

PROCESSES AND STRATEGIES OF NEW CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT
DEVELOPMENT AND PUBLIC SPACE PATTERNS: LEVENT-
BÜYÜKDERE AVENUE

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BÜYÜKDERE AVENUE**

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ABSTRACT

PROCESSES AND STRATEGIES OF CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT AND PUBLIC SPACE PATTERNS: LEVENT- BÜYÜKDERE AVENUE

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Since evolution of “global cities” is based on private financial actors forming the global economic network, these cities are confronting not only lifestyle changes, but also architectural and urban transformations. An important urban element produced by cities in the global economic network is the *new central business district*, which house vertical building forms with high demographic density. As a complex urban element serving for national and international arena as service center of liberal economy and an urban prestige symbol of the city, design and planning process of new central business districts is gaining priority to solve complexity of its structure considering public use.

The aim of this study is to explore the physical public space due to be created in the new central business district in İstanbul, which has been developing along the Büyükdere Avenue. Critically concentrating on its design and the planning process and future strategies in a comparative study with other global city examples of

Paris, Berlin and Singapore, which have been giving specialized priority to the planning phase and future strategies for their new central business district developments, it is aimed to develop a substantial basis for the conceptualization of how the new central business district can be implemented in İstanbul.

Keywords: central business district, urban pattern, strategy, public space, İstanbul.

ÖZ

YENİ MERKEZİ İŞ ALANI GELİŞMESİNİN SÜREÇ VE STRATEJİLERİ İLE KAMUSAL ALAN DOKUSU: LEVENT- BÜYÜKDERE CADDESİ

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“Küresel kentler”in oluşumunun küresel ekonomi ağını oluşturan özel finans aktörlerine bağlı olması, bu şehirlerin sadece yaşam tarzındaki değişikliklerle değil, aynı zamanda mimari ve kentsel dönüşümlerle de karşılaşmasına neden olmuştur. Küresel ekonomi ağına bağlı global kentlerin ürettiği önemli bir kent elemanı dikey bina dokularıyla büyük bir nüfus yoğunluğunu barındıran *yeni merkezi iş alanları*dır. Ulusal ve uluslararası arenada liberal ekonomiye bağlı servis merkezi olarak hizmet veren ve şehrin kentsel prestij sembolü olan karmaşık bir kent parçası olarak yeni merkezi iş alanı, bu yapısıyla kamu kullanımını öngören bir çözüm sağlayabilmek için tasarım ve planlama sürecinin önemini vurgulamaktadır.

Bu çalışmanın amacı İstanbul’da Büyükdere Caddesi boyunca gelişmekte olan yeni merkezi iş alanı tarafından oluşturulan fiziksel kamu mekanını incelemektir. Çalışma, odak olarak tasarım ve planlama süreci ile gelecek stratejilerini ele alırken, İstanbul’da yeni bir merkezi iş alanı uygulamasının nasıl

gerçekleşebileceği kavramı ile ilgili sağlam bir temel hazırlamak için yeni merkezi iş alanı gelişimlerinde özel olarak planlama ve gelecek stratejilerine öncelik veren diğer küresel şehir örnekleri, Paris, Berlin Singapur ile karşılaştırmalı bir inceleme yapmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: merkezi iş alanı, kentsel doku, strateji, kamusal alan, İstanbul.

To My Parents

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The city is the high point of human achievement, objectifying the most sophisticated knowledge in a physical landscape of extraordinary complexity, power and splendor at the same time as it brings together social forces capable of the most amazing socio-technical and political innovation. But it is also the site of squalid human failure, the lightning rod of the profoundest human discontents, and the arena of social and political conflict. It is a place of mystery, the site of unexpected, full of agitations and ferments, of multiple liberties, opportunities, and alienations; of passions and repressions; of cosmopolitanism and extreme parochialisms; of violence, innovation and reaction. The capitalist city is the arena of the most intense social and political confusions at the same time as it is a monumental testimony to and a moving force within the dialectics of capitalism's uneven development. (Harvey, 1989, pp. 229)

With regard to globalization in economic activities, cities initiate to house new facilities, urban forms, social and demographic conflicts while augmenting the complexity. While the fact of a common dispersion of activities through all over the world, the concentration of top level activities have enlarged physical and service territories of global cities. The terminology of 'center' is modified with the international service network. With regard to liberalization, independent firms gain decisive power over development of cities. Individualization brought competitiveness in economy and politics as well as in the urban structure. Due to new technologies of informational and construction, new urban forms evolved such as high-rises and mixed-use centers which lead the dominant corporations initiated to utilize these urban forms as their symbolic images in a competitive urban form. Within these developments, *new central business districts(CBD)* become the focus point of globalization, individualization, new urban forms and image production. However, while dealing with such new and complex physical,

social and economical aspects, in order to keep these new urban spaces regarding basic demands of public use and lift their urban and public standards up to prestige level of international competitors, development of new CBDs should follow specialized planning and design processes.

Regarding this necessity, this study aims to focus on the public space of the *new central business district* of İstanbul developed along Levent- Büyükdere Avenue which has transformed into a “spatial form” of the globalization (Sassen, 2001) and concentrate on the problems of public space production by exploring the causes and facts in the planning and development process. In order to develop a substantial basis for the conceptualization in the examination of new CBD implementation in İstanbul, notable global examples are studied for their attitude on planning processes and strategies to end up with a spectacular spatial outcome on public level. Therefore three important CBD development processes from three global cities; Paris, Berlin and Singapore are chosen to be analyzed due to the given priority on planning strategies of their new CBDs. In terms of the theoretical assessment, the thesis focuses on two levels of development: on global level as a general economical development and on urban level as physical and spatial development of national and international new central business districts. Specifically, in the case study of Levent- Büyükdere Avenue, public space is examined with regard to two domains; planning and development process, administrative structure and architectural and urban form.

The study begins with a discussion over the transformation of traditional world city of pre-global time into contemporary global city and points out the transformation of decisive actors of city from national state to international capital. Considering globalization and liberalization, the increasing complexity of global cities is highlighted. Within this complexity, the effects of informational and computational technologies are discussed with the theories of Castells and Sassen.

Although globalization has the tendency of dispersal of activities, it is pointed out that the urbanization of cities gets stronger. Considering the dominant urbanization of global cities, the new poly-centered structure, and dominant actors, which are independent corporations forming this structure, is discussed. As a dominant center for national and international network, the features of new CBD are pointed out and various terminologies are introduced. In order to analyze new CBDs more specifically, the transformation of CBD from a traditional city center to a new global center, and general characteristics of location and service is examined. Finally, within the economical transformation, general spatial features of contemporary architecture are indicated in the scope of central business districts.

As “an overview of world-wide CBDs and their urban development strategies”, the third chapter elaborates urban development of CBD mainly in four city cases with their central business district developments. In order to learn the planning attitude and strategies of some notable new CBD examples of global cities which specifically paid attention to planning approaches and established specialized development authorities in their new CBD developments and produced notable urban image production despite different political, economic and social conditions and time periods, three different world cities; Paris, Berlin, Singapore are examined considering the further comparisons with the İstanbul case.

Paris is exemplified a long term process of CBD development with regard to provide the sustainability of its place as a leading city in world network. On the other hand, Berlin is a case of redevelopment seeking to re-enter the international network and dealing with post- war conflicts. As a third case, Singapore, constitutes an example with a strong emphasis on CBD development for its future strategies in East Asia regarding the restricted urban land. All three cases are examined due to their development processes, strategies, actors of development and future visions and compared with each other.

In the second part of the third chapter, İstanbul case is deeply analyzed due to its urban planning, development and political strategies and facts. Although its long-term history, the development of new CBD along Büyükdere Avenue is still open to criticisms as a new CBD form. Therefore, while the initial strategies, and actors involved to the development is analyzed, the reasons and facts of the fragmented urban and new CBD development is tried to be pointed out. Finally, considering the analysis of three world cases and İstanbul case the planning strategies and actors involved are tried to be compared and contrasted.

In the fourth chapter, the main focus is a closer look to the urban form and the public space production in the Levent new CBD. Considering the comparative planning analysis on the third chapter, the spatial outcome of the planning approaches, the administrative structure and architectural formation of the development provides the main structure of the chapter. The theoretical background is based on the theories of Trancik and Lynch and space is discussed in terms of legibility, public and private space value and their conflicts, and the elements of urban space. During the discussion the space is critically compared with the world examples analyzed in the third chapter. In conclusion, the priority of planned urban design for legible space development is emphasized within the scope of this study on space production of new central business district development of Levent.

CHAPTER 2

ECONOMICAL DEVELOPMENT OF GLOBAL CITIES

2.1. Construction of the City in the Global Arena

By the rise of the transnational policies on finance, informational technologies, manufacturing and industry, in the 20th century the notion of the World City started to designate some sort of semantic change. The World City replaced its ruling power of the national capital with transnational capital that mainly controlled by the transcend boundaries of large corporations. In this era of globalization as the predominant term of the last century, criticized and analyzed the most, denoted as an economical terminology because of this transnational capital, instead of merely the international relations which was indicated by Taylor as “the contemporary globalization” (Taylor, 2008). Therefore today’s well-known term Global City started to share the common ground of the World City by the intense influence of economical policies of “contemporary globalization”.

When in his “World City Hypothesis” (1986) Friedmann highlights the close tension between the world capital and the world city, he mentions that key cities throughout the world are used by global capital as “basing points” in the spatial organization and articulation of production and markets. According to him world cities are the major sites for the concentration and accumulation of international capital (Friedmann, 1986). In these terms, while actors of neo-liberal economy are intensifying their presence within the transnational network of economy, they started to possess decisive roles in national level of global cities, so dual decisive

actors of city; national state and international capital are constituted. In order to invest world capital, demands of global city for new labor forces in new functions and new lands for these functions increased leading more complex social, economic and urban development in city. Considering this fact, the new connotation for global city was not only reflected itself as the new form of transnational economy but also as an organization in urban level with new demands of global capital. Regarding the argument of Harvey's capitalist city, the illustrated complexity is a continuously increasing fact of today's global city (Harvey, 1989).

Although there is a semantic change in the 'world cities' terminology as mentioned before, generally Hall's characterization is still valid today as well. Considering the decisive power of the world capital, generally world cities are still the centers of the national government and political power. With regard to Friedmann's statement of world cities as the concentration nodes of international capital (Friedmann, 1986), they constitute the main centers of trade and finance and thus world cities are places hosting the main institutions of government, as well as trade, banking, finance and industry. According to Hall, transportation is also a leading character of world cities as being the junction nodes of main roads, and railways, and having great international airports in metropolitan area in order to create the necessary network in the global arena. He defines world cities also as the centers of information, technology, entertainment and commercial sectors. Within all these complexity they become "the great centers of population containing the richest members of the community" (Hall, 1966). However, the fact of the complexity of globalization lead today's global cities to contain not only the richest members but also others mixed or segregated in city region. According to Friedmann, world cities constitutes points of destination for large numbers of both domestic and international migrants which shows the increase in the transnational population of cities but creating as well a spatial and class polarization which

become a major concern in these cities considered together with the overall social costs exceeding over the fiscal capacity of the ever growing state (Friedmann, 1986).

Considering this complexity, the 'global city' refers to a set of global command and control centers that are interconnected with transnational networked hierarchies of economic, demographic and socio-cultural relationships (Brenner, Keil, 2006). As the close tension of global capital and global city was mentioned before, actors, which predominantly responsible in the reorganization of the economic map created by the transnational network hierarchies of world cities, are transnational corporations investing the global capital. These transnational corporations located in the world cities are "tightly interconnected with each other through decision-making and finance, they constitute a worldwide system of control over production and market expansion" (Friedmann and Wolff, 1982). This power of decision-maker corporations leads a rapid but as well as an instable development of urban form in global cities due to the need of answering for sudden requirements and demands.

As the transnational relations of the cities, as well as the international corporations located in these cities are increasing in importance, the former dominant form of spatial organization which pertains mainly to the international relations, "space of places" as Castells depiction is altered. The former stress on physically accessibility, connecting world cities to each other by transportation networks, began to share its ground with new communication and computing technologies and constituted "space of flows" as the dominant form of spatial organization (Castells, 1996). In these terms, building their infrastructure according to this accessibility via transportation as well as via informational networks is predominantly required for today's world cities.

The increase in innovations and so in importance of the communicational and informational technologies in today's form of life caused for some futuristic predictions for urban scale as being no need for cities in the future. As Castells discussed in his speech of "Cities in the Informational Age" (2004), they claim that with the use of computational technologies all essential work would have been accomplished by the workers living in countries and therefore the remote work would lead the dispersal of the people and activities causing the disappearance of the cities. However, this imaginary urban evolution has never happened and instead, cities solidified their existence with large masses of migrations from the rural. Castells has demonstrated that such predictions were proven to be mistaken. He mentions that instead, in most countries, urbanization levels are now higher than ever, with some world regions, such as the United States and Europe, now becoming more than 80 per cent urban (Castells 2004).

Within this rapid and massive urbanization process, the increasing complexity of global cities is becoming an eternal process. Today, cities are not only having a conflict of locating themselves in the international arena with its economy, but by doing this; they also have to deal with inner urban problems as a consequence of the globalization as well as to promote themselves with informational technologies to attract investments and solidify their presence. Although there are some contrary thoughts, today most of the cities in the world are taking a part in the capitalist process whatever their size and location. Commercial and industrial acts of globalization happen to show themselves in all of these cities. In order to take a bigger portion from the global network, world cities are competing to attract global investors via their economy, politics, urban system and media.

2.2. A “Spatial Form of Globalization”; Central Business District

As proving the falling down of the predictions about the disappearance of the cities by the new informational technologies, the urbanization process of cities get stronger by the second half of the 20th century. Cities showed a simultaneous dispersal and a concentration of inhabitants and activities but constantly kept together by communicational technologies. So this new typology of dispersion and concentration has emerged the spatial form of the era, which is the metropolitan region (Castells, 2004). As the regionalized city should be considered in the global arena, it refers to the global city as well. In this form of high populated urbanism, the city cannot be considered in the traditional terms. Within the discussion of the regionalized global city, the notion of the center should gain a new semantic view in order to fulfill the new spatial and functional requirements of this enormous area.

Boundaries of the new global city transcend the traditional boundaries of cities reflecting the evolution of the polycentric city formation against the traditional mono-centric city (Taylor et al., 2006). Within this enlargement of the city boundaries, while the spatial dispersion of the economy has required the expansion of the economy, meanwhile this expansion of economy has required the expansion of the central functions considering the growing densities and extreme locational concentration of central functions and production innovations (Sassen, 2001).

The new geography of the centrality reveals the multi-nodal structure of the international economy based global city. By housing dominant economic actors in their lands, within the new centrality, global cities initiated to be regarded as centers of the global economic network. The main reason of this fact is that the dominant actors of the economy are not based on the governmental constitutions anymore, but instead due to tendencies of the neo-liberal economy, these actors are

constituted by the independent corporations which are extended their functions all over the world as mentioned before.

“The biggest transnational companies today have budgets larger than those of all but a few nations... If nation-states are the principle actors within the global political order, corporations are the dominant agents within the world economy.” (Giddens, 1990, pp.70-71)

When it is assumed that city-ness is a process as in Castells' depiction (1996), in order to operate the process, there should be agents. The economical and financial acts in cities bring the necessity of firms as the agents of these acts. "...cities do not replace imports, firms in cities do" (Taylor et al., 2008). Having the main economical power in their hands advanced producer service firms are becoming the determinative agents in creating the new geography of the world cities. While dispersing their functions throughout the world, they also create the geographical centers of the world. These selections for the international corporations' service locations operate through extensive office networks in cities while constituting a general one interconnected with the networks of other firms'; the outlines of the global economic network which forms the world city network. According to Taylor, the world city network has 3 levels: *sub-nodal* which is firms, *nodal* which is cities and *network* which is city network. "...world cities do not make the world city network, advanced producer service firms do" (Taylor et al., 2008). While constituting the world city network, the producer service firms need to operate through the network of the telecommunication systems. So the infrastructure of the network of informational technologies plays an essential role in the geographical selections of the firms.

While the new communication technologies do indeed facilitate geographic dispersal of economic activities without losing system integration they have also had effect of strengthening the importance of central coordination and control functions for firms and even, markets. Indeed, for firms in any sector, operating a widely-dispersed network of branches and affiliates and operating

in network of branches and affiliates and operating in multiple markets has made central functions far more complicated (Sassen, 2002)

When Sassen defines the new geography of centrality, she considers four categories as centers. Central business district is the one that creates a ground for the international corporations leading the world economy. Secondly she considers that the centrality extends into a metropolitan area with the grid of nodes serving for intense business activity. The formation of the trans-territorial center was predicted as the third category for centrality which is created partly in the digital space. Lastly considering the innovations of the computational technologies, electronically generated spaces are the final category for the new centrality (Sassen, 2001).

Within these four group of centrality in the economy based global city network, as a strategic urban location, the purpose of this thesis is required focusing on the spatial center of the global economy which is the Central Business District; CBD. Although many discussions are occurring over the global center, many theorists are concurring on the fact that the CBD in major international business centers remains a strategic site for the leading industries (Sassen 2001, et al.). With its massive high-rise office complexes, the construction of the CBD launched a building phase in the emerging global cities being an expanding space of high-priced center.

2.2.1. Different terminologies for Central Business District

Since today's city, forms as a polycentric geography, the notion of 'center' initiated to recall a multi-functional service node housing commercial activities, business activities, social activities, financial activities, entertainment activities and others together or with the dominancy of some activities. 'Center' as

metaphorically recalled as the 'heart' of the city is no longer serving mono-function within the complexity of the city. Within the literature, the word 'center' is compromising a generalized terminology for all activity nodes.

On the other hand, in the global arena, literal terminology for 'center' shows variety for each global city. Similar to the diverse structures of the cities, centers of the world finance network varies according to their urban and social structure, as well as terminology. Whether they are called "Downtown", "Centrum", "Central Business District-CBD", "Central Commercial District-CCD", "Core", the common notion of all is the intense activity of a city comprising a dominant node in city network. Within all these terminologies, considering the focus of the thesis, throughout this study the term 'central business district' will assist for defining 'center' which serves to global economy housing the main actors of finance.

In order to prevent some future confusion about the world terminology for CBD, the world literature is analyzed generally. Whereas in the literature of the United States the "downtown" is called as the commercial center, in the United Kingdom, Hong Kong, Ireland, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand the term "central business district" become the preferred term used in the literature and "city" as a shortened general term. The German terms "innenstadt" or "stadtmitte" are used instead of "central business district" having the literally translation as "inner-city" or "city-center". In some literature, "central commercial district" is also used for recalling the financial core of the city. Even there is several different terminologies for defining the financial center of the city, due to its common use by the well-known theorists like Sassen, Taylor, Ford and others, "central business district; CBD" is going to be used throughout this thesis.

2.2.2. Construction of the CBD as a Transnational Center

Considering the traditional pre-industrialist city, center did not function as today's central business district but rather contained a variety of mixed residential economic zones, in which people had lived and worked, according to their respective crafts (İnan, 2001). According to Walker, warehousing districts, wholesaling and the small-scale manufacturing assumed the dominant role in the creation of a distinctive central business district in the second half of the nineteenth century. In United States, a distinctive financial area within the central business district first appeared in New York and Boston in 1830s, as a consequence of being well developed trade capitals, and thereafter spread rapidly in all major cities by the turn of the century (Walker, 1981).

On the other hand, in traditional European pre-industrial cities, although there was not a distinctive CBD, whether residential or commercial, buildings of center were generating a more distinctive character from other parts of city, despite the fact that the homogeneity of the inner structure, with their size and quality. However, in late medieval Italy a distinctive building type came to break this homogeneity, which was the family towers that were essentially fortified family compounds, which served to protect the wares of competing trading organizations. However, these also served to create monumental skylines to produce a strong image to achieve success in such competition (İnan, 2001). Although its weak influence on the image development in other countries like United States, with this building typology, it is seen that emerging of new functional specializing styles rather than sticking into the residential style and creating a competitive arena sprouted on the new city center structure.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, central business districts in the United States grew rapidly but unevenly in many cities due to financial concentration. During

this period CBD was functioning as a mix of governmental, commercial, and financial center of the city with a uniform urban structure. Separate headquarters buildings and districts specializing in management and allied professional functions did not appear until the very end of the nineteenth century coincident with the rise of the modern corporation. Clusters of corporate and professional offices have since nestled close to those of banks and insurance companies in CBD (Walker, 1981). In the second half of the twentieth century, the city center was given over almost entirely to office functions, encompassing finance, management and professions which have preferred to be constructed in a separate center as central business district due to fulfill more specialized needs.

“financing services, which include FIRE activities (Finance, Insurance and Real-Estate), have a crucial importance for both urban economic and spatial growth due to capital, qualitative and quantitative of employment, which affect the capacity of other economic activities and urban functions” (Gökçe, 2008)

This urban specialization process of the central business districts gained much more importance during the contemporary globalization of the economy. New CBDs have gained more importance as a financial center and many professions preferred to create its entity in these districts owing to be in a close relation with the other professions. Today, in addition to the large corporation and the large commercial banks, new CBD creates also a marketplace with a multiplicity of advanced corporate service firms and nonbank financial institutions (Sassen, 2001). While playing an important part of the poly-central urbanization process, in fact new CBDs were in a more concentration process by receiving the main central functions of the global financial corporations which link to a transnational network.

According to Sassen, these central functions were not only the top-level headquarters but rather, all the top-level financial, legal accounting, managerial,

executive and planning functions necessary to run a corporate organization operating in more than one country and increasingly in several countries. She mentions that not only the global cities, which are mainly New York, Tokyo and London in her point of view, but also the high- developed countries are the point of concentration for the agglomerations of the firms producing central functions for the management and coordination of global economic (Sassen, 2002). In other words, the central functions, built mainly in the central business districts for the last few decades, are searching for the most suitable locations and prefer to settle in the global cities or the high-developed cities. Thus new CBDs are mainly located in global cities with their central functions of the global economy.

Considering the general characteristics, with a closer look to the central business districts, many cultural, economical, social and spatial features can be depicted. Despite the fact that these characteristics are displaying varieties all around the world, there are some in the literature that appeared to be the main features of CBDs. In these words, concentration, accessibility, decision making, and dense population can be seen as the main features of the area (Murphy, 1974, Sassen, 2002, Taylor, 2008). As it was mentioned before, although the fact of spreading the central functions due to the global economical trend and thus creating new nodes in the urban macro form, CBDs persisted in its entity of being the center for the financial activities. With this value they are not only the concentration nodes of the economy, but also control and image centers in the urban geography due to characteristics of built area which will be mentioned later.

In order to be the focus of concentration, accessibility plays an important role in the formation of CBDs. Accessibility is a crucial network problem between corporations located in the CBDs and the international arena and between the geographic center and its periphery. From this point of view, in order to link to the international arena, informational and communicational technologies are playing a

crucial role in the accessibility. On the other hand, as a geographical center, the selection of location is mainly made according to high accessibility through main paths of vehicle and other transportation networks. As it was mentioned before, functions housed in CBDs are usually the top-level headquarters and other top-level financial activities linked to the international arena. With this feature CBDs, which are well accessible through networks, appear as the main decision making centers. Considering the features of being the focus node, accessible through networks and the decision making center, CBDs actually serves for a vast arena. Within all these functions CBDs are observed as the most dense employment nodes considering their urban patterns.

According to central functions, the level of firms choosing to exist in the new CBD area and their dense capacity of employment functions, the land prices of district escalates continually. According to Scott and Rowies, this escalation of land prices results in two contradictory outcomes: an insistent intensification of land uses and, on the other hand, land hoarding.

By diminishing effective supply, land hoarding drives land prices still higher, producing even more intensification of land uses. Given that central business district firms tend to be highly labor intensive, land-use intensification soon results in some serious transport problems, such as overloaded transit systems congested central streets, a scarcity of parking facilities, and the like. Political pressures thus mount over the issue of inadequate downtown transport facilities, and this produces planning intervention in the form of improvements in service and capacity. These improvements augment the locational advantages of the central business district, and this leads to further increases in land prices and in land-use intensification. (Rowies and Scott, 1983)

Considering the increasing land prices, despite the fact that diverse political, economical, social and cultural features of different cities considering CBDs and again their diverse effect on the creation process of them, in general terms central business districts define a dynamic urban construction process. According to

Sassen, the management and servicing of global network of factories, service outlets and financial markets imposes specific forms on the spatial organization in the global cities. The vastness of the operation and the complexity of transactions, which require a vast array of specialized services lead to extremely high densities and at least for a period, extremely high agglomeration economies, as suggested by the rapid building of one high-rise office complex after another, extremely high land prices and sharp competition for land (Sassen, 2001). Even it is not appropriate for all, Ford draws a relevant framework for understanding the most significant processes in the creation of CBDs in terms of six-stage model; inception, exclusion, segregation, expansion, replication and redevelopment (Ford, 12-13, 1994).

According to Ford, in the first stage, inception is considered as the beginning of spatial place, where few if any, special business buildings are associated in it. In this stage, the relevant place is served for several mix-use functions. In the second stage exclusion occurs. Activities, which are not appropriate for CBD, are forced away by a combination of high rents, social pressure and architectural change. More specialized building typologies is started to be constructed in the area. In the third stage, segregation occurs with the development of CBD, where uses begin to sort themselves out on the basis of both rent and type of required interaction. Considering the changes in the area, and the growing employment density required for the built in functions the development of the CBD leads the fourth stage; expansion. Central business districts have usually needed to grow in area vertically or both. The replication stage may be reached, when the rise of expansion, considering the increasing power of location. The final stage of the creation process of central business districts is the redevelopment stage, where CBD relocates itself, due to the fact that lacking enough development space in the current region, through elsewhere in the city or even in suburban areas where the

preferred low rents and land values permits the new development (Ford, 12-13, 1994, İnan, 2001).

The dynamic urbanization process of central business districts also create a competitive arena between several CBDs owing to create a distinctive and attractive urban environment for the investments of the top level corporations. When we consider the competitive character of the urban structure of the new CBDs, the facts of being central and accessible remain compulsory but not prior for the attraction so new CBDs seek for another feature to achieve this need. Haila depicted that the content of the politics of the global city can be outlined as a belief that attracting investments, especially foreign and real estate investments represents a way out of the present recession. In order to attract investments, cities develop a strategy in which the creation of the image of the city has an important role (Haila, 1997). With a general analysis considering the high density of the area, high land values and the need for an attraction feature and specialized buildings concurrently the innovations in the building technologies, construction of the high-rise structures started to be linked to the central business districts. In this sense Sassen mentioned that the high-rise office complexes are the main outcome of this competitive and dense urban environment (Sassen, 2001).

While discussing the contemporary spatial patterns, Marcuse draws a similar outcome for the economic cities referring the high-rise offices. However, he interrogates the evolution of skyscrapers and following megaprojects according to their nature and causes;

Is the use of ever more sophisticated building technology to build higher and larger simply replacement of better technology replacing outdated technology, or is it determined by the symbolic desire to express power and social desire to insulate, withdraw and secure? (Marcuse, 2006)

In order to answer this question the current trend of global urban development should be examined. Given that they show the interconnected nature of real estate investment flows and politics of the global city, Haila points out four key features of contemporary urban development, concerning actors, their strategies, their decision making environment and the landscape produced. The first key trend she mentioned is the operation of global actors to create an international image for the city. She indicates that considering the predisposition of modern architecture and politics to the internationalism, jet set architects invited to global cities transplant their designs without consideration for locality and replace similar forms worldwide. Thus, the irony is created as while postmodern architecture searches for diversity, it promotes uniformity. The second global trend is the spread of similar methods of finance and construction which can be summarized by the method of shell and core construction in architecture as well as finance. The third trend is the foreign investments and integration of markets which defines the dependency of many cities to each other by their economy and the control power of them. Related to the question of Marcuse, the last trend which Haila indicates is the buildings as signs.

According to Haila, in the 1990s buildings were not just frameworks for activities like in the time of productive capitalism, nor the object of investment as in the casino economy but were built and purchased for another reason; sign value. According to this, she defines three types of buildings as signs; the trophy buildings, the exclusive buildings and the image buildings. Where the trophy buildings give name, fame and prestige to the owner, the purpose of the exclusive buildings is to segregate and exclude like shopping malls. On the other hand the purpose of image buildings is to create a favorable image for the city in order to attract foreign investors. Image buildings are landmark buildings that give the city the appearance of the global city (Haila, 1997).

Given that the contemporary global urbanization process is in a close relation with internationalism, finance and foreign investments are the key elements establishing the urban environment. They are not only the key actors for the financial development of the cities but also the image makers. As a focus node for these foreign investments and the global economy, today's central business districts are the main urban land reflecting the innovations and the trends of these determinative economic evolutions. Under the influence of financial facilities as if the creativity in advertising and the ability to follow the innovations in the technologies, mixed to the links to the global networks, new CBDs not only become the transnational finance centers but also the transnational image producing center for the global cities.

2.2.3. New CBDs in Global Network as Urban Centers

Considering the general tendencies of development as global centers, new central business districts are creating a global network. Within this global network, different new CBDs and their cities produce different levels of priorities according to their economical activities and sustainability of global activities in cities. According to Sassen, New York, London and Tokyo are the top level global cities in this network with the complexity of activities (Sassen, 2001). On the other hand, Taylor (2008) explicates that the pattern of the global city network is a dynamic form housing different levels of networks within other networks which considered various levels of participations of cities with their activities. Within this global network, dynamism of relations displays descending and ascending levels for cities such as Shanghai, and Johannesburg which are upgrading their levels due to their current activities.

On the other hand, considering the spatial values of new CBDs such as the architectural tendencies, high urbanization requirements, and dominance of private corporations on the spatial form, new CBDs provide a special and important urban value as a center within global cities. Since the aim of this thesis is to examine the public space production in İstanbul new central business district case and focus on the effects of planning process and strategies in its development by learning from world examples, the cities of Paris, Berlin and Singapore as chosen for their similarities of planning approaches and notable urban image production as the outcome within diverse economic and political conditions. These cities are not only leading urban examples for such an urban form but can also be considered in a close range of economical global city network serving similar sort of economic activities (Taylor, 2008) in general terms, which may help the reader to create a mental connection in terms of the density of global activities in all four cities.

CHAPTER 3

AN OVERVIEW OF WORLD-WIDE CBDs AND THEIR URBAN DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

3.1. Strategic New CBD Occurrences in Worldwide Region; Paris, Berlin, Singapore cases

As the trend of “contemporary globalization” is spreading to the cities and affecting their urbanization processes, the international corporations, the main actors of the global capital, are locating their main functions at the global cities in which they create their infrastructural and promotional backgrounds while their other functions located to the other cities. In this way, world cities are under a simultaneous dual development of globalization and localization. New central business districts of global cities are the main locations reflecting these developments in the world economy and politics and their competitive values.

In this central part of city, as well as the world, globalization solidifies its effects via architectural and urban values. New CBDs are not only housing the main actors of the global world, but also creating a sign value in order to provide their demands of infrastructure, and advertisement. As it was mentioned in the second chapter, cramped high-rises or skyscrapers, trophy buildings, designs of jet set architects are producing the environment of central business districts incorporating for an image production of individual international corporations as well as cities hosting the new CBDs. So that, while the architectural works designed and used in the urban area of new CBDs are solidifying the sign value of its functions, they

also highlights the competitive development of national and international business arena via eye-catching designs.

Although the common goal of creating a prestige area, the urban development strategies of central business districts show diversities but also similarities between different world city cases due to diverse development time periods, different legalities, backgrounds and historical, political, social, cultural issues in different countries. Through the following cases, it is analyzed how the diversities and the similarities of different urban processes do affect the urban area. Three different cases; Paris, Berlin and Singapore, which all have similar planning approaches and notable urban outcomes with their image and space production, and infrastructure, are analyzed for their diverse strategies of CBD development in order to form a general outline and a comparative background for the further analysis in the case of Turkey.

In the first case; in Paris, the development of central business district is presenting a long-term process reflecting the city's economic evolution, and provides a pre-organized, capable to modified urban area according to the necessities during different time periods through the century. In the second case; Berlin generates an extraordinary and recent example of short-term popping project to catch the global attention again, and provides to exemplify the importance of promotional aspects for central business districts. In the third case; Singapore, which is an East Asian example formulating its long-term governmental status by the global economy, exemplifies the strong emphasis of planned urban redevelopment strategies for its CBD and the New Downtown due to its restricted urban land. The common point of these cities is the aim to produce a well unified urban area, not just singular isolated eye-catching objects, as a focus of international and national business attraction and as a center for the public answering the demands of the environmental quality as well.

3.1.1. Paris; a long-term CBD development process

Although some seesaw periods were experienced in history, throughout the last few centuries, Paris was constantly a leading country in the West Europe with its governmental powers and economy. Confronting the contradictions of being a pioneer city in the world, Paris welcomed the headquarter functions and service firms of leading corporations of the world as well as massive migrations with a dense urban transformation demand. However, the decision makers in Paris took the control of the urban development of global financial functions from the beginning, and have strictly observed and planned its different phases until now. To preserve the historical quality of the old city core, which is seen as being threatened by the dense demographic and physical development of the old city core, can be defined as one of the reasons for this planning system.

The financial core of today's Paris, La Defense, was established under influences of upcoming concerns for the historical core and opportunities for a strong future position in the global economy. For the development of the central business district of Paris in its long history, alternative master plans were created in different time periods according to the economical facts and needs of the city. The master plans of the Paris CBD concerned not only the physical needs of finance sector but also the advertising fact in the global arena and the public needs. With its 3.5 million m² office stock in 750 hectare area, La Defense constitutes the largest and the most organized central business district in the Western Europe (Erdoğan, 2004). Considering Haila's theory for the contemporary trend of urban development which is buildings as signs(Haila, 1997), with its trophy building; the Grand Arch, with its image buildings; the towers, and with the designs of jet set architects, La Defense created a significant contemporary urbanization of CBD in

Europe. In the recent time, La Defense still constitutes an example of ever-changing urban pattern with its future plans.

3.1.1.1. The selection of location for the new CBD of Paris

La Défense was at the end of the main axis of development which is followed by the Arc de Triomphe, continues along the Champs-Elysees to the obelisk on the Place de la Concorde, and passes over the Tuileries gardens to end with the Louvre's Cour Carree located on the northern coast of the Seine.

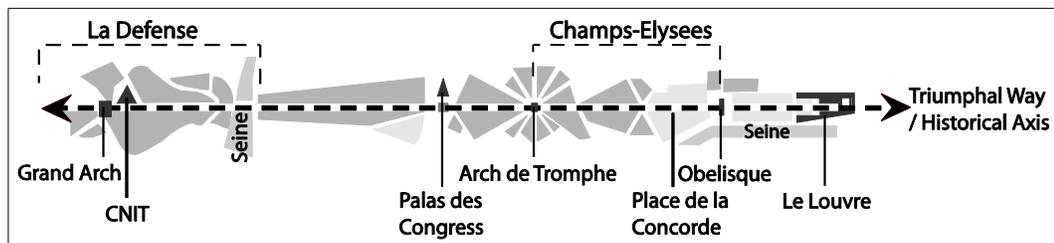


Figure 3-1 Triumphal Way – Paris

As the central business district of Paris, the urban development of La Défense, which began by the end of the First World War, illustrates an earlier attempt within other global cities. Although the area's main outlines were drawn in the years between 1958 and 1964, some attempts for urban image producing had been started in 1930s. After the end of the First World War, due to the idea of creating an axis, Triumphal Way, from the Arc de Triomphe at the Etoile to La Défense and create a connection between new development and the historic axis, many plans considering endless rows of skyscrapers with modernist style were submitted by well-known architects as Le Corbusier and August Perret. However, these plans

were not realized due to the Great Depression in 1930 (Erdoğan, 2004). In 1931 though, a regional planning competition was established in the area with intent of limiting the height of the buildings along the Triumphal Way except the end of the avenue, at La Défense, where high-rise towers were allowed. Although none of the entries were realized since lack of funding, the end products were encouraging the idea of a new central business district within the region (İnan, 2001).



Figure 3-2 Plan voisin for Paris by Le Corbusier in 1925

Except its strategic position on the Triumphal Way, the historic axis of Paris, nothing predisposed the area of La Défense to welcome the future business district. Dilapidated detached houses, small factories, connected with mechanical engineering and automobile industry, were placed next to shanty towns and some farms. However, in 1956, the growing density of the old city center let the

government take a decision of spreading the dense city functions to the periphery lands. Under the influence of the former studies in the area, La Defense began to take its shape as the central business district of Paris.

3.1.1.2. The foundation of the Decision Making Office; EPAD

After the location for the new central business district of Paris was determined, before any start of planning and construction in the area, in 1958 a special decision making agency, EPAD (*l'Établissement Public Pour d'Aménagement de La Défense*) came in charge in order to prepare the site for development. Economists, urban planners, governmental and communication managers have taken part in the operations of this decision making office, so that the foundation of the EPAD has served for a deliberate urban development in the area. Another main strength of the EPAD was the hierarchical system of its studies in the area: acquisition of grounds, expropriations and rehousing (EPAD, 2008). Until today EPAD owned and rehoused more than 9000 domicile in the area (Erdoğan, 2004). Not only the main planning principles were drawn by EPAD, but also as a long term development operation, giving approvals to new constructions considering the master plans and image proposals and the management, maintenance and sales in the site were under the duty of EPAD.

3.1.1.3. The initial decisions of the urban development of La Defense

The foundation of EPAD allowed the planning of La Defense to be made on the one hand, so that an effective and rapid decision making mechanism was created. The given authority to EPAD for the expropriation of lands let planners take the project site as one whole land instead of connected pieces of several lots. After the

expropriations, the main planning principals for the urban development area began to be drawn. As the first mission the functional needs of finance were judged, so that the initial plan principals were created in order to fulfill these needs. This was followed by the main design principles for the project area. The planners wanted to achieve a pedestrian friendly urban design, so that they separated the traffic of pedestrians and the vehicles (EPAD, 2008). Therefore, they designed a vast central public *esplanade* as a linear continuation of the Triumphal Way through La Defense, and a public inner circulation in-between the structures linked to this esplanade. The vehicular transportation, on the other hand, was designed as an outer network connected to the structures either from this secluded side or from basement levels. So, the idea of partitioned networks for vehicle and pedestrian traffic was created with the very first principals of the project area.

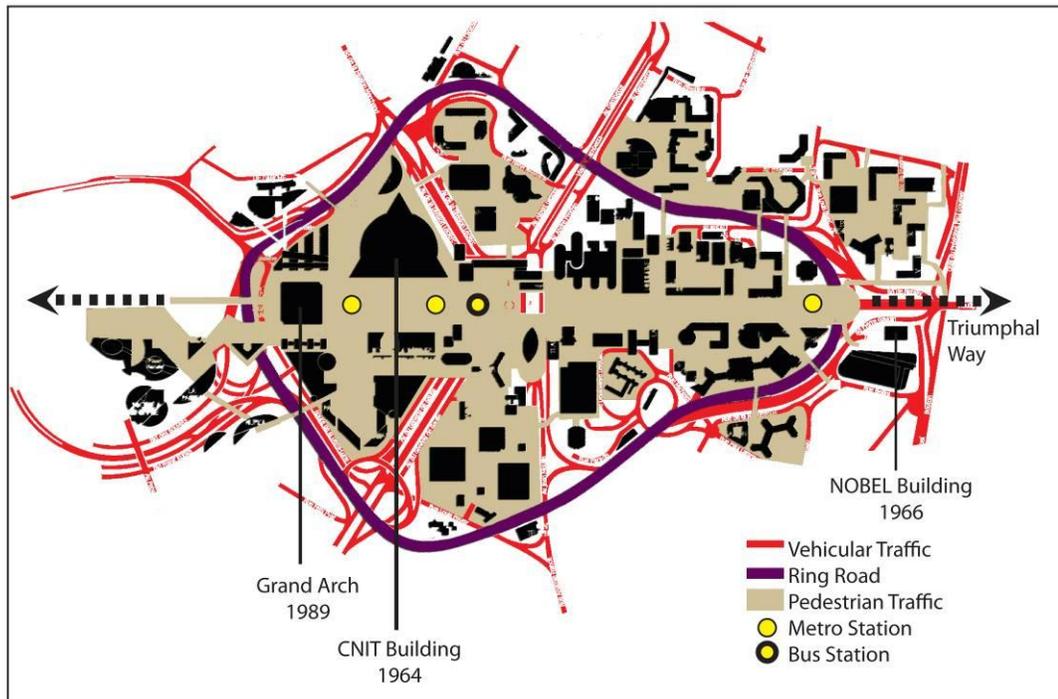


Figure 3-3 Plan of La Defense

Considering these principles, in 1964, the first master plan was adopted for the district in which 850 000 m² of the offices were planned in identical size limited with 100m high on both sides of a vast public esplanade (EPAD, 2008).

3.1.1.4. The construction period

La Defense have been under the construction since 1960s and during this long period of time, according to the several governmental and economical crisis, and the changing requirements for execution and selling have caused demands for several new master plans in the construction site in different periods. The first master plan was made in 1964 especially focusing on the height limits of the towers.



Figure 3-4 CNIT Building - La Defense

Within this period, CNIT, the National Center of the Industries and Techniques, with its spectacular vault was the first structure constructed and opened to public in the district. According to the master plan, the first towers built in the area were

designed for both office and public uses in order to create a balance for the public use in the area. NOBEL, constructed in 1966 was the first tower built in the site. Since it didn't allow architectural variety and answer the new demands of companies, soon the first master plan reached its limits (EPAD, 2008).

In the beginning of the 1970s, a deep economic development accelerated in France with expansion of service sector, so certain needs were aroused. EPAD gave a start of the second master plan to answer the demands with 1.5 million m² offices and to improve the financial balance. Therefore, the development on the zone B, the district of the Park in Nanterre, took its shape with several housing and office units in 1972. New towers were constructed and the esplanade progressed. However, in order to avoid violating the Parisian eye and to prevent the district to become the focus of an image contesting area, the proposals of towers were studied by the EPAD considering the harmony (EPAD, 2008).

In 1973, the economic crisis and the following oil crises affected the district and ceased the construction of the site. Considering the whole region, until 1977, with its large amount of offices remained empty, La Defense was in the worst condition affected by the crisis. However, by new restrictions for construction and regulations for high taxes in the Paris city region, the development of La Defense as a central business district was encouraged by the Ministry of Paris (EPAD, 2008).

In 1978, the construction in the area restarted by the third generation of office units and the freeway, A14, running behind the office blocks separated from the pedestrian traffic. The well organized infrastructure of La Defense was one of the most important special reasons attracting the investors to the site. The new towers of this period were designed as energy saving structures with revolutionary new

technologies in office automation. In 1981, the largest shopping center of Europe in that period, Quatre Temps was opened in the construction site (EPAD, 2008).

In 20 years of construction, the esplanade prolonged as an extension of the Triumphal Way. EPAD, decided to finalize the esplanade with a triumphal structure, as Haila's theory about for the contemporary urban development (Haila, 1997), thus in order to find the design, in 1982, an international competition was established. With its iconic image of a cubic arch, Johan Otto Van Spreckelsen's winning design, the Grand Arch, created the future symbol of the business district. During the following years, the employment in the district was doubled from 51 700 employees in 1982 to 104 000 employees in 1990. The variety of the functions except the global financial uses built in the area during these years, such as shopping center, hotels, exhibition areas and structures, real estate housing units, open public spaces kept the space with a spectrum of rich activities. In 1986, the construction carried on by 2 080 000 m² of office area among which 295 000 m² was built for the car parking. In 1992, transport to the district improved by the arrival of the line 1 of the subway (EPAD, 2008).



Figure 3-5 La Defense in 2005

Within a very short time, under the organization of EPAD, hundreds of business organizations came to La Defense to build in it, buy up its towers, or rent space in its buildings. Supported by large banks (Credit Lyonnais) and insurance companies (Union d'Assurance), developers submitted their bids for construction rights. Large corporations soon followed, to buy up the towers or rent space in them (Savitch, 1988, pp. 150-151)

After 1992, EPAD did not sell any more land for a few years; however, the new constructions in the land did not stop and the image of the business district continued to improve with new structures of leading architects and their new users. The infrastructure of the broadband internet was constructed all around the area. In 2000s, in order to control the increasing traffic in the district, a fundamental infrastructural change was operated in the site by the construction of an urban ring boulevard.

3.1.1.5. Spectacular public events in the CBD

During the construction of La Defense, EPAD respected not only the investors of global economy but also the public use to produce an area living for twenty-four hours. The public attraction through events, and media was also used as an advertisement for the investors' attraction. It may be considered as the reason of the construction of CNIT building, which serves as an exhibition and conference structure, as the first structure in such central business district. In order to achieve the public attention and highlight the CBD as a part of the city, many cultural activities such as exhibitions of well-known artists like Calder and Caesar, music festivals, and wind festivals were carried on in the district. In July 1989, the opening ceremony of the Grand Arch, as the trophy building of La Defense, introduced the image of La Defense to the international arena via televisions and newspapers, which also resulted by touristic attention to the district. In the same

year, a great performance with two million spectators was organized along the axis between the Triumphal Arch and the Grand Arch (EPAD, 2008).

3.1.1.6. The future plans for La Defense

From the start of planning in 1960s until now, the construction of new structures in La Defense is an ongoing but decelerating process shifting to the renovations of the already existing structures. Against obsolescence factor of the district, in 2005, a future plan is created by the EPAD in acquaintance of government. The studies of future towers show that the EPAD's attitude towards the height limits is altering. Construction of new office towers, housing units, renovation of the Ring Boulevard, and public transportation are some aims of the future plan to achieve a sustainable development. Within the new plan 450 000 m² new office area and 100 000 m² housing units will be constructed in 850 000 m² surface land (EPAD, 2008).



Figure 3-6 Future image of La Defense

The strict initial decisions of the government to send the business center outside of the old city center and to create a decision making organization, the EPAD, before the start of construction phase, allowed the new business area to be developed as well organized and fulfill both the needs of the economical activities in Paris and the public activities to link the district to the city network. With its total area and the number of the employees, La Defense became the largest central business district in the whole Europe. Although it is discussed a lot, not only its physical structure but also its functional uses have exemplifying character for other grand projects and business areas. Owing to the EPAD, the infrastructure, functional needs and the image of the district did not show any violent haphazard evolution affected by the rapid development of the global economy. Considering these facts, with a close historical background, the CBD became a twenty-four hour living district by serving not only business activities but also activities for public as well. With this premeditated dual function La Defense functions both as a center for the global economy as well as for the city Paris.

3.1.2. Berlin; process of regaining significance in global arena

Berlin is not a casual city which can be discussed as a global city due to the fact of being divided and affected in a severe way due to this division after the Second World War. The development of global capital in economy and its reflections on the city has a very close history as just a few decades. With this value, Berlin becomes a distinct example with its reverse development strategies in order to turn into a global city by creating its central business district not due to the demands of global investors but instead to attract their attention.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, the city had lost its significance as a major center in the Europe and became the place of confrontation

of the Cold War. As Lehrer mentions, Berlin, which previously assured of its national and international importance between West and East, had to deal with “the crumbling dividing line”, which had physically and militarily separated the city’s communities (Lehrer, 2006). The first reaction to catch up the city’s old days, the decision and image makers chose to depend on globalization and cultural attractions for the reunified city.

When leaders within the government and the business community of Berlin promoted images of the future, their shared vision was that Berlin would become a major player within the global economy, a world city, a service metropolis, a bridge between East and West, and the old/new capital city of the reunified Germany (Lehrer, 2006, pp. 333).

In order to achieve their goals and become a significant player on a global stage, the governance of the city held on to mega cultural events and “Europe’s largest construction site” Potsdamer Platz (Lehrer, 2006).

3.1.2.1. The location selection of the future CBD of Berlin

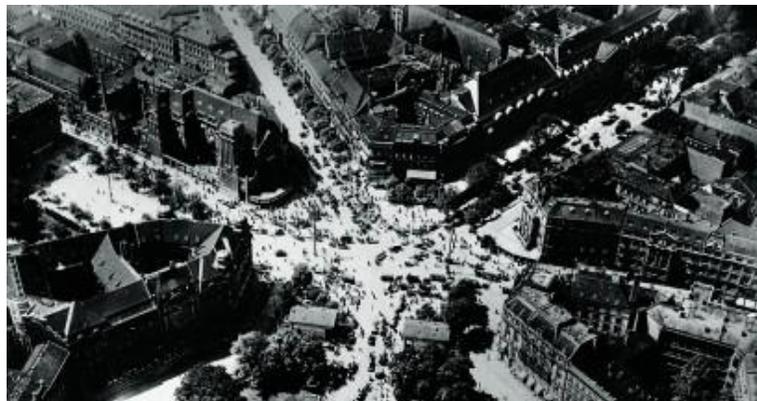


Figure 3-7 Potsdamer Platz before the World War

“Potsdamer Platz was one of Berlin's most important squares before the War: not very beautiful, either in urban form or architecture, but full of life, trams and traffic, always changing” (Davey, 1998). In 1920s, Potsdamer Platz was the busiest square in Europe, with S-Bahn and U-Bahn urban railways, 26 tramlines and 5 bus routes passing through it. The first traffic lights in Europe, the pentagonal traffic tower erected at Potsdamer Platz in 1924, became a symbol of Berlin as a progressive metropolis. On the other hand, Potsdamer Platz was a center for bourgeois amusement, in addition to its grand hotels and the high-society life with balls and receptions.¹



Figure 3-8 Potsdamer Platz in 1963

However, in the Second World War, Potsdamer Platz was almost completely destroyed. Only the old ‘Weinhaus Huth’ and the ruins of ‘Hotel Esplanade’ survived after the postwar period. “The uprising of June 17, 1953 and the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 brought Potsdamer Platz to the focus of temporary

¹ <http://www.potsdamerplatz.de/en/history.html>

public attention once again.²” When the Berlin Wall constructed, it ran straight through Potsdamer Platz, cutting the transportation system as well as the city into two. “For decades, the square was little more than a forgotten wasteland”.³

Considering its historical evolution and the changing values according to the diverse political phases of Berlin, Potsdamer Platz was remained as a symbolic center of Berlin. After demolishing the Wall, in reunited Germany, it was obvious that a new Potsdamer Platz would have to be created as a center and a symbol of the rebirth of the city and nation.

The dominant forces behind the development schemes of Berlin believed that a transformation of the built environment was one of this end; hence, architecture was supposed to work as the catalyst for Berlin’s quest for a new identity as global city (Lehrer, 2006, pp. 333).

3.1.2.2. Berlin’s Senate of Urban Development Department; a dual power debate over Potsdamer

The post-war division of Germany was reflecting the duality of political ideas for the future of Germany. In 1990s, when reunification occurred, Berlin remained as the focus of the opposing ideas for the architecture and political future of the city. When the Red-Green coalition of ‘Social Democratic Party (SDP)’ and ‘Alternative Liste (AL)’ of the West Berlin Senate began to disintegrate by the victory of SPD in 1990 elections of East Berlin Senate, the public differences designate itself in the future policies of Berlin.

The differences within the regime were focused on the Department of Urban Development and Environmental Protection which was the responsibility of

² <http://www.potsdamerplatz.de/en/history.html>

³ Ibid.

the AL Senator. Since 1981 the Senate had divided the responsibility for Berlin's built environment between the Senator for Urban Development and the Senator for Building. Their respective responsibilities seem not to have been precisely demarcated, although generally speaking the Senator for Urban Development was responsible for general urban policy, the Senator for Building for specific architectural projects (Caygill, 1997, pp. 39).

After the reunification, suddenly the Senator of the Urban Development gained a significant role building the city's urban future. However, the debate over the different political visions of AL, which was "grassroots democracy, local accountability and sensitivity to the environment", and SPD, which "quickly rediscovered the corporatist style of decision making" turned into a systematic sabotaging to each other (Caygill, 1997). Within this political conflict, in order to institute a democratic debate on future of Potsdamer Platz the Senate decided to establish a competition in the area. However, despite the competitions, this dual debate on the decision making continued during the construction of the area.

3.1.2.3. The Redevelopment of Potsdamer Platz; "Europe's largest construction site"

As it was mentioned in the second chapter, according to Haila, in the 1990s, buildings were not just frameworks for activities but built and purchased for another reason; sign value. Within the framework of this value of architecture, she mentions about the image buildings aiming to create a favorable image for the city in order to attract foreign investors and becoming landmarks that give the city the appearance of the global city (Haila, 1997). Considering this theory, the importance given to the architecture in Berlin can be seen as a reasonable approach to redesign the future of the city in the global arena.

In the light of the conflicts of dual policy over the urban development in addition to the dreams of a Berlin significant in the global network, the Senate in 1990 held a competition for the whole site south of the Tiergarten, east of the library and west of Leipziger Platz. The draft selected was submitted by Hilmer and Sattler with a street grid closely oriented towards the historical layout. In the meantime Daimler-Benz announced their extended ownership in nearby of the Potsdamer Platz in which they wanted to locate their service sector that would bring 8000 jobs to Berlin (Caygill, 1997). The design of Hilmer and Sattler was including the DaimlerChrysler district: a block layout with 35 meters eaves height, accentuated by higher buildings along the Landwehr Canal. However, in 1991, the owners of the sites within the redevelopment area, Daimler Benz and Sony, assigned Richard Rogers to design a counter master plan. Due to the critiques over the purpose of urban development in the Potsdamer Platz, whether to find the best solution for the future of Berlin or for the investors, the Senate turned the proposal down, but asked Hilmer and Sattler to incorporate some of Rogers' ideas, particularly natural ventilation and lighting of the buildings, into the master plan (Davey, 1998).

Considering the theory of Haila, regarding the operation of global actors to create an international image of the city as one of the trends of contemporary urban development (Haila, 1997), an attempt to use a worldwide known architect is another strategy to achieve the goal of regaining the city's old power in the international arena. Regarding the general planning regulations of Hilmer & Sattler's master plan, each landowner held further competitions for their ownerships. First prize for the area of Daimler Benz was the design of Renzo Piano, co-working with Christoph Kohlbecker, and the winner of the Sony area was Helmut Jahn. Considering the master plan of Hilmer and Sattler "Both Piano and Jahn have made significant variations: most obviously, much taller tapering towers on the Platz and some revisions of the street pattern" (Davey, 1999).

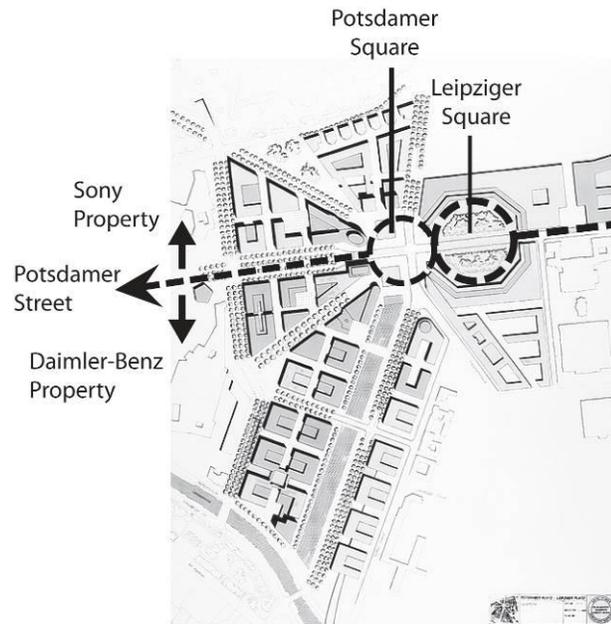


Figure 3-9 Master plan of Hilmer and Sattler

As a fundamental problem, the master plan of Hilmer & Sattler was only defining the special pattern but not giving a functional description. Therefore, the initiatives of the functional organization for the project area were taken by the landowners. “The developers are committed to making a chunk of city with uses based on those of the Platz in the '20s; it combines offices, shops, hotels, restaurants, cafes, flats and (very conspicuously) entertainment ” (Davey, 1999).

Two main landowners, Daimler-Benz and Sony, and their two architects prepared distinctively different proposals for their project sites; the glass Sony Center forms an attractive contrast to the stone, terra-cotta architecture of the Daimler district. However, even large squares, and parks were designed with the pedestrian priority in two of the projects, still according to some critiques (Davey 1999, et.al.) both developments were designed as heavily oriented inwards. The New Potsdamer Street is more a border between the plots of land than a main urban artery.



Figure 3-10 Potsdamer Platz in 2000s

The building, more than anywhere else in the complex, justifies Heinrich Wefing's fear that 'all around New Potsdamer Platz, I would think, there will be no nutters nor tarts. Graffiti, if any, will only be seen as exhibition pieces inside the galleries'. In other words, the public realm will be privatized and controlled by big corporations, and deviant non-consumers will not be allowed in the streets....So far, the place seems to work, and have a chance of becoming a real piece of city (Davey, 1999)

In 1998, Sony Center started to construct an extreme steel roof covering the structures of the Sony area and producing an inner semi-closed square. The roof with its spectacular size and design constituted the trophy structure of the whole project area.

3.1.2.4. Spectacular public events

An important strategy of Senate of Berlin was to create a mega-event to attract the international spectators. During the construction period, they had promoted the project area as “Europe’s largest construction site” and had produced many cultural events and advertorial events. These events were not only to attract the

international attention to Berlin but also to produce an acceptance by the inhabitants of Berlin against this brand new district which has no ties from the history of Berlin and criticized most for this fact. Throughout the construction, the Senate of Berlin tried to bring together the inhabitants of the city and the site.



Figure 3-11 Construction of Potsdamer Platz

Therefore, the construction of a temporary building as an ‘Info Box’ with its building scale, bright red metal facade and elevated position was not just for regular information purposes but also an attempt of the marketing strategies for image production creating a constant public recognition by both national and international spectators. Exhibitions, concerts, sightseeing activities organized in the site were constantly keeping the public attention during the construction period.

3.1.2.5. Scaling down the dreams of global future

Although the intent of creating a new central business district around the new Potsdamer Platz serving to the global corporations, and regaining a significant value as a reunified city in the international arena, due to the diverse political conflicts over the urban development of the area resulted as a divided urban land with different architectural policies with respectful attempts towards the general master plan and covering basically mix-use functions with the dominancy of entertainment sector.

Today, the DaimlerChrysler district is announced as the inner city district and one of the Europe's biggest private-sector urban construction projects. The district is accommodating 10,000 jobs, and its varied facilities are used by between 70,000 and 100,000 people every day in the area containing 19 buildings, 10 streets and two plazas, and have a total floor space of 500,000 square meters.⁴ However, contrary to the initial intents, the district is constantly losing its economical value. According to news in December of 2007, Daimler intended to sell its property to another corporation. However, the offered price of the property is almost the half of the pre-constructed land which shows the decrease of the land values.⁵ Considering this decline, for today, the intention of economically the global city status is only remained as a "willing" for Berlin, but Potsdamer Platz become the focus point of the international cultural activities by hosting famous film festivals, exhibitions, concerts and etc.

Berlin had put itself on the map of global cultural spectacle once again. However, much to the disappointment of local boosters and investors, economic development and demographic expansion did not quite come along in the same way. And this despite concerted efforts by many among the city's

⁴ http://www.potsdamerplatz.de/en/daimlerchrysler_quartier_potsdamer_platz/usage_mix.html

⁵ <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,523434,00.html>

decision-makers to “will” the global city and “channel” the global. Blueprints of the global city were scaled down to the realities of the capital city, which had become Berlin’s official function from 1998 on (Lehrer, 2006, pp. 333).

3.1.3. Singapore; a governmental urban renewal

Singapore with its close history of foundation and size limitations as a state is a unique example in the global city network. The country was a trading post of the British supporting mainly the predominant trading interests until its independence, in 1965. After having its independence, although the useful networks remained from the trade based background, in order to secure the economic future it was decided to improve the state’s industry.

While organizing this economic strategy, new institutional structures were needed to facilitate, develop and control the foreign direct investment, such as the Development Bank of Singapore and the Jurong Town Corporation that provided the infrastructure requirements. One of the most important bodies was the Economic Development Board (EDB), an arm of government that developed strategies to induce potential investors. So from this early period the Singapore government was actively involved in city promotion. The interventionist stance continued through the 1970s with the EDB continuing to ‘play an important role in the ongoing adjustments of the Singapore economy to niches and opportunities in global capitalism’ (Chua, 1998, p.983).

The limits on the size of the work force and the restricted land area made the government realize that it was becoming increasingly uncompetitive in labor intensive industry. An economic committee was established which decided that Singapore should focus on developing as a service centre and seek to attract company headquarters to serve South East Asia, develop tourism, banking, and offshore-based activities (Chua, 1998). The already over-populated Singapore with its 1,445,929 inhabitants in 1957 was showing an increasing tendency of slum development (Luck, 2004). Considering the facts, an urban renewal strategy was drawn.

From the late 1960s, the Singapore central business district and financial center 'Golden Shoe' were rapidly developed along the waterfront and Shenton Way under the urban renewal program. Almost 3 million square meter of downtown office space was formed over the subsequent four decades. However, in 1990s, due to the increasing demand of office spaces and some urban problems of the Golden Shoe CBD; which are mainly due to the mono-functional reasons, the development and planning of a new 'downtown' is started. "Thus the economic development of Singapore has been very consciously planned and the latest strategy is very clearly oriented to establishing Singapore as a 'world city'" (Thornley, 1999).

3.1.3.1. The location selection for the future CBD of Singapore

In the years of Singapore serving as a trading port, Chinese, Arabic and European traders and workers migrated to the island. The city became congested with people who lived in overcrowded shop-houses with limited spaces. The shop-houses were under rent control which made the owners reluctant to repair any poor conditions so that they deteriorated and became slums. In the 1950s, the entire central area of Singapore was demanding an urban redevelopment. Therefore, these areas were identified in the 1958 Master Plan as from the Singapore River northeast to Kallang Basin and south to Keppel Road. Within this master plan, the core of Singapore is seen evolving around the river mouth in which the south as the commercial area and the north as the administrative and cultural precinct (Yuen, 1998).

Therefore, the land requirements for the service sector orientation had already been prepared in the early 1970s when the government had already realized that it

lacked the banking infrastructure for a modern economy. A new banking and corporate district known as the ‘Golden Shoe’ was planned incorporating the historic commercial area which is housing all the major companies and various government financial agencies. (Thornley, 1999)

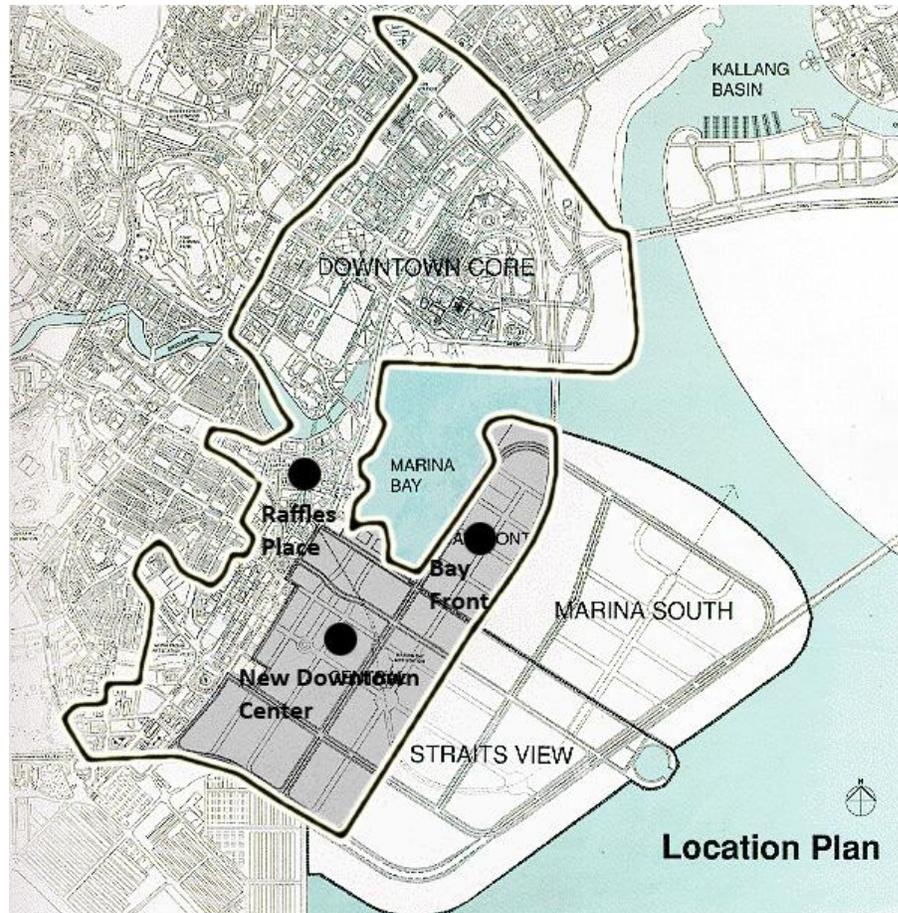


Figure 3-12 Singapore Plan

However, due to the demands of enlargement and balancing the already existing office functions with mix-use functions, in 1990s a ‘New Downtown’ plan had evolved. The new development area is focusing on the Marina Bay, which is an

urban progression of already existing central business district through its South and strengthening relations of financial core with the Bay.

3.1.3.2. Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA)

In conclusion of his comprehensive study on urban planning in Singapore, Ole Johan Dale observes that the limited land area has necessitated careful planning and use of land. It has also made land a valuable asset. The limited land space in Singapore sets boundaries for what can be achieved, and affects the evaluation of options in urban planning (Luck, 2004, pp. 113).

In the beginning of 1970s according to Yuen, a UN team with a ‘lands and legal’ expert, an architect planner and a traffic economist studied by a Singapore team and produced a sketch plan for central area redevelopment from which detailed plans could later be developed. The first concept plan was followed by land acquisition, capital investment, housing construction and resettlement, and redeployment of employment facilities (Yuen, 1998).

On the other hand, in order to develop projects against the increasing slum areas, and meet to the challenges of economic development by an urban center, in 1964, the Urban Renewal Unit was formed within the Housing and Development Board (HDB), and then it turned to be the Urban Renewal Department (URD) in 1966. However, the task facing the URD was so immense that it soon became obvious that just one department within the HDB was not capable of organizing the effort necessary to redevelop the Central Area. On 1st April 1974, the department was turned into an independent statutory body under the Ministry of National Development, which was the Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA).⁶

⁶ <http://www.ura.gov.sg/about/ura-history.htm>

However, the URA was not considering the urban conservation in its redevelopment program but only the development of the center. Its role was to prepare a master plan for redevelopment of the center, clear the slums, assemble and develop the land with the requisite infrastructure, and provide necessary guidelines to achieve planning and urban design objectives, and then release the land. “Through this program, Singapore's Central Area was transformed from an area of slums and squatters into a modern financial and business hub.”⁷

In 1989, the URA merged with the Planning Department and Research and Statistic Unit of the Ministry of National Development, and a new URA emerged. It became the national planning and conservation authority, with greatly expanded resources to guide the physical development of Singapore into the year 2000 and beyond. “This thrust was reflected in its new slogan, ‘Towards a Tropical City of Excellence.’”⁸

In 1990s, in order to control the development of the New Downtown, a special agency was established under URA, Marina Bay Development Agency. The mission of the development agency is to develop the master plan of land and water facilities; coordinate planning and implementation of infrastructure; land sales; events and activities programming; marketing and place management.⁹

3.1.3.3. Initial Decisions for Redevelopment of the Financial Cores

Luck explicates two main factors generating the priorities of urban redevelopment authority in his article, 2004. The first factor was the strategic constraint in the

⁷ <http://www.ura.gov.sg/about/ura-history.htm>

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

available land area. The second factor was the necessity of commercial development in the first place within the limitations of space, and if the needs were satisfied, than the other functions would be afforded (Luck, 2004).

In the first Concept Plan, it was proposed that a Mass Rapid Transit (MRT) system would connect the center and the other population nodes. The office-oriented development of Shenton Way CBD since the late 1960s is a clear example of functional planning, in which profitability, land use optimization and independently operating institutions and corporations are reflected in a planning of isolated object-like building design, intensive development and high-rise urban form. The principles of efficient layout, road circulation and parking dominated at the expense of pedestrian environment. The consequences of this type of functional planning and its high price resulted in a very exclusive CBD. After office hours, the urban downtown areas have become a deserted and dead urban environment (Yang, 2005).

Therefore, the 'New Downtown', Marina Bay was designed housing mix-use functions in order to create a twenty four hours living urban system. Another main principle for the New Downtown was to achieve "maximum pedestrian traffic and minimum vehicular congestion" (Yang, 2005). Therefore, different types of transportation were planned next to, under or at the edge of the development. In order to separate the vehicular and pedestrian traffic and encourage the district-wide pedestrian movements, vehicular traffic was restricted at the edge of the district by car parks. Pedestrian traffic is designed through the basement and the second floor where a cooling system will be implemented for all weather comfort.

An approach towards a more sustainable downtown urban form was proposed by the urban design studio through a few design strategies: the car restricted zone, campus downtown space, finer-grain urban fabric, small business and small scale development, a rich mix of land use, the emphasis

on streetscape rather than large-scale open space, releasing the control of spaces and the decentralization of ownership, small and incremental development process rather than a one shot development with big parcel and big money (Yang, 2005).

Whether in the development plan of 1960s central business district or the former developments like the New Downtown proposal in 1996 or 2003, the initial decisions of Urban Redevelopment Authority have exemplified not only the emphasis on financial development as an urban form, but also the emphasis on pedestrian friendly urban environment.

3.1.3.4. “From Central Business District to Downtown”; Marina Bay

Considering the initial governmental decisions of being a financial service center of the South East Asia, Singapore focused on to developing its central business district, Golden Shoe, from the late 1960s. The CBD mainly developed along the Shenton Way and the waterfront.

From 1979 to 1982, the URA prepared about 10 hectares of land predominantly for office development. These projects, on completion, were to supply a total of 284,000 square meters of office floor space. However, in 1980, a critical shortage of prime office space had forecasted, which was predicted as 200,000 to 500,000 m² by various consultancy firms. Therefore, by 1982, the needed office space and office rental space had been constructed as an addition. However, the real estate firms were projecting an oversupply of office space over the next few years by 1983 (Luck, 2004).



Figure 3-13 The Golden Shoe- Singapore

Until the late 1990s, almost 3 million m² downtown office space was constructed. The CBD became an international financial center where most of the headquarters' offices, major local and international banks, stock brokers' companies, law firms, accountants and management consultants are located, including the largest foreign exchange market in the world. According to Chua, "the incremental shaping of the towering urban skyline responds to the rising position of Singapore city in the expanding international economy, and its increasingly important role in regional finance, industry and port services" (Chua, 1989).

However, due to focusing merely the office functions in the central area and being clearly separated from the housing facilities, which are decentralized around the island, the Golden Shoe central business district became a deserted urban center after the office hours. In 1996, the government proposed a 'New Downtown' to be located on the reclaimed land of Marina South with the policy intention of creating

an environment combining work, leisure and living in a single location serving not only for corporate profitability but also for tourism and consumption unlike the mono-functional design of Shenton Way. Planned as an extension of the existing Shenton Way CBD area, the Singapore New Downtown was planned to provide about 3 million m² of office space, which almost doubled the size of the current CBD (Yang, 2005).

The New Downtown site was significant for the extent of integrated planning. It includes three new pedestrian systems; an underground walkway/mall, a traveller corridor and a through-block link at second storey level forming a wider pedestrian network connected to public transportation which will cover the whole New Downtown and connect all developments together. Another significant system developed for the site is a multi-level hub car-park. Connected to the pedestrian network and to similar hub car parks within adjacent developments in the future, it is designed to form part of a centralized car parking station at the edge of the CBD, allowing people to move by foot within a relatively car-free environment (Choo, 2002)

However, the master plan of 1996 was opened to criticism, in 2001, when the global economic development is slowed down and a new concept plan was established by URA and an International group of Architects including Peter Hall and Fumihiko Maki. Therefore, an urban design studio was established to produce new ideas for the sustainability of the center in the National University of Singapore (NUS) sponsored by URA. As end products, the concepts of Downtown Interchange, Campus City and the Boulevard were produced with emphasis of greenery, conserving the identity of being an Asian island, pedestrian movements, and functional diversity. These proposals affected the further design attempts in the central area (Yang, 2005).

In 2003, Singapore URA announced a revised New Downtown plan. Based on a similar development projection, 6 million m² of floor area, the propositions of the 1996 New Downtown plan were largely followed by the 2003 revised plan; a pedestrian friendly environment with at, above or below ground level connections, state-of-the-art infrastructure and multi-functional mix-use design.

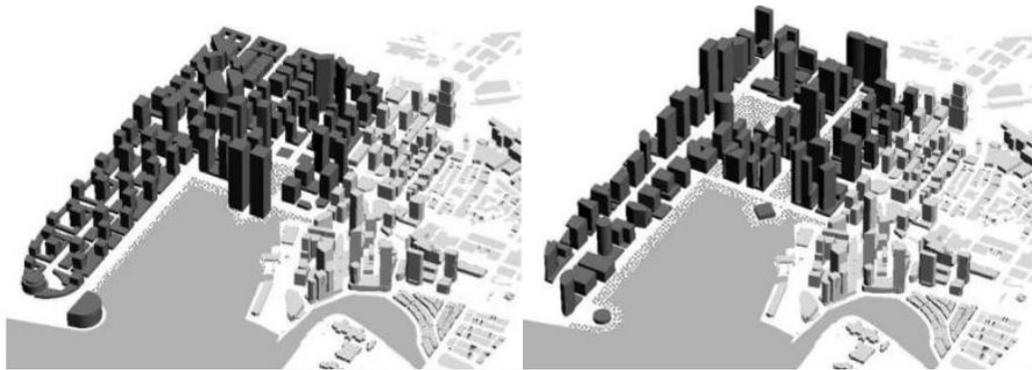


Figure 3-14 the comparison of 1996 (left) and 2003 (right) New Downtown master plans

There were only minor differences between the two downtown plans in terms of physical design. A new 75m wide and 700m long linear urban park was created and oriented towards the Marina Bay. Within the 100ha of the New Downtown core area, the open space ratio was increased from 6% to 12% and the average block size was reduced. A regular block system provided a spatial framework which would allow room for expansion, subdivision and suit changing market needs. “The smaller block design and flexible grid system reflected the more conservative position due to the difficulties faced by the government in attracting real estate investment to the new area” (Yang, 2005).

Today, Singapore gave a start to its construction site for the future downtown project. Well-known architects and their designs for this prestige land have already

produced the overall image proposal for the development site. With its strategies of urban development, Singapore is forming an important example for the evolution of Central Business Districts as mega project sites. The initial decisions; pedestrian friendly environment, accessibility through the transportation networks, car parking and infrastructural decisions, as well as the functional provisions and planning by an authority in relation to universities let in such a mega project provide the initial and general structure of development strategy, so an organized but flexible urban development would occur.

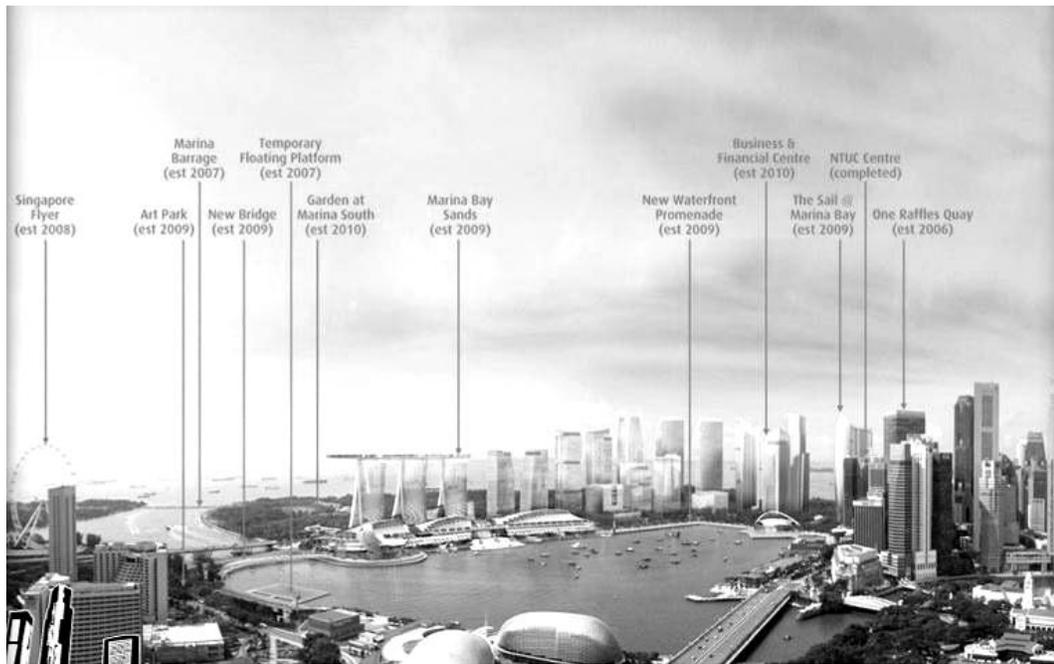


Figure 3-15 Image proposal of further developments in the New Downtown

3.1.4. Similarities and Differences of the three CBDs

When considering three cases; Paris, Berlin and Singapore according to their future prospects of politics and economy within the world region, though their central business districts, and the strategies for the development of these CBDs, although the differences in geographic conditions, historical background, the duration of CBD development or scale of the area, they all show common features for their new CBD cases.

Considering the general tendency of global economic network, as if all the other cities like New York, London, Tokyo, Shanghai, Johannesburg and Istanbul, European cases Paris and Berlin as well as the Asian case Singapore are existing with their economic activities. Paris is a city which has economic power for centuries, and Singapore was a trade center even before whereas Berlin is still in a progress for improvement of economic activities after the World War II.

However, they all consider the development of a central business district as a crucial element for economic activities in city level. All of the CBD cases within three cities have shown planned development with the initial emphasis on the financial functions. For the planned development, in cases Paris, Berlin and Singapore, special planning and management authorities have been assisting to the master planning of CBDs from the start. The initial decisions for all cases are given by these authorities as well as the control throughout the construction. Therefore, although the diversity of structures constructed, the development of CBD shows consistency in overall terms and creates a unified urban structure. Considering the initial design principles, pedestrian circulation, separated vehicular transportation, underground car parking are common emphasizes in the master plans.

Another important common feature is that during and after the construction, especially Paris and Berlin cases have shown emphasis on the public attention in the area. With their trophy buildings, as well as the events they organized within the area, the development areas were intended not only to serve financial activities but also to become a focus for public interest (Table 3-1 and Table 3-2).

Table 3-1 Table of project phases and actors

		PARIS	BERLIN	SINGAPORE	
PROJECT PHASES	Project Location	La Défense	Potsdamer Platz	Golden Shoe	Marina Bay
	Plan Dates	1964, 1972, 1978, 2005	1990, 1991	1960s, 1979, 1982	1996, 2003
	Completion of Construction	still in progress	2000	late 1990s	still in progress
	Allocated Area	750 ha.	650 000 m2		6 million m2
	Existing Total Office Area	3.5 million m2	330 000 m2	3 million m2	
	Future Project Area	450 000 m2 office & 100 000 m2 housing			3 million m2 office space
ACTORS	Planning Authority	EPAD	Senate of Berlin Urban Development Department	Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA)	URA Marina Bay Development Agency (MBDA)
	Date of Foundation	1958	1990s (reunification)	1974	1990s
	Master Plan	EPAD	International Competitions	URA	URA, MBDA
	Functions of the Authority	acquisition expropriation rehousing planning management maintenance selling	planning management	planning acquisition expropriation rehousing selling	planning implementation land sales management marketing event programming
	Other Actors	Ministry of Paris	Daimler Benz Sony	Ministry of National Development	National Uni. of Singapore
	Leading Architects	Otto von Spreckelsen Jean-Paul Viguier Jean Nouvel	Hilmer & Sattler Richard Rodgers Renzo Piano Helmut Jahn	Kisho Kurokawa Kenzo Tange	Peter Hall Rem Koolhaas

Table 3-2 Table of strategies and public relations

		PARIS	BERLIN	SINGAPORE	
STRATEGIES	Initial Aim	financial center	financial center serving for global arena	financial center serving for global arena	finance mixed- use
	Functions Today	finance housing cultural & conventional & shopping facilities	office housing cultural & entertainment & shopping facilities	finance conventional facilities	
	Initial Planning Principles	connection to the historical axis pedestrian friendly urban design seperated vehicular & pedestrian traffic	image production for reunified Berlin in global arena urban development as all around the clock alive	transportation system pedestrian friendly design functional planning	development as all around the clock alive max. pedestrian traffic climate comfort
	Transportation	private bus subway	private bus subway	private bus subway	private bus subway
LANDMARKS and PUBLIC RELATIONS	Triumphal Structure	Grand Arche	Grand Roof of Sony Center	Republic Plaza	
	Construction Date	1982-1989	1998	1996	
	Development of Design	International Competition	Helmut Jahn	Kisho Kurokawa	
	Advertisement Medium	Media Public Activities	Media Public Activities Info-Box	Media Public Activities Internet	
	Public Activities	exhibitions of well known artists music festivals wind festivals tourstic facilities public opening ceremonies	exhibitions concerts festivals touristic facilities	light festival	
GLOBAL ACQUAINTANCE	Today's Situation	the largest CBD in Europe in physical terms	CBD in the capital city level	leading CBD in South Asia Network	

3.2. The development of Central Business District in Istanbul

Istanbul has been a metropolitan city throughout centuries due to its different governmental occasions in the history and thus its international networks. The international value of the city is still a determinative factor for its urban growth. Even it is not the capital city of the government, Istanbul is economically, culturally and demographically the leading city in Turkey for the international arena. The city is a national center housing the main headquarters of national and international corporations, banks, and media, the main universities of Turkey, the main cultural and commercial activity places, the richest of the population. Therefore, also considering its future prospects Istanbul is placing itself in the network of the global cities.

However, considering the world examples, Istanbul has a problematic planning system dealing with the massive migration after the industrialization and facing with massive growth called as “hybrid industrial city” by Tekeli (1999) answering the physical and special demands for the liberal economy. Considering the complex planning system, the tendency of urban developments in Istanbul is disregarding planning strategies. The development of the CBD around the Büyükdere Avenue constitutes an example of the fragmented development system of Turkey which gives the priority to investors first but not to planning which leads to many infrastructural problems.

It derives in a sense that while European planning strategies are developed in accordance with the models defined in the designed master plans and in the limits of governmental authorities that try to form a central business district with an image that successfully advertises the city in the economic platform, on the contrary, after 80s, Istanbul witnesses a transformation that is freed from any prediction of a master plan. The strategic local points, in this case, become favorable places and opened to development without giving any

respect to current urban order, and causing fragmentation in the hands of the private sector (İnan, 2001).

3.2.1. Development of three typologies in the rural Levent

In the beginning of 1950s, socio-economic transformations of Turkey in the light of the date's international developments influenced urban process of big cities by rapid industrialization, and urbanization. However, the main highlight of this period was the population movement from rural to urban lands (Erdönmez, 2005). Due to the demands of workforce in the fresh industry, inhabitants in the country migrated in great masses to big cities with the hope for increasing their income and the form of squatter housing was informed by big cities' authorities. The most massive migration was housed by Istanbul in this period in which within one year the number of squatter houses doubled in 1950 (Özkan, 2006).

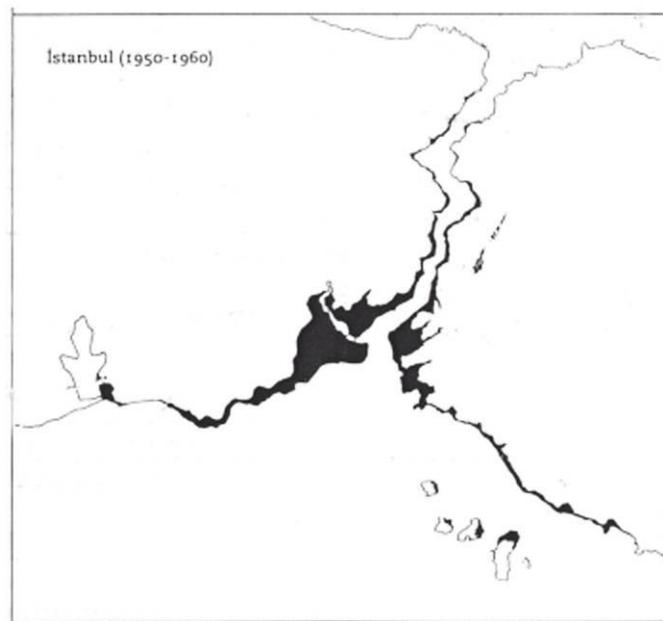


Figure 3-16 The city boundaries of Istanbul in 1950 to 1960

Before 1950s, the industry of Istanbul was mainly depicted as small industry. The first planned industrialization act started after the Master Plan which came into force in 1954. According to this plan, Levent, which was a fertile farming land and a plot for weekend excursions, became one of the districts allocated to the second or third place industrial establishments (Çakılcıoğlu, 2004). Owing to the migrations and increasing population of the city, in the preceding time, new settlement lands had formed in Istanbul. For instance, the land around the broadened Zincirlikuyu-Büyükdere Road which was connected to the new Barbaros Boulevard became available to new housing investments in this period.



Figure 3-17 Barbaros Boulevard

Considering the new lands opened for settlement and increasing accessibility through the new roads, in addition to the industrial formation in Levent, the old

farming lands become convenient for housing settlements. Therefore, the district and its nearby areas started to house three separate urban development types in the meantime; industrial, planned housing and squatter housing, which are dominated the area and caused a fragmented urban transformation even in today.

The first development typology started in 1949 when the Municipality of Istanbul transferred the property of 100 ha farming land of Levent district to the Estate Bank. In the same year, the bank included a 400-unit housing development in its construction program (Özkan, 2006). This was followed by the construction of the date's leading modern urban housing area, Levent, in the east land of Büyükdere Road.

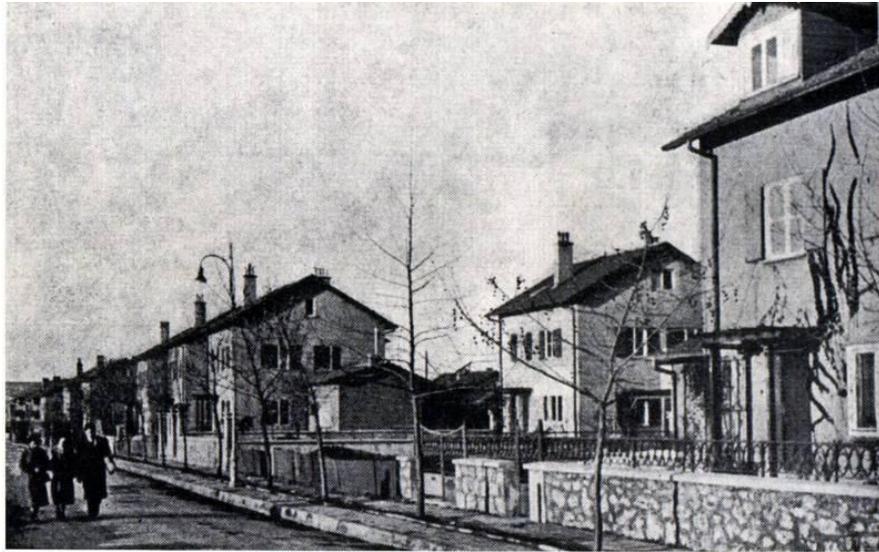


Figure 3-18 Levent in 1950

Kemal Ahmet Aru was appointed as the architect of this project of mass housing invested by the Estate Bank in today's Levent District. In 1951, the first stage of construction was completed and because of the public interest three other stages was designed and constructed with small modifications. The last phase of the

development was completed in 1958. In general terms, the district was mainly designed as greenery based housing of one or two storey houses with small gardens. During the construction period the Levent Housing was mainly designed for the middle economical class and succeeded this goal for a long time (Özkan, 2006)

In 1963, the First Development Plan came into force which encouraged the rapid growth of real estate development in the center of the city out of control of any authority. In the following years, the urbanization of Istanbul was increased by the real estate and squatter housing developments. Mass housing was another consequence of this urbanization process. Considering this massive housing development and the inadequate settlement lands indicated by the First Development Plan, the inner city became overcrowded and the rents as well as the land prices incredibly increased, so housing offers became very expensive (Tekeli, 1994).

According to Şenyapılı, the increase of density and the high land prices in the city led the industry displace towards the villages or the lands of independent municipalities on edge of the city which had lower land prices. Since they were not under the control of the Istanbul municipality, the authorities of these villages and the independent municipalities had rights on their own territories to take independent decisions for land uses. Therefore, these edge locations in the city became preferred plots for the squatter housing developments (Şenyapılı, 1998).

Since the Büyükdere Road defined the border of the planned metropolitan area of Istanbul in the Municipal Region, according to the legal issues and land values, the area on the west side of the road, which formed today's Gültepe and Kağıthane districts, constituted plots for the rapid growth of squatter development. Therefore, the second urban typology, squatters, was formed by dominating the west side of

the area. This development form and the poor legacy system in the area caused a massive unplanned urban transformation which was solidified in the area, caused infrastructural problems and effected the future developments. According to Torcu, the lack of plan and infrastructure kept on effecting the development of the area even after 1980 (Torcu, 2004).



Figure 3-19 Gültepe District

After the master plan of 1954, the third development typology, industry, started to be developed in Levent district on the edge of the city. This development was improved by the ‘Istanbul Industrial Areas Development Plan’ scaled of 1/5000 approved in 19.04.1966 which denoted Beşiktaş, Levent, Ayazağa districts as future industrial lands (Özkan, 2006). This suggested and developing typology in

the Levent area caused to fragment the land into large properties due to the space needs of industry which is unlike the usual urban land fragmentation.

Thus, with its large parcels, Levent established the bases of future development of high-rise form. Owing to the high land values at the inner-city led some industries to move their office structures to this industrial site. Moreover, in 1967, a new item was added to the building regulations encouraging the high rises. According to this new regulation, under the circumstances of construction less than 25% of the land, the available height of the structure would be raised (Erdönmez, 2005). In 1970s, as a result of the dense demographic situation, many problems in housing and basic infrastructure were arisen (Çakılcıoğlu, 2004). Due to the dual development of luxurious mass housing and squatter housing, the population increased around the axis of Beşiktaş-Maslak. However, the main change in 1970s happened when the Bogaziçi Bridge was constructed. While the prior function of the bridge was connecting the two lands of Bosphorus, it opened new settlement lands and increased the amount of vehicle traffic as well as the population.

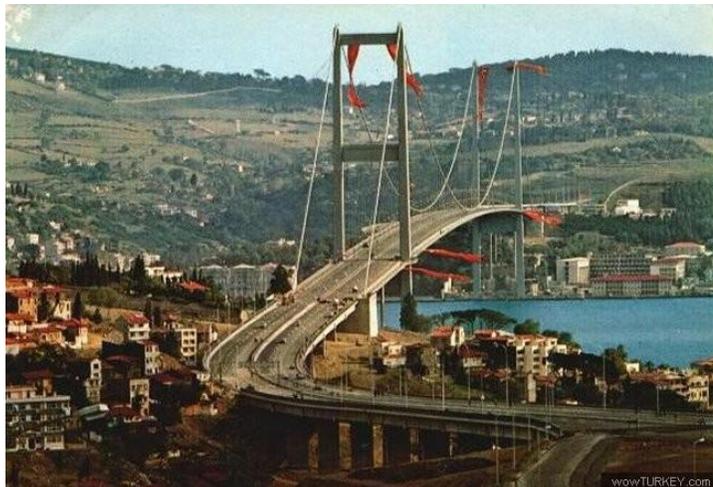


Figure 3-20 The opening week of Bogaziçi Bridge

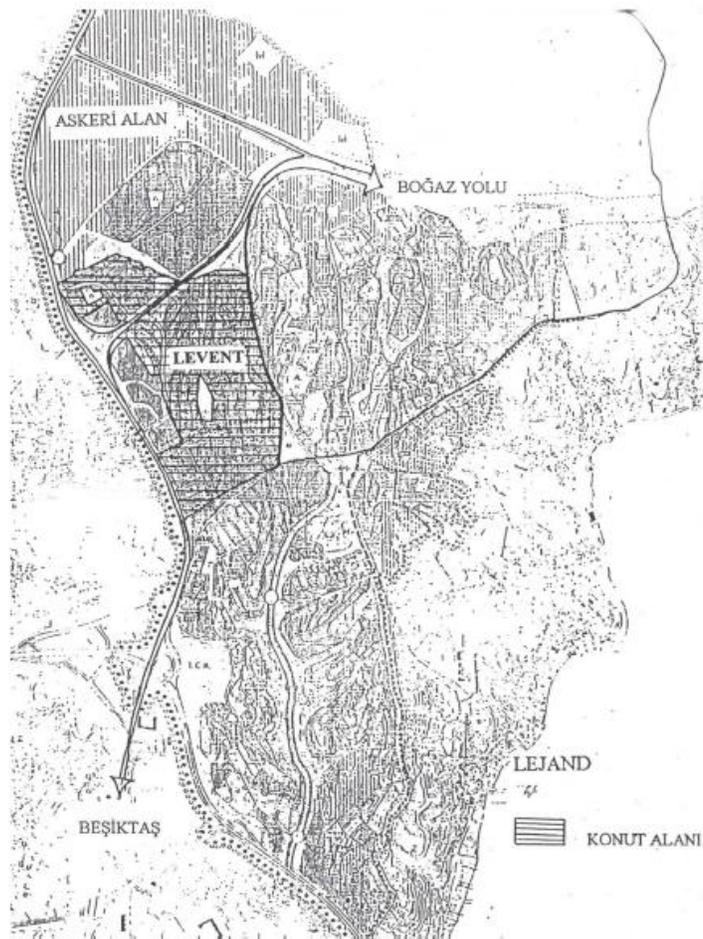


Figure 3-21 1988 1/5000 Scale Levent Development Plan

According to Bilgin (1998), the linear peripheral road which across from the east to west of the city, encouraged industry and squatter developments to spread through east and west. In the long run, squatter formation established a thick and intricate linear development along the edge of the road. Due to the accessibility, and new settlement areas, the urban growth of the west side of Istanbul encouraged new urban functions to be located around and this emerged the decentralization of the city. Many forests and greenery lands were disappeared and the land prices of many districts like Beşiktaş were increased. This urbanization also continued and

was further accelerated in 1988 by the construction of Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge and TEM highroad which was located on the way of Levent through Beşiktaş (Akbayar, 1998).

3.2.2. Emerging Business Functions in Levent

The rural migration encouraged the trade in Istanbul to invest the rural capital and thus the demand of business areas increased in the city center after 1960s. Starting from 1970s, some commercial firms attained to international level and the demand for modern office structures was increased; however, due to the low standards in the old structures, the Historical Peninsula could have not satisfied this need. As a result of the rapid growth of the office industry, and especially the limited building lands and the strict regulations in the Historical Peninsula encouraged the business firms to find new locations outside of the old center. (Dökmeci et. al., 1993, pp. 24)

In this period, large scale manufacturing structures and their administrative units began to evolve simultaneously especially in the Zincirlikuyu – Maslak districts. In general, for special selection, the narrow and long shapes of the large building plots set up an important factor on new functions in the area. As a result, the administration structures were preferred to be located along the facade of Büyükdere Road (Torcu, 2004). Thus, the dual development began to shape the first implementations of future form of the central business district, with office functions gathered around the Büyükdere Road. During this period some medicine factories, small scale industries and trade administrations were constructed in the area. Such as;

- Neyir Textile Factory in 1964
- Apa Offset Printing Building in 1966
- Eczacıbaşı Drug Industry Factory in 1972-73
- Roche Drug Factory

- Philips Factory
- Highways Departmental Building 1975

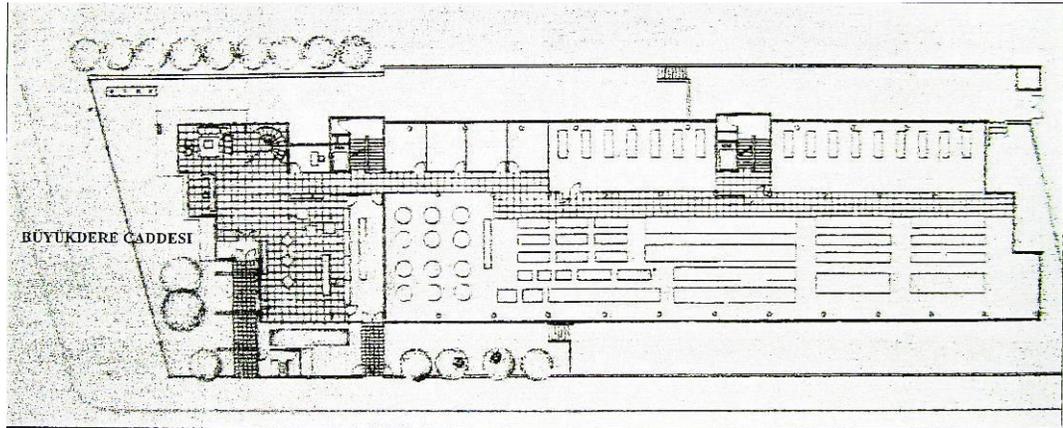


Figure 3-22 Neyir Textile Factory_ Ground Floor Plan, 1963-64



Figure 3-23 Neyir Textile Factory 1963-64

An important milestone along Büyükdere Road as focusing on the high-rise business functions was the construction of the Highways Departmental building. It was the first high rise structure evolved in the axis of Beşiktaş-Maslak and as it was constructed, it also became the highest structure in Turkey with its 12 floors. Dülgeroğlu (1993) designated the main reason of choosing this typology as the emphasis of being easily recognized and appealing enough to attract the surroundings in a strategically important construction plot. As a result, the high-rise typology was introduced to the area as well as the investors. Thus, each structure built after Highways Departmental Building tried to be designed appealing enough to be easily recognized by the surroundings. The era of constructing high-rise specialized office structures had started (Dülgeroğlu, 1993). For instance, Cam Han Building in 1976 and an office structure by Tekeli and Sisa in 1976-9 were constructed in this development period.



Figure 3-24 The Highways Departmental Building

According to the architect of Cam Han building, Marulyalı, in this period the investor was usually the ‘Ministry of Public Works and Development’, and due to the concern of increasing costs, the Ministry didn’t want to use modern construction materials. It was depicted that the building technologies had started to improve in the period of 1970s to 1980; however, the main improvement happened after 1980s (Torcu, 2004, pp. 46).

3.2.3. The 1980s, Political and Economical changes in Turkey

Whereas the İstanbul Metropolitan Area was settled in an area between Silivri and Gebze having a center with a radius of 50 km, the borders increased to a radius of 60 km in 1980s. The borders of the city reached at Tekirdağ in the West and Hereke in the east (Çakılcıoğlu, 2004). By means of physical development of the city which happened along the horizontal level until 1980s was transformed into a vertical development after 1980s (Erdönmez, 2005).

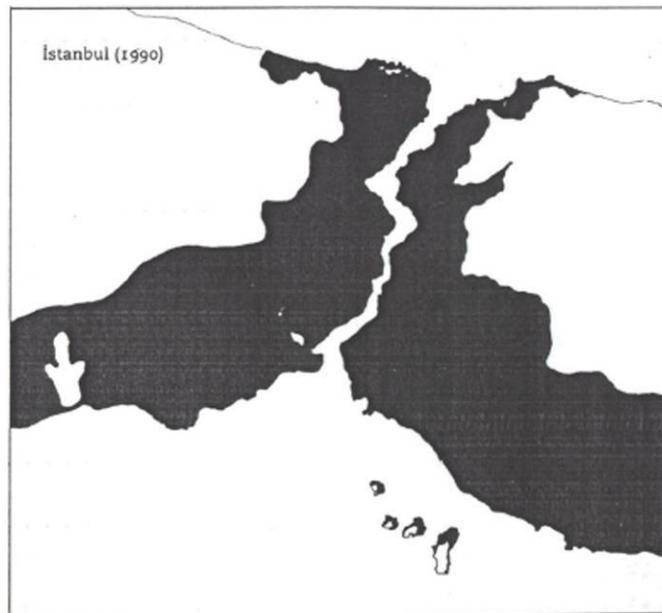


Figure 3-25 İstanbul in 1990

In this new period of post 1980s there was a sudden change of the political and economical condition of Turkey. Until 1990 a huge growth in the demographic condition had happened. In 1990, the population of Turkey per km² was 73 people, whereas in 1997 it reached to 83 people. In Istanbul, this rate was 1.280 people per km² in 1990 whereas it reached to 1.747 people in 1997 (Sayılarla İstanbul, 2007). According to Sönmez (1996), whereas in 1980 İstanbul had the population of 10.6% of Turkey's total population which was 4 million, it became 12.9th of the total which was 7.309.190 people in 1990 and 2.5 million of 23.3 million people active in the economical life all around in Turkey was living in Istanbul in 1990.

Considered as a main political change in terms of economical policy, after 1980 Turkey entered the era of the "liberty" in economy. In order to qualify the Free Market requirements, as the economic policy new targets were established. Therefore, it was intended to increase imports and exports, privatize of the governmental institutions, join to the European Union, and improve the economical reforms, infrastructure and housing systems (Osmaý, 1998)

The middle and large scale industry mainly focused on the manufacturing sector after 1980s started to concern the other sectors as well, such as tourism, service, media, and software. This transformation in the focus of economy also influenced the investments for land and real estate. Until 1980s the large scale investments on the land and real estate were mostly constant capital investments such as the large factory complexes built on the cheap lands out of the city. However, after 1980s, the investments of land and structures were no longer forms the bases of another investment but happened to be an enterprise and capital good by itself (Bilgin, 1998).

As the big tourism complexes, international hotels, shopping centers, recreation and entertainment centers and plazas, the land investments of

private enterprises evolve the new public places in 1980s. Until 1980s public investments had just produced governmental offices and social service units. In other words the private sector had never produced a public complex and seen them as an investment and capital source before. There were no professional office blocks other than the governmental offices. Even the big companies were using the casual apartment blocks built in the business districts for their office functions (Bilgin, 1998, p.267).

3.2.4. Decision Makers in Levent

An important change in 1980s was happened at the planning system of the municipalities. The Act on Metropolitan Municipalities, No.3030 was put into implementation in 1984 so the local governments in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir were announced as ‘Greater City Municipalities’. Due to the decision, Greater City Municipalities and District Municipalities coexist and create a dual administrative system in metropolitan areas. However, before the 1984 Act on Metropolitan Municipalities, No.3030, in İstanbul and the other greater cities, Metropolitan Area Master Plan Offices were in charged of making master plans for metropolitan cities. These offices were controlled by the ‘Ministry of Public Works and Development’ which had a mission of approving plans and revisions. Because of the centralized planning system in which the central government was the ultimate decision maker, local governments did not have autonomy to decide on the future prospects. In 1985 the Master Plan Office of İstanbul had joined to the Greater City Municipality (Çakılcıoğlu, 2004)

The development area around the Büyükdere Road is shared between four district municipalities, Sarıyer, Beşiktaş, Şişli and Kağıthane. Since the area is not under the control of one body, there are various plans approved and out into use in different dates from 1980s up to date some of them were approved by the Ministry of Tourism, whereas some by Beşiktaş, Sarıyer, Şişli and Kağıthane Municipalities (Cengiz, 1995). This situation produced a fragmented decision making system,

though a fragmented, and disqualified in answering the demands of a unified urban development.

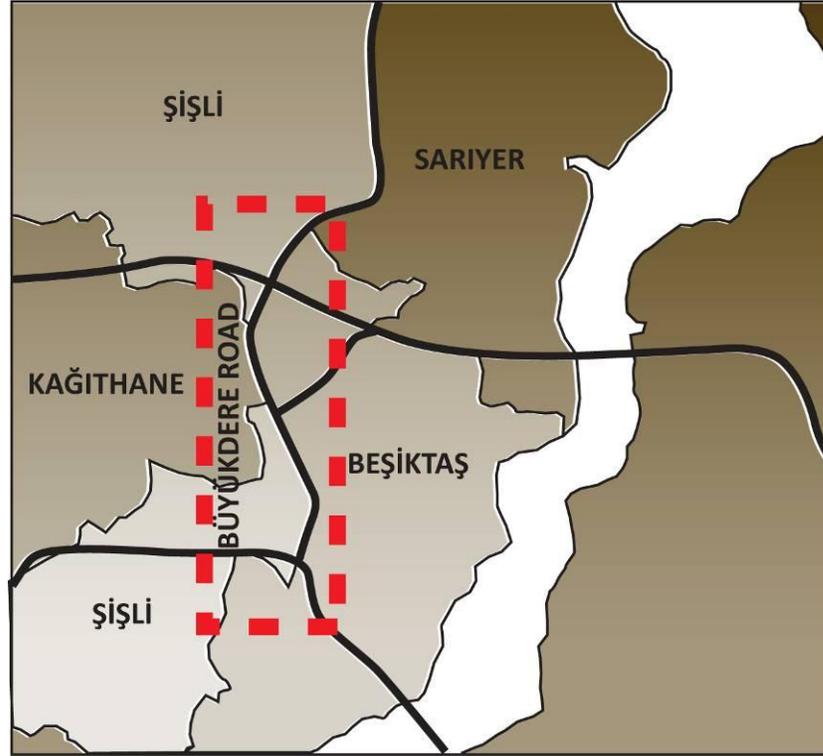


Figure 3-26 The Municipality Borders

3.2.5. Development of Central Business District after 1980s

After 1980s, Büyükdere Road became the leading development axis serving as a new important Central Business District in the Istanbul Metropolitan Region. Considering the transportation networks, as a connection road of the two bridges, Boğaziçi and Fatih Sultan Mehmet; and the highroad network, E5 and TEM, the

area was easily accessible through the important centers of Istanbul such as Taksim, Şişli, Mecidiyeköy, Esentepe, Zincirlikuyu, Levent and Maslak at the European Side and Altunizade, Kavacık sub centers through the bridges. As examined in the second chapter, this accessibility is an important factor of a central business district development (Murphy, 1974, Sassen, 2002, Taylor, 2008). According to Özdemir (1999) during the 1980s and the 1990s, the firms acting in the international and national markets have made their location preferences according to the provision of transportation network and changing flows of traffic. Other than accessibility, the location choices are also based on the land values, and planning decisions like car parking and height limits (Gökçe, 2008).

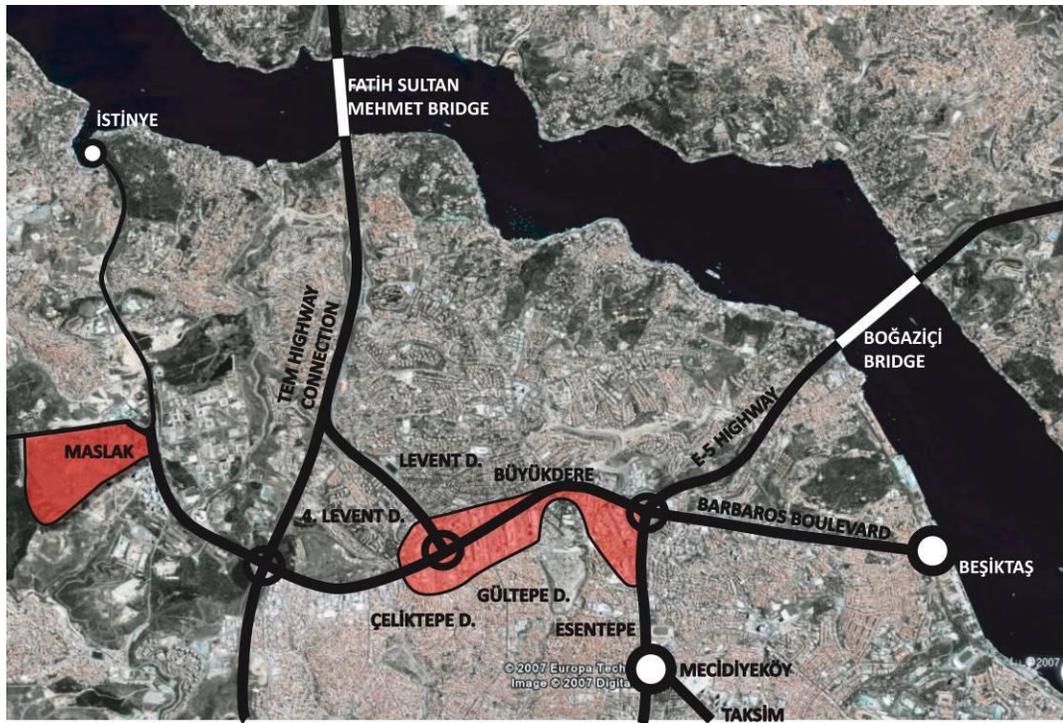


Figure 3-27 Connectivity Plan

As mentioned before, there are four municipalities working on the area. The Municipalities of Şişli and Kağıthane are responsible from the northern part of Zincirlikuyu- Büyükdere axis. According to the 1/1000 scaled ‘Şişli-Büyükdere Boulevard Upgrading Plan Revision’ in 1988, the Municipality of Şişli decided to “remove the industrial uses and let new commerce and housing functions to be settled down the area” (Cengiz, 1995). Considering this plan, the area was allowed to develop as a central business district. Considering the fragmented development approach until this period, the new CBD development along Büyükdere Avenue which is the main case area within the scope of this thesis commenced to accelerate with formation of office structures of producer and finance services.

Therefore, although the development of Büyükdere Avenue and its surroundings was reflecting the evolution of the business function, according to the Cengiz’s survey, in 1989, the area between Zincirlikuyu-Büyükdere axis and the 4th Levent District was announced as a ‘tourism center’ by the decision of the Council of Ministers. Depending on the 9th article of the Law#3194, all plan-making and approval rights changed were handed over to Ministry of Public Works and Development (Cengiz, 1995). According to Torcu (2004), due to this decision, activities of the related ministries of the districts was reduced and without considering the general city development, the governmental decisive authority gave special rights to special investors to build high-rise structures. Thus, he mentions that during this time the construction of high-rise structures increased, and this unplanned development caused an unbalanced urban environment with many special and infrastructural problems for the future (Torcu, 2004). However, in 1990, the decision was overruled by the court since it was against the general regulations of master plans.

Suha Özkan narrates one his memories highlighting today’s political dynamics, “ In early 1980s, I was attending a meeting about a urban development discussion at London, together with the date’s mayor, Bedrettin

Dalan and the Prime Minister Turgut Özal. Thatcher, the Prime Minister of England, gave a speech about an urban planning strategy that the initiatives were given to private investors for the development of an industrial land in England. The aim was to give the first emphasis on investment before the planning.” According to Özkan, the attitude towards the liberal, laissez-faire, development against urban development had impressed Dalan and Özal so much that they let the private initiatives alone as decisive authorities for the urban development after closing down the Planning Offices in 1980s (Karakuş, 2008, pp. 45).

In 1991, due to the 1/5000 scaled ‘Boğaziçi Sahil Şeridi ve Öngörüm Bölgeleri Nâzım ve Uygulama İmar Plan Revizyonu’ approved by the Greater City Municipality of Istanbul, the surroundings of Zincirlikuyu- 4th Levent corridor, which was previously announced as tourism center, were decided to function as ‘urban and regional CBD’. According to this plan, high-rise development was allowed for investors in the area (İnan, 2001).

Considering the different plan formations for the area around Büyükdere road, the development area was lacking an overall plan directing the further formations and creating a unified image for the CBD. The approaches only remained as fragmented planning level. However, on the other hand, the office formation was continuing to evolve in the area due to the economical evolution, thus the needs of specialized office structures and physical accessibility from the main transportation network. The firms located on the axis are mainly the big multinational companies, banking and financial services, producer services, the other service firms, and the construction firms (Özdemir, 2002, et al.).

The concentration of financial and banking activities in the area as well as the formation of the Istanbul Stock Exchange Office in 1995 emphasized the intention of other firms for moving in. The large and rectangular ownerships of plots due to the large scale of the former industrial functions and the right of high-rise

construction in the area attracted the investors to locate their firms to this new prestige area formed of high-rise offices and prestige plazas.

The construction of Yapı-Kredi Plaza was one of the first examples for the private office towers in the axis. However, the construction of Sabancı Center, in 1993, as a private initiative became the second milestone on the development of these prestige structures in the area after the Highways Departmental Building which was a public investment. It was the highest structure in Turkey when its construction ended. This followed by the construction of other high-rises, such as SpringGiz (1994), Maya Center (1992), and İş Bank Towers (2000) which remained highest until 2008.

After mid 1990s, since the Zincirlikuyu-Levent part of the Büyükdere Axis was almost completely filled up, Maslak area started to be congested with office buildings and plazas (Özdemir, 1999). However, these projects were developed without any concern of a master plan or infrastructure development but only concerned the project site under the ownership of the investor since, in this period, the laissez-faire development strategy was still continuing. They were created by limited open areas with inadequate concern for creating a unified image with surroundings (Karakuş, 2008). According to the researches of Istanbul Chamber of Commerce, the physical development in the axis is mainly concentrated on the finance sector, and seeks for a planned development (Uzunoğlu et al., 2000).

3.2.6. Development of Mixed-Use Structures in the Levent CBD

Considering the mere office development in the area, the district became deserted at nights. In order to prevent this kind of mono-functional development, in 2000s other functions were added to district. Therefore, mixed-use structures started to

evolve in the area. These structures consist usually a mix of shopping, office, commerce, housing, hotel, entertainment and cultural activity functions. Although they are gated structures and controlled under private security systems, due to the provided comfort for a tramp, easy access to everything and the positive infrastructural elements, like car parking, they became the ‘public space’ of the current decade.

In 2000, the transportation was improved in Büyükdere Avenue when the metro line was constructed from Taksim to Levent. So the public transportation network was improved and district became more convenient for housing other functions. In this manner, mixed-use structures began to evolve to answer to the demand of public needs and create a live district around the clock in Büyükdere Avenue. The Metrocity mix-use structure connected to the subway, which was constructed in late 2000, became the initial example of such development. This was followed by the other projects as well, such as Levent Mall building by the shareholder Yapı Kredi and Kanyon project by Eczacıbaşı, İş Bank shareholders.



Figure 3-28 Levent in 2005

3.2.7. A Beginning for International Investments

By early 2000, the development of Büyükdere Avenue turned to a new phase, because apart from the national public or private initiatives and architects, transnational investors and architects began to create projects and produce the general image of the future in the area. The first example was the Headquarter Building of Garanti Bank which was constructed in 2002 by the design of a transnational architecture office from New York, Gerner Kronick and Valcarel. This was followed by the Tekfen Towers in 2003 designed again by a New York office Swanke Hayden Connell.

In 2007, another mix-use structure Kanyon, designed by Tabanlıoğlu and Jerde Partnership, was constructed in the area. With its fascinating design for its 'public' space, semi closed shopping mall using the floor heating technology for the climate control, created a public attraction to the area. According to Karakuş (2008) with its commercial and architectural success, this project changed the attitude towards the idea of commerce created by the designed architecture. This project also shows a success by the use of media in order to create a public attraction with its advertisements.

Another important and controversial project area is the land at the entrance of the avenue, which was purchased by Zorlu Group for 800 million dollar from the Highway Management. The sale happened with an auction watched by Turkish televisions. The design of the land will be chosen by an invited competition in which well known international and national architects competed. According to Karakuş (2008), the first list of architects consisted; Arquitectonica, Mario botta, Steven Holl Architects, Richard Meier and Partners, Architects LLP, Pelli Clarke

Pelli Architects, and Coop Himmelblau as the international competitors and Cafer Bozkurt Mimarlık Ltd., Emra Arolat Architects, Tabanlıoğlu Mimarlık Ltd., Han Tümertekin as the national competitors. The semi-finalists of the competition are national architects; Arolat, Bozkurt and Tabanlıoğlu. The design is going to be a mix-use structure (Karakuş, 2008).

With its international investors, Sama Dubai/ Dubai International, another controversial project is running which will be constructed on the İETT land. The land was privatized by a sale implemented through a public auction in 2007 and the land was bought for 705 million dollars. The project proposal is very controversial with its design similar to twisted towers by Calatrava (Chicago Tower). The construction is still waiting the solution of legal and judiciary problems.

In the meantime, the Levent Loft Project, the Levent Loft 2, Istanbul Sapphire by Tabanlıoğlu, the Landmarkk Tower by Norman Foster become other mix-use projects in the area.¹⁰ Therefore, today's emphasis is given to these mix-use developments along the avenue which brings long term problems for the office needs. According to Kerim Cin and Firuz Soyuer as real estate experts, “ the specialized office space need seems to be increasing in future, and according to the mix-use functions, the population in the area will rapidly increase in future which will bring further infrastructural problems” (Karakuş, 2008).

3.2.8. The Urge for Strategy and Planning

The initial arguments about designing an urban space were just started in 1990s in Turkey. The 4th Symposium of Urban Design and Practices, in 1993 gave the

¹⁰ See Appendix D

emphasis on the development of mega urban projects exemplifying the European examples and their positive regulations (Çubuk, 1993). However, the reality in Turkey is still lacking this awareness for the need of urban design and strategies whereas in the other world cities, the given emphasis on the initial development decisions, strategies for planning and a decisive authority is obvious in order to create a unified, respectful urban space for its users and future developments. The analyzed CBDs; Paris, Berlin, and Singapore are exemplifying such planned developments in the world.

However, in İstanbul today, the Büyükdere Avenue is still facing the problems of development without a special planning strategy. The investor prior development type as Thatcher's strategy in England still exists in the area. However, the investment priority forms an overall fragmented space, structures not unified within each other, and many infrastructural problems considering the dense population. With its singular towers, the area evolved as a border in-between the squatter housing districts on the west side and the luxurious Levent Housing Districts on the east side. However, due to the infrastructural problems such as traffic especially in the morning and at end of the working hours, car parking, garbage, noise, two neighbor districts are suffering. Also because of the same reason, the public space as the main case area of this thesis is remained in between the towers is lacking to answer the basic needs of pedestrians and users which will be discussed further in the following chapter.

The requirements for qualified office areas in land selection of services which have high competitive levels in international arena are cannot be fulfilled by the existing CBD, and in the case of fulfilling the requirements, it brings new problems hard to recompanse. This dilemma, as in Ayazağa-Büyükdere example, has been experienced in the scale of parcel by the increase of high-rise structures on irregular, and fragmented ownership pattern. Although the qualifications in the building scale, the limited spatial contributions on the surroundings, the disability of generating public spaces, the low accesibility, the compulsion over the existing infrastructure, increasing the density and traffic load are the negative facts created by the

structures that should be avoided to be repeated in future...The ability to reach the level to compete in global arena is dependent to the qualified development of service sector in İstanbul. In this context, the CBD functions that are tended to develop through North direction due to the transformation of industrial areas are decided to be canalized through West direction (İMP, 2006, pp 106).

Although the attempts of 'İstanbul Metropolitan Planning and Urban Design Center (İMP) ' to improve the development of CBD along the Büyükdere Avenue by the 'Büyükdere Centre Rehabilitation Special Project Area'¹¹, which had based on competition a detailed plan could have not been created. According to Ebru Bayram from İMP, interviewed in august 2008, the plan of rehabilitation and the attempt for an urban design competition in the area were the proposals of design office which remained in the decision level without any further attempts. Due to the planning decisions of İstanbul Greater Cities Municipality in the area, the fragmented planning still exists. Within the municipality borders of Kağıthane, it is depicted that, the urban development plan for the area relative to Büyükdere Avenue is decided to be implemented by İstanbul Greater Cities Municipality, the Municipality of Kağıthane and TOKİ. Within the municipality borders of Şişli, it is depicted that the construction of high-rises along Büyükdere Avenue will be taken under control and in order to rehabilitate the area, recreation, entertainment and shopping centers will be constructed.¹²

Considering these recent attempts, new planning in the area displays a dual feature; a specialized urban design attempt regarding the borders of municipalities by İMP and a fragmented planning strategy including TOKİ as an authority for the area by Greater Cities Municipality of İstanbul. Since the planning practices of İMP are under the discussion of abolishment, it seems like the fragmented

¹¹ Check Appendix B

¹² http://www.planlama.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2861&Itemid=51

planning and construction of segregated structures in the area will continue to evolve.

Table 3-3 Comparison of four CBD cases

	PARIS	BERLIN	SINGAPORE	İSTANBUL
Location	La Défense	Potsdamer Platz	Golden Shoe-Marina Bay	Büyükdere- Maslak
Plan Dates	1964, 1972, 1978, 2005	1990, 1991	1960s, 1979, 1982-1996,2003	1980,1994, 1995, 2006
Allocated Area	750 ha.	650 000 m2	6 million m2	168 ha
Existing Total Office Area	3.5 million m2	330 000 m2	3 million m2	approx. 650.000 m2
Future Project Area	450 000 m2 office & 100 000 m2 housing	—————	3 million m2 office space	NA
Initial Function	Finance in Global Network	Finance in Global Network	Finance in Global Network	Industry (1960s-1970s) Finance in National Network
Duration of Construction	44 years	10 years	48 years	approx. 30 years
State of Construction	still in progress	finalized	still in progress	still in progress
Development Strategy	master plan	master plan investor priority	master plan	fragmented planing investor priority
Planning Authority	EPAD	Senate of Berlin UDD	URA, MBDA	Şişli, Kağıthane, Beşiktaş Ministries of Districts
General Structure of Public Space	pedestrian friendly designed public zones	pedestrian friendly designed semi-public zones	pedestrian friendly designed public zones	gated structures no plan in public space
Public Attention	landmark structures int. competitions public activities	landmark structures int. competitions public activities	participatory design public activities landmark structures	gated, semi-public mixed-use structures

When compared to the development strategies of world examples, although the long history of development in Levent CBD, it is obvious that a general strategy for the overall area is still missing; however, in all three world examples, the strategy forms the initial step of the urban development and master plan followed this strategy. The absence of a continuous planning strategy and urban design, due to different political and authority flows is more obvious within a closer look to the urban pattern. Therefore, planning decisions made in larger scale, economical, political and urban development tendencies and requirements of globalisation in the city, İstanbul, which is considered in the global city network, are the facts that

have impacts on the formation of public environment in urban pattern. Considering this, the main focus of the fourth chapter will be the outcome in terms of the spatial development of this planning approach, so the examination will focus on space production in the use of public which due to the planning system and remained as an unintended development area within all the tower constructions of new central business district along the Büyükdere Avenue and the urban pattern.

CHAPTER 4

A SPATIAL READING ON LEVENT CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

4.1. An Analysis on the Public Space of Levent CBD

“The geography of globalization contains both dynamic of dispersal and of centralization” (Sassen, 2002). Considering innovations in informational and computing technologies, the general trend of recent global economy is to disperse its activities over the world due to low investment costs. However, as Sassen (2002) explicates, globalization is displaying a dual geographical dynamic and create not only the dispersion of activities, but also a concentration of central functions, such as headquarters, banks, and international corporations in the main cities of global economic network.

The concentration of central activities of global economy produces a physical development mainly in global cities and central business districts are considered as an urban form and image of this development. As an urban form, although the common features such as image production with splendor structures, functional requirements, and demographic facts, different cities still constitute different strategies for the development of their CBDs. Considering the common physical development trends of global economy, the construction of high-rise towers, skyscrapers and trophy structures, as Haila (1997) mentioned, were concentrated especially in CBDs and has been reflecting the competitive image production of global economy. However, development of CBD is not just an economic or physical process, but considering requirements in infrastructure for massive

structures, and dense demographic condition, it also displays a spacial process of urban design with elements of open and enclosed spaces, as well as with the discussion of the norms of publicity and privatization for urban elements.

In the third chapter, four CBD cases, three from the world and one from Turkey, were analyzed for their diverse urban development strategies and facts. According to the analysis, the three cases from cities of Paris, Berlin and Singapore show the significance of the master planning strategies for the development their CBDs. However, according to the research, in İstanbul, the development of central business district have evolved by considering the fragmented regional planning decisions and investor priorities but by disregarding the need for a specialized urban design in the area. In this manner, the tendency of development in the urban area has become focused on the boundaries of land ownerships but not the overall environment and its needs. In this chapter, the conflicts of Levent CBD in the absence of a special urban design and its spacial influences over the public space will be analyzed by the comparison with the three CBD cases from Paris, Berlin and Singapore.

4.1.1. Urban Design Theory

City planning definitely does not try to create wholeness. It is merely preoccupied with implementation of certain ordinances. Architecture is too much preoccupied with problems of individual buildings... But we propose a discipline of urban design which is different, entirely, from the one known today. We believe that the task of creating wholeness in the city can only be dealt with as a process. It cannot be solved by design alone, but only when the process by which the city gets its form is fundamentally changed (Alexander, 1987).

The discipline of urban design is a rather new notion (Günay, 1999). As Alexander was depicted, it is an intersection of the working scales of city- planning and architecture to deal with the weaknesses of the two disciplines in this scale. While

defining the notion of urban design the two disciplines use different points of views; for city-planners it is “quality of life”, for architects it is “quality of space”. However, a better definition is to provide the balance of the two understanding (Günay, 1999).

In this field of design, the planner has a critical role of defining the urban space. Just a physical arrangement would be resulted as “reduced city to the frame of land use, densities, or zoning issue”, whereas dealing only with the quality of environment would end with “small scale issues of urban furniture, paving or landscape” (Günay, 1999). Since it is a meso scale, in order to compromise a general design with totality of city and details of space, authority of an urban design process should house many professionals from many fields, such as city planner, architect, landscape architect, sociologist, or economist due to the sort of design.

In contemporary city, due to the tendency of constructing increased scale of privatized projects; such as mega-building blocks, all-consisting shopping malls, and large scale gated community projects where the focus is on the parcel design disregarding the city scale, necessity for the urban design field was aroused to provide and protect the unity and quality of constructed mass and the city and human scale. Defining a harmonious relation of mass and space, designing flows and nodes, as well as proposing activity and management structure are the general mission of small scale urban design while respecting planning structures in the macro and micro form.

The problems involved in assembling or dispersing people and activities must be examined in a broad planning level. Decisions at the large scale, in city and regional planning; at the medium scale, in site planning; and at the small scale are inseparably linked. The battle for high quality in cities and building projects must be won at the very small scale, but preparations for

successful work at this level must be made on all planning levels (Gehl, 1987, pp 85)

In the case of İstanbul, while general spontaneous or/and demand based city-planning decisions and architectural attempts for tower designs are dominant in the area, the development of the new CBD is lacking the design phase of the meso-scale, which is urban design. Unlike its world examples, the new CBD of İstanbul, where the crucial issue of urban design is disregarded, has been developing without a specialized design with future vision and management authority. In such a complex urban development, absence of a planning authority and urban design strategies has resulted with many problems especially in the public realm and the legibility of space.

4.1.2. Public versus Private Realm

As the most important terms of urban design, generally, public realm and private realm are coexisting notions for city space where public realm defines open spaces serving for all people regarding their culture, religion and social status, and private realm defines spaces having restricted use, boundaries or entrance. However, there is not a mere proper theory for public space regarding political, legal, spacial and social definitions. According to Günay, considering the property relations public realm is a more complicated notion to define than private realm which meaning is clear (Günay, 1999). In the social analysis, public realm defines meeting spaces of community where democracy is legitimating (Gökgür, 2008). Regarding the definition of Günay (1999) the terms “public, common, communal, collective, social” are all defining the non-private urban space.

Within the non-private sphere (realm, field, etc.), public requires the existence or a political authority to regulate the private and since urban sake evokes out of the tension between the private and public spheres. It is

believed that urban design is a public policy, and that it requires special attention to study this vast topic (Günay, 1999, pp. 41)

According to Sennett, public realm is a materialized space. It houses physical spaces such as square and street within an urban or rural environment. It is the spirit of the city (Sennett, 1996). The physical public space houses many activities which are organized or spontaneous. Gökgür depicts four functions of public space. The first one is movement focusing pedestrian activities of concentration, dispersion and access to structures. The second one is forming an activity center housing social, cultural, consumptive, political activities open to public use. The third function is socialization of people with each other in a spontaneous way such as random meetings, waiting for bus or small talks. The fourth function is forming an identity node defining a city with its form, function and activities so the identity of urban space is related to the public space (Gökgür, 2008). Considering the identity value, these functions and spaces produce public images; “the common mental pictures carried by large numbers of a city’s inhabitants: areas of agreement which might be expected to appear in the interaction of a single physical reality, a common culture and a basic physiological nature” (Lynch, 1960).

However, in the twentieth century, increasing building scales, industry and investment priority and modern architectural movement of “form follows function” increased the priority of public spaces (Trancik, 1986). Sennett depicts that, after 1960s, the traditional public space is modified and the new notion reduced its function to rapid movement. Street remained as a transition space between transportation and enclosed place, and lost its social functions (Sennett, 1996).

Within the city, the push toward verticality has destroyed the integrity of street space, while raised or sunken plazas and internalized malls have further undermined the traditional social function of the street (Trancik, 1986)

Trancik mentions about the public space as the street space, and according to him, due to the new private places housing social functions, which are the new 'public' spaces for some, in the twentieth century, public space remained as "anti-space" or "lost space" which will be discussed further in the following pages (Trancik, 1986).

4.1.2.1. New 'Public' Places

In nineteenth century, as buildings became more utilitarian in their organization, the notion of function was gradually displaced from the external space to the organization of internal space. A building tended to become, in itself, more of an object, separate from its context. (Anderson, 1978)

In twentieth century, liberalization in economy and some governmental activities, as well as globalization of economic functions, and private investments over public functions became the prior changes affecting the world economy as well as city functions. A crucial change in the city functions was the privatization of public uses. Not only housing, but also commercial facilities, and mixed-use developments started to serve as profitable investments for private corporations. Therefore, especially for a few decades shopping centers, gated housing structures and mixed-use centers have become the increasingly developing examples in the urban structure.

For the last decades, increasing informational technologies, rapid transportation systems, dense urban population, increasing work and home distances, and increasing crime rates lead public to be more selective for the places in which they are spending their spare times. Due to the concentration of many commercial and gastronomic activities as well as social ones under privatized security boundaries

and connection to well accessible transportation networks, shopping and mixed-use centers started to be preferred by users instead of the traditional commercial public spaces. Public servings as gathering and socializing function of squares and nodes of urban pattern are losing their priorities against all included, mixed use private structures and managements, so in contemporary city publicity of an urban pattern started to be seen as a secondary element. Therefore, individual private buildings in their segregated environment started to pretend as the new 'public' places for contemporary city.

Considering the preference for all-included, secluded and secured life style, according to Gökğür (2008), also in Turkey, traditional commercial public spaces has started to loose their former customers and in terms of income, quality of space and service these spaces began to decline. Despite the globalization facts, requirements of liberal economy, and private investors, the position and strategies of urban planning actors should be considered as a reason of incitation for such a mutation in public space which can be another research topic.

However, within the new CBD case of Istanbul, contemporary shopping typology as a simulation of 'public' space started to show up with dominancy over the real public space. By general trend of contemporary urban strategies in liberal economy, by the beginning of 2000, construction of mixed-use structures displayed a decline in the area. The initial example was Metrocity which was constructed simultaneously with the metro line and have a direct inner connection to Levent metro station. The permission and special planning for this sort of direct connection shows the given importance to such an enclosed, private space by municipality authorities which cannot be criticized in the existence of same sort of concern for the real public space which will be discussed further in the following pages. Another important feature of this sort of typology is its mixed-use services

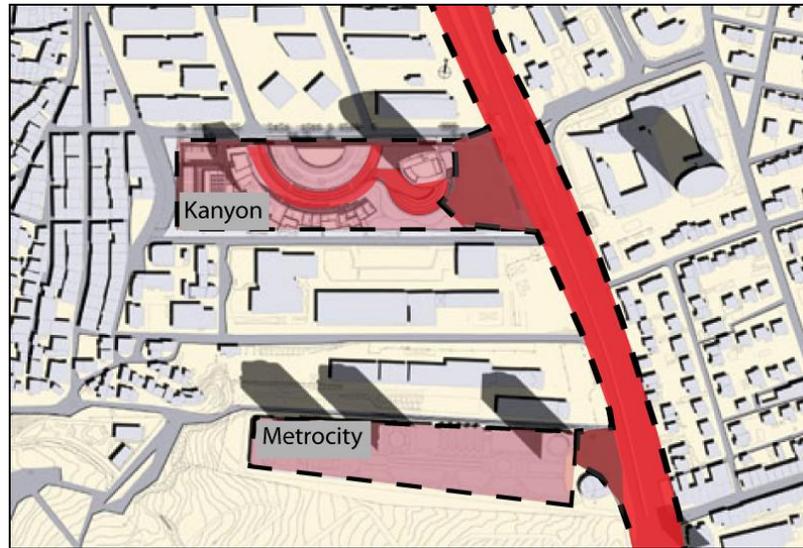


Figure 4-1 Kanyon and Metrocity Mixed-used Centers along the Büyükdere Avenue



Figure 4-2 Levent - Kanyon Shopping Center; serving activities for a restricted public

as shopping and housing. Therefore it wouldn't be wrong to say that this new 'public' space is creating its own customer or in other words, its own public. This close service relation of the shopping center with its customers and the security controls on entrances highlight dominancy of serving for a selected public in this sort of building typology instead of the real public.

The second example for new 'public' space in Levent CBD case is Kanyon mixed use center. Showing similar tendencies with the Metrocity mixed-use center with its housing tower and shopping structure, Kanyon can be seen as a regular example of an urban and public center simulation. However, in this example, the architectural form is highlighting other tendencies of gated structures. By simulating public commercial street structure with semi-open curved and leveled streets and an event square in a gated frame as if a real public urban form with extensions of already existing street forms, when considered as a part of the urban space, the architectural form of Kanyon is emphasizing the challenge between the secure private so called 'public' space and the real street space. Within this simulated gated space, the square is pretending to be a public gathering space and an activity node and streets are pretending to serve for the public movement in-between the Büyükdere Avenue and the side roads of the new CBD (Figures 4.1 and 4.2).

According to this development of concentration of public activities in private spaces, the limited amount of small scale entrepreneurs along the Büyükdere Avenue commenced to disappear and it affected the 'gathering' function of the real urban space to move into the simulated private spaces which caused functional decrease in real public space. Therefore, considering the fact of absence of an overall plan in Levent CBD, the service of urban public space of the CBD was reduced to transition and mobility functions as is in the depiction of Sennett (1996) about traditional public space of twentieth century.

4.1.2.2. Lost Spaces

The usual process of urban development treats buildings as isolated objects sited in the landscape, not as part of the larger fabric of streets, squares, and viable open space. Decisions about growth patterns are made from two dimensional land-use plans, without considering the three dimensional relationships between buildings and spaces and without a real understanding of human behavior (Trancik, 1986).

As discussed in the general topic of new ‘public’ spaces, in contemporary city, the current urban development trend is strictly connected to the private investors and their demands over urban land. However, in the contemporary urbanization not only the mixed-use centers but whatever their functions, usually architectural forms of private investors are showing tendencies for being designed as the symbols of their power. “Each site is seen as a place for image buildings as a potential corporate flagship” (Trancik, 1986). Moreover, the increasing population of world cities, though land scarcity due to the heavy demands over land and new building technologies enlarged physical masses of individual structures. Therefore, the contemporary urban development trend of symbolizing power of investors and enlarged masses of individual buildings have resulted with formation of enclosed spaces disregarding their physical environment.

In cities of the past, the designs for streets, squares, parks and other spaces in public realm were integrated with the design of individual buildings. In the modern city each element is the responsibility of a different public or private organization, and the unity of the total environment is lost. Various development and urban-renewal, by and large, put together separately, without an overriding plan for public space. The result is a patchwork quilt of private buildings and privately appropriated spaces... (Trancik, 1986, pp. 17)

Therefore, undefined open spaces started to evolve around enclosed places which form an important problematic fact for contemporary city. According to Trancik (1986), these spaces are “lost spaces” which he defines as “undesirable urban areas that are in need of redesign” or “anti-spaces making no positive contribution to the

surroundings or users”. As a further definition he depicts that *lost spaces* are “ill-defined, without measurable boundaries, and fail to connect elements in a coherent way”. According to him, the general reasons for the development of lost spaces are the dependence on automobile transportation, modern movement in design, zoning and land-use policies, unwillingness for responsibility of public urban environment, and abandonment of industrial, military or transportation sites in the inner core of city (Trancik, 1986). Regarding economical policies, the building blocks creating lost spaces around mainly consider land ownership borders as an unchangeable pattern to obey in the design process instead of relating the design to its surroundings. However, according to Günay, ownership patterns can be variable due to the aim of urban design action;

One basic reason for my insistent concern on ownership, is the existence or prevailing attitudes or either negation or consideration or property patterns as divine and unchangeable. Patterns of ownership are design variables which have to be resolved in urban design. The processes of transforming cadastral ownership into urban land, shared titles into communal public to private or private to public and unification or subdivision of land should all be considered in any urban design action (Günay, 1999, pp. 43)

As it was analyzed in the third chapter, during the urban development of Levent CBD, the urban planning of the area was only made up of partial zoning and ownership patterns and economical and political policies were focusing on the decisive factor of private investments over the area. Therefore, the urban development showed disintegration between architecture and city planning in public space level which brings the remembrance of the conflict between macro and micro scale of urban acts in the absence of urban design (Gehl, 1987; Alexander, 1987; Günay, 1999). This conflict is ended up with lost public spaces around the large gated blocks of office and housing towers built according to the regular ownership patterns disregarding demands of structural form of the tower pattern.

4.1.3. “Legibility” of cityscape

Lynch (1960) talks about the image of the city. Since city is a whole unit housing many smaller units, the image of a city should be considered as a totality of all the images of its units. The analysis of different urban units of cities according to their physical values, relations of buildings and open spaces, elevations and volumes of the masses, articulations of facades and public spaces as well as balance of greenery spaces produce a basic frame for the comparable physical environment. All these physical values produce a total image of an urban unit which then produces an image of the whole city together with the images of other units. According to Lynch (1960), the totality of different physical elements producing the image of an urban environment should be discussed according to its “legibility” in the physical pattern.

By this we mean the ease with which its parts can be recognized and can be organized into a coherent pattern. Just as a printed page, if it is legible, it can be visually grasped as a related pattern of recognizable symbols, so a legible city would be one whose districts or landmarks or pathways are easily identifiable and are easily grouped into an overall pattern (Lynch, 1960).

Lynch mentions that a legible environment offers security and heightens the potential depth and intensity of human experience (Lynch, 1960). Therefore “legibility” should be a key element of designing an urban pattern. According to contemporary urban development trends, without an urban design it has become harder to create a legible urban environment.

In order to create a legible environment in the public space, according to the discourse of Trancik (1986) the most important element is the creation of enclosure which he calls “hard space” and in his theory, he refers to Steven Peterson who “describes *space* as conceivable and *anti-space* as inconceivable volume.” According to him space is a measurable element, having definite and

perceivable boundaries, even it is “discontinuous in principle, closed, static yet serial in composition.” However, on the other hand “anti-space” is “shapeless, continuous, lacking perceivable edges or form” (Trancik, 1986).

Under the light of these theories, in the analysis of the Levent CBDs’ space production, the physical elements of urban pattern should be examined according to their space and anti-space values and legibility of the overall image. In this frame of work, the general analysis is required the examination of the three important components of successful hard urban space which Trancik (1986) defines as; the three-dimensional frame, the two-dimensional pattern, and the placement of objects in space. Regarding these components, in the analysis of space, the effects of planning approaches, administrative structure and the architectural approaches will be critically examined.

4.2. Effects of Planning Approaches and the Administrative Structure on Spatial Form

Considering the study in the third chapter, during the transformation of the rural Levent to new CBD of İstanbul, five main stages of development occurred. The initial development was three urban typology; industry, squatter housing and planned housing formation. During this time, the base of urban pattern followed in the future growth was drawn by the planned and random land ownerships. The second development was the business functions attached to the industrial lands by 1960s due to the low land values of the new area and restricted land of the old city center. The third stage was the emerging new CBD functions by 1980s due to the political change by liberalization and increasing accessibility by the bridge connections through the city. Considering the high accessibility of the area by the bridges and the new metro line as well as the vast Bosphorus panorama by 2000

the area commenced to attract the housing investments and mix-use developments in the area were started. The current last stage of the new CBD development in the area is the beginning of international investments allowed due to the changes of political approaches in the economy.

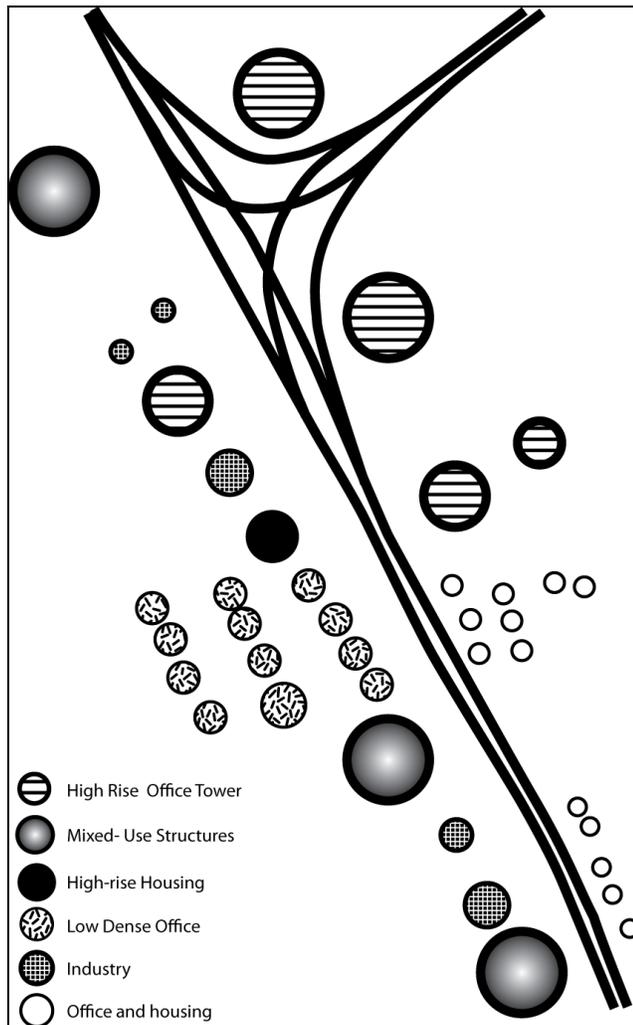


Figure 4-3 Levent Utilization Map in 2008

Considering all these five stages of development, the urban space produced in the new CBD of İstanbul influenced by five main planning problems; the area is lacking an overall planning approach for the future sustainability; the irregularly changing regulations for the floor area ratio caused diverse architectural typologies like housing, factories, low dense offices, high dense high-rise offices, mixed-use structures, skyscraper formation; the infrastructure problems due to the irregular unplanned growth of the density in the area; the deficiency in the planning system allowing development of individualized, isolated and gated building typologies in an urban center; the policy of investment priority.

As it is examined in the third chapter, the other influence on the development of space in the Levent CBD is the fragmented administrative structure in the area by four main decisive ministries. This deficiency in the administrative structure of planning leads the development to follow diverse and unrelated paths of urban patterns which end up with an urban pattern which is complex and lacking totality. When considering the administrative structure of the world new CBD development examples, the private and special planning and application authorities are prior administrative elements of development which is lacking in the İstanbul case.

Regarding these problems on planning and administrative structure of the new central business district development, the urban public space produced in the area has some major problems based on lack of totality in urban pattern. In order to examine physical and spacial relations in an urban pattern, the graphic balance in two-dimensional and three-dimensional patterns should be provided. According to Krier (1984), “the building block is either the instrument to form streets and squares or it results from a pattern of streets and squares”. Therefore, if we consider building blocks as solids, and streets and squares as voids, there should be a close tension and balance between solids and voids to create legible urban patterns.

In his discourse of urban spatial design, Trancik (1986) offers the “figure –ground theory” to study “the relative land coverage of buildings as solid mass to open voids.” In his study, Trancik gives the example of a traditional city, Giambattista Nolli, Map of Rome, in which the building coverage is denser than the exterior space, creating openings for public, seems like carved out from the building mass, which he calls “positive voids”. He mentions that *positive void* is “more *figural* than the solids that define it”. However, without the necessary land coverage, the spatial continuity in voids would be impossible. Considering this, he exemplifies vertical buildings having “inadequate ground coverage” and due to this fact he states that vertical buildings cannot give a sense of enclosure and produce positive voids without articulated perimeter blocks;

The only way the integrity of the street can be preserved in the city of towers is by making clear transitions from high to low building elements. In essence two separate building types are needed within one envelope- a low type that responds to the street-level public realm and a high-rise level that steps back to accommodate private needs above the city (Trancik, 1986).

Considering the architectural trend of global economy, high-rise towers and skyscrapers can be considered as the main elements of physical pattern of economy in the world cities which are concentrated mainly in central business districts. In order to provide positive and legible voids around these tower structures a special design approach should be needed.

With regard to the deficiencies in the planning and administrative approach of CBD development in İstanbul, the figure-ground map shows four different patterns of solid- void relation with the influences of diverse regulations in different time periods and different approaches of decisive authorities. As it was mentioned before, diverse architectural and functional typologies constructed in this complex urban city part caused multi-scale pattern formation.



Figure 4-4 Levent figure-ground map

In the very north side of Büyükdere Avenue, the dense pattern shows the physical structure of the squatter housing. In this pattern, the flow of exterior space is obviously defined by the building pattern creating squares and streets as if a traditional city pattern. In the south, the pattern of Levent housing gives the clues of the planned low dense urban design showing the dominant street pattern. On the other hand, the finance functions around the Büyükdere Avenue shows a dual pattern where in the north side the building coverage is generally showing the narrow and long rectangular land ownership pattern of the area which had been shaped in 1950s when the first industrial structures constructed on the edge of the city for low land value and high profit. However, on the south which is under the control of Beşiktaş Municipality, the buildings are standing as individual elements floating on the surface in which the first high-rise tower structures like İş bank Towers and Yapı Kredi Towers were built.

Studying in overall figure ground map of Levent CBD, it is hard to mention a space unity. While defining some sort of edges as the highroad and building coverage, in the map it can be analyzed that the spacial flow of voids does not define any sort of gathering points, planned openings or special nodes. As a result of the planning and administrative problems, neither the solids nor the voids define a 'legible' flow of space, which is actually the base of the three dimensional space. Therefore, in such a mixture of regulative approaches and planning attempts, architectural designs as well as urban design attempts in a detailed scale gain another priority to improve the legible space production which will be discussed in the following pages.

On the other hand, as the Singapore's old CBD case is examined by the example of Raffles Place, the effects of special urban planning approach can be perceived easily. In overall solid void relationship, the plan is reflecting a unified solid pattern with a building coverage of similar scales of units. Although the height

limits of this CBD case is up to skyscraper typology with around 100 floors, in order to create a defined void for the users all the towers are gathered by attached perimeter blocks. Disregarding the main ring roads, the flow of voids shows that in the middle of the two main perimeter blocks a large gathering space is planned and defined serving to the surrounding blocks. By using perimeter blocks around and smaller scale solid units in the middle, this gathering space is reduced to the perception of public eye. With this public opening the initial aim of this CBD design as pedestrian priority is seems to be achieved. In such an urban pattern the importance of the administrative structure should be highlighted because of the power on expropriation and rehousing of the land which allows to form construction and management due to a specific urban design pattern by the authority of CBD development of Singapore, Urban Redevelopment Authority.



Figure 4-5 Singapore figure-ground map

In Berlin case, a dominant planning system can be read from the figure-ground map of Potsdamer Platz. Although the different approaches in the architectural style of constructed area due to the dual land ownerships of Sony and Daimler Benz, since the planning and the construction in the area was commenced by an urban design competition and the architectural developments in the area followed this initial master planning attempt, the solid-void relation shows legible flows and edges and a unified building pattern. Under the administrative authority of Senate of Berlin Urban Development Department, the two main architectural developments were constructed and maintained appropriate to the master planning. Within this urban pattern, the building blocks are carefully defining the gathering nodes whether public or semi-open private, and the public greeneries.



Figure 4-6 Berlin figure- ground map

4.3. Influences of Architectural Approaches on Space Development

The importance of the balance of a figure-ground relation reveals itself when an urban pattern is perceived by users or “walkers”, as de Certeau (1984) mentions in his study of ‘Practice of Everyday Life’, in the three-dimensional world. In a balanced pattern for an urban city case, the exterior space should be considered as a design object in order to create an enclosure feeling, and let the *walker to read* the space. In this manner, a legible form of urban space can be achieved.



Berlin-Daimler Chrysler



Paris-La Defense



İstanbul-Büyükdere Avenue



Singapore-Raffles Place

Figure 4-7 Views from the exterior spaces of four districts

In the three dimensional urban space, an important factor is the architectural approach on the two dimensional urban pattern. As it was considered in the urban design theory, there is a strong relation between city, urban and architectural scales which define the urban space perceived and used by the public. Considering the planning and administrative approaches to the development of the central business district of Levent, and their problematic influences on the urban pattern seen in the figure ground study of new CBD area, architectural developments gain other priorities to reduce these problems on space production.

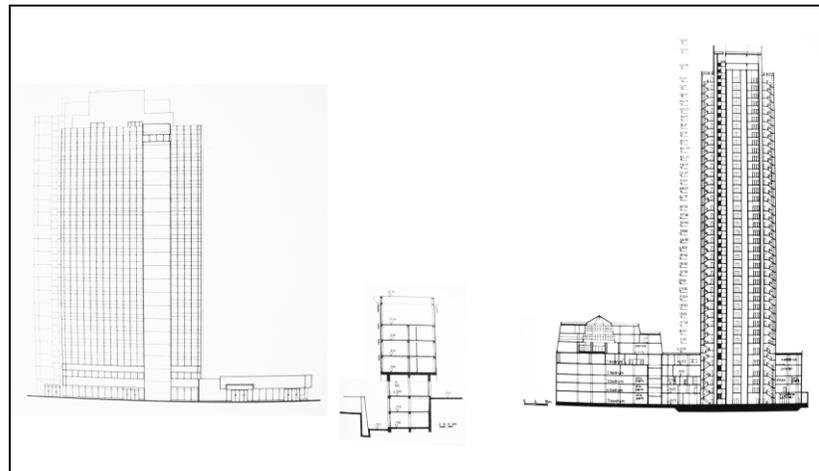


Figure 4-8 Sections of Yapı Kredi Towers- Fako - Sabancı Towers

With regard to the priority of land ownership as decisive actors on the development of the area and the changing regulations on the floor area ratios and functional changes during the last fifty years, similar to the multiple typologies on the figure-ground map, the architectural development of the area also reflected multiple forms. Apartment blocks, high-rise towers as individual, or surrounded by perimeter blocks, multiple tower structures designed together and secondary

service structures are forming the basic three dimensional pattern of the area.¹³ The building examples constructed after Sabancı Towers and future structures of the area usually include perimeter blocks around their tower structures.¹⁴ Yet still the tendency of individualism of economic and politic policies on the development of the area and the symbolic values of the office structures and towers discussed in the second chapter ended up with architectural tendency of disregarding the surroundings in the Levent CBD development. Therefore, the changing planning approaches, and fragmented administrative powers followed by individualized architectural forms in the space production of the area.

With regard to different typologies of building coverage without ability of defining the exterior space in two dimensional pattern, seen in the figure –ground map, as well as the multiple and individualistic volumetric relations in three dimensional space resulted as not creating an enclosure for the perceivers. The public space is lacking any place definition. Considering both the theory of Lynch (1960) for the legibility and the theory of Trancik (1986) for the solid-void relation, all these facts in İstanbul had created a negative void, defining an illegible space, or in other words anti-space which is inconceivable and cannot be read by the perceivers (Figure 4-7 and Figure 4-10).

However, when the three dimensional physical space patterns of world cases are analyzed, the positive influences on organized development approaches from the beginning reflect on the architectural forms as well. In all three world examples, the most important factor for achieving unity with the architectural elements in the area is the power of planning and management authorities which analyze all the building proposals within the scope of the urban pattern and infrastructure to give permission of construction.

¹³ Check Appendix C

¹⁴ Check Appendix D

In the case of Paris, although the architectural forms are different in terms of shape, under the control of EPAD, the unity of the urban pattern is provided by construction of similar building scales close together around the dominant pedestrian corridor. By using similar scales, the urban pattern produced a legible and well defined public void. On the other hand the organized pattern master plan was extruded to the third dimension with the same simplicity for legibility. Whereas in Singapore case, although the dense and complex structure of the building pattern, the singularity of perimeter blocks as the envelopes of the towers and the vast open space created in between are all defining enclosure in the exterior space as well as creating a legible urban pattern for the perceiver.

Other than form and scale facts, considering Lynch (1960) theory of the elements of urban form the main architectural approaches on three dimensional patterns affecting and producing the urban space are edges, paths, nodes and landmarks. In order to study deeper on the space produced in the new CBD of Levent, these elements should be taken into account.

Regarding the contemporary development tendency on *new 'public' spaces* as discussed before, the public activities are moving from the real public urban space to private simulations of public spaces. Due to the contemporary life styles searching for their needs as a fast and compact way, the development of this sort of gated activity nodes is increased while the street life is reduced to a transition space as mentioned by Sennett in 1996. This transformation of activity places is followed by reducing the urban public space into a secondary element of urban pattern which leads to the development of *lost spaces*. In a central business district form, with the high security demands of office spaces the architectural system is based on gated, and segregated individual building typology which nourished by symbolic values of structures and emphasized the effacement of public space.

In planned central business districts as the world cases, the urban planning system tries to create a balance between the gated structures and the public space by the regulations and management of the planning authorities on floor plans of the buildings and public space. In terms of touristic or visitor activities and daily activities like shopping, some floor plans of the structures are open to the use of public in Berlin and Paris case of new CBDs, which leads a smooth transition from public to private. However, in İstanbul case, considering the security demands of offices and planning system, high walls, fences with security check points created as the edges of gated structures.

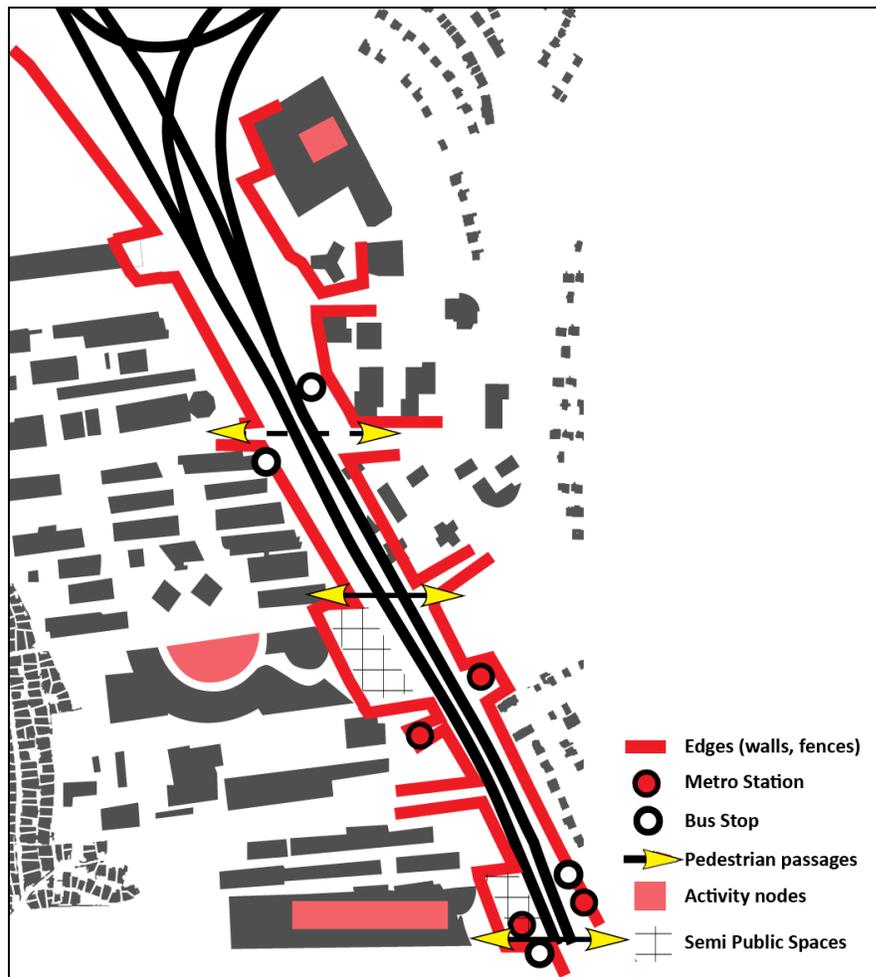


Figure 4-9 Edges and Nodes of Levent CBD

In his theory, Lynch defines the edges as “boundaries between two phases, linear breaks in continuity.” He mentions that in use of holding together generalized areas, edges are important elements as organizing features (Lynch, 1960). According to levels of permeability, edges create a conflict with their dual functions due to the fact that they can be considered both as the elements of defining the exterior space by creating enclosure as well as they are the elements of boundaries creating inaccessibility of physical and visual communication in public space. Walls, transit roads, fences, water and green lines are some forms of the edges.



Figure 4-1029 Edges of Levent; highway and gated structures

Studying on the urban pattern of the Levent CBD the walls and fences built around the land ownership borders of the gated building blocks, unlike the world cases, the transition from the public space to private formed clear cuts instead of soft transitions. Regarding the illegible form of the urban pattern with diverse typologies and forms of structures, as well as the irregular flow of voids on the figure-ground map, the public space turned into lost space which emphasized by the edges around these gated structures as unpleasant barriers in the urban pattern. While long and high walls, fences, security entrances are enveloping and securing

the green and well-cared courtyards of the most structures, the legibility of the exterior space get more ill-defined when the pedestrian activity is reduced to the sidewalks around a highroad covered with car parks due to the infrastructural problems and walls of the structures.

As an element of urban space, sidewalks are a sort of path serving for connectivity and socialization. In order to study paths, an overview on its theory should be analyzed. According to Lynch (1960), “paths are the channels along which the observer customarily, occasionally, or potentially moves”. He exemplifies streets, walkways, transit lines, canals and railroads as the forms of paths. “For many people, these are the predominant elements of in their image. People observe the city while moving through it, and along these paths the other environmental elements are arranged and related.”

Many researchers talks about street as the predominant element of an urban form. For example according to Jacobs, streets are the places of socialization and “more than anything else are what make the public realm” and de Certeau (1984) asserts that “pedestrian movements form one of these ‘real systems whose existence in fact makes up the city’”.

“Streets should encourage socialization and participation of people in the community. They serve as locations of public expression. They should be physically comfortable and safe... They catch the eyes and the imagination. They are joyful places to be, and given a chance one wants to return to them” (Jacobs, 1993).

In the case of İstanbul there are three main conceivable paths; the Büyükdere Avenue, the pedestrian ways and the underground passage. The Büyükdere Avenue is an important path connecting two bridges, as well as important centers of İstanbul. It serves well accessibility to the district as a transit path and provides a visual façade of the CBD towards the city while providing a strong boundary

between the two sides of it for the pedestrian usage by means of physical accessibility and visual legibility due to the density of its traffic.



Underground passage



Pedestrian way



Büyükdere Avenue

Figure 4-11 Paths of Levent CBD

Regarding the inadequate amount of passages serving for the pedestrian accessibility over or under the highroad of Büyükdere Avenue, it provides an important ‘edge’ in the CBD area while physically interconnecting the district to the city as a main demand of CBD formation but also increasing the illegibility of physical space (Figure 4-9). As paths of physical accessibility of these two sides of the edges, the underground passages are poor elements this urban space lacking any place quality; poor lighting and material usage, as well as poor security. The pedestrian ways which are the third type of paths serving for pedestrian movement

around the long walled and introverted edges of the gated structures are narrow or covered with parked cars suffering from the inadequate or non-existent infrastructure for the public car parking. This poor condition of the sidewalks improve the anti-space value of the public space of the central business district and turn them into a transition space from a gated structure to another. Therefore considering the CBD as a prestige area in the global arena, the paths; Büyükdere Avenue, underground passages and sidewalks as elements of socialization and image production, are generally providing anti-space quality.



La Defense - Pedestrian Path



Raffles Place - Vehicle Path



La Defense - Separated pedestrian & vehicle paths



Potsdamer Street - Vehicle path

Figure 4-12 Paths of world CBDs

However, as proving the statement of “great streets do not just happen” (Jacobs, 1993), in the planned examples of CBD cases, the paths of pedestrians and vehicle transportation are designed as well organized and respectful for the needs of the users due to the initial aims of their master plans, such as the plan of La Defense separated the vehicle and pedestrian movement in two levels, defining and improving the physical structure of the urban patterns. They help the physical structure to be read from and so they create strong images of the urban patterns.

As studying on the paths, the nodes on these paths gain importance. As the strategic spots in the urban pattern, nodes can be considered as the center of the activity where socialization occurs. “They are the centers of attraction” (Lynch, 1960). In an urban pattern, squares, bus stops, traffic lights or specific café or shop fronts can be considered as the nodes of the concentration and junction.

Nodes are points, the strategic spots in a city... They may be primarily junctions, places of a break in transportation, a crossing or convergence of paths, moments of shift from one structure to another. Or the nodes may be simply concentrations as a street corner hangout or an enclosed square. Some of these concentration nodes are the focus and epitome of a district, over which their influence radiates and of which they stand as a symbol. They may be called cores. The concept of node is related to the concept of path, since junctions are typically the convergence of paths, events on the journey. Cores are typically the intensive foci of districts, their polarizing center (Lynch, 1960)



La Defense - Christmas Market at the esplanade



La Defense - Entrance of the Metro Station



Daimler Chrysler - Giant Teeter-totters



Potsdamer Platz - Entrance of the Metro Station

Figure 4-13 some node examples from world cases

In the world cases, squares are the main elements of the urban pattern. As it was discussed before, they provide the legibility of the space. The squares are not only the places of image, but also the places of activity. The events happened for catching attention of national and international public as it was discussed in the third chapter are usually located in these squares. As the outcome of their master plans, in the cases of world CBDs, spaces not only for mega events but also for daily activities are considered as the design element such as giant playground in the Daimler Chrysler. Therefore, the intention of mixing the public and finance activities are reflected itself in these urban spaces. In all three examples, the

junction nodes of the transportation networks are articulated as eye-catching landmarks in the areas.

Integration of various activities and functions in and around public spaces allows the people involved to function together and to stimulate and inspire one another. In addition, the mixing of various functions and people makes it possible to interpret how the surrounding society is composed and how it operates (Gehl, 1987, pp. 103)



Entrance of the metro station



Entrance of the underground passage



The front square of Kanyon



The front square of Metro City

Figure 4-14 Nodes from Büyükdere Avenue

On the other hand, in İstanbul case, since there is no urban design intention for the overall development area, and the design initiatives were given to the private landowners, so as an outcome of the figure-ground relationship, no intended or

spontaneous public squares existing in the urban pattern. However, by the construction of the mix-use structures, some squares were evolved as the entrances of these structures like Metrocity and Kanyon. As being under the private security control, these squares can be considered as semi-public places. Studying on the entrances of the transportation as nodes of urban pattern designed with landmark value in the world cases of central business district, in the Levent CBD, unlike world examples there is no intention of any special design attaining landmark value for these nodes. Exploring the plan of the district, in such a privatized and gated urban pattern, activity nodes for daily uses, parks, playgrounds are out of concern.

Another important urban element that Lynch mentioned were landmarks. According to Lynch (1960), landmarks are “external points of references, in which observers do not enter.” A simple object, building, sign, store can all be landmarks for the urban pattern in which they exist. Landmarks are usually defining or giving an identity in its environment. In the contemporary architecture, buildings and structures gain more symbolic meanings and landmark values due to their expressionist forms as designed objects. Considering the contemporary competitive character of institutions in economic activities, as investors, these institutions like large companies and banks are also demanding a competitive character by contemporary architecture. Central business districts are the urban lands in which these landmark structures are concentrated the most. However, considering many architectural objects with symbolic expressions together in an urban pattern, and reading as whole, the power of their expressions are losing the landmark value of the individual structures.



Grand Arche - La Defense



Sony Roof - Potsdamer Platz

Figure 4-15 Landmark Structures

Regarding the competitive character of the central business districts discussed in the second chapter, landmarks become important elements of image production in the international arena. Apart from the individual symbolic values of tower structures in CBDs, intentionally designed trophy structures create the images for the remembrance of the area. In Paris and Berlin cases, as well as in the New downtown of Singapore, the planning authorities searched for trophy structures serving as landmarks for the image of the whole district. Trophy structures are not only creating visual attention to the CBDs but during the construction through media and organized activities they create public attention in international and national arena. Moreover these structures after the construction also provide a continuous touristic attraction with their landmark value and activities maintained.

On the other hand, without an overall planning strategy, such a trophy function cannot be given to any individual building. In İstanbul, although, many investors are promoted their structures as the landmark of the district, there is still no specific building or structure that can define the image of the area and concentrate the public attention.

4.4. Urge for an urban redevelopment and strategy

Globalization is an economical and political issue, yet it has physical reflections especially in world cities. The main physical element of globalization is central business district form with its high-rise towered structure. However, in order to mention central business district as the global face of a city, it has to be considered as an urban whole and a city element. The analysis over the urban elements shows the different attitudes of the cities for their urban developments. These diverse attitudes are not just an issue for a regular city part, but they create also a specialized pattern for central business districts which have important links to the global networks.

However, in the space analysis of İstanbul's new central business district, it is hard to mention a quality in urban pattern and users considering the area as a whole. Considering the effects of planning approach, administrative structure of the development and architectural approaches on space production, the development strategy of investment priority focused on the landownership borders, as well as a general tendency for gated forms has resulted with the overall urban pattern with illegible exterior space production for public use and image. The illegibility of exterior space resulted with shortcomings in security. The public activities are concentrated in the privatized mix-use centers and the exterior space remained as lost space, without public activity and more insecure. However, unlike the exterior

space, gated structures provide the necessary maintenance of their courtyards, but segregate them from the public realm. Regarding the study on the elements of the urban form, it is obvious that the unity of public space is not achieved and some individual elements, especially paths, seem hard to answer even the basic demands of the public use. Comparing with the world examples, even the material usage and maintenance are not appropriate for such a high-priced prestige area.



Figure 4-16 Material usage in the urban pattern

Under these conditions, considering the terms of de Certeau, reading the image of the district as a walker has become a problematic issue. If the users of the area are classified within three types as the users of the towers, visitors and transit passengers from Büyükdere Avenue, the analysis of city elements show the tendency of the district as regarding only the users of the towers within their boundaries. The problems of infrastructure, as parking, energy, water and garbage storage, traffic, which are not analyzed for this study, are considered as increasing facts in future due to the growing density in the area, so within these conditions the sustainability of the district should be questioned.

On the other hand, in all three examples of world cities, due to the planning approaches and administrative structures studied in the third chapter and the controlled architectural developments produce legible space production also maintained with proper activities served for all of the users; workers, visitors and transit users. Therefore, considering the end-products of the space production in world CBD cases, a common image and unity in urban patterns can be perceived improving the sustainability of the district and the promotional factor of the city. Considering the future growth in Levent new central business district, an urban planning strategy should be followed in order to achieve such a sustainable development in space production.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Considering the discussion over globalization and global cities in the second chapter, unlike the dispersal of general financial and industrial activities through the world, the top-level functions of the finance sector is concentrated in the global cities. As Sassen (2001) asserts, the spatial form of this centralization of globalization is central business districts. Therefore, this city part is the global face of the city. Its position on the global economy can be an outcome of being a global city, like in Paris case or a step to be a part of the global city network, like in Berlin and Singapore cases. Within the complexity of global cities, central business districts display a physical typology of concentrated high-rise tower structures and skyscrapers which are constructed as image symbols displaying the power of the investors. Considering this symbolic value, CBDs are facing with the competitive development of towers of individual corporations. In order to deal with this competitive tendency on architectural forms existing in CBDs so the probable urban problems in infrastructure due to the rapid development with economic and planning policies and also to provide a unity in the area, the urban design and strategies followed in development of central business districts gain priority.

Within the study of urban space production in Levent new central business district as the main aim of this thesis, while regarding the economic and social theories, the priority of planning approach and administrative structure is emphasized. Therefore, the world cases examined in the third chapter created examples on the importance of strategy and design on space production in new CBD forms.

Regarding the study on each development cases of world CBDs, in all three examples instead of spontaneous development of finance center, new CBDs were determined to be planned as special project areas. Despite the diverse economic, politic, and historical facts, the common approaches on the development of central business district were their planning approaches and administrative structures. While the initial step was to establish a special authority for expropriation, planning, sales and management of each world CBD cases, considering the initial planning decisions, pedestrian movement, infrastructure of traffic network and public spaces are considered as basic elements to be solved by the planning authority of the area. International competitions, jet-set architects and trophy structures as elements of the CBD developments are displaying the competitive face of the central business districts in the global arena.

However, regarding the examination in İstanbul, space production of central business district has suffered from three main approaches; planning, administrative and architectural. Unlike the world examples, the urban development of the CBD along the Büyükdere Avenue followed a spontaneous approach and disregarded urban design and future strategies. This spontaneous development revealed some planning problems affecting the space production in the area. Considering the absence of an overall planning approach, totality and future sustainability of urban space is eristic. The spontaneously changing regulations for the floor area ratio caused diverse architectural typologies like housing, factories, low dense offices, high dense high-rise offices, mixed-use structures, skyscraper formation. The irregular and unplanned growth of the density in the area due to the economic, political and planning approaches caused the infrastructure problems. The deficiency in the planning system allowed development of individualized, isolated and gated building typologies in an urban center and improved the policy of investment priority.

With regard to the analysis in the third chapter, the other influence on the development of space in the Levent CBD is the fragmented administrative structure in the area by four main decisive ministries. This structure of decisive authority of planning caused the development of different urban patterns under the regulations of different municipalities. This followed by a complex urban pattern lacking totality of forms in space production which was discussed over figure-ground map of Levent in the fourth chapter. However, when considering the administrative structure of the world new CBD development examples, the private and special planning and application authorities provide prior administrative elements of development in order to provide an ease to manage the development and totality of form unlike the situation of İstanbul case.

The effects of spontaneous system of planning and management on the architectural forms and urban space is discussed in the fourth chapter. Considering the architectural approach in extruding the two dimensional urban pattern into three-dimension, the planning and administrative deficiencies on the floor area ratios is reflect on the disunity of the structures. Due to the tendency on introverted gated structures serving for office and mixed use functions, the activities on the public space and its physical legibility is reduced to minor priority. Public space squeezed between the walled or fenced structures and the dense traffic of Büyükdere Avenue is reduced to transition space considering urban elements of edges, paths and nodes. However, on the other hand public activity is moved to the simulations of public spaces in the mixed use centers. Therefore, considering the general urban pattern and elements, while investors are competing with their splendor structures, the public space produced in such a prestige area is remained as lost space due to its illegibility and anti-space values regarding its users.

The current financial decisions as moving the ‘Central Bank of Republic of Turkey’ and the other headquarters of the public banks to İstanbul, the

development of the district as a financial center seem to continue. In order to achieve a sustainable development in the general image, infrastructure and public space in future, there is an urge for a redevelopment strategy and urban design in the area. Considering the planning attempts of İMP and İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality, although a general awareness of the need for rehabilitation and unity in the area, due to the political obstacles, the current development is continuing to be fragmented.

However, in general terms, considering the analysis of development strategies as well as the spatial analysis of world examples and İstanbul, in order to improve the legibility of space and sustainability of the district according to the author's opinion a redevelopment strategy for Levent CBD should consider five stages of acts; a future vision for the district, establishment of an authority, an analysis of existing facts and problems, an urban design, and an activity management.

A future vision is needed to define the general development strategy and program in the district over finance, housing and mix-use functions as well as the public activities. A vision for possible public activities such as concentration on cultural, commercial or mixed uses in the exterior space as an extension of semi- public activity places would provide sustainability in the area during the day, integrate two spaces and make the district serve for different users. A special planning and management authority serving for the whole area is needed to provide central decisions on land, design and public management. The authority should be the main decisive actor controlling the economical and spatial developments in all the area. It should provide an intersection role between investors, planners, researchers and architects and form an organized planning system. In order to propose future designs, the authority should initially do a deep analysis for existing situation of the district, and search for the problems and consequences of the area because

even without new constructions, the area is suffering from the current development strategies.

After considering the analysis of recent situation and the future vision, an urban design should be made by the authority. Within the urban design, the strategies of macro scale planning and demands of micro scale architecture should be considered. As it had been in the planning decisions of IMP an urban design competition could be established. As it was mentioned before, just a physical arrangement would be resulted as “reduced city to the frame of land use, densities, or zoning issue”, whereas dealing only with the quality of environment would end with “small scale issues of urban furniture, paving or landscape” (Günay, 1999). Therefore, the redevelopment strategy for the legibility of urban space should provide a totality between these two ends. Thus, this urban design should be a solution for the problems of solid-void relation, and infrastructure. As the “spirit of the city” (Sennett, 1996), public space should be considered as an important element not like a leftover space in this urban design. In order to provide further security requirements in the area, a common security and management system for the whole area would be proposed so that the use of barriers and the development of gated structures could be restricted which improve the legibility of space production. In addition, an activity management should be provided in order to attract visitors and improve the public use in the area. In case of realization of such a redevelopment strategy, the district would gain legibility in its public space and sustainability for future growth. This would lead the area to serve as a proper international central business district and an activity center for the city as well.

In brief, this thesis has tried to examine the space production new CBD development along Levent – Büyükdere Avenue by focusing on general economic and urban development tendencies of the central business district in İstanbul by learning from notable cases other global city cases. The priority of an organized

planning approach, a special planning authority, and a respectful architectural approach in the urban pattern are the emphasized facts for providing a legible urban space of Levent new central business district. In conclusion, considering the analysis on urban pattern and strategies comparing and contrasted to the world examples, a general outline of a strategy is tried to be proposed with regard to the legible space development and future sustainability of the central business district development in Levent- Büyükdere Avenue.

APPENDICES

A. Future Structure Proposals for La Defense (EPAD, 2008)



1. T1 TOWER; FAUBOURG DE L'ARCHE - COURBE VOIE

Surface area: 70,000 m²

Investor: Lucia-SITQ

Developer: Hines

Architects: Valode & Pistre

Floors: 36

Delivery Date: 2008

2. GRANITE TOWER: NANTERRE

Surface area: 89,000 m²

Investor: Societé Générale

Architect: Christian de Portzamparc

Floors: 38

Delivery date: 2008

3. GENERALI TOWER; PARIS - LA DEFENSE 2

Surface area: 90,000 m²

Investor: Generali

Developer: Vinci immobilier

Architects: Valode & Pistre

Height/floors: 300 m/50 storeys

Delivery date considered: 2013

4. PHARE TOWER; PARIS - LA DEFENSE 6

Surface area: 145,000 m²

Investor: Unibail-Rodamco

Architect: Morphosis (Thom Mayne)

Height/floors: 300 m/.D

Delivery date considered: 2013

5. MAJUNGA; PARIS-LA DEFENSE 9

Surface area: 65,000 m²

Investor: Unibail-Rodamco

Architect: Jean-Paul viguier
Height/floors: 180 m/-
Delivery date considered: 2011

6. CB31 TOWER; PARIS-LA DEFENSE 1

Surface area: 87,000 m2.
An AXA REIM France and
BEACON CAPITAL PARTNERS project
Developer: Altarea-Cogedim
Architects: Kohn Pedersen Fox Associates & SRA Architects
Height/floors: 216 m/-
Delivery date considered: 2010

7. CARPE DIEM TOWER; PARIS-LADEFENSE2

Surface area: 45,000 m2 office
Investor: Aviva
Architects: Robert A.M. Stern Architects
Height/floors: 166 m/35 storeys
Delivery date considered: 2011

8. AIR2 TOWER; PARIS - LA DEFENSE 2

Surface area: 79,000 sq.m.
Investor: Carlyle
Developer: Bouygues Immobilier/Meunier Immobilier d'entreprises
Architect: Architectonica
Height/floors: 220 m/.D
Delivery date considered: 2012

9. D2 TOWER; PARIS - LA DEFENSE

Surface area: 54,000 m²
Investor: SOGECAP
Developer: Bouygues Immobilier/Sogeprom
Architects: Anthong Bechu et Tom Sheehan
Height/floors: 170 m/--
Delivery date considered: 2012

10. CB2I TOWER; PARIS-LA DEFENSE 1

Surface area: 100,000m²
Investor: Groupe Foncière des Regions
Architect: Ateliers 234 — Jean MAS
Height/floors: 250 m/48 storeys
Delivery date considered: 2011

11. PRAETORIUM; PARIS - LA DEFENSE

Area: 10,000 m²
Investor: Capital & Continental
Architects: Arte Charpentier 8c Associés
in collaboration with Robert Lewis Turner
Delivery: January 2009

12. FOUR STAR HOTEL; PARIS - LA DEFENSE2

Surface area: 23,900 sq.m.
Investor: Vinci immobilier
Architects: Vasconi Associés
Height/floors: 70 m/-D
Delivery date considered: 2010

B. 1/25.000 Master Plan of İstanbul; Special Project Areas (IMP, 2006)

BÜYÜKDERE CENTRE REHABILITATION SPECIAL PROJECT AREA

Area size: 168 ha.
Existing uses: Office and Finance Center
Existing Density: High
Ownership pattern: Public and Private

Development Plan Proposal: Central Business District
Proposed uses: CBD Functions
Proposed density: NA



Development of Büyükdere-Levent-Maslak Centre further towards north is seen as the biggest threat for the ecological sustainability of İstanbul since the natural areas will be destroyed by this development. Thus, the area is determined as special project area to be rehabilitated and consolidated. Moreover, with a project it is aimed to direct its development towards Kağıthane, to the west by creating attraction points and railway connections.

C. Places of Büyükdere Avenue



1. Tekfen Tower
2. Fako
3. Levent Lofts
4. Deva Holding
5. Kanyon
6. Özdilek Tower
7. Metro City
8. Sabancı Towers
9. Isbank Towers
10. Yapı Kredi Towers
11. Sapphire

The construction dates and floors of the towers;

Sabancı Center	(39, 39 floors, 1993)
Is Bank Towers	(52, 36, 36 floors, 2000)
Yapı Kredi Plazas	(20,20,20 floors, 1992)
Tekfen Tower	(28 floors, 2003)

Deva Holding	(13 floors, 2002)
Sandık Plaza	(14 floors, 2002)
Harmancı Gız Plaza	(24 floors, 2001)
Polcenter	(16, 14 floors)
Istanbul Canyon	(30 floors, 2006)
Levent Plaza	(13 floors, 1999)
Metrocity Millenium Towers	(35, 35, 31 floors, 2000)
Mövenpick Hotel	(24 floors, 2002)

D. Future Projects of Büyükdere Avenue



Figure D-1 Zorlu Center by Tabanhoglu (www.arkitera.com)

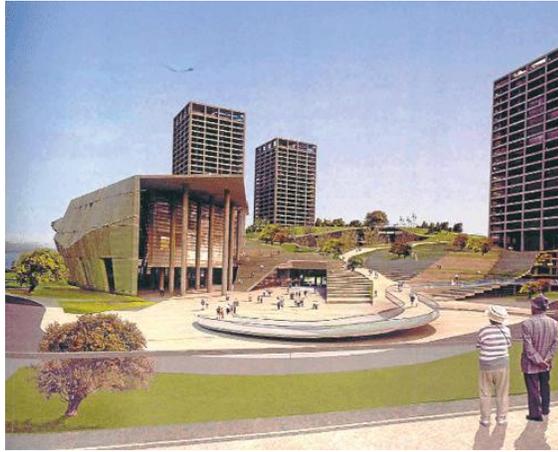


Figure D-2 Zorlu Center by Arolat (www.arkitera.com)



Figure D-3 Sapphire by Tabanlıoğlu (www.arkitera.com)



Figure D-4 Özdilek Tower (www.emporis.com)



Figure D-5 Dubai Towers (www.arkitera.com)

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