments (Retailers)

S15_A. "How do you think your business will be influenced from the increasing development of the area you work in, into a business centre?"		Better / positive	Same	Worse / Negative	Total
Manufacturing	Count	1	0	1	2
	%	4,17	0,00	6,67	4,00
Electricity, Gas and Water	Count	1	3	0	4
	%	4,17	27,27	0,00	8,00
Construction	Count	2	1	0	3
	%	8,33	9,09	0,00	6,00
Wholesale and Retailing	Count	4	2	7	13
	%	16,67	18,18	46,67	26,00
Hotels and Restaurants	Count	4	0	2	6
	%	16,67	0,00	13,33	12,00
Education	Count	9	2	4	15
	%	0,00	9,09	0,00	2,00
Health and Social Services	Count	0	1	0	1
	%	12,50	18,18	6,67	12,00

Table 6.25 (continued)

Other Social, Communal and Personal Services	Count	3	2	1	6
	%	37,50	18,18	26,67	30,00
Total	Count	24	11	15	50
	%	100	100	100	100

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

Another analysis is conducted on the relation between the activity of shopping malls in the area and the work of the small scale shops. The questionnaire outcomes show that (see Table 6.26), the 44% of the shop owners have a concern for the presence of shopping malls in the nearby area, as a reason for a loss of demand to the service they provide. The rates of agreement are similar among the zones, however in zone 3 this concern is highest (50%). A following investigation on the sector of activity of those who declared the most concern, indicates the workplaces in retailing and service activity (see Table 6.27).

Table 6. 26 Level of Agreement to the Proposition on the Influence of Shopping Malls on Small Scale Commercial Establishments (Retailers)

Level of Agreement to the Proposition S30_2E: “The opening of shopping malls influenced negatively our business”					
		Çeliktepe (Zone 2)	Sanayi (Zone 2)	Levent (Zone 3)	Total
Agreement	Count	7	8	3	18
	%	35,0	40,0	30,0	36,0
Neither	Count	3	4	2	9
	%	15,0	20,0	20,0	18,0
Disagreement	Count	9	8	5	22
	%	45,0	40,0	50,0	44,0
No answer	Count	1	0	0	1
	%	5,0	0,0	0,0	2,0
Total	Count	20	20	10	50
	%	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

Table 6. 27. The Sector of Activity of Small Scale Commercial Establishments (Retailers) and Their Concern on the Influence of Shopping Malls

Level of Agreement to the Proposition S30_2E: “The opening of shopping malls influenced negatively our business”				
Sector of Employment		Disagreement	Neither	Agreement
Manufacturing	Count	1	1	0
	%	50	50	0
Electricity, Gas and Water	Count	2	1	1
	%	50	25	25
Construction	Count	1	1	1
	%	33	33	33
Wholesale and Retailing	Count	4	1	8
	%	31	8	62
Hotels and Restaurants	Count	3	1	2
	%	50	17	33
Education	Count	1	0	0
	%	100	0	0
Health and Social Services	Count	1	2	3
	%	17	33	50
Other Social, Communal and Personal Services	Count	5	2	7
	%	33	13	47
Total	Count	18	9	22
	%	36	18	44

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

While these are the perception of the shop owners on their future conditions, another group of question is asked to the households residing in the area. Their perception of the influence of increasing monopoly firms on the economic sustainability of small scale retailers and manufacturers is questioned through several questions. A great share of households (80%) express that they observe a negative influence on the course of business of small scale retailers because of the increasing number of shopping malls within the area (see Table 6. 28).

Table 6. 28. The View of Households on the Impact of Shopping Malls on Retailers

Level of Agreement to the Proposition S35_16: “The Opening of Shopping Malls Influenced Negatively the Retailers”				
	(%) ZONE 1	(%) ZONE 2	(%) ZONE 3	(%) study area
Disagreement	23,26	12,00	7,48	12,00
no expectation	4,65	11,00	4,67	7,20
Agreement	72,09	77,00	87,85	80,80

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

As another step of analysis whether the shop owners perceive these changing conditions as a threat of displacement or break down is questioned. The responses show that nearly half of the shop owners express such a concern when asked. This rate is lowest in Sanayi again, where the revenues developed positively within the course of last five years for a larger share.

Table 6. 29. The Level of Agreement to the Proposition on the Positive Impact of Being Located in a Prestigious Area

Level of Agreement to the Proposition S30_2A.: “Being located in this prestigious area influence positively my business”				
	Çeliktepe (Zone 2)	Sanayi (Zone 2)	Levent (Zone 3)	Total
disagreement	10,0%	10,0%	20,0%	12,0%
neither	35,0%	,0%	20,0%	18,0%
agreement	55,0%	90,0%	60,0%	70,0%

Source: Retailers questionnaires, Summer 2010

While concern for the future activity is growing, it is another fact that the centralization of the area brings vitality to the area, which may increase the business of the workplaces. But what is important is who is, or will be positively influenced. In Table 6.29, it can be seen that most of the workplaces are happy with the increasing ‘prestige’ of the area and express positive influences on their business. As

in the previous analyses, the majority of those who have positive expectation are in retailing, services and catering activities (Table 6.30).

Table 6. 30. The Sectoral Distribution of the Small Scale Commercial Establishments and Their Approach to the Impact of Being Located in a Prestigious Area

Level of Agreement to the Proposition S30_2A	Manufacturing	Electricity Gas and Water	Construction	Wholesale and Retail Commerce	Hotels and Restaurants	Education	Health and Social Services	Other Social communal and Personal Services	Total
Disagreement	0,0	0,0	0,0	23,1	0,0	0,0	33,3	6,7	12,0
Neither	0,0	50,0	0,0	23,1	16,7	0,0	33,3	6,7	18,0
Agreement	100,0	50,0	100,0	53,8	83,3	100,0	33,3	86,7	70,0

Source: Retailers questionnaires, Summer 2010

Some particular characteristics are distinguished within the case study area. Firstly, there is coexistence between the commercial establishments and offices of varying characteristics within the area. Although it can still be claimed that some forms of economic activity are negatively influenced from the physical and functional transformation of the area, all of the interviewed establishments strived to remain in the market. Moreover, there is a common positive expectation among the small scale retailer and workshops, despite the sometimes decreasing course of the revenues.

6.2 Research Findings on the Changing Conditions of Living and Working under the Influence of Changing Land Market Dynamics

With the increasing interactions with the global capital and with the new types of urban investment, development and implementation patterns new dynamics in the urban land market are triggered. It had been observed in Istanbul that, with the changing priorities in urban policies and implementations, the new urban

development trends and forms impose new conditions of living and working, and increase socio-spatial segregation in the city in general.

There can be named two major processes, which initiate new dynamics within the functioning of urban land and property markets. First are the changing urban policies; second are the rising spatial and economic demands of the global, international capital. While new urban policies implemented in Istanbul, seek out opportunities to redevelop and 're-produce' urban land and generate both economic value and vitality; the rising demand for commercial real-estates in the central area of the city, and especially the case study area, constitute a ground for these operations.

A main process within the urban land and property markets is the redevelopment and 'production' of urban land. Especially within the central areas, where the demand for different functions increase and vacant land is scarce; and the returns of investment are very high, this becomes a very important field of activity. The repercussions of such developments are similarly important. Parcel based of large scale 'redevelopment' activity, is in general part of a land-use transformation process within the area.

The contemporary outcomes of the land market, with these changing dynamics relates primarily to the socio-economic reconfiguration of the urban geography, to the ways of acting of the different actors and individuals and to the changing socio-spatial and socio-economic conditions. The overall outcome of the transformation of the land market activities is the increasing socio-spatial segregation within the city geography.

The case study area is also the locus of wide transformations in the land use patterns and the building stock. The increasing central character of the area and the increasing accessibility to the area increase its attractiveness. What is seen in urban areas developing with such dynamics is the revaluation of urban land and real-estate, the emergence of speculative transactions. Increasing investment, speculation, and

values in urban property leads in parallel to a change in the user profiles, especially in socio-economic terms. The redevelopments in general end up in the gentrification of the area.

The different outcomes of the transformation of the land market and the different socio-spatial vulnerabilities they cause are analysed in the following parts.

6.2.1.1 Gentrification and Rising Rent Levels

Due to the value increases in land and property, due to increasing speculative activity and gentrification trends the rent levels in the area are expected to rise. It is argued in the study that this rise increases the cost of living and cause different socio-spatial and economic vulnerabilities for different groups. The argument presented by the research is that especially tenants, especially with low income levels are negatively influenced from the process of urban redevelopment and transformation (Hypothesis 1). Tenants with low income levels or impermanent employments and other households with low income levels and livelihood capacity are the most vulnerable against and more negatively influenced by gentrification, rent increases and other increases of the costs of living caused by the transformation of the area.

Tenants are assumed to face more difficulties as the share of rents in their monthly budget increase. They have to diminish their other expenses or they have to find another accommodation with a lower rent. When the increasing share of rent is combined with instable conditions of employment or crowded family population economic difficulties become more severe, and households approach to a point of break down. These relations are investigated for the case study area with the help of the questionnaire study outcomes. The adaptive capacity of inhabitants, which determines their conditions of living against the experienced transformations, depends without doubt on the different assets they possess, including their economic wealth, their working capabilities and so on.

Regardless of the higher income levels in Zone 3, the questionnaire outcomes showed both with the level of discomfort of the tenants and with the level of expectations of the house owners the dimensions of the transformation process. However, these findings are based on the perception of inhabitants. The reason the level of concern is lower in the 2nd Zone, where the inhabitants are poorer and the education level is lower, is not related to the socio-economic profile of the neighbourhood; it is because the functional transformation and redevelopment has not entered into the zone. If that will be the case, the lower economic capabilities will certainly constitute the vulnerability of the residents of the zone.

To explain the particularities of the developments and redevelopment process in different parts of the case study area, it can secondly be claimed that it is the main urban characteristics of the area, which determines and in some occasions, limits the ‘transformability’ of the area and therefore determines the extent of the felt pressures. In terms of urban morphology (structure and form), urban property relations, the ownership pattern (especially the divided ownership patterns) authorization pattern, environmental quality – in terms of their main urban attributes, the three zones vary highly from each other, although they are physically very close to each other. The main CBD development takes place in the first Zone. As an extension of the already functioning CBD axis (Mecidiyeköy – Gayrettepe) the developments along the Büyükdere Avenue include large-scale, high-rise buildings and complexes providing modern and elite commercial, residential and office spaces are distinguished from both the older central area tissue and from other neighbourhoods surrounding it. The buildings along Büyükdere Avenue, are constructed upon former industrial sites, hence they were unconstrained in terms of space. They have developed upon large land parcels. They were also unconstrained in terms of regulations. They were given high construction rates within the plan documents. In other words the urban development is canalized by central and local government according to the set aim of creating an international business spot in Istanbul. The business developments in the zone progressed within the set direction.

In the second zone, composed of Kağıthane neighbourhoods such an extensive transformation did not take place. The urban aspects of the zone do not allow a transformation process to take place so smoothly within the area. The built environment, as it is the continuation of an illegal building stock, allows for a very limited transformation. Besides being a dense, closely spaced environment, the quality of environment and infrastructure is low, authorization in some buildings is incomplete, and the ownership patterns are complex – multiple divided ownerships upon properties. Be it the case, the redevelopment is not easy to take place. Moreover, the area is highly residential with vivid commercial activity along the main arteries. It had been stated by the residents of the area, during the field trips, that a functional transformation had initiated causing the increase of rents and property values; but only in parts close to the Büyükdere Avenue and along main arteries. Furthermore, the residentially intensive inner parts of the area are not appealing to the investors –market agents upon which the redevelopment of the area depends on. Therefore adjacent to a great development spot; Kağıthane, the former squatter housing zone changes very slowly and conserves a very different environment and living. Due to these moderate characteristic, the zone has undertaken another role. The low priced, and low quality housing stock provide an important amount of accommodation to many Istanbul residents. The homogeneity of the neighbourhoods has been changing with the arrival of new inhabitants to the area. As expressed before, the neighbourhoods in this zone still has increasing populations. These inhabitants prefer the zone first due to proximity to the central area and to the improving transportation opportunities, due to low rents and the availability of temporary lodging. Therefore the development process in the proximity has implications on this area too. The area also comprises an agglomeration of small scale manufacturers and workshops – mainly car repair shops today, starting from the northern parts of the Büyükdere Avenue and going forward towards the west. In fact this part with small scale industries and warehouses and similar functions has a different building stock and although there is no sign of planned redevelopment upon the area, it is very open to redevelopment activity due to its centrality.

The third zone has different dynamics than the explained zones. It comprises both residential and commercial units. The Levent neighbourhood, which is formerly a residential site for middle and high income groups composed of single unit, low rise villas has turned in to a commercial centre chosen by companies seeking to provide more prestigious office environments. Hence, the building types, parcels and environment of the zone made possible the transformation of the area into a modern and luxurious commercial district. This transformation in the inner parts of the zone was spontaneous, unplanned development led by the markets according to the demands of urban actors. The restructuring of the land use caused the experience of extreme rent increases. The transformation had been taken under control lately with the enunciation of 'Levent Housing Area' as an urban conservation site. The decree limits the ratio of commercial units within the site. It had been developed with the application of civil organisations of the neighbourhood.

Thirdly, it is seen that the mechanisms through which the redevelopment process is actualizing is also important. The redevelopment process in the first zone, the business centre still has initiated with the push of central and local governments and still has their support for the implementation of large scale projects within the available parcels. For instance there is still one high-rise project going on along the Büyükdere Avenue and another large land lot publicly owned and waiting to be privatized to turn into another large scale development. Hence the future plans and visions for the area will enhance its central character, which will increase the influence on its vicinity. In the second zone, as it had been explained above, the developments are realized within the market mechanism and develop towards providing the most important need of every city, low cost accommodation positioned in central locations. The third zone has also redeveloped within the market mechanism, with the rising demands to the area, the transformation gone out of control and has been restricted very recently with an official conservation decision.

To understand the vulnerabilities of tenants within the case study area and to understand the different socio-economic characteristics of the area, some primary

indicators are investigated by using the questionnaire outcomes. In terms of ownership patterns, the distribution of tenants and owners is very close to the house ownership rates in Istanbul. According to TUIK (State Statistical Administration) data, the share of house owners in Istanbul is 57% and the share of tenants is 37%. Within the case study area, these rates are, within the same order, 56.40 and 38.80 (Table 6.31). The rate of tenants within the case study sample is higher than Istanbul average; it is especially higher in the 2nd zone (43%). The normalized z scores also show that the share of tenants is significantly high in the 2nd zone, which includes the Kağıthane neighbourhoods where the majority of the building stock is transformed and regularized from squatter houses. The building stock in zone 2 provides therefore housing units with lower architectural and environmental qualities. It has also been observed that the average income per capita in zone 2, calculated according to questionnaire findings, is significantly lower than the other zones of the case study area (Table 6.32).

Table 6. 31. Ownership Patterns in the Case Study Area

	(%) Zone 1	(%) Zone 2	(%) Zone 3	(%) Study Area
Owner	60,47	55,00	56,07	56,40
<i>Z-score</i>	1,37	-0,91	-0,46	
Tenant	34,88	43,00	36,45	38,80
<i>Z-score</i>	-0,91	1,38	-0,47	
Free Housing	0,00	0,00	1,87	0,80
<i>Z-score</i>	-0,70	-0,70	1,41	
No rent	4,65	2,00	5,61	4,00
<i>Z-score</i>	0,37	-1,37	1,00	

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

These first indicators shows that the income level, the economic capacity in Zone 2 (Kağıthane neighbourhoods) is lower than the 2 other zones. Zone 1, comprise two primary business axis of Istanbul articulated to one other. Firstly, where neighbourhoods of the already established sub-centre of Istanbul is located –

Mecidiyeköy, Fulya, Gayrettepe: Şişli – Mecidiyeköy axis; and secondly, where more recent building stock as the extension of the former central area development, including both residential and commercial/business activities have been developing upon former industrial land parcels – Esentepe and Emniyet Evleri neighbourhoods: Büyükdere Avenue Axis.

Ownership and income indicators show that the 1st zone is addressing to inhabitants with higher income levels. The analysis shows similarly that the highest income level is in the 3rd zone, where most importantly the Levent neighbourhood, which experienced a wide functional transformation from residential to commercial uses is located along with more residential neighbourhoods. The income levels and ownership patterns are however very close to the 2nd zone as the normalized z scores indicate (see Table 6.32).

Table 6. 32. Income per Capita in Different Zones in the Case Study Area

Zones	Average income	Average household size	Income per capita	Z scores
ZONE 1	2369,18	3,47	683,72 TL	0,5402958
ZONE 2	1780,00	3,89	457,58 TL	-1,153924
ZONE 3	2223,13	3,21	693,51 TL	0,6136283
study area	2071,00	3,52	587,68 TL	

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

These two primary indicators gave information about the main traits of the socio-economic profile of different zones and their inhabitants in the case study area. Accordingly, it is clearly seen that the inhabitant profile of the three zones is different from each other, as well as their urban characteristics (like the spatial aspects, the built environment, rent and property values, and land-uses). When a further investigation on the rent values in the different zones is carried on (Table 6.33), the obtained figures shows that the average rent values in the 3rd Zone are significantly higher than the other two, this limits the inhabitant profile that can

afford to live in Zone 3. When the given rent values are examined; in Zone 2 (Kağıthane, former squatter neighbourhoods), where the average rent and quality of housing is lower than the other zones the rent range is narrower. The smallest rent is 200 TL per month and the largest rent is 900 TL per month, indicating a somehow limited variety of provision. The lowest and uppermost rent values in Zone 1, in the recent business development area, are 450 TL and 1300 TL; and in Zone 3, where the functional transformation of the Levent housings created a luxurious commercial district mixed with residential units the rent values varies in a very wide range from 300 TL to 1600 TL, and in one extreme case to 15000TL. The given rent values implicates to the different dynamics within the area. The wide range of rents and expensive extremities seen in Zone 3 indicates without doubt the extent of the transformation and the related rise in the rent levels. Similarly, lower range of rents in Zone 2 (Kağıthane neighbourhoods) indicates to the uniformity and homogeneity of the area both spatially and socially.

Table 6. 33. Average Rent Levels in the Case Study Area Zones

Zones	Average Rent Values (TL)	Z scores
Zone 1	786,67	-0,27
Zone 2	559,19	-0,84
Zone 3	1329,49	1,11

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

Table 6. 34. The Total Revenue of the Households According to Case Study Zones

Total Monthly Revenue of the Family (TL)	(%) ZONE-1	(%) ZONE-2	(%) ZONE-3	(%) STUDY AREA
<500 TL	0,00	5,00	0,00	2,00
500-749 TL	9,30	8,00	8,41	8,40
750- 999 TL	2,33	10,00	1,87	5,20
1000-1999 TL	25,58	52,00	29,91	38,00
2000-2999 TL	34,88	16,00	27,10	24,00
3000-4999 TL	18,60	5,00	14,02	11,20

Table 6.34 (continued)

5000-7499 TL	4,65	4,00	7,48	5,60
7500 TL ve daha fazla	0,00	0,00	6,54	2,80
YANITSIZ	4,65	0,00	4,67	2,80
	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

It is also important to take into consideration the share of rents within the family budget. This analysis has shown that for 38% of the tenants the rate of rent in their monthly budget is above 32.3%, which is expressed as the limit value by labour union KAMU-SEN. For many household it is seen that the rent is very close to their income, which is a major cause of vulnerability for those families because the risk of break down is very high in case of any unexpected economic stress. It is observed that the monthly total revenues to households are mainly between 1000 and 3000 TL per month (Table 6.34). This is true for both tenants and households (Table 6.35). No direct relation is observable between the ownership statuses and total monthly revenue levels.

Table 6. 35. The Total Revenue of Households with Different Ownership Statuses

Total Monthly Revenue of the Family (TL)	House Owner	Tenant	“Lojman”	Not Paying Rent	Study Area
< 500 TL	20,0	40,0	0,0	40,0	100,0
500-749 TL	57,1	23,8	4,8	14,3	100,0
750-999 TL	53,8	38,5	7,7	0,0	100,0
1000-1999 TL	54,7	42,1	0,0	3,2	100,0
2000-2999 TL	60,0	36,7	0,0	3,3	100,0
3000-4999 TL	46,4	53,6	0,0	0,0	100,0
5000-7499 TL	71,4	28,6	0,0	0,0	100,0
> 7500 TL	71,4	28,6	0,0	0,0	100,0
Study Area	56,4	38,8	0,8	4,0	100,0

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

Given the state of the different zones, hence given the different dynamics within the area a further analysis on the approach of tenants towards the rent levels in the area they live is questioned. According to different questions asked in the questionnaire, the majority (73.2%) of the interviewed tenants express their discomfort about the rising rent values (see Table 6.36). This level of agreement indicates a pressure felt by the tenants within the area. When the level of agreement is compared among the zones, it is seen that the level of discomfort is lower in the 2nd zone, where only a limited transformation is taking place, only in areas near the Büyükdere Avenue.

6. 36. Level of Agreement of Tenants to the Proposition on the Pressure of Rent Increases

Proposition (S17.k1): “I feel uneasy because of the rent increases experienced in the area where I live”				
Zone	(%) ZONE 1	(%) ZONE 2	(%) ZONE 3	(%) Among Tenants
Disagreement	13,33	18,60	15,38	16,49
Neither	13,33	9,30	7,69	9,28
Agreement	73,33	69,77	76,92	73,20

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

Further analysis on the rise of rent values shows that although the residents express such a concern for the rising rents, no actual rise is recorded by the tenants, as can be seen in Table 6.37. The rents increased in a normal rate, which is the same of the increase in the consumer price index, as determined by related laws. The recorded increase in rents above the accepted rates is not more than 9.3 % as observed in Zone 2 – Kağıthane low priced housing intensive zone. Although a very limited share, this increase is expressed higher in the 2nd zone, where the transformation is understood and observed to be experienced very limitedly. The stability of rent levels in zone 1 can be related to its being recent developments, purposely constructed for the value and use assigned to them.

Table 6. 37. The Level of Rent Increase Experienced by the Tenants within the Last 5 years

Zone	(%) ZONE 1	(%) ZONE 2	(%) ZONE 3	(%) Among Tenants
In normal rates	26,67	62,79	64,10	57,73
More than the normal rates	6,67	9,30	7,69	8,25
None	66,67	23,26	20,51	28,87
Unanswered	0,00	4,65	7,69	5,15

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

Similarly, when the income levels of those who agreed on the statement on the felt uneasiness due to increasing rents is analyzed, it is seen that households having monthly revenues above the minimum wage levels which are approximately 600 TL per month. Especially those households having wages in between 1000 – 1999 TL are more concerned about the course of events, rather than those with low wages (Table 6.38). Moreover 38% of those who agree with the same statement are wage earners and 68% of them are employed. It is seen that rather than the unemployed population, those who are employed are more insecure.

Table 6. 38. The Total Monthly Revenues of the Tenants Expressing Uneasiness Due to Increasing Rent Levels

Total Monthly Revenue of the Family (TL)	<500 TL	500-749 TL	750-999 TL	1000-1999 TL	2000-2999 TL	3000-4999 TL	5000-7499 TL	>7500 TL	Tenants of the Study Area
Zone 1	0,00	0,00	0,00	3,09	3,09	4,12	1,03	0,00	11,34
Zone 2	2,06	2,06	3,09	16,49	4,12	2,06	1,03	0,00	30,93
Zone 3	0,00	2,06	0,00	10,31	9,28	4,12	1,03	2,06	30,93
Tenants of the Study Area	2,06	4,12	3,09	29,90	16,49	10,31	3,09	2,06	73,20

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

It can be concluded depending on these outcomes that it is not only the socio-economic profile (employment status, position in work, income etc) that defines the feeling of discomfort and the level of vulnerability for future situation in life – ‘well-being’ of tenants. Although the income levels are significantly lower in Zone 2, with lower spatial and environmental qualities, the feeling of future unpredictability is lower among tenants. This can be associated to the level of transformation and redevelopment going on within the area. It is clear that the transformation process is widely experienced in Zone 3 and this is why the discomfort is prevailing despite the level of income of the tenants. So it is not only individual economic factors that create vulnerabilities by themselves but as can be deduced from the case study the external processes like land-use and building transformations are major sources of vulnerability for tenants, and also for house owners, with both low, middle, upper middle income levels. However when the external stresses like urban redevelopment is met by social groups with lower economic capacities, the negative outcomes will without doubt be worse, and at that point the economic resources of the inhabitant will influence the future well being of the inhabitants.

6.2.1.2 Increasing Opportunities of Investment: Increasing Interest in Obtaining Economic Value from the Transformation Process

The increasing value of urban areas may incite speculative transactions in the land and property market. As discussed above, while rent and value increases threaten the social and economic well-being of the tenants, it opens up opportunities for property owners. Therefore the following argument of this study posits that in gentrifying locations, property owners have more possibility to adapt to the changing conditions as they have the possibility to benefit from this process and as they are economically more secure (Hypothesis 2).

The case of Büyükdere Avenue and its surroundings showed that urban transformation processes, accepted as major sources of disturbance upon urban inhabitants with lower livelihood capacities may also bring opportunities without reference to the income levels. However ownership statuses prove to be an important

determinant of the opportunities to be profited. Many of the house owners are making future plans of investment or simply wait for the best moment to act.

To test this argument several propositions are presented to the interviewees within the questionnaire to reveal whether the property owners have future plans of investment regarding the property they own in the case study area, whether they are interested in such profit making or not. Moreover, these propositions aim also to reveal whether their property provide a sense of security for their owners.

When the rate of house ownership is investigated within the area, it is seen that it is significantly high in the 1st Zone (see Table 6.31), where a new and ‘elite’ building stock for both business and residential uses have been introduced especially within the last two decades and where the central business activities are mostly concentrated. The house ownership rates in zone 2 are closer to each other, however as discussed above, the two zones have different characteristics in terms of physical and spatial characteristics and in terms of socio-economic profile of their users.

To test the hypothesis, the question of whether house ownership provide a greater sense of capability and assurance for adapting to urban redevelopment and transformation taking place within the area or not, is interrogated. Firstly the level of agreement of the house owners in to the proposition that the value of the owned property will increase is analysed to understand the dynamics of transformation within the area. Accordingly, the level of agreement is very high (72.3%) among the house owners of the area in general (see Table 6.39). The rate of agreement in the 2nd zone is lowest (60%) in comparison the other two zones, where previously a lower degree of transformation is discovered. This shows the low rate of expectations within this zone, and supports the finding of the previous analyses that transformation and redevelopment is still limited in the zone, especially in the parts distant from the Büyükdere Avenue. The same rate is highest in the 3rd zone (85%) where the functional transformation has been widely taking place and the provision of luxurious commercial spaces is possible due to the structural characteristics of the built environment (separate single housing units with gardens).

Table 6. 39. Level of Agreement of Property Owners to the Proposition on the Expected Value Increase in Their Property

Proposition (S17.e1): “My property will gain value with the increasing rent levels and value increases experienced in the area I live”				
Zone	(%) ZONE 1	(%) ZONE 2	(%) ZONE 3	(%) Among Property Owners
Disagreement	19,23	12,73	5,00	10,64
No expectation	11,54	27,27	8,33	16,31
Agreement	69,23	60,00	85,00	72,34

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

In the next step, whether this perception is turning into future investment plans for the house owners is analysed. Accordingly, 38.4% of the property owners in zone 1, 47.2% of the property owners in zone 2 and 83.3% of the property owners in zone 3 believe that the value increases within the area they live will provide them further investment opportunity (see Table 6.40). In coherence with the former findings about the zone, the expectations in zone 3 are significantly higher, where redevelopment process has widely taken place within the market. Similarly the expectation among the property owners for better opportunities of profit making can be followed from Table 6.41.

Table 6. 40. Level of Agreement of Property Owners to the Proposition on the Increasing Opportunities of Investment

Proposition (S17.e7): “The value increase in my property will provide me investment opportunities”				
Zone	(%) ZONE 1	(%) ZONE 2	(%) ZONE 3	(%) Among Property Owners
Disagreement	34,62	18,18	11,67	18,44
No Expectation	26,92	30,91	3,33	18,44
Agreement	38,46	47,27	83,33	60,99

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

Table 6. 41. The Level of Agreement with the Proposition on Future Investment Plans

Proposition (S17.e9): “I plan to hold my property until the moment it will bring me greater profit”				
Zone	(%) ZONE 1	(%) ZONE 2	(%) ZONE 3	(%) Among Property Owners
Disagreement	26,92	30,91	10,00	21,28
No Expectation	11,54	25,45	8,33	15,60
Agreement	57,69	43,64	80,00	61,70

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

It can easily be stated, depending on these figures, that future plans of investment are in correlation with the redevelopment potential of the urban areas. However it is also important to understand the profile of those who agree to have investment plans. When further investigation on the degree of agreement to the proposition “I plan to hold my property until the moment it will bring me greater profit” is conducted, it is seen that the level of agreement to the proposition is higher among those with higher income groups (Table 6.42). In terms of the employment statuses of the inhabitants, the plans of investment are more frequent among those who are employed or the retired. 66% of house owners who have future investment plans with their real-estate are employed and 28% are retired. This distribution is however not very different from their overall distribution within the household sample (67.2 % and 25.6%). Similarly it is observed that according to their status in work, 22% of house owners with future investment plans are employers and 29% are wage earners, where their overall distribution within the household sample is 16.4 % and 36.8 %. This indicates that employers are more inclined to make investments.

Table 6. 42. The Income Levels of Those Who Agreed with the Proposition on Future Investment Plans

Total Monthly Revenue of the Family (TL)	No Ownership	Level of Agreement in Study Area	Level of Agreement among house owners	Level of Agreement Among Income groups
< 500TL	1,6	0,4	1,1	20
500-749 TL	3,6	2	5,7	23
750- 999 TL	2,4	1,6	4,5	30
1000-1999 TL	17,2	12,8	36,8	33
2000-2999 TL	9,6	9,2	26,3	38
3000-4999 TL	6	3,6	10,3	32
5000-7499 TL	1,6	2,8	8	50
>7500 TL	0,8	1,6	4,5	57
Total	43,6	34,8	100	34,8

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

In relation to the stated argument it can be concluded, that similar to the findings on the level of concerns, the level of expectations are observed to be in relation with the extent of urban redevelopment and transformation process within the area. Higher level of economic expectations is without doubt an indicator of feeling assured for the future, enhances therefore the resilience of the households. The elaboration of the two previous arguments, in relation to the case study, showed that beyond ownership patterns, when the transformation and redevelopment process initiates in an urban area, it exerts pressure to the inhabitants of the area regardless of their economic profile.

6.2.1.3 Increase in Residential Segregation of Social Groups

The most important of outcome of the contemporary urban land market is claimed in the literature as the reconfiguration of the urban geography in a way to accelerate socio-spatial segregation. The reason for this re-structuring in the urban geography is firstly the creation of controlled and gated buildings and settlements. Secondly, the intra urban mobility caused by the changing real-estate value levels in the city,

which leads to the clustering of low and middle income groups in remote parts of the city where value levels are lower, or to the creation of introvert (closed) communities within the city centre. Thirdly, and similarly, in the cases of large scale redevelopment project implementations, residents of the project area are usually displaced from the area and relocated again either to the same area or to isolated mass housing areas. In relation to this process, the asserted argument is that due to increasing land values or to the re-construction of the building stock, tenants and low income families feel the pressure to move out and risk to become socio-spatially marginalized within the system (Hypothesis 3).

It has been seen in these analyses that the pressure of moving out is not felt that seriously within the area. Moreover, the level of agreement with given propositions, hence with the presence of a felt pressure, is not found related to the state of being tenant or owner of the house that is lived in. The previous analyses also showed limited relation with the socio-economic profile of the inhabitants in their level of concern for their future well being. This can be explained with the degree of redevelopment and transformation process taking place within the lived area. Even though future plans of moving exist among the questionnaire sample, these plans do not include moving out from the resided neighbourhood or district. In fact a strong connectedness to the area is observed within the residents of the area

To test this argument within the case study area, the first analysis investigates whether there is the pressure of displacement felt by different groups and in different zones. Secondly, as there is always the possibility of large scale redevelopment project implementation, especially in the 2nd zone, the perception of the households on the redevelopment projects is investigated.

6.2.1.3.1 The Felt Pressure to Move Out

As explained in the analysis of the first argument on land market dynamics, 73.2% of the tenants (Table 6.36) feel uneasy because of the increasing rent levels. When a further investigation is carried upon this feeling, by asking whether the households want to move to another house in another district or in the same district; the rate of

agreement falls down. In Table 6.43, it can be seen that half of the tenants plan to move out to a cheaper flat, without changing their neighbourhood. This rate is highest in zone 1. The rate of agreement falls to 35.3% when another neighbourhood is taken into consideration (Table 6.44). These responses show that despite the worries regarding the rising rents due to the redevelopment of the area in general; most of the inhabitants are not reluctant to change their place of residence. This may be related to the rising attractiveness of the area with its improving transportation opportunities and commercial characteristics; with its proximity to important functions such as universities or work places and so on.

Table 6. 43. Level of Agreement to the Proposition on the Inclination to Search for a New Housing in the Same Neighbourhood

Proposition (S17.k3): "I plan to search for a cheaper flat in my neighbourhood due to the increase in my rent."				
Zone	(%) ZONE 1	(%) ZONE 2	(%) ZONE 3	(%) among tenants
Disagreement	20,00	44,18	43,58	40,20
No Expectation	20,00	11,62	2,56	9,27
Agreement	60,00	44,18	53,84	50,51

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

Table 6. 44. Level of Agreement to the Proposition on the Inclination to Search for a New Housing in another Neighbourhood

Proposition S17.k2: "I want to move to another house in another neighbourhood where the rents are lower"				
Zone	(%) ZONE 1	(%) ZONE 2	(%) ZONE 3	(%) among tenants
Disagreement	53,33	41,86	56,41	49,48
Neither	6,67	25,58	7,69	15,46
Agreement	40,00	32,56	35,90	35,05

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

Furthermore, when the approach of the households, on whether they feel like their residential units will be replaced by the increasing number of workplaces is questioned; 38.4% of the households agreed to have such an opinion but 50.4% did not (Table 6.45). The rate for agreement is highest in the 2nd zone.

Table 6. 45. T he Pressure to Move out Due to Increasing Change in Land-Uses

Proposition S35_ 21: “We will have to move out from this neighbourhood due to the increasing number of workplaces.”				
	(%) ZONE 1	(%) ZONE 2	(%) ZONE 3	(%) study area
Disagreement	44,19	52,00	51,40	50,40
Neither	20,93	7,00	11,21	11,20
Agreement	34,88	41,00	37,38	38,40

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

As a further step when the ownership status of those who agree on this proposition is examined it is seen that a larger group among property owners agree with the idea. However, this share is again not very low among tenants (see Table 6.46). The reason for this difference may be investment plans of the households. The overall evaluation of the argument about the pressure of displacement is not strongly verified in the case study area depending on the conducted analyses. Both opinions on the felt pressure to move out are held within the sample.

Table 6. 46. The Level of Agreement to the Transformation of Residential Functions into Business Functions among Property Owners and Tenants

17e7: “The value increase in my property will provide me investment opportunities”	35_21: “We will have to move out from this neighbourhood due to the increasing number of workplaces.”			
	disagreement	neither	agreement	total
disagreement	5,2	2	3,2	10,4
neither	4,4	2	4	10,4
agreement	15,6	3,6	15,2	34,4
tenants	24,8	3,6	15,2	43,6

Table 6.46 (continued)

total	50	11,2	37,6	98,8
<i>among tenants</i>	<i>56,88</i>	<i>8,25</i>	<i>34,86</i>	<i>100</i>
house owners total	25,2	7,6	22,4	55,2
<i>among house owners</i>	<i>45,66</i>	<i>13,76</i>	<i>40,58</i>	<i>100</i>

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

The investigation of any relation between total monthly revenues of the households and the level of agreement to the proposition on the pressure felt due to the functional transformation of the area reveals no significant relation (Table 6.47). The Chi-square tests supports this finding (Table 6.48). The findings of the conducted analyses show that, despite the feeling of uneasiness, inhabitants are not reluctant to leave the case study area. Here again the positive attributes of the area, in terms of its location within the city, its prestige and other aspects come into play.

Table 6. 47. The Relation of Total Monthly Revenues and the Level of Agreement with the Proposition on the Felt Pressure to Move out (35_21)

	Distribution in the Case Study Area				The Income Distribution within Different Approaches to the Proposition		
	Disagreement	Neither	Agreement	Total	Disagreement	Neither	Agreement
< 500 TL	1,6	0	0,4	2	3,2	0,0	1,0
500-749 TL	3,2	1,2	4	8,4	6,3	10,7	10,4
750- 999 TL	3,2	0,4	1,6	5,2	6,3	3,6	4,2
1000-1999 TL	19,2	4,8	14	38	38,1	42,9	36,5
2000-2999 TL	11,6	3,2	9,2	24	23,0	28,6	24,0
3000-4999 TL	5,6	0,4	5,2	11,2	11,1	3,6	13,5
5000-7499 TL	3,6	0,4	1,6	5,6	7,1	3,6	4,2

Table 6.47 (continued)

> 7500 TL	0,8	0,8	1,2	2,8	1,6	7,1	3,1
No Answer	1,6	0	1,2	2,8	3,2	0,0	3,1
Total	50,4	11,2	38,4	100	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

Table 6. 48. Chi-Square Tests on the Relation of Total Monthly Revenues and the Level of Agreement with the Proposition on the Felt Pressure to Move out (35_21)

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	51,567(a)	48	,336
Likelihood Ratio	54,622	48	,237
Linear-by-Linear Association	,044	1	,834
N of Valid Cases	250		

(a) 48 cells (76.2%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0.32.

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

6.2.1.3.2 Urban Redevelopment Projects

The analysis on the approach of households to urban redevelopment projects shows that, while 37% of the households believe that redevelopment projects will bring difficulties to their future life, 43% do not agree (Table 6.49). The level of agreement only slightly increases even if a greater construction right can be obtained (Table 6.50).

Table 6. 49. The Level of Agreement to Negative Outcomes of Redevelopment Projects

Proposition S35_3: "I believe that a redevelopment project implemented in the land lot I reside or nearby will bring negative outcomes to me."				
	(%) ZONE 1	(%) ZONE 2	(%) ZONE 3	(%) study area
Disagreement	44,19	43,00	42,99	43,20
Neither	11,63	27,00	12,15	18,00
Agreement	39,53	29,00	44,86	37,60

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

Table 6. 50. The Influence of Increasing Construction Rights upon the Negative Approach Towards Urban Redevelopment Projects

Proposition S35_4: "I do not trust in urban redevelopment projects even I am told to receive higher construction rights."				
	(%) ZONE 1	(%) ZONE 2	(%) ZONE 3	(%) study area
Disagreement	25,58	32,00	33,64	31,60
Neither	25,58	33,00	16,82	24,80
Agreement	44,19	34,00	48,60	42,00

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

In contradiction to the first two analysis households declared that they are not against urban redevelopment projects if they are not influenced from them. This indicates again a concern for their individual future conditions vis-a-vis such implementations (Table 6.51). Again, in opposition with the first two propositions, 63.2% of the households declared that in order to obtain a higher construction right they accept the implementation of urban redevelopment projects in the parcel they live (Table 6.52). Finally, when the approach of households on the possibility of being displaced due to a redevelopment project is questioned, the responses show that more than half of the households does not have such a concern (Table 6.53).

Table 6. 51. The Level of Agreement to the Proposition That Households are not Against Redevelopment Projects Unless They Are Influenced From Them

Proposition S35_ 5: “I am not against urban redevelopment implementations unless it influences me.”				
	(%) ZONE 1	(%) ZONE 2	(%) ZONE 3	(%) study area
Disagreement	13,95	13,00	30,84	20,80
Neither	11,63	14,00	8,41	11,20
Agreement	74,42	72,00	60,75	67,60

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

Table 6. 52. Level of Agreement to the Proposition on agreeing for the implementation of a redevelopment project

Proposition S35_ 6: “I will agree to the redevelopment of the land lot within which I live if I will receive higher construction rights.”				
	(%) ZONE 1	(%) ZONE 2	(%) ZONE 3	(%) study area
Disagreement	25,58	20,00	20,56	21,20
Neither	6,98	22,00	9,35	14,00
Agreement	67,44	57,00	67,29	63,20

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

Table 6. 53. The Level of Agreement on the Proposition that the Households Will Have to Leave Their District If a Redevelopment Project is To Be Conducted

Proposition S35_ 8: “I believe that urban redevelopment projects implemented in the area I live, will force me to move out.”				
Disagreement	55,81	63,00	63,55	62,00
Neither	11,63	10,00	7,48	9,20
Agreement	30,23	27,00	27,10	27,60

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

6.2.1.4 Dissolving Social Bonds within the Society

In relation to the transformation in the living and consumption styles, it had been observed that the relation of the inhabitants with the urban space and their property is changing. This change is similar to the changing focus of urban policies, which becomes more and more profit oriented. Without doubt, the possibility of obtaining individual economic interest holds for those who already have access to capital or political power. On the other hand, while the implementations guided by municipalities and governments aim to satisfy the demands of the foreign capital and to assure a certain amount of economic interest, the living conditions of those who have limited economic assets and human capital are neglected. These groups, having lost their access to economic resources may make use of informal support mechanisms born out of the social capital within the community they belong. The form of social networks is changing with the increasing individualisation within the societies. However public organisations, and nongovernmental organisations, provide a contemporary medium of developing social networks and support mechanisms. On the other hand, the construction of gated settlements and controlled buildings within the city causes the exclusion of inhabitants from urban spaces. This study argues that the inhabitant groups with strong social networking can cope better with the transformation of the urban environment. Similarly, inhabitants who are able to self organize in order to participate to the decision making processes and express their own demands and common interest cope better with the changing conditions of living and working (Hypothesis 4).

6.2.1.4.1 Role of Social Networks

To analyse the argument the importance given to social capital is investigated with the help of the questionnaire findings. It is still possible to talk of the presence of social capital within the area, however the intensity of relations change according to different zones. This can be accepted as an indicator of the relation between the natures of social relations with the socio-economic profile of the inhabitants. Especially in the 2nd zone, which comprise the former squatter housing

communities, more than the two third of the interviewed households have primary or secondary degree relatives within the same district they reside, and mention the importance they give to this proximity. In other zones the importance given is lower; however half of the residents of these zones have relatives in the district they live. The rate of households who have more than 10 relatives in the same district is larger for the 2nd zone (Table 6.54 and 6.55). This shows the importance given to family ties, within this community, which can be related to the migration and squatter history of the residents.

Table 6. 54. The Number of Primary Relatives Residing in the Same District

Zones	Number of primary relatives living in the same district		
	< 5	5 – 9	> 10
I	25,6	4,6	18,6
II	27	13	33
III	35,5	13,1	10,3
Study Area	30,4	11,6	20,8

Source: Household questionnaire study, summer 2010

Table 6. 55. The Number of Other Relatives Residing in the Same District

Altbölge	Number of secondary relatives living in the same district		
	5 den az	5 – 9	10 ve üzeri kişi
I	6,98	4,65	16,28
II	10,00	4,00	41,00
III	12,15	9,35	21,50
Çalışma alanı	10,40	6,40	28,40

Source: Household questionnaire study, summer 2010

It is accepted by the majority of the interviewed households (57.6%) that the transformation of the area is influencing the neighbourhood level social relations in a negative way. This proposition is more supported in Zone 3, where the commercial transformation is experienced more (Table 6.56). Nearly half of the households in the study area convey that their level of acquaintance with their neighbours has also

decreased (Table 6.57). A further analysis reveals that social support mechanisms have diminished into the smallest level of family for half of the household sample (Table 6. 58 and 6.59).

Table 6. 56. The Influence of the Functional Transformation of the Area in to a Central Area on the Neighbourhood Level Social Relations

Type of Influence	(%) ZONE 1	(%) ZONE 2	(%) ZONE 3	(%) Study Area
Positive	20,93	21,00	14,02	18,00
No Influence	23,26	30,00	19,63	24,40
Negative	55,81	49,00	66,36	57,60

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

Table 6. 57. The Level of Agreement to the Proposition on the Level of Acquaintance with Neighbours

Proposition S35_10: “Eskiden aynı binada oturduğum ve mahallemdeki komşularla görüşür, konuşurduk; şimdi komşularımın çoğunu tanımıyorum”.				
Zone	(%) ZONE 1	(%) ZONE 2	(%) ZONE 3	(%) study area
Disagreement	44,19	44,00	37,38	41,20
Neither	9,30	16,00	12,15	13,20
Agreement	46,51	39,00	49,53	44,80

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

The level of agreement to the proposition on the reduction of social support mechanisms to the scale of family is highest in the low and middle income Kağıthane neighbourhoods (zone 2), although the agreement on the experienced deterioration of social relations is identified as lower in the same zone (see Table 6.59). This outcome may also indicate that the inhabitants in Zone 2 seek more the help of a relative or neighbour, due to their lower individual economic capacities.

Table 6. 58. The Level of Agreement to the Proposition “I can no longer ask help from anybody except my family”

Proposition S35_ 9: “I can no longer ask help from anybody except my family”				
	(%) ZONE 1	(%) ZONE 2	(%) ZONE 3	(%) study area
Disagreement	39,53	37,00	47,66	42,00
Neither	9,30	5,00	7,48	6,80
Agreement	51,16	57,00	44,86	50,80

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

Table 6. 59. The Level of Agreement to the Proposition on the Weakening Social Bonds within the Neighbourhood

Proposition S35_ 13: “Social Relations within the Neighbourhood Are Weakening Because of the increasing number of non-residential uses in the buildings.”				
	(%) ZONE 1	(%) ZONE 2	(%) ZONE 3	(%) study area
Disagreement	27,91	23,00	28,97	26,40
Neither	18,60	27,00	16,82	21,20
Agreement	53,49	47,00	53,27	50,80

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

To conclude, it is observed in these analyses that around 50 percent of the household sample justifies deterioration in the social relations within the neighbourhood and district they reside. Social capital can be accepted more important for families and individuals of lower income levels, the transformation of the 2nd zone in this sense influence therefore more significantly the long-standing, low income, former squatter housing residents. On the other hand the development of the neighbourhoods near the Büyükdere Avenue into central areas, in terms of function, built-environment and accessibility has been bringing new residents and users to the area. This situation, along with the provision of low rent housing in the area, has broken the homogeneity of some residential neighbourhoods in Kağıthane district like Çeliktepe and Emniyet Evleri and generated a more heterogeneous population. The rising heterogeneity, despite the dissolving place based social bonds, contributes to social cohesion, and the creation of less segregated local communities.

6.2.1.4.2 Participation

It is known that a local nongovernmental organization in Levent, named Çağdaş Levent Derneği, have been working to prevent the commercial development of the neighbourhood and to conserve the historical construction pattern of the neighbourhood. They have applied for the declaration of old Levent housing district as an urban conservation site and have been successful. The functional and structural transformation of the old housing site including single housing units have been limited with the decision set by the 3rd Istanbul cultural and natural heritage conservation regional board, with the number 3047, dated 13.05.2008. Although the decision have negative impacts for those who perform economic activity in the area, this case provides an example of an organized movement for the defence of inhabitant's interests. It also constitutes an example of the power play that takes place among the different actors of the urban scene.

The investigation on the level of participation of the household sample shows that, the rate of participation into a nongovernmental organisation is very low (9%) within the case study area (Table 6.60). The level of participation fall to 2.4% when the neighbourhood based NGOs are investigated. Both levels of participation are higher in the 3rd zone, where the Levent district is included.

Table 6. 60. Level of Participation to NGOs and Local Level NGOs in Different Zones

Zones	Zone 1	Zone 2	Zone 3	Study area
Level of active participation to NGOs (%)	9,3	4	14,0	9,2
Level of active participation to neighbourhood based NGOs	0	1	4,6	2,4

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

When a questions on whether the households are participating or willing to participate is asked, the share of positive responses increase to 49%. Especially in Zone 3, this rate is 62.6% (Table 6.61). The findings of a following question on

whether the households try to communicate with the municipality for issues regarding the urban environment they live in shows that 75% of the households are ready to defend their rights in such issues (Table 6.62). Furthermore when the active participation to defend household right against some implementations of municipalities in Istanbul in general is asked, 44% of the household sample express that they do (Table 6.63).

Table 6. 61. The Level of Agreement to the Proposition on Participation through NGOs

Proposition 35_37: "I am working / I want to work for the improvement of the living conditions in my neighbourhood with the help of NGOs."				
	(%) ZONE 1	(%) ZONE 2	(%) ZONE 3	(%) study area
Disagreement	30,23	35,00	27,10	30,80
Neither	23,26	28,00	10,28	19,60
Agreement	46,51	36,00	62,62	49,20

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

Table 6. 62. Level of Agreement to the Proposition on the Individual Participation

Proposition 35_38: "I always report the local administrations the problems I encounter in the place I live"				
	(%) ZONE 1	(%) ZONE 2	(%) ZONE 3	(%) study area
Disagreement	16,28	20,00	13,08	16,40
Neither	2,33	17,00	1,87	8,00
Agreement	79,07	62,00	84,11	74,40

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

Table 6. 63. Level of Agreement to the Proposition on Active Participation

Proposition S35_40: "I actively resist against certain implementations of the local governments in Istanbul."				
	(%) ZONE 1	(%) ZONE 2	(%) ZONE 3	(%) study area
Disagreement	53,49	46,00	22,43	37,20
Neither	16,28	24,00	13,08	18,00
Agreement	30,23	29,00	64,49	44,40

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

Table 6. 64. Level of Agreement to the Proposition on the Disbelief in the Self-Organization Capacity of Neighbourhood Residents

Proposition S35_36: "We are not able to struggle against the implementations that disturb us because our lack of capability to self-organize."				
	(%) ZONE 1	(%) ZONE 2	(%) ZONE 3	(%) study area
disagreement	30,23	23,00	39,25	31,20
no expectation	13,95	15,00	8,41	12,00
agreement	55,81	58,00	52,34	55,20

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

Table 6. 65. The Level of Agreement to the Proposition on Low Level of Participation in the Neighbourhood Level

Proposition S35_39: "Although people living in the same area share the same problems regarding the environment they live in, I do not believe that they can come together to react."				
	(%) ZONE 1	(%) ZONE 2	(%) ZONE 3	(%) study area
disagreement	34,88	30,00	42,99	36,40
no expectation	11,63	21,00	16,82	17,60
agreement	51,16	48,00	39,25	44,80

Source: Household questionnaires, Summer 2010

Finally, the responses to two other questions can provide insight about the approach of the households on their own capacity of networking as a community within the district they live. The analysis reveals that 55% (see Table 6.64, 6.65) of the households believe that as urban inhabitants living in the same area, neighbours don't have the capacity to self-organize to defend their own rights or to represent themselves in political grounds.

6.3 Conclusion

The first two hypotheses on the impacts of the labour market are related to the process of changing sectoral differentiation in the economy. The first one asserted that those who have knowledge in leading sectors are able to benefit from the transformation process and the second one complemented the argument by asserting that inhabitants who are unqualified for the employment opportunities in the rising sectors, former industrial workforce are more vulnerable against the transformation of the economic structure. The level of adaptation to this major transformation is accepted to be parallel to the rise in the level of education, and the level of monthly income of the employed household; and the change in the sector of employment. The hypotheses had been verified with the conducted analyses.

The research analysis showed firstly that a shift in the sectors of employment is experienced among the inhabitants of the case study area, between 1990 and 2010. In addition, a similar change in the numbers and sectors of the workplaces located in the area is also seen. Secondly, a direct relation between the level of adaptation and the level of education is observed. The level of adaptation to changing sectoral differentiation is proved to be lower in the neighbourhoods (zone 2) with lower socio-economic profiles. The reason of this outcome can be related to two processes: firstly, to the moving out of the industry from the site and the stability of the squatter housing dwellers in the area; secondly to the profile of lodging the area has been providing to inhabitants/tenants, with low to moderate rent levels and property values.

The third hypothesis on the changing dynamics in the labour market asserts that small scale retailer and producers, who cannot respond to the changing market demands due to different reasons, are negatively influenced from the increasing powerful actors in the economic system and face more difficulty in adapting to changing market conditions. Although the hypothesis had been verified in general terms, the conducted investigations revealed that both positive and negative outcomes have been experienced in this respect. The investigation on this hypothesis showed that, small scale retailers that have been contacted are rather enthusiastic for the development of the area due to the attraction of new users/customers to the area and the created vitality. It is also observed that some of the retailers are facing difficulties in their business due to the presence of larger and economically more powerful actors in the market; however no direct relation can be set with the sector of employment of the retailers. The case study area hosts a variety of commercial establishments of different scales, specializations and profiles. The research analysis showed improvements in the revenues of some retailers despite the expected negative impacts. This situation indicates the existence complementary relations among different forms of economic activity, commercial establishments in the case study area.

The hypotheses on the functioning of land market emphasize the impacts of the physical and functional redevelopment, and the related gentrification of the area. The first hypothesis is related to the gentrification and rising rent levels in the study area and it asserted that tenants, especially with low income levels, are negatively influenced from the process of urban transformation (with the increasing share of rent in their monthly budget).

The analysis conducted among the tenants showed that the socio-economic profile is a less powerful determinant in the degree of worries that are felt against the redevelopment/gentrification of the area. The degree/ of concern shared among the tenants is observed to be related to the characteristic of the urban environment instead of the household profile. The research revealed that the main urban characteristics of the area, the ‘transformability’ of the area, determine the extent of

the pressures felt by the households. The transformability of the area includes the characteristics of the built environment – urban morphology, the authorization pattern, and the ownership divisions and the similar. It is also seen that the mechanisms (market/public) through which the redevelopment process is actualizing is also important.

The second hypotheses state that investment opportunities increase for those who have capital to invest in redeveloping or gentrifying locations, hence that, property owners adapt more easily to the transformations, and benefit from the process of urban redevelopment. In contrast to the sources of solicitude felt by the tenants for the future development of the area, the ownership statuses prove to be an important determinant for benefitting from the rising opportunities of investment. Many of the house owners are making future plans of investment or simply wait for the best moment to act.

The most important of outcome of the contemporary urban land market is claimed in the literature as the reconfiguration of the urban geography in a way to accelerate socio-spatial segregation due to the creation of controlled and gated buildings and settlements, the intra urban mobility caused by the changing real-estate value levels in the city, which leads to the clustering of low and middle income groups. In the cases of large scale redevelopment project implementations, residents of the project area are usually displaced from the area and relocated again either to the same area or to isolated mass housing areas. The third hypotheses on the changing dynamics of land markets asserts that due to increasing land values or the re-construction of the building stock, tenants and low income families feel the pressure to move out and become socio-spatially marginalized within the system. The conducted analyses disclosed that the pressure of moving out is not felt that seriously within the area, in contrast to the general claim in the literature. The level of agreement with given propositions, hence with the presence of a felt pressure, is not found related to the state of being tenant or owner of the house that is lived in. The majority of tenants feel uncomfortable due to the rising rents but they do not plan to leave their district/neighbourhood. The hypothesis has therefore not been verified and it is seen

that the strong connectedness of the households with their place/district of residence and their growing expectations from the transformation process increase the degree of resilience against the pressures of displacement.

Finally, with regards to the land market functioning, the research asserted that inhabitant groups with strong social networking cope better with the transformation process. Correspondingly, low income groups are marginalized within the area they live due to the changing building stock, changing composition of inhabitants and gentrification.

While the implementations guided by municipalities and governments aim to satisfy the demands of the foreign capital and seek to assure a certain amount of economic interest, the living conditions of those who have limited economic assets and human capital are neglected. These groups, having lost their access to economic resources may make use of informal support mechanisms born out of the social capital within the community they belong. The form of social networks is changing with the increasing individualisation within the societies. However public organisations, and nongovernmental organisations, provide a contemporary medium of developing social networks and of self-representation. The analyses conducted on the questionnaire findings show that the nature of social capital is also related to the urban characteristics of the areas, as in the case of urban transformability. It is still possible to talk of the presence of social capital within the area, however the intensity of relations change according to different zones. The rising heterogeneity, despite the dissolving place based social bonds, contributes to social cohesion, and the creation of less segregated local communities. Although more individualistic lifestyles had been observed in neighbourhoods with higher socio-economic profiles, the level of self-organisation is much higher than the socio-economically weaker neighbourhoods.

The conducted research study showed that major processes accounted in the literature are only partially available in the case of Istanbul, Turkey. The research showed that especially within the functioning of the land market local specificities

and the physical and the property relationships of the urban areas plays an important role on the transformability of those areas and in relation on the resilience of the urban inhabitants. Although the worries of the inhabitants are observed to be independent from their socio-economic profile, it is still argued in the study that economic capacity and human capital (livelihoods), as well as social capital and participatory power are important indicators of social resilience. The surpassing position of the level of transformation proves that the level of social resilience is also strongly related to the nature and magnitude of the disturbance.

In terms of the labour market, the findings show that more similar processes have been experienced around the world. The advance of the finance and services sector is prominent in the case study area. Although industry is still a major field of economic activity in Istanbul, the study area constitute a typical example for the moving out of industrial activity to different urban zones. The impacts of this process however are observed to be less negative than expected with reference to the literature.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The study presented here, had been developed around a major problematic that influences many cities today. It is the transformation of the urban environment under the influence of global processes. The problematic is important because it is a very contemporary and ubiquitous process. It is ubiquitous because it is carried on within the influence of globalization. Globalization today is based on assuring the foundations of its own operation; that is diffusing political deregulation and economic liberalization to many parts of the world, which will assure the practice of neo-liberal economic system. The network constructed by globalized economies and societies are so strong today that states and cities cannot avoid the pressure to be a part of it.

The problematic is also important because by being widely experienced in many localities, it influence the conditions of living and working of urban populations. Within this global integration process cities became the major ground of operation and are left to the influence of various forces. Cities became the field of investment for international and transnational capital, while they provided the ground for the 'spatialization' of these economic powers (Sassen, 2004). City space, city economy, city culture became the instruments to achieve economic development and global competitiveness (Boddy and Parkinson 2004, Buck et al. 2005). City space became subject to these new types of investments and implementations (Gotham 2001, Sassen 2004, Swyngedouw et al. 2001); and cities became the new tool of creating economic value. Likewise, the urban environment experienced important transformations (Marcuse and Kempen 2000, Sassen 1991, 2000) directed by economic motives, which lacked social considerations (Davis 2005, Fainstein 2001, Swyngedouw et al. 2002, Weber 2002).

The PhD dissertation aimed to make two main theoretical contributions to the field of urban studies. Firstly, it formulated an approach to discuss the transformation of cities under the influence of global processes by connecting different discussions within the literature and by modelling a relational and conceptual framework. The presented theoretical framework emphasized the existence and importance of various fields of operation within the city, including the acts and practices of individual inhabitants or the operations and the similar; and of the decision making bodies and their contribution to the actual production of the urban environment. The study aimed to elaborate this problematic process within a multi-dimensional manner. Therefore the relations highlighted in the frame of explanation are based on the axiom that urban phenomenon is a complex, multi-dimensional, multiple-actor, contingent and socio-spatial phenomenon. Hence it is asserted here that the problematic should be understood and can only be understood in such an approach.

The study asserted that in order to evaluate and analyse this wide process of transformation, it is necessary to understand the processes through which it is actualized; and through which the urban environment, with its physical, social, economic and spatial conditions all together, is produced in contemporary cities. Accordingly the urban space is not solely determined with the global processes as an external force, or with the practices of governmental bodies, it is also directed by the individual practices of the urban inhabitants (or inhabitant groups) and within the functioning of major urban mechanisms which are conceptualized in this study as interface mechanisms. Urban land and labour markets are accepted in here as the most prominent examples of interface mechanisms, which should not be accepted solely as economic processes based on demand/supply relations but also as a field of transaction and power-play among the various actors in the city coming from different grounds and with different powers. Therefore the discussions that followed had been conducted with reference to the different dimensions of urban land and labour markets.

The second theoretical contribution of the study is to assert the ‘resilience framework’ used with a social focus for the discussion and evaluation of the social

impacts of the contemporary transformation process of cities under the influence of globalization. The study applied the resilience framework for the evaluation of social impacts of the elaborated transformation processes, and sets the adaptive capacity of inhabitants as important social indicators for maintaining social well-being. Resilience framework is in harmony with the approach of the study, as it makes possible the incorporation of non-linear dynamics of systems to the analyses. The resilience framework, as used in this study, emphasizes the ability of urban inhabitants to cope with stresses, “absorb changes” (Holling, 1973) and to maintain their function and structure (Nelson et al. 2007; Walker and Salt 2006; Walker et al. 2004) during and after the experience of disturbances. Social resilience concerns above all the resilience of the urban community. The possibilities of different social groups to adapt to changing conditions to maintain their future well being under the influence of successive external stresses, is defined as ‘social resilience’ in this study; a concept, which is explained as a function of the adaptive capacity of urban populations.

The concept of social resilience becomes an increasingly important issue within the increasingly economically focused implementations directed by increasingly entrepreneurial forms of governance (Eraydin and Altay 2010). With the decreasing social provisions of the states, more is left to the individual adaptive capacity of inhabitants, including primarily their livelihoods, social capital and participatory power. The resilience framework as appropriated in this study, asserted that greater adaptive capacity of inhabitants increases their ability to adapt to changing conditions and external stresses. It is accepted in this study that enhancing the resilience of urban populations will improve the possibilities of adapting to changing conditions, sustaining the social cohesion and economic prosperity in cities, and the possibilities of coping with the negative outcomes of the long-term successive changes brought by ‘globalization’.

Thus, the study presented here, test firstly the benefits of the introduced theoretical frame (conceptual and relational) by using it for the investigation of the different dimensions of an urban development/redevelopment case in Istanbul. The research

that had been designed with these aims, explores the experience of the emergence of an important business district in Istanbul as the main locale where the international capital is hosted and aimed to be further attracted; where the urban land is used as a tool of investment; and where the newly created urban environment (especially built environment) is used as a constituent of the city image. Furthermore, the case study became the site where different groups (socio-economically differentiated), different functions and different living and working environments are adjoined. Therefore, the development of the investigated area has been influencing people of different backgrounds and socio-economic profiles. The research study aimed therefore to evaluate the impact of the experienced transformations on the working and living conditions of different social groups, by taking into consideration their increasing vulnerability in relation to the changing dynamics of the land and labour markets – urban interface mechanisms. Hence, the research study attempted to evaluate the role of urban social resilience for the future well-being of urban populations in their confrontation with globalization and neo-liberalized policies.

The research study presented here aimed to answer the following questions:

1. What are the new dynamics triggered in urban interface mechanisms under the influence of globalization?
2. How do the changing dynamics in labour and land markets influence the vulnerability of different inhabitant groups?
3. How do the different levels of adaptive capacity of social groups influence their ability to sustain or improve their ‘well-being’?

The research aimed to test the hypotheses developed within this framework. The presented hypotheses combined the transformations of the land and labour market dynamics and their impacts as explained in the literature; with the estimated/ asserted role of social resilience in the determination of the dimension of impacts generated by the transformation process.

According to the general hypotheses of the study, the new dynamics in the urban functioning brought by the neoliberal restructuring in urban and economic policies within globalization process and new types of implementations associated with this restructuring, determine the transformation of the urban environment. The continuous urban transformation and the changing conditions of working and living in the city bring new socio-spatial vulnerabilities to the urban population. The adaptive capacity of different social groups (including their livelihoods, social capital and participatory power) increases their ability to cope with the continuous transformation of urban environment under the influence of globalization.

Labour Market Dynamics and its Impacts

It had been asserted that the economic restructuring conducted within the neo-liberal agenda of globalization, brought new dynamics to the labour market, where only the share of work force with certain qualifications are employed, other groups work with lowered wages and working conditions or become unemployed. As an outcome of this process it is accepted that the level of income polarisation in cities are exacerbated.

The research findings indicated that, the level of adaptation to the new labour market conditions, with the changing sectors and forms of work, had remained low in the neighbourhoods of the former slum area, Kağıthane, where the education levels are the lowest within the area. There the income levels and the position in work are lower than the other zones. The research also verified the general claims on the increasing employment in the service sector and the dual character of earnings within this sector. There are high and low income wage earners working in the service sector, and the income levels are related to the education levels. This proves that the vulnerability of work force with lower qualifications is higher in the contemporary context of urban labour markets.

Another important outcome of the established economic system is on the economic sustainability of small scale commercial establishments. The comparison of the

economic stability of large scale establishments and small scale retailers show that retailers have been more influenced from the transformation in the economy. It is also seen that the activity in service and commerce sectors have been the most preferred for the individual entrepreneurs however, the sectors brought both gains and losses. Hence it is difficult to set a relation with these economic sectors which are named as the rising sectors. However the findings show that they are fields of activity with higher levels of demand.

In contrast to what is expected, the shop owners presented positive expectations from their future work and waiting to benefit from the further development of the area. It is commonly accepted that the transformation of the area into a central business district raises the vitality of the area. However no clear stance is observed among the small scale shop owners, as they are also complaining about their difficulty to compete with large capital owning monopoly firms.

Land Market Dynamics and its Impacts

Within this general approach, it had been asserted for the impacts of the changing dynamics of the land market, that the changing priorities of urban policies and implementations within the neo-liberal agenda of global integration brought new dynamics to land and property markets, which increases in general socio-spatial segregation in the city (and causes degradation in the living conditions of those who are open to pressures.). The preliminary assertion is that socio-spatial segregation is increasing in the city in relation to the urban redevelopment processes, which cause gentrification and the escalation of land and property values and speculative activity; in relation to the increasing opportunities of investment and increasing interest in obtaining economic value from the transformation process; and in relation to forced or voluntary displacements, and dissolving social bonds. It is also claimed that tenants rather than house owners and those inhabitants with lower economic power rather than socio-economically higher groups are more vulnerable against this transformation.

The research findings revealed three important points about the impact of urban transformation and the vulnerability of urban inhabitants. First, it is the degree of transformation, and the extent to which the pressure of transformation is felt that determines the concerns of urban inhabitants. The findings showed that the feeling of vulnerability and the concern for unpredictability is rather shared among the residents of urban areas that are subject to high degrees of urban transformation and redevelopment being unrelated from their level of income and ownership status, such as the third zone composed of Beşiktaş districts where a functional transformation had taken place with limited transformation of the built environment. The adaptive capacity of inhabitants, which determines their conditions of living against the experienced transformations, depends without doubt on the different assets they possess, including their economic wealth, their working capabilities and social relation; however the level of pressure felt proves that inhabitants from different backgrounds can become vulnerable to changes.

Secondly, it is observed in the study area that the parcel based urban redevelopment process has been led primarily in the market mechanism, by private actors. Although governments have been supporting the process with planning and privatisation instruments, the production of the new environment has been left to the market mechanism. This illuminates one dimension of the variety in the transformation levels experienced in different zones of the study area. The other dimension is related to the characteristics of the urban environment and it is conditioning the transactions and operations taking place in the land and property market. The characteristics of the built environment determine the transformability of the urban environment and therefore condition the felt pressures.

The neighbourhoods where the urban tissue is thick and difficult to be redeveloped, such as the former squatter housing areas in Kağıthane district, the value increases and functional transformation is experienced in lower degrees and progress very slowly. Depending on this aspect of the urban environment, the residents of these areas are at lower risks at the moment. However being positioned at a very important location of the city and being surrounded by profit yielding large scale investments,

there is an important risk that is not recognized by the inhabitants of those former slum areas; and it is the possibility of implementation of large scale redevelopment projects. For the moment, as no such project being pronounced, the level of concern and vulnerability is lower. However, new developments continue to surround the area, and those neighbourhoods become more and more stuck in the middle of luxurious high-rises, under their shadows.

This has brought forth another important dimension of urban transformation process, which determines the extent of the created vulnerability. It is the medium of actualisation of the urban redevelopment projects. Whether they are large scale, led by or supported by states; or they are realized within the market, as individual acts is of crucial importance. The state led or supported implementations bring unavoidable pressures and consequences to inhabitants. They may be forcedly led to leave their residences and works and will face serious difficulties of adaptation. However the questionnaire findings show that such a pressure is not felt by the residents and a strong belonging to their neighbourhood is observed. Even the rising rents do not influence this belonging, which can be associated to the attractiveness, accessibility and vitality of the study area. This belonging is also supported by the strong social ties observed especially in Kağıthane residential neighbourhoods, where family member prefer to reside within the same district, close to each other. However, it is also discovered that, despite the strong existence of family ties within these neighbourhoods, it had been the residents of the Levent neighbourhood, with higher education and income levels who achieved to self-organize against the transformation process, which negatively affects them. They have applied for the conservation of the historical housing area within which they reside and succeeded.

In conclusion we have seen that the process of globalization is not producing homogeneous spaces, type environments in different cities. The functioning of interface mechanisms, which also incorporates conditionings coming from the local context and urban actors, actually determines the produced and transformed urban environment. However, we have also seen that the global processes and the neo-liberal restructuring policies constitute a major disturbance upon urban inhabitants.

Global processes as a source of disturbance or threat may cause slowly or suddenly important transformations in the conditions of living and working in the city.

There are two other implications of the study. Firstly, the urban environment with the property relations it bears is an important influence upon the experienced socio-spatial outcomes of the transformation process. Secondly, the level of social resilience for is determined by the extent of the faced disturbance as well as the adaptive capacity of the inhabitants. Moreover, we have discovered important factors such as the connectedness to the locality as factors that enhance the resilience of urban populations.

All in all the research study reveals that pressures are born with the transformation of the area upon inhabitants of various socio-economic profiles. Although the potential risks are not yet felt within all of the case study area, the transformation process incites both negative and positive expectations for the inhabitants. The transformation causes not only vulnerabilities but also opportunities and expectations. Furthermore, as the level of concern is related to the degree of experienced transformation, it is clear that inhabitant groups with lower education levels and lower economic capacities will be more vulnerable against the advancing urban transformation. What can be concluded however, with regards to the case study analysis, is that socio-economic profiles are not the sole determinant of social resilience.

Implications of the Study and further Research Possibilities

This PhD dissertation aimed to apply a more relational approach towards the investigation of urban processes. The original frameworks developed in this study had aimed to mount an important gap within the academic studies by asking the question of how changes are produced, rather than accounting the experienced and observed changes.

The study further emphasized the importance of resilience framework for the evaluation of urban social phenomena. It is important to recognize that the level of development of countries and cities can not only be measured by economic indicators and, economic interests cannot be the sole motive of action in cities. Economic development and vitality is also fed by the well being of the urban society. Furthermore the research revealed that external processes are as important as the individual level of adaptive capacity in conditioning the nature of the outcomes. This relational and multi dimensional approach provides also a helpful framework for urban and social policy making and urban and regional planning practice.

The application of these frames on the investigation of a significant case in Istanbul helped to reveal the coming together of different dimensions in the emergence of working and living conditions. The use of resilience framework made it possible to handle the multiple dimensions of the urban phenomenon, and the non-linearity within its actualisation. For instance, the research study showed that, despite the general acceptances, higher income groups may have higher concerns and low income groups may have more positive expectations; and these situations should be explained with reference to multiple dimensions conceptualized within 'social resilience'.

The resilience framework provides the complex undertaking that is necessary for the evaluation of the socio-spatial phenomena. The socio-spatial impacts of urban transformation processes cannot be measured with basic socio-economic indicators. It is important to investigate the relations between indicators and outcomes; and this type of analyses should provide the base of urban policy making and planning. Moreover it is important to incorporate the long-term effects of the experienced processes into the analyses. In the long-run the adaptive capacity of inhabitants are able to change positively or negatively; and also some of the impacts of the experienced urban transformation and redevelopment implementations are experienced in the long run.

Both the case study area and the theoretical framework provide further research opportunity. The conceptualization of urban interface mechanisms, originally introduced in this PhD study, provides the framework to be used in the investigation of various global or local urban processes and opens up further analysis opportunities. Urban land and labour markets are explained here as the main examples of such mechanisms, other examples may be discovered in different contexts, such as social ones; or in different places. The idea of interfaces also provides a framework for the explanation of the negotiation process and the power-play between the multiple actors of the urban scene; here too it provides further research opportunities.

On the other hand, the 'urban social resilience' framework, which is born from the investigation of the relation between natural/ecological processes and urban population can be applied to the investigation of the relation of urban systems with multiplicity of other processes, such as globalization as this study attempted to realise, and many others.

Finally the case study area is a very dynamic area, which is continuing its expansion and development; and which is expected to trigger the redevelopment of many adjacent urban zones in the future. The transformation in the long run will surely change the conditions of working and living that are observed today and the urban environment in general. The outcomes observed at present within this research may change and leave their places to other outcomes in the long run; and future comparisons with this study may provide fruitful discussions on the long term and short term effect of urban transformation under global processes, on the impacts of globalization on cities and the implications of other changes in the local and global context that are unknown today.

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APPENDIX A

THE FIRST FIELD TRIP QUESTIONNAIRE FORM AND FINDINGS

İletişim Bilgileri:

Deniz Altay

Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü

Yazışma Adresi. Cinnah Cad. no:80 A Blok /12, Çankaya, 06690
Ankara

Tel. 0535 454 8160

Faks. 0312 4400564

e-posta. denizaltay@hotmail.com

Mahalle ile ilgili Genel Bilgiler:

1. Mahallenizde kaç kişi yaşamakta?

2. Son yıllarda mahalle nüfusunda değişiklik oldu mu?

☐ ARTIYOR ☐ AZALIYOR

3. Mahalle nüfusunda değişiklik olduysa bunu neye bağlayabilirsiniz?

☐ İŞYERLERİNİN ARTMASI/AZALMASI

☐ MAHALLEDE KİRALARIN ARTMASI

☐ MAHALLEDE YAŞAM KOŞULLARININ DEĞİŞMESİ (ekonomik, altyapı, ulaşım olanakları, binalar vb.)

DİĞER:

4. Mahallenizde ne kadar işyeri (ticarethane/imalathane) bulunmakta?

5. Mahallede çalışan nüfus (işyerleri burada olduğu için gelenler) kaç kişidir?

6. Mahallenizde çalışan nüfus değişmekte mi?

☐ ARTIYOR ☐ AZALIYOR

7. Mahallenizde kapanan işyerleri var mı?

☐ VAR ☐ YOK

8. Varsa, bunlar hangi iş kollarında?

9. Mahallenizde yeni işyerleri açılmakta mı?

VAR

YOK

10. Bunlar hangi iş kollarında?

11. Mahallenizde yaşayanların çoğunluğunun gelir durumunu nasıl özetlersiniz?

DAR

ALT-ORTA

ORTA

ÜST-ORTA

ÜST

12. Mahallenizde yaşayanların çoğunluğunun mülkiyet durumunu nasıl özetlersiniz?

EV SAHİBİ

KİRAÇI

13. Mahallenizde yaşayanların doğum yeri çoğunlukla neredendir?

İSTANBUL

İSTANBUL DIŞI

14. Mahallenizdeki ortalama hane halkı sayısı kaç kişidir?

15. Mahallenizde yaşayanların aile yapılarında nasıl özetlersiniz?

ÇEKİRDEK AİLE

KALABALIK AİLE

GENÇ/ÖĞRENCİ

DİĞER

Mahalledeki Yapılar İle İlgili Dönüşüm

16. Mahallenizdeki binalar değişmekte mi?

APARTMANLARDAN OFİS BİNASINA DÖNÜŞÜM

APARTMANLARDA YENİLEME OLMAKTA (ESKİ BİNALAR

MÜSTAKİL EVDEN APARTMANA DÖNÜŞÜM OLMAKTA

DİĞER

17. Mahallenizde boş, kullanılmayan bina ya da arsalar bulunmakta mı?

EYET

HAYIR

18. Mahallenizde Bina kullanımlarında değişim gözlemlemekte misiniz?

APARTMAN DAİRELERİNDE KONUTTAN İŞYERİNE DEĞİŞİM

BİNA BÜTÜNÜNDE KONUTTAN İŞYERİNE DEĞİŞİM

İMALATHANELERDEN İŞYERİNE DEĞİŞİM

DİĞER:

Mahallenizdeki binalar ile ilgili başka gözlemlediğiniz bir değişim var mı?

Mahalle Sakinlerinin Yaşam Koşullarındaki Değişiklikler:

Mahallenizde yaşam koşullarında bir değişim gözlemliyor musunuz? Son 5 yılda
örneğin,

Eğer gözlemliyorsanız, bu değişim hangi alanlarda yaşanmakta?

KENTSEL ÇEVRE İLE İLİŞKİLİ:

ULAŞIM İMKANLARI	Geriliyor	Aynı	İlerliyor
SOSYAL DONATILAR	Geriliyor	Aynı	İlerliyor
PARK VE BAHÇELER	Geriliyor	Aynı	İlerliyor
ALTYAPI	Geriliyor	Aynı	İlerliyor

EKONOMİK KOŞULLAR

KİRA/EMLAK FİYATLARINDA ARTIŞ?	VAR	YOK
YEMEK (VE BENZERİ) FİYATLARDA ARTIŞ?	VAR	YOK
ULAŞIMA MASRAFLARINDA ARTIŞ?	VAR	YOK

DİĞER

Büyükdere caddesinde gerçekleşen gelişmelerin (işyerlerinin, ofis binalarının, lüks konutların, yeni yatırımların gelmesinin) mahalleniz üzerine etkileri oldu mu?

Mahalledeki yaşıntıyı değiştirdi mi?

Mahallede yaşayanları değiştirdi mi?

Mahallenizi kullananları, ziyaret edenleri değiştirdi mi?

Mahalledeki işyerlerini değiştirdi mi?

Mahallenizdeki işlerin artmasına ya da azalmasına sebep oldu mu?

İlerleyen zamanlarda mahallenizde değişikliklerin olabileceğini düşünüyor musunuz?

THE INTERVIEW FINDINGS

The interview aim to understand how the area is being transformed, how the area has been evolving / developing recently, with respect to a number of processes: The development trend, the profile of the neighborhood, the transformation of the building stock, the changing conditions of living, the expectations from the coming years.

The interviews sought information about: The growth pattern of the neighborhood, the change in the land-use patterns, The change in commercial/productive activities,

Demographical change in the neighborhood, The change in the built environment and the conditions of living, and Its contribution to intra-urban mobility.

Table A.1, gives information about the interview findings:

Table A. 1. Interview Findings on the Differentiation of Case Study Neighbourhoods

Belediye/ Mahalle	Neighbourhood Characteristics	Population change	Rent/Real- Estate Values	Retailers/ Workshops	Offices/ Produceer Service Firms
Kağıthane (Ortabayır, Çeliktepe, EmniyetEvleri , Sanayi)	Densely residential, Low-middle income, segregated from, Büyükdere, vital commerce on the arteries	Increasing	Increasing	Decreasing	No increase
Kağıthane (Yeşilce, Seyrantepe)	Residential plus workshops. Urban manufacturing sites, interiors densely residential, slums. Low income. Low commerce on arteries	Increasing	Increasing	Decreasing	No increase
Beşiktaş (Levent)	A shopping district, luxury shops, offices. Appeals to Büyükdere residents. Densely commercial with residential. High income groups..	Decreasing Rapidly	Increasing Highly	Decreasing slowly	Increasing Highly
Şişli (Esentepe)	High rises and skyscrapers along Büyükdere Avenue. Still residential uses. Middle and high income residents. Central district.	Decreasing	No increase	Decreasing	Increasing

Evaluation of the Interview Findings

Depending on the made observations and the conducted interviews with the neighborhood headmen (muhtars), it is seen that around the Büyükdere avenue – the spine of the new office conglomeration of the city – different areas with different socio-economic profiles are responding differently to the process of contemporary urban restructuring.

The growth pattern of the neighborhood and the change in the land-use patterns:

Starting argument: Slow down or decrease in population growth – due to transformation of the building uses from residential to office and commerce.

The preliminary assumptions of the thesis, expected that the population growth was slowing down, within the nearby neighborhoods of residential character due to the increasing number of residential units turning into office and commercial ones.

This proposition turned up relevant only for area II (Levent), where the user profile is composed of high income groups. The transformation process ended up in the production and reproduction of highly exclusive places, for high income groups, both within the area (the creation of a luxury shopping and office area) and within the city in general (the inclination of former residents towards gated residential areas).

The situation for low income residential neighborhoods is quite the contrary. The population still continues to grow high

The change in commercial/productive activities:

Starting argument: Small scale traders and manufacturers close down or move to other places due to rise in land and property values and rents, or due to taken public decisions. This may lead to new forms of unemployment and poverty.

There are workshops, small capital manufacturers and some retailers that have closed down during the past 10 years. This indicates a negative influence of the new developments in the area. However, this process is also caused by the economic crisis experienced in Turkey, as well as in other parts of the world. In the Kağıthane neighborhoods, a problem of poverty and unemployment is observed. The actual figures for these should be investigated within the next step.

Starting argument: The job opportunities provided by new office – business establishments does not provide employment for low qualified workforce; however they provide limited low-paid service sector job opportunities.

The new establishments along the Büyükdere Avenue, provide and are expected to provide employment opportunities for significant number of city inhabitant. However it is true that the majority of the created jobs address to high skill professionals, to the qualified work force. For the low qualified workforce, the employment opportunities are limited. It is expressed by some neighborhood head offices that jobs in the ‘cleaning’ sector is open for women living nearby, temporary jobs in ‘construction’ sector becomes available and other service employments are available for the low qualified work force.

Demographical change in the neighborhood

No starting argument.

The investigation showed that the Kağıthane neighborhoods, where the parcels have multiple owners, comprising attached type of building development and in general with authorization, they started to host users with different family patterns like students and singles. Hence the social cohesion increases in these neighborhoods and they become more cosmopolitan.

The change in the built environment and the conditions of living

Starting argument: A process of gentrification begins within the neighborhoods that are adjacent to new developments and investments.

The process of gentrification is not observed where it is most expected – the Kağıthane residential neighborhoods. As there is no state led gentrification policy applied, the market mechanism did not lead to the reconstruction of the building stock or to the radical appraisal of land/property values by itself. Although land/property values slightly increase in these areas, the building stock and the users have not changed significantly.

In the Levent neighborhood, the transformation is more radically experienced.

Starting argument: The spaces that are produced with large investments, that are constitutive for the global city image, etc, introduce closed, limited access, controlled and exclusive spaces/environments.

This process is observed. Nearly all of the new developments produce closed environments and allow limited access.

Its contribution to intra-urban mobility

Starting argument: Displacements from the neighborhoods increase due to rise in land and property values and rents.

In the Kağıthane districts rents did not increased drastically, and mobility is still low. With these attributes, Kağıthane supplies the housing of low and middle income inhabitants who reside there. The Area is therefore attractive to many with the moderate levels of rent, with its being a very accessible point in terms of public transportation, and highway-road system.

The high rates of attractivity of Kağıthane neighborhoods siding Büyükdere Avenue increase the significance of the decisions taken for the area. In summary Kağıthane neighborhoods that are adjacent to Büyükdere Avenue are highly residential although they are very close to the developing CBD, and tend to remain so as far as the demand of the inhabitants is concerned, due to the moderate levels of rent its accessibility. Moreover, due to these attributes the former social homogeneity of the

squatter residents started to be dissolved. Today there are increasingly new temporary residents, especially in the part near Büyükdere Avenue, such as students.

APPENDIX B

HOUSEHOLDS QUESTIONNAIRE FORM



ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
Mimarlık Fakültesi Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü
BÜYÜKDERE BÖLGESİ-HANE HALKI ANKETİ

XI. (ANKET NO)

S1. Açık adres: (Oturlan Semt / Site / Sokak / No): [X-2]

..... / /

S2. Anket yapılan kişinin aile reisine yakınlığı: [X-3]

1() Aile Reisi 2() Eşi () Diğer, belirtiniz

S3. Doğum yeriniz ve uyruğunuz: [X-4]..... / [X-5].....

S4. Hanenizin yapısı aşağıdakilerden hangisidir? [X-6]

1() Hanede aile olarak yaşıyor
2() Hanede ev arkadaşları ile yaşıyor (hane halkı üye tablosunda hane ortağı bölümü işaretlenecek)

S5. Hanenizde toplam kaç kişi yaşıyor? [X-7].....

S6. Hanenize aylık ortalama ne kadar gelir giriyor? [X-8] (bütün hane üyelerinin gelirlerini dahil ediniz)

1() 500 YTL'den daha az 4() 1000-1999 TL 7() 5000-7499 TL
2() 500-749 TL 5() 2000-2999 TL 8() 7500 TL ve daha fazla
3() 750- 999 TL 6() 3000-4999 TL

S7. Hane halkı reısından başlayarak aşağıdaki hane üyeleri tablosunu doldurunuz:

(ANKETÖR DİKKAT: Görüşülen kişinin sıra numarasını "kişi sıra no" sütununa işaretleyin)

		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
	Kişi sıra no	Hane halkı üyeleri	Cinsiyeti	Doğum Tarihi	Eğitim düzeyi	Çalışma durumu	Mesleği (açık ve detaylı olarak yazınız)	Çalıştığı iş kolu	İşteki durumu
[X9-17]	1	1	1-K 2-E						
[X18-26]	2		1-K 2-E						
[X27-35]	3		1-K 2-E						
[X36-44]	4		1-K 2-E						
[X45-53]	5		1-K 2-E						
[X54-62]	6		1-K 2-E						
[X63-71]	7		1-K 2-E						
[X72-80]	8		1-K 2-E						
[X81-89]	9		1-K 2-E						
[X90-98]	10		1-K 2-E						

S8. Görüşülen kişinin sıra numarası: [X-99]

A. Hane halkı üyeleri 1. Hane halkı reisi 2. Eşi 3. Çocuk 4. Hane ortağı 5. Aynı evde yaşayan yakınlar	G. Çalıştığı iş kolu 1.Tarım, Avcılık, Ormancılık, Balıkçılık 2.Madencilik Ve Taş Ocakçılığı 3.İmalat Sanayi 4.Elektrik, Gaz Ve Su 5.Yapı (İnşaat) Ve Bayındırlık İşleri 6.Toptan Ve Perakende Ticaret 7.Otel, Lokanta 8.Ulaştırma, Depolama ve Haberleşme 9.Mali Aracı Kuruluşların Faaliyetleri 10.Gayrimenkul Kiralama ve İş Faaliyetleri 11.Eğitim 12.Sağlık İşleri ve Sosyal Hizmetler 13.Diğer Sosyal, Toplumsal ve Kişisel Hizmet Faaliyetleri
D. Eğitim Düzeyi 1. Okuma yazma bilmiyor 2. İlköğrenimi tamamlamamış-okuryazar 3. İlköğrenim mezunu 4. Lise, meslek lisesi mezunu 5. Yüksek okul, Üniversite mezunu 6. Yüksek lisans tamamlamış 7. Doktora tamamlamış	H. İşteki durumu 1.İşveren 2.Kendi hesabına çalışan 3.Ücretli-Maaşlı 4.Ücretsiz aile iscisi
E. Çalışma durumu 1. Çalışıyor 2. Öğrenci 3. Çalışan öğrenci 4. Ev hanımı 5. İşsiz 6. Çocuk 7. Emekli/Yaşlı	

S17. Lütfen aşağıdaki önermelere ne derece katıldığınızı söyleyebilirsiniz? (lütfen ilgili kartı gösteriniz)

<u>DİKKAT! SADECE KİRAÇI OLANLARA SORULACAK!</u>								
		1() Hiç Katılmıyorum ←-----→7() Kesinlikle Katılıyorum						
[X121]	Yaşadığım bölgede kira değerlerinin artmasından dolayı huzursuzluk duyuyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X122]	Kıramın artmasından dolayı daha uygun kiralara olduğu bir mahalleye taşınmak istiyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X123]	Kıramın artmasından dolayı yine bu mahallede daha uygun kirali bir konut arayacağım.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X124]	Alış Veriş Merkezlerinin açılması benim gibi kirada oturanların kiralalarını arttırmakta.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X125]	KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ							
<u>DİKKAT! SADECE EV SAHİPLERİNE SORULACAK!</u>								
[X126]	Yaşadığım bölgede emlak ve kira değerlerindeki artış ile taşınmazımın değer kazanacağını düşünüyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X127]	Taşınmazımın değer kazanması dolayısıyla yakın zamanda onu satarak, daha iyi/yeni bir mülke taşınmak istiyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X128]	Bu mahallede kira değerleri artıyor ben de kendi oturduğum konut dışında kiraya verdiğim mülkümün/mülklerimin kirasını artırıyorum/arttıracağım.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X129]	Sahip olduğum taşınmazdan aldığım kira gelirlerinin artacağını ve kazancımın artacağını düşünüyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X130]	Bölgede yükselen kira değerlerinden dolayı kiraya verdiğim mülkümüm/mülklerimi işyerlerine kiralamayı düşünüyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X131]	Taşınmazım için kazanç elde edeceğim yatırım tekliflerine açığım.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X132]	KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ							
[X133]	Artan emlak ve kira değerleri ile taşınmazımın değer kazanması bana çeşitli yatırım olanakları sağlayacaktır.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X134]	Taşınmazımı en kısa zamanda farklı şekilde değerlendirip, yeni bir mülk sahibi olmayı düşünüyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X135]	Taşınmazım daha çok değer kazanıp, bana en çok kar getireceği zamana kadar elimde tutmayı düşünüyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X136]	Levent mahallesinin Kentsel Sit Alanı olarak ilan edilmesi mülkümüzü değerlendirmemize olanak sağlamıyor.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X137]	Alış Veriş Merkezlerinin açılması konutumun değer kazanmasını sağladı.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X138]	Başka semtlerde konutumun olmasına rağmen bu mahallede yaşamayı tercih ediyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X139]	KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ							

S18. .Bulunduğunuz mahalleyi yerleşmek için seçme, burada oturma nedeniniz nedir? (Lütfen ilgili kartı gösteriniz)
(birden fazla şık işaretlenebilir / lütfen söylenenleri önemine göre 1,2,3,4,5 şeklinde sıralayınız)

	Önem sırası	
[X140]	()	Bu mahallede doğdum ve büyüdüm
[X141]	()	Akrabaların, arkadaşların bu mahalle'de bulunması
[X142]	()	Konut kiralının ve fiyatlarının uygun olması / Bir önceki konutunda kira artışı olması
[X143]	()	Kendi mülküm olması
[X144]	()	Buradan konut aldım
[X145]	()	Konut ve yaşam çevresinin kalitesi olması
[X146]	()	Depreme dayanıklılık
[X147]		KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ
[X148]	()	Yeşil ve açık alanların çok olması
[X149]	()	Hava kirliliği ve gürültü olmaması
[X150]	()	Otopark sorunu olmaması
[X151]	()	İşyerine yakın olması
[X152]	()	Çocukların okuluna yakın olması (ilkokul, lise, üniversite vs.)
[X153]	()	Benim seçimim değil
[X154]	()	Diğer, belirtiniz [X155]

S19. Bu mahalleden taşınmayı düşünüyor musunuz? [X156]

- 1() Şu anda taşınmaya yönelik bir planım yok -----→ (21. soruya geçiniz)
2() Taşınmak istedim ama şu anda mümkün değil -----→ (21. soruya geçiniz)
3() Kısa vadede taşınmaya yönelik planlarım var
4() Burada geçici olarak ikamet etmekteyim
() Diğer, belirtiniz

S20. Taşınmayı düşündüğünüzü söylediniz, taşınmak istemenizdeki nedenler nelerdir? (Lütfen ilgili kartı gösteriniz) [X157]

- 1() Yaşadığım mahallede bina ve konut kalitesinin iyi olmaması
2() İşyerlerinin çoğalıyor olması
3() Mahallede güvenlik sorunun artıyor olması
4() Deprem riski
5() Çevrenin bakımsızlığı
6() Toplu taşımanın iyi olmaması
7() Araba ile kolay ulaşımın güçlüğü
8() Otopark yetersizliği
9() İşe gidiş geliş güçlüğü
10() Okula gidiş geliş güçlüğü
11() Akraba-arkadaşlara uzaklık
12() Kiraların daha yüksek olması
13() Başka yerden yeni konut alacak olmam
() Diğer, belirtiniz

S21. Yaşadığınız alana yakın bölgenin iş merkezi olarak gelişmeye devam etmesinin yaşantınızı ve yaşam çevrenizi nasıl etkileyeceğini düşünüyorsunuz? (Lütfen ilgili kartı gösteriniz)

		Daha İyi / olumlu	Aynı	Daha Kötü /olumsuz
[X158]	Mahalle içi komşuluk ilişkileri	1()	2()	3()
[X159]	Ulaşım durumu	1()	2()	3()
[X160]	Güvenlik sorunu	1()	2()	3()
[X161]	Gürültü sorunu	1()	2()	3()
[X162]	Trafik sorunu	1()	2()	3()
[X163]		KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ		
[X164]	Otopark sorunu	1()	2()	3()
[X165]	Toplu taşıma imkanları	1()	2()	3()
[X166]	Altyapı kapasitesi	1()	2()	3()
[X167]	Çevre kalitesi	1()	2()	3()
[X168]	Sosyal donatılar	1()	2()	3()
[X169]	Belediye hizmetleri	1()	2()	3()
[X170]		KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ		

S22. Özel otomobiliniz var mı? [X171]

1() Var 2() Kullanımına tahsis edilmiş aracı var 3() Yok ----→ (24. soruya geçiniz)

S23. Kaç adet özel aracınız var? [X172]

S24. İş veya okullarınıza ulaşım biçiminizi ve harcadığınız zamanı belirtebilir misiniz?

Anketör dikkat! Tüm çalışanlar ve öğrenciler için sorulacak. Lütfen hane halkı üyeleri tablosundan "çalışma durumu" nu ve öğrenci olup, olmama durumunu kontrol edip, ilgili kişilerin "kişi sıra numarasını" (Ulaşım araçlarında birden çok seçenek işaretlenebilir)

	[X173-191]	[X192-210]	[X211-229]	[X230-248]	[X249-267]	[X268-286]
Kişi sıra no	()	()	()	()	()	()
Çalışma konumu	1() Çalışan 2() Öğrenci	1() Çalışan 2() Öğrenci	1() Çalışan 2() Öğrenci	1() Çalışan 2() Öğrenci	1() Çalışan 2() Öğrenci	1() Çalışan 2() Öğrenci
Çalıştıkları ya da okudukları ilçe / semt						
Ulaşımında kullanılan araçlar (gidiş) - İş ya da okula gidiş esnasında harcanan süre (Dakika olarak alınız)						
Özel aracım ile						
Servis aracı ile						
Resmi araç ile						
Arkadaş-akraba özel aracı ile						
Otobüs ile						
Minibüs ile						
Taksi ile						
Metro-tünel-füniküler ile						
Demiryolu ile						
Deniz yolu ile						
Motosiklet ile						
Bisiklet ile						
Yaya						
İşim evde						
Diğer						
Kilit	"6969"	"6969"	"6969"	"6969"	"6969"	"6969"

S25. Son bir yıldır aşağıdaki işler/faaliyetler için ne sıklıkta seyahat ediyorsunuz, hangi semtlere gidiyorsunuz ve ne kadar zaman harcıyorsunuz?

	[X287-334]	[X335-382]	[X383-430]	[X431-478]								
	Her gün	Her hafta	Her ay	Yılda birkaç kez	Hiç gitmem							
	ilçe / semt	ilçe / semt	ilçe / semt	ilçe / semt								
1- Alışveriş için					998()							
2- Dinlenme, eğlence için					998()							
3- Genel sosyal faaliyetler için					998()							
Ulaşımında kullanılan araçlar (gidiş) - harcanan süre (Dakika olarak alınız)												
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Özel aracım ile												
Arkadaş-akraba özel aracı ile												
Otobüs ile												
Minibüs ile												
Taksi ile												
Yeraltı treni-tünel-füniküler ile												
Demiryolu ile												
Deniz yolu ile												
Servis aracı ile												
Resmi araç ile												
Motosiklet ile												
Bisiklet ile												
Yaya												
Diğer												
Kilit	6969	6969	6969	6969	6969	6969	6969	6969	6969	6969	6969	6969

S26. Hanenizde yaşayan herkesin ulaşım masraflarını gözönüne aldığınızda, aylık toplam ne kadar ulaşım harcaması yapıyorsunuz? (Hanehalkının ulaşım masrafları aylık aile bütçenizin yüzde kaçını oluşturmaktadır?)
(Dikkat! Hanede yaşayan herkesin toplam ulaşım masrafları gözönüne alınacak)

Aylık Toplam Ulaşım Harcaması [X479] : TL / [X480] %.....

S27. Yaşadığınız mahalle, ilçe ya da şehirde yakınlarınızdan hangileri yaşamakta, kaç kişi?

		Aynı Mahallede/Semtte	Aynı İlçede	İstanbul'da
[X481-483]	Birinci derece akrabalar *	() kişi	() kişi	() kişi
[X484-486]	Diğer akrabalar ve hısımlar**	() kişi	() kişi	() kişi
[X487-489]	Arkadaşlar	() kişi	() kişi	() kişi
[X490-492]	Hemşeriler	() kişi	() kişi	() kişi

(*) Anne, baba, çocuk, teyze, amca, hala, dayı, kardeş

(**) Kan bağı olan yakınlar ve onların akrabaları

Kontrol değişkeni [X-493]: 6969

S28. Son 1 yıldır aynı ya da nakdi herhangi bir yardım aldınız mı? [X494]

1() Evet 2() Hayır -----> (31. soruya geçiniz)

S29. Yardım aldığınızı söylediniz, bu yardımları nerelerden aldınız? [X495] (Birden fazla seçenek işaretlenebilir)

- 1() Belediye 4() Komşu
2() Sosyal yardımlaşma ve dayanışma vakfı 5() Gönüllü kişi ve kuruluşlar
3() Anne, baba, akraba () Diğer, belirtiniz.....

S30. Ne tür bir yardım aldınız? [X496]

- 1() Nakit para 5() Giyecek, Ev eşyası
2() Eğitim yardımı / burs 6() İlaç, Tıbbi araç gereç
3() Yiyecek () Diğer, belirtiniz.....
4() Yakacak

S31. Aktif olarak katıldığınız (üyesi olduğunuz) sivil toplum örgütü var mı? [X497]

1() Var 2() Yok -----> (35. Soruya geçiniz)

S32. Hangi sivil toplum örgütlerinde aktif olarak yer alıyorsunuz? [X498]

1- 2- 3-.....

S33. Özellikle mahalleniz içerisinde faaliyet gösteren bir sivil toplum örgütüne üye misiniz? [X499]

1() Evet 2() Hayır -----> (35. Soruya geçiniz)

S34. Mahallenizde üyesi olduğunuz sivil toplum örgütleri hangileridir? [X500]

1- 2- 3-.....

S35. Lütfen aşağıdaki önermelere ne derece katıldığınızı söyleyermisiniz? (lütfen ilgili kartı gösteriniz)

		1() Hiç Katılmıyorum	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7() Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
[X501]	Semtimizin geçirdiği dönüşüm ile ilerde daha prestijli bir mahallede yaşıyor olacağız.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X502]	Konut alacak imkanım olsa kent dışındaki TOKİ konutlarından satın almak ve orada yaşamak isterim.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X503]	Oturduğum parselde ve çevresinde gerçekleştirilecek kentsel dönüşüm uygulamalarının benim için olumsuz sonuçlar doğuracağını düşünüyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X504]	Daha fazla yapılaşma hakkı verileceği söylense bile kentsel dönüşüm uygulamalarına güvenim yok.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X505]	Beni etkilemediği müddetçe kentsel dönüşüm uygulamalarına karşı değilim.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X506]	Daha fazla yapılaşma hakkı verilecek olsa kendi oturduğum parselde bir kentsel dönüşüm uygulamasının yapılmasını isterim.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X507]	Böyle bir uygulamanın gerçekleşmesi için komşularım ile beraber hareket etmeye hazırım.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X508]	Yaşadığım bölgede gerçekleştirilecek kentsel dönüşüm uygulamalarının benim bu semtten ayrılmama neden olacağını düşünüyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X509]	KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ							

		1() Hiç Katılmıyorum ←-----→7() Kesinlikle Katılıyorum						
Sosyal İlişkiler								
[X510]	Artık başım sıkıştığında, ailem dışında, yardım isteyebileceğim kimseyi bulamıyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X511]	Eskiden aynı binada oturduğum ve mahallemdeki komşularla görüşür, konuşturdum; şimdi komşularımın çoğunu tanımıyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X512]	Mahallede çalışan esnaf ile iletişim kurmanın önemli olduğunu düşünüyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X513]	Aynı binada oturduğum komşularımla iletişim kurmanın önemli olduğunu düşünüyorum, bunun için çaba gösteriyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X514]	Apartmanlarda konut dışı kullanımların artması sebebi ile mahalle içi sosyal ilişkilerimiz zayıflıyor.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X515]	KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ							
Alış Veriş Merkezlerinin Açılması								
[X516]	Alış Veriş Merkezlerinin açılması yaşantımı kolaylaştırdı.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X517]	Eğlence aktivitesi olarak Alış Veriş Merkezlerinde gezmek hoşuma gidiyor.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X518]	Alış Veriş Merkezlerinin mahalle içi esnafı olumsuz etkilediğini düşünüyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X519]	Alış Veriş Merkezlerini kullanmak için gelenler semtimizdeki hizmetlere talebi arttırmakta.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X520]	Alış Veriş Merkezlerini kullanmak için gelenler semtimizdeki trafiği arttırmakta.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X521]	KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ							
Yaşam Koşullarında Değişim, Yer Seçimi								
[X522]	Semtimdeki konut dışı kullanımların artması daha çok çevre sorununu yanında getirecektir.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X523]	Semtimizde konut dışı kullanımların artması güvenliğimizi olumsuz etkiledi.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X524]	İşyerlerinin gelmesi ile yavaş yavaş bizler bu mahalleden taşınmak durumunda kalacağız.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X525]	Eskiden bu semtteki yaşantı çok daha keyifliydi, işyerlerinin artması ile bugün durum değişti.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X526]	KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ							
Dünya Kenti söylemine yaklaşım								
[X527]	İstanbul'un küresel bir kent haline gelmesinin kent ve ülke ekonomisine olumlu etkileri olmaktadır.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X528]	İstanbul' un küresel bir finans merkezi haline gelmesi özellikle yaşadığımız alanın gelişimini olumlu etkiliyor.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X529]	İstanbul'un finans ve iş merkezinin yaşadığımız semtte yer alması yaşantımızı giderek daha zorlaştırmaktadır.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X530]	KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ							
Belediye ve Merkezi Yönetim Kararları Hakkında Görüşler								
[X531]	Büyükdere caddesi üzerinde yapılan projeler benim ve çevremde yaşayanlar için olumlu hiçbir şey sunmamaktadır.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X532]	Büyükdere Caddesi üzerindeki gelişmeler mahallemizdeki işyerlerini ekonomik olarak olumsuz etkileyecektir.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X533]	Safir binasının tamamlanmasından sonra yaşadığımız mahallelerin pek çok açıdan olumsuz etkileneceğini düşünüyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X534]	İETT arazisinin ihalesinin bir an önce tamamlanıp, o parselde düşünülen projelerin gerçekleşmesini umuyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X535]	Büyükdere caddesi üzerindeki yapılaşma dolayısıyla yaşadığım semtin çehresi değişmekte.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()

		1() Hiç Katılmıyorum ←-----→7() Kesinlikle Katılıyorum						
[X536]	Büyükdere caddesi üzerinde gerçekleşen yatırımlar ile semtimizin daha çok değer kazandığını düşünüyorum	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X537]	Büyükdere caddesi üzerinde yer alan işyerleri pek çok iş imkanı yaratacak ve İstanbul için olumlu etkisi olacaktır.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X538]	Büyükdere caddesi üzerinde gerçekleşen projelerin getireceği canlılığı düşünerek bu semtte iş kurmak istiyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X539]	Büyükdere caddesi üzerinde gelişmekte olan konutlar, işyerleri ve alışveriş merkezlerine iş için başvurduğum / başvurmak istiyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X540]	Yerel yönetimlerin ve merkezi hükümetin Büyükdere caddesinin gelişimi ile ilgili gerçekleştirdikleri projeleri destekliyorum	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X541]	KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ							
Toplumsal Tepkiler								
[X542]	Yaşadığımız bölgedeki kentliler olarak bir araya gelemediğimiz için, bizi rahatsız eden uygulamalar karşısında mücadele edemiyoruz.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X543]	Mahallemdeki yaşam koşullarının iyileşmesi için sivil toplum örgütleri aracılığı ile mücadele etmek istiyorum/ediyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X544]	Yaşadığım çevre ile ilgili sorunları her zaman belediye ve ya ilgili kuruma bildirir, çözülmesi için uğraşırım.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X545]	Yaşadığım semtteki insanların karşılaştıkları sorunlar ortak olsa bile bir arada hareket edebileceklerine inanmıyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X546]	Yerel yönetimlerin İstanbul’ da gerçekleştirdiği çeşitli uygulamalara karşı aktif olarak mücadele ediyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X547]	Bize yardımcı olan uzman kişilerin yardımı ile bizi olumsuz etkileyen kentsel gelişmelere karşı mücadele edebiliyoruz.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()

Görüşülen kişinin;	
Adı, soyadı	:.....
Telefon numarası	:.....
Adresi	:.....
Anketörün Adı soyadı:	.....

APPENDIX C

RETAILERS QUESTIONNAIRE FORM



ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
Mimarlık Fakültesi Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü
BÜYÜKDERE BÖLGESİ-ESNAF ANKETİ

X1. (ANKET NO)

- S1. Doğum yılınız [X2]:
- S2. Doğum yeriniz[X3]:
- S3. Mesleğiniz[X4]:
- S4. Cinsiyetiniz[X5]: 1() Kadın 2() Erkek
- S5. İşyerinizin adı nedir? [X6] (Lütfen tam unvanı alınız)
- S6. İşyerinizin tipi? [X7]
1() Ofis 2() Dükkan 3() Atölye 4() Depo () Diğer
- S7. Firmanız hangi yılda kuruldu? [X8]
- S8. Firmanızın faaliyet alanı nedir? (Lütfen Nace kodunu isteyiniz ve açık olarak yazınız)
NACE Code[X9]:
Açık faaliyet alanı[X10]:
- S9. Firmanız aşağıdaki sektörlerden hangisinde yer almaktadır? [X11]
1() Tarım, Avcılık, Ormancılık, Balıkçılık (idari birim) 7() Otel, Lokanta
2() Madencilik Ve Taş Ocakçılığı (idari birim) 8() Ulaştırma, Depolama ve Haberleşme
3() İmalat Sanayi 9() Finans, banka, sigorta, mali kuruluşlar
4() Elektrik, Gaz Ve Su 10() Gayrimenkul Kiralama ve İş hizmetleri
5() Yapı (İnşaat) Ve Bayındırlık İşleri 11() Eğitim
6() Toptan Ve Perakende Ticaret 12() Sağlık İşleri ve Sosyal Hizmetler
() Diğer Sosyal, Toplumsal ve Kişisel Hizmet Faaliyetleri
- S10. Firmanız ile ilgili aşağıdaki bilgileri öğrenebiliyor muyuz?
- | | | A. Bu binada mı? | B. "HAYIRSA" → Hangi "semte ve ilde" |
|----------|-------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| [X12-13] | Firma Merkezi (Yönetim) | 1() Evet 2() Hayır | ..... |
| [X14-15] | Üretim Birimi* | 1() Evet 2() Hayır | ..... |
| [X16-17] | Şube 1* | 1() Evet 2() Hayır | ..... |
| [X18-19] | Şube 2* | 1() Evet 2() Hayır | ..... |
| [X20-21] | Şube 3* | 1() Evet 2() Hayır | ..... |
- (*) Üretim birimi ya da şubeleri yoksa ilgili satırları "BOŞ" bırakınız.
- S11. İşyerinizde sizden başka çalışan var mı? [X22]
1() Var -----→ İşyerinizde siz dahil toplam kaç kişi çalışmakta? [X23] kişi
2() Yok
- S12. İşyerinizin bulunduğu binanın tipi: [X24]
1() Apartman zemin kat 2() Apartman dairesi 3() Müstakil () Diğer
- S13. Firmanızın 2009 yılı cirosunu söyler misiniz? [X25]
- S14. Son 5 yıl içinde kazancınız nasıl değişti? [X26]
1() Arttı 2() Aynı kaldı 3() Azaldı 4() Zarar ettim

Kontrol değişkeni [X-27]: 6969

S15. İşyerinizin bulunduğu alana yakın bölgenin iş merkezi olarak daha fazla gelişmesinin yaşıntınızı ve yaşam çevrenizi nasıl etkileceğini düşünüyorsunuz?

		Daha İyi / olumlu	Aynı	Daha Kötü / olumsuz
[X28]	İşlerinizin durumu	1()	2()	3()
[X29]	Ulaşım durumu	1()	2()	3()
[X30]	Trafik sorunu	1()	2()	3()
[X31]	Otopark sorunu	1()	2()	3()
[X32]	Toplu taşıma imkanları	1()	2()	3()
[X33]	Altyapı kapasitesi	1()	2()	3()
[X34]	Çevre kalitesi	1()	2()	3()
[X35]	Sosyal donatılar	1()	2()	3()
[X36]	Belediye hizmetleri	1()	2()	3()
[X37]	KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ			

YER SEÇİMİ

S16. Firmanız bugün bulunduğu binada / ofiste mi kuruldu? [X38]

- 1() Evet -----> (20. Soruya geçiniz)
2() Hayır

S17. Buraya hangi yıl taşındınız? [X39]

S18. Buraya taşınmadan önce, hangi semtten, hangi yıl, ne nedenlerle hangi semte taşındınız? (En son taşınmanızdan başlayarak doğru son üç tanesini yazınız.)

	Nereden (İlçe / Semten)	Hangi Yıl	Ne Nedenle	Nereye Hangi İlçe / Semte Taşındınız
[X40-43]				
[X44-47]				
[X48-51]				

S19. Firmanızın son taşınılan yerden ayrılma nedenlerini söyler misiniz? Bu sebepleri önem sırasına göre en önemliden başlayarak 1,2,3,... şeklinde numaralandırarak sıralar mısınız? (Lütfen ilgili kartı gösteriniz)

	Önem sırası	
[X52]	()	Faaliyet alanının yetersizliği
[X53]	()	İşyerinin fiziksel koşullarının yetersizliği
[X54]	()	Binanın yıkılması, istismak edilmesi
[X55]	()	Kira sözleşmesinin sona ermesi
[X56]	()	Yüksek kira ve satış değerleri
[X57]	()	İşyerinin görülebilir bir yerde bulunmaması
[X58]	()	Müşterilere erişimdeki yetersizlik
[X59]	()	Tamamlayıcı sektörlerle uzak olması
[X60]	()	Semtın köhnemesi
[X61]	KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ	

S20. Firmanızın bu semtte yer seçme nedenleri nelerdir? (Lütfen ilgili kartı gösteriniz) [X62]

1() Nitelikli bina ve ofislerin bulunması	7() Uzun süre kiralamaya uygun işyerlerinin varlığı
2() Karayolu ağına erişim	8() Kendi mülküm olması
3() Müşterilerin kolay erişebilmesi	9() Aynı sektördeki firmalarla bir arada bulunma
4() Personelimizin ulaşım kolaylığı	10() Tamamlayıcı sektördeki firmalarla bir arada bulunma
5() Görülebilir bir yerde bulunması	11() Semtte teknik/bakım hizmetlerinin varlığı
6() Prestijli bir semtte bulunması	

S21. Firmanızın bu semtte faaliyet göstermesinin getirdiği zorlukları söyler misiniz? (Lütfen ilgili kartı gösteriniz) [X63]

1() Dezavantajı yok	6() Güvenlik sorunu
2() Müşteri potansiyelinin düşük olması	7() Kira ve satış değerlerinin hızla yükselmesi
3() Alışveriş merkezlerinin artması ile müşteri kaybı	8() Tamamlayıcı sektörlerdeki firmalara uzaklık
4() Trafik sıkışıklığı yaşanması	9() Altyapının yetersiz olması
5() Otopark yetersizliği	10() Semtte teknik/bakım hizmetlerinin bulunmaması

S22. İşyerinizdeki kullanım durumunuz nedir? [X64]

- 1() Mal sahibi -----→ (26. Soruya geçiniz)
2() Kiracı
3() Kira vermeden bulunuyor -----→ (26. Soruya geçiniz)

S23. Aylık kiranız (aidat hariç) ne kadardır? [X65]

S24. Son 1 ila 5 yılda kiranızda yükseliş yaşadınız mı? [X66]

- 1() Evet, normal oranda artışlar oldu 2() Evet, çok fazla bir yükseliş oldu 3() Hayır, hiç değişiklik olmadı

S25. Kısa vadede, daha uygun kiraların olduğu bir mahalleye taşınmayı düşünüyor musunuz? [X67]

- 1() Evet 2() Hayır

ULAŞIM

S26. Siz nerede ikamet ediyorsunuz? [X68]

İlçe: Mahalle: Semt:

S27. İşinize ulaşım biçiminizi ve harcadığınız zamanı öğrenebilir miyim? (Birden çok seçenek işaretlenebilir)

	ULAŞIM BİÇİMİ	HARCANAN SÜRE (dak.)	
		İŞE GİDİŞ	İŞTEN DÖNÜŞ
[X69-70]	Özel aracım ile	() dak.	() dak.
[X71-72]	Servis aracı ile	() dak.	() dak.
[X73-74]	Resmi araç ile	() dak.	() dak.
[X75-76]	Arkadaş-akraba özel aracı ile	() dak.	() dak.
[X77-78]	Otobüs ile	() dak.	() dak.
[X79-80]	Minibüs ile	() dak.	() dak.
[X81-82]	Taksi ile	() dak.	() dak.
[X83]	KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ		
[X84-85]	Yeraltı treni-tünel-füniküler ile	() dak.	() dak.
[X86-87]	Demiryolu ile	() dak.	() dak.
[X88-89]	Deniz yolu ile	() dak.	() dak.
[X90-91]	Motosiklet ile	() dak.	() dak.
[X92-93]	Bisiklet ile	() dak.	() dak.
[X94-95]	Yaya	() dak.	() dak.
[X96-97]	İşim evde	() dak.	() dak.
[X98-100]	Diğer	() dak.	() dak.
[X101]	KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ		

S28. Firmanızda çalışan personelinizin firmaya ulaşım biçimlerini yüzdesel olarak dağıtır mısınız?

	% Yüzde
[X102] Firmanın servisi ile	
[X103] Toplu taşıma araçları ile	
[X104] Özel otomobili ile	
[X105] Yaya olarak	
[X106] TOPLAM	%100

S29. Müşterilerinizin mekansal dağılımı nasıldır?

	% Yüzde
[X107] Yakın çevrede	
[X108] Kent merkezinde	
[X109] Merkez dışında (Silivri, Tuzla, Şile, Büyükçekmece gibi)	
[X110] Kent dışında	
[X111] Yurt dışında	
[X112] TOPLAM	%100

S30. Lütfen aşağıdaki önermelere ne derece katıldığınızı işaretleyiniz: (Lütfen ilgili kartı gösteriniz)

		1() Hiç Katılmıyorum ←-----→7() Kesinlikle Katılıyorum						
[X113]	İstanbul'un küresel bir kent haline gelmesinin kent ve ülke ekonomisine olumlu etkileri olmaktadır.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X114]	İstanbul' un küresel bir finans merkezi haline gelmesi özellikle firmamızın yer aldığı semtin gelişimini olumlu etkiliyor.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X115]	Firmamızın bulunduğu semtin İstanbul' un küresel çapta finans ve iş merkezi olması firmamıza prestij katıyor.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X116]	Büyükdere caddesi üzerinde gerçekleşen projelerin getireceği canlılık bu semtin gelişimini olumlu olarak etkileyecektir.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X117]	Yerel yönetimlerin ve merkezi hükümetin Büyükdere caddesinin gelişimi ile ilgili gerçekleştirdikleri projeleri destekliyorum	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X118]	Büyükdere caddesi üzerinde gerçekleşen yatırımlar ile bu semtin daha çok değer kazandığını düşünüyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X119]	Bu semtteki emlak değerleri arttığı için işyerimin bulunduğu taşınmazımı/arsamı başka şekilde değerlendirmeyi düşünüyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X120]	KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ							
[X121]	Firmamın böyle prestijli bir semtte yer alması işlerimizi olumlu etkiliyor.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X122]	Firmamın faaliyet alanını tamamlayıcı tüm işkollarını bu bölgede bulabiliyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X123]	İşyerim için İstanbul' da başka bir semtte yer seçebileceğimi düşünmüyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X124]	Bu bölgede artan ekonomik faaliyetlerin getirdiği canlılık sayesinde işlerimi büyütebileceğim.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X125]	Alış Veriş Merkezlerinin Açılması müşteri sayımızı azaltarak işlerimiz i olumsuz etkiledi.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X126]	Safir binasının tamamlanmasından sonra yaşadığımız mahallelerin pek çok açıdan olumsuz etkileneceğini düşünüyorum	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X127]	İETT arazisinin ihalesinin bir an önce tamamlanıp, o parselde düşünülen projelerin gerçekleşmesini umuyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X128]	KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ							
[X129]	Firmamın bulunduğu semtte güvenlik sorunu yaşıyorum	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X130]	Firmamın bulunduğu semtte çok işyerinin olması trafik sorununu artırıyor.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X131]	Bu semtteki trafik sorunu işlerimizi olumsuz etkiliyor.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X132]	Firmamın bulunduğu semtin toplu taşıma araçları ile kolay erişilebilir olmasının işlerimize olumlu etkisi oluyor.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X133]	Firmamı ziyaret eden misafir ve müşterilerimizin yoğunluğu özel araçları ile geliyorlar.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X134]	Firmamın bulunduğu semtte altyapı kalitesinin yüksek olduğunu düşünüyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X135]	KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ							

		1() Hiç Katılmıyorum ←-----→7() Kesinlikle Katılıyorum						
Yer Değiştirme								
[X136]	Kiramın artmasından dolayı işyerimizi daha uygun kiralara olduğu bir semte taşımak istiyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X137]	İşyerimin bulunduğu semtteki emlak ve kira değerlerinin artması sebebi ile şehir dışı üretim sitelerine taşınmayı düşünüyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X138]	İşyerimin bulunduğu semttin iş ve ofis merkezi olarak gelişmeye devam etmesinden dolayı belediyenin bizim gibi işyerlerini ticaret ve sanayi sitelerine yönlendireceğini düşünüyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X139]	Şehir dışı ticaret ve sanayi sitelerine yönlendiriliyor olsam bile bu semtte işlerime devam etmek istiyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X140]	İşyerimin bulunduğu semt bu şekilde değişmeye devam ederse, buradan taşınmak zorunda kalacağımı düşünüyorum.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X141]	Büyükdere caddesi ve civarında yer alan büyük işyerleri, ofis binaları ve alışveriş merkezleri arttıkça benim gibi firmalar buradan taşınmak ya da kapanmak zorunda kalacak.	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X142]	KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ							
Levent Kentsel Sit Alanı Kararı								
[X143]	Levent mahallesinin Kentsel Sit Alanı olarak ilan edilmesi buradaki ticari hayatı olumsuz etkiledi	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X144]	Levent mahallesinin Kentsel Sit Alanı olarak ilan edilmesi alışveriş yaptığımız, birlikte çalıştığımız kimi firmaların kapanmasına ya da taşınmasına sebep oldu	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()

Görüşülen kişinin;	
İşyerindeki konumu : () İşyeri sahibi/ortağı () Diğer	
Adı, soyadı	:.....
Telefon numarası	:.....
Adresi	:.....
Anketörün Adı soyadı:	

APPENDIX D

OFFICES QUESTIONNAIRE FORM



ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
Mimarlık Fakültesi Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü
BÜYÜKDERE BÖLGESİ-İŞYERİ ANKETİ

XI. (ANKET NO)

S1. Görüşülen kişinin işyerindeki statüsü[X2]:

- 1() İşyeri sahibi/ortak
2() Yönetici -----> Görevini yazınız[X3]
() Diğer

S2. Firmanızın tam adı ve yasal statüsü nedir? [X4]

S3. Firmanız özel şirket mi, kamu şirketi mi? [X5] 1() Özel 2() Kamu

S4. Firmanız hangi yılda kuruldu? [X6]

S5. Firmanızın faaliyet alanı nedir? (Lütfen Nace kodunu isteyiniz ve açık olarak yazınız)

NACE Code[X7]:

Açık faaliyet alanı[X8]:

S6. Firmanız aşağıdaki sektörlerden hangisinde yer almaktadır? [X9]

- 1() Tarım, Avcılık, Ormancılık, Balıkçılık (idari birim) 7() Otel, Lokanta
2() Madencilik Ve Taş Ocakçılığı (idari birim) 8() Ulaştırma, Depolama ve Haberleşme
3() İmalat Sanayi 9() Finans, banka, sigorta, mali kuruluşlar
4() Elektrik, Gaz Ve Su 10() Gayrimenkul Kiralama ve İş hizmetleri
5() Yapı (İnşaat) Ve Bayındırlık İşleri 11() Eğitim
6() Toptan Ve Perakende Ticaret 12() Sağlık İşleri ve Sosyal Hizmetler
() Diğer Sosyal, Toplumsal ve Kişisel Hizmet Faaliyetleri

S7. Firmanız ile ilgili aşağıdaki bilgileri öğrenebiliyormuyum?

		A. Bu binada mı?	B. "HAYIRSA" → Hangi "semtte ve ilde"	C. Mülkiyet Durumu
[X10-12]	Firma Merkezi (Yönetim)	1() Evet 2() Hayır	.....	1() Kiracı 2() Mülk sahibi 3() Kira vermiyor
[X13-15]	Üretim Birimi*	1() Evet 2() Hayır	.....	1() Kiracı 2() Mülk sahibi 3() Kira vermiyor
[X16-18]	Şube 1*	1() Evet 2() Hayır	.....	1() Kiracı 2() Mülk sahibi 3() Kira vermiyor
[X19-21]	Şube 2*	1() Evet 2() Hayır	.....	1() Kiracı 2() Mülk sahibi 3() Kira vermiyor
[X22-24]	Şube 3*	1() Evet 2() Hayır	.....	1() Kiracı 2() Mülk sahibi 3() Kira vermiyor

(*) Üretim birimi ya da şubeleri yoksa ilgili satırları "BOŞ" bırakınız.

S8. Firmanızın, faaliyet gösterdiği alan büyüklüğünü metrekaresi cinsinden söyler misiniz? (üretim birimi ile aynı yerde ise, üretim birimi ve yönetim biriminin alan büyüklüğü ayrı ayrı alınacak)

		m2
[X25]	Yönetim Birimi	.....
[X26]	Üretim Birimi	.....
[X27]	TOPLAM	.....

S9. Firmanız bu binada mülk sahibi ise (Soru 7'deki tablodan kontrol ediniz), bu mülkü yatırım amaçlı, başka kullanımlarda kullanmayı düşünüyor mu? [X28]

- 1() Evet 2() Hayır

Kontrol değişkeni [X-29]: 6969

S10. İş yerinizde kaç kişi çalışıyor? (Üretim birimi ile aynı yerde ise, üretim biriminde çalışanlar dahil cevap alınacak)

		Kişi sayısı
[X30]	Orta ve üst düzey yöneticiler	.....
[X31]	Büro çalışanları	.....
[X32]	Hizmetliler	.....
[X33]	Mühendis	.....
[X34]	Ustabaşı	.....
[X35]	İşçiler	.....
[X36]	TOPLAM	.....
[X37]	KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GIRINIZ	

S11. Firmanız yakın gelecekte işgücü potansiyelini arttırmayı düşünüyor mu? [X38]

1() Evet 2() Hayır

S12. Firmanızın 2009 yılı cirosunu söyler misiniz? [X39]

S13. Son 5 yıl içinde kazancınız nasıl değişti? [X40]

1() Arttı 2() Aynı kaldı 3() Azaldı 4() Zarar ettim

S14. Firmanız ihracat yapıyor mu? [X41]

1() Evet -----→İhracat toplam üretiminizin / cironuzun % kaçdır? [X42] %.....

2() Hayır

S15. Sermayenizde yabancı payı var mı? [X43]

1() Var -----→ Sermayenizdeki yabancı sermayenin oranını söyler misiniz? [X44] %

2() Yok

S16. Firmanızda AR-GE hizmeti var mı? [X45]

1() Var 2() Yok

S17. Müşterilerinizin mekansal dağılımı nasıldır?

		% Yüzde
[X46]	Yakın çevrede	.....
[X47]	Kent Merkezinde	.....
[X48]	Merkez dışında (Silivri, Tuzla, Şile, Büyükçekmece gibi)	.....
[X49]	Kent dışında	.....
[X50]	Yurt dışında	.....
[X51]	TOPLAM	%100

S18. Firmanız bugün bulunduğu binada / ofiste mi kuruldu? [X52]

1() Evet -----→ (22. Soruya geçiniz)

2() Hayır

S19. Bugüne kadar kaç defa yer değiştirdiniz? [X53]

S20. Buraya taşınmadan önce, hangi semtten, hangi yıl, ne nedenlerle hangi semte taşındınız?

	"Nereden" (İlçe / Semten)	Hangi Yıl	Ne Nedenle	"Nereye" Hangi İlçe / Semte Taşındınız
[X54-57]				
[X58-61]				
[X62-65]				
[X66-69]				
[X70-73]				

S21. Firmanızın son taşınılan yerden ayrılma nedenlerini söyler misiniz? Bu sebepleri önem sırasına göre en önemliden başlayarak 1,2,3 şeklinde numaralandırarak sıralar mısınız? (Lütfen ilgili kartı gösteriniz)

	Önem sırası	
[X74]	()	Faaliyet alanının yetersizliği
[X75]	()	İşyerinin fiziksel koşullarının yetersizliği
[X76]	()	Binanın yıkılması, istimlak edilmesi
[X77]	()	Kira sözleşmesinin sona ermesi
[X78]	()	Yüksek kira ve satış değerleri
[X79]	()	İşyerinin görülebilir bir yerde bulunmaması
[X80]	()	Müşterilere erişimdeki yetersizlik
[X81]	()	Tamamlayıcı sektörlerle uzak olması
[X82]	()	Semtin köhnemesi
[X83]	KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ	

S22. Firmanızın bu semtte yer seçme nedenleri nelerdir? (Lütfen ilgili kartı gösteriniz) [X84]

1() Nitelikli bina ve ofislerin bulunması	7() Uzun süre kiralamaya uygun işyerlerinin varlığı
2() Karayolu ağına erişim	8() Kendi mülküm olması
3() Müşterilerin kolay erişebilmesi	9() Aynı sektördeki firmalarla bir arada bulunma
4() Personelimizin ulaşım kolaylığı	10() Tamamlayıcı sektörlerdeki firmalarla bir arada bulunma
5() Görülebilir bir yerde bulunması	11() Semtte teknik/bakım hizmetlerinin varlığı
6() Prestijli bir semtte bulunması	

S23. Firmanızın bu semtte faaliyet göstermesinin getirdiği zorlukları söyler misiniz? (Lütfen ilgili kartı gösteriniz) [X85]

1() Dezavantajı yok	6() Güvenlik sorunu
2() Müşteri potansiyelinin düşük olması	7() Kira ve satış değerlerinin hızla yükselmesi
3() Çevrenin bakımsızlığı	8() Tamamlayıcı sektörlerdeki firmalara uzaklık
4() Trafik sıkışıklığı yaşanması	9() Altyapının yetersiz olması
5() Otopark yetersizliği	

S24. Firmanızın yerini değiştirmeyi düşünüyor musunuz? [X86]

- 1() Evet 2() Hayır -----→(27. Soruya geçiniz)

S25. Firmanız hangi ilçede, hangi semtte faaliyet göstermeyi tercih eder? Ve neden buralarda tercih edersiniz?

	İlçe	Semt	Tercih nedeni
[X87-88]			
[X89-90]			

S26. Taşınacağınız semtte hangi faaliyet kollarına yakın olmayı tercih edersiniz? En önemli üçünü sırasıyla belirtiniz.

	Faaliyet Kolu
[X91]	1.
[X92]	2.
[X93]	3.

PERSONEL ULAŞIM BİLGİLERİ

S27. Çalışanlarınız % kaç Avrupa yakasında, % kaç Asya yakasında ikamet etmektedir?

		% Yüzde
[X94]	Avrupa yakası	.....
[X95]	Asya yakası	.....
[X96]	TOPLAM	%100

S28. Personelinizin işyerine ulaşımında firmanızın sunduğu servis hizmeti var mı? [X97]

- 1() Evet , Var 2() Hayır, Yok

S29. Firmanızda çalışan personelinizin firmaya ulaşım biçimlerini yüzdesel olarak dağıtır mısınız?

		% Yüzde
[X98]	Firmanın servisi ile	.....
[X99]	Toplu taşıma araçları ile	.....
[X100]	Özel otomobili ile	.....
[X101]	Yaya olarak	.....
[X102]	TOPLAM	%100

S30. Toplu taşıma araçları ile firmaya gelen personelinizin %kaçı 30 dakikadan daha az sürede, % kaç 30-60 dakika arasından, % kaç 60 dakikadan daha uzun bir sürede işyerine erişebilmekte?

		% Yüzde
[X103]	30 dakikadan az	.....
[X104]	30-60 dakika arası	.....
[X105]	60 dakikadan fazla	.....
[X106]	TOPLAM	%100

S31. Lütfen aşağıdaki önermelere ne derece katıldığınızı işaretleyiniz: (Lütfen ilgili kartı gösteriniz)

		1() Hiç Katılmıyorum	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7() Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
[X107]	İstanbul'un küresel bir kent haline gelmesinin kent ve ülke ekonomisine olumlu etkileri olmaktadır	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X108]	İstanbul' un küresel bir finans merkezi haline gelmesi özellikle firmamızın yer aldığı semtin gelişimini olumlu etkiliyor	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X109]	Firmamızın bulunduğu semtin İstanbul' un küresel çapta finans ve iş merkezi olması firmamıza prestij katıyor	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X110]	Yerel yönetimlerin ve merkezi hükümetin Büyükdere caddesinin gelişimi ile ilgili gerçekleştirdikleri projeleri destekliyorum	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X111]	İETT arazisinin ihalesinin bir an önce tamamlanıp, o parselde düşünülen projelerin gerçekleşmesini umuyorum	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X112]	Bu semtteki emlak değerleri arttığı için işyerimizin bulunduğu taşınmazımızı/arsamızı başka şekilde değerlendirmeyi düşünüyoruz	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X113]	Firmamızın böyle prestijli bir semtte yer alması işlerimizi olumlu etkiliyor	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X114]	KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ							
[X115]	Firmamızın faaliyet alanını tamamlayıcı tüm işkollarını bu bölgede bulabiliyoruz	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X116]	İstanbul' da başka bir semtte yer seçebileceğimizi düşünmüyorum	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X117]	Bu bölgede artan ekonomik faaliyetlerin getirdiği canlılık sayesinde işlerimizi büyütmek	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X118]	İşyerimizin bulunduğu semte daha çok iş hizmetleri firmalarının gelmesi gerektiğini düşünüyorum	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X119]	Kıramızın artmasından dolayı işyerimizi daha uygun kiraların olduğu bir semte taşımak istiyoruz	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X120]	Alış Veriş Merkezlerinin Açılması çalışanlarımız için kolaylık sağladı	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X121]	Firmamız çalışanları kişisel ihtiyaçları için alış veriş merkezlerinden çok cadde ve sokaklardaki esnafı tercih ediyor	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X122]	KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ							

		1() Hiç Katılmıyorum ←-----→7() Kesinlikle Katılıyorum						
[X123]	Firmamızın bulunduğu semtte altyapı kalitesinin yüksek olduğunu düşünüyorum	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X124]	Firmamızın bulunduğu semtin toplu taşıma araçları ile kolay erişilebilir olmasının işlerimize olumlu etkisi oluyor	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X125]	Firmamızı ziyaret eden misafir ve müşterilerimizin yoğunluğu özel araçları ile geliyorlar	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X126]	Firmamızın bulunduğu semtte çok işyerinin olması trafik sorununu artırıyor	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X127]	Bu semtteki trafik sorunu işlerimizi olumsuz etkiliyor	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X128]	Firmamızın bulunduğu binanın özel otoparkı olduğundan dolayı otopark sorunu çekmiyoruz	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X129]	KONTROL DEĞİŞKENİ "6969" GİRİNİZ							
[X130]	Firmamızın bulunduğu bina/yapı dışında mahalle içlerine inmekten çekiniyorum	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X131]	Firmamızın bulunduğu bina/yapıda özel güvenlik olmasa işyerimizin güvende olacağını düşünmüyorum	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X132]	Levent mahallesinin Kentsel Sit Alanı olarak ilan edilmesi Büyükdere caddesindeki işyeri gelişimini zorlaştırdı	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X133]	Levent mahallesinin Kentsel Sit Alanı olarak ilan edilmesi buradaki ticari hayatı olumsuz etkiledi	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()
[X134]	Levent mahallesinin Kentsel Sit Alanı olarak ilan edilmesi alışveriş yaptığımız, birlikte çalıştığımız kimi firmaların kapanmasına ya da taşınmasına sebep oldu	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()	6()	7()

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EDUCATION

Degree Graduation	Institution	Year of
MSc	METU, Urban Design	2004
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WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2009 - 2011	Tübitak, Urban-Net joint research project, Ankara. "Sustainable Land Use Policies for Resilient Cities"	Project Assistant
2003- Present	Altay and Altay Architects, Ankara	Project Manager
2003-2004	Tübitak, METU joint research project, Ankara "Social, Economic and Spatial Transformations in Istanbul from the Period of 2nd Constitutional Monarchy to the Period of Occupation: Relational Analyses on 1910-1922 <i>Annuaire Orientales</i> "	Research Assistant
2003	METU Culture and Convention Centre, Ankara	Part-time Hostess
2000	Metropolitan Municipality of İzmir, Department of Planning	Intern

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Advanced French

PUBLICATIONS

1. Altay, D. “Urban Spaces Re-defined in Daily Practices – ‘Minibar’, Ankara ” , Encountering Urban Places: Visual and Material Performances in the City. Frers, L. and Meier, L. Eds. Ashgate: Aldershot, Burlington , 63-80 (2007).
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5. Altay,C. and Altay, D. “Minibar: Social Space and The Transgression of Architecture” Associate of Architects 1927 Seasonal Activity 2002-2004, Associate of Architects 1927: Ankara, 141-158 (2004)

HOBBIES

Writing, reading, poetry, illustration, photography