

Rethinking the Urban Transformation Projects Again: the Distribution of Public Burden and Benefits. The Case of Kartal District, Istanbul

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1 ABSTRACT

Istanbul Metropolitan Areas has been experiencing a massive pressure to transform itself into a "World City" with the help of emerging neo-liberal urban policies after 1990's. Radical changes in the world politics after 9/11 and increasing energy demand have made Istanbul a candidate for regional hub to financial flows and energy corridors. International capital sees Istanbul as likely to be the command and control center for the Balkans, the Middle East, the Black Sea Region, and some of the Central Asian Republics of the former Soviet Union. From this point of view, it has a strategic geographical location which promotes competitive economy at EU level. Additionally, reform process towards full membership to EU has created new policy approaches in urban transformation reforms.

Within this framework, the last two Master Plans of Istanbul Metropolitan Area targeted transforming Istanbul into a primary city as a cultural and financial center in its region, to become a competitive city at the EU level. This planning objective mandates concentrating on the development of a *high level services sector* in some targeted sub-metropolitan areas, while leaving the *low value added* and *labor intensive industrial sectors* outside the city limits. Secondly, the last metropolitan plan (2009) aims to distribute the population between the two continents to decrease the *locational mismatch* between residential and employment areas by creating a *polycentric metropolitan structure*.

Abandoned industrial areas have recently become potentially important places to realize these plan targets.

The Kartal district was chosen as one of the project areas in the metropolitan area. For local and central governments, these new urban centers are also places to attract global capital as well as national capital. Thus, to place the project on the world agenda a massive publicity campaign was organized and a worldwide project competition was realized in which, the well-known architect Zaha Hadid won the first prize. Instead of direct investments, the role of the public sector remains *limited to providing infrastructure like subway, roads and some public buildings*.

This paper examines the following subjects:

- The power relations within central-local governments and other main actor such as property owners and local residents in a project focused planning process,
- The distribution of risks and wealth of the project to the main actors, and
- A short comparison of similar projects in certain selected EU cities.

2 THE DYNAMICS OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN ISTANBUL AFTER 1980 AND THE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

With its approximately 8000 year history, Istanbul has always been a center of empires at different periods. Time has always made this city appealing and has always drawn the attention of many. Perhaps the most important factor arises from the fact that it was founded on such a strategic geographic location. Istanbul is the only city in the world that rests on two continents. It is the central meeting point of the continents of Asia and Europe and the center of a geography known as Eurasia.

Today with its population of 14 million, Istanbul is larger than Portugal, Denmark, Belgium, Switzerland, Greece, the Czech Republic, Luxemburg and Austria. Aside from its large population, the market volume it creates is a magnet point. The "conurbation" within Istanbul (Çubuk 1993) and its production and consumption centers increase its market share each passing day. The humanistic and technical infrastructure superiority it harbors in addition to its geographical location has made the city more dynamic and mobile. In order for this city to become an important cultural and financial center in its region after the events of 9/11, both the government and the local authorities have begun taking decisions to this end. In particular, including

the Central Bank in Ankara, the move of all public bank headquarters to Istanbul is on the agenda of the city (DPT, 2009).

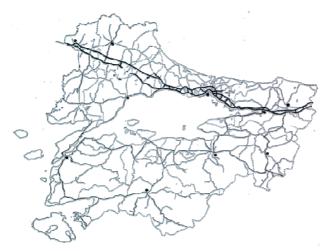


Fig.1 – Marmara Region, Metropolitan Istanbul and the Kartal region. Source: Erbas, 1995

Undergoing an intense industrial growth where the services industry is expanding, it is not easy to meet the urban needs of Istanbul. In the diversification and increase in these services the socio-economic transformation that took place in Istanbul in particular after 1980 were effective. Globalization, neo-liberal policies, the new world order, single market, new regionalism and multi-national companies have provided new opportunities for Istanbul to become a world city. Aside from its importance to Turkey, Istanbul is also an important sphere of influence for the Middle East, the Balkans and the Caspian region.

In order to scrutinize these developments, it is possible to divide the period starting in the 1980s into three phases. Accordingly, the first phase is the decade extending to 1990. During this period, Reagan in the United States, Thatcher in Britain and Özal in Turkey take place within the same conjecture. It is a period where the principles of change and restructuring were defined. During this decade Turkey boasted of being a country that had "stepped into a new age." While on the one hand it opened its doors to all technological changes, on the other hand it faced with many debatable social issues. The second phase is the decade from 1990 to the year 2000. This decade saw spatial expansion that gained an appearance based on new economic and political decisions. This expansion of the city increased even further during this decade. On the one hand, new settlement areas were created while on the other hand existing settlements further expanded. The decade between 2000 and 2010 saw a one party government period based on a conservative – liberal policy axes. The liberal policies that the government applied appeared in particular after the events of 9/11 and Istanbul was designated as a financial center by the government. It is noteworthy that the changes that took place in the 1990s can, in particular, be associated with the process of globalization. Based on the appeal of international capital where Istanbul is emphasized as a "world city," encompasses certain expectations of the city in the future.

During this period Istanbul's spatial structure was based on three elements of change:

- The period of change that took place in the city center and in functional areas,
- The appearance of a new spatial development axis within the urban structure, and
- The developments in residential areas.

The process of change of Istanbul's city center and functional areas operate on the effects of two basic factors:

- The decentralization and relocation of existing industrial areas,
- The expansion and concentration of service areas.

Within this framework, first, the industrial zone around the Golden Horn, the Kazlıçeşme leather industry and the industrial installations that surrounded Bakırköy and Levent broke away from the center. Again during this period, the 1950s generation of industry showed similarity with the areas that underwent late period industrial decentralization and intensified in the services industry. The changes that incurred in the



central business districts (CBDs) in Istanbul are also another notable example of this change during this period. This change has two dimensions: The first is the change that took place from the traditional shape of CBDs and the other is the formation of new sub-centers within the metropolitan borders of the city. Within this coverage, the Kartal region has been envisaged as one of the new peripheral centers of Istanbul.



Fig. 2 - Proposed Polycentric Urban System in the Metropoliten Area. Source: Istanbul Metropolitan Planning Office, 2009

Eminönü and Karaköy, as traditional centers of the city that go back historically, have "lost their attractiveness" due to the formation of CBDs. The giant shopping centers, game and entertainment areas, fairs, exhibit and performance centers and multi-level office buildings that are intertwined reflect the character of the new central business districts.

The most important conversion factor noticable in the urban transformation of Istanbul after the year 2000, subject to the development of CBDs, are the newly formed "spatial development axes." The developments along these axes are examples of new commercial developments that carry special qualities separating them from traditional centers within Istanbul's urban complex and that show interaction with the winds of globalization. In terms of their spatial formation, these development axes were the result of the changes and transformations that took place in the city's center and functional areas (Ozus, Turk, Dokmeci, 2011). In short, starting with "hypermarketization" the development of "giant shopping centers and office blocks" and continuing with "skyscraperization" is the reflection of the spatial process of this period (Erbas, 1995). These new formations that can also be defined as "the sites that reflect globalization" and given its dimension, can be grouped under existing six spatial development axes.

- 1) The Mecidiyeköy Zincirlikuyu Maslak axis
- 2) The Bağlarbaşı Altunizade Ümraniye axis
- 3) The Kozyatağı Ataşehir axis
- 4) The Bakırköy Güneşli İkitelli axis
- 5) The Avcılar Beylikdüzü Haramidere axis
- 6) The Levent Kavacık axis

In addition to these areas, the Metropolitan Istanbul Area Master Plan on a scale of 1/100,000 proposed that Silivri on the European side and Kartal on the Asian side be included as sub-centers of the Transformation Project Areas.

During the present time, the dynamics that will affect the Istanbul Metropolitan Area in general and the Kartal region urbanization development can be summarized as follows:

1. A New Administration Model

As the primary city within the country, a new administration model is being formed for Istanbul. In order to strengthen local authorities, work on the Local Authorities Law continues. However, with the new Law No. 5393 on Metropolitan Municipalities that replaced Law No. 3030 the boundaries of the Metropolitan Istanbul Municipality were extended to the boundaries of Istanbul province. In addition, the new districts that were formed or dissolved within the boundaries of Istanbul province will have close relations with the urban development dynamics of municipal boundaries.

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2. Earthquake Risk

After the Marmara Earthquake of 17 August 1999, the risk of an earthquake in Istanbul has become an important agenda for the city. The preparation of earthquake focused urban projects that includes the tall structures that have been built as well as new and existing residential stockpiles will be put on the agenda.

3. Migration

The migration phenomenon that has continued since the 1950s has deeply affected the district of Kartal. Aside from the migration from different cities to Istanbul a significant and large population size is also present that has changed locations within Istanbul. In this sense, a population that seeks better living conditions and urban quality will prefer to live in the Kartal region in the period ahead with the projects that are being developed. However, unless pros and cons are not scrutinized by the stakeholders in a substantial manner, the planning process will not follow its intented course.

4. Urban Expansion

The expansion that has taken place in metropolitan Istanbul has also brought the question of the decentralization of production centers. The spatial expansion that is taking place in the industry and service sectors can be explained due to the strong transport and communication infrastructure in the region. With the D100 highway and the TEM expressways, the Istanbul-Edirne and gradually the European connection have become stronger. The industrial investments that have shifted to Çorlu and Lüleburgaz, the port investments at Ambarlı and Silivri and the expo and convention centers have enabled the formation of strong links with the traditional centers of Istanbul as well as the new centers that lie in the hinderland of the metropolis. Thus, the Kartal region will rapidly develop into an area where both high income as well as middle income groups will reside in the period ahead. It requires a best practices approach within the principles of smart growth (Krueger, Gibbs, 2008), rather than being an uncontrollable "oil stain" in this growth.

5. Urban Quality

Such issues as traffic, noise, environmental pollution, aesthetics, safety and infrastructure in the business and residential areas in the city center have pushed some city dwellers who seek a certain quality in their living environment to new suburban areas. In a setting where neighbor relations have weakened and where organization has not reached the level of developed societies, these new localities come across as important socio-economic communities.

2.1 The Place and Importance of the Kartal Sub-Center District in Terms of Planning

Recommendations on solutions for the Kartal region, as the subject of this study, within the perspective of the Metropolitan Istanbul Area must be put forth. At this stage there are basic issues for debate on a number of points:

- One of the functions of the central business area with the Istanbul Metropolitan area is the acceptance of the Kartal region on the Anatolian side of Istanbul.
- The wish to relocate the existing industry in Kartal.
- The measures to be adopted involving employment for the industry that is to be relocated.
- The transformation of the existing residential fabric in the region in view of the new settlement area.

That in traditional metropolitans there is insufficient space for city centers to expand and given the new specialized urban services that have appeared in the information and communication age the need for highly developed CBDs has been widely accepted. In addition, in order for international companies wishing to be near consumers, the requirement for physical locations to provide services in CBDs in large metropolitan areas is known. For this reason, to meet the increasing and diverse urban services, a need for CBDs arises and the planning of these new districts in metropolitan areas is frequently in planning agenda (Jones, Orr, 2004).

In particular, given that large metropolitans encompass an important number of consumers, provides for important centers for the market search of international companies. While large metropolitan areas develop new central areas, they sometimes restructure brownfield urban areas and in certain cases they open empty and new areas for CBDs (Bunker, Searle, 2009).

On the other hand, one of the planning issues during the last period is that in order to revitalize regions that are decrepit, worn, dilapitated, non-functional or have completed their economic lifespan is to introduce new functions to these regions, revive infrastructure, develop policies bearing in mind the functions of the main plan, determine the targets of policies that will realize this and identify the timeframe of the tools for application. The policies and tools applied to resettle the individuals in these areas to the refunctioned areas vary from country to country. Paris has opened for use the empty area in La Defense region and developed a CBD; London through the Docklands area development project has obtained new CBDs; Barcelona has assigned new central functions to the decrepit and unused urban areas in the Poblenou region; Berlin is developing a new center at Postdamer Platz; Amsterdam through the Kop van Zuid CBD has undertaken functional changes in the urban areas and is developing a new center and Hamburg with its Hafen City project is developing a new mixe use center for the old and non-functional port area at Chicago Square. In developing these areas aside from Public-Private Partnerships, social policies aimed at individuals that presently live or work in the region were developed. In order for new center creation projects to be strategic and sustainable various tools have been developed (Grant, 2002).

Carefully identifying these areas within the city in general and the types of interventions developed suitable to solutions undertaken during this stage of identification are expected (Gunton 2003). In particular, the individuals that live in these areas who are comparatively in the lower-middle income groups require that these interventions be developed more carefully.

In organizing new centers it can be observed that "strategic urban projects" where an urban development vision, a strategic plan, local action plans, application programs and project relations have been set in place are considered as an important organizational tool (Grant, 2002).

In this way, the area of organization in which it is sometimes empty or sometimes built-up can, through urban projects and by directing design principles, the physical location can be arranged for the new standard of living. Of course this situation, on the other hand, puts a strain on the tradition that passes from the upper scale to the lower scale followed for many years and known as the planning hierarchy (Borja, Castells, 1997).

Decisions developed from the bottom up or the top down have various advantages and disadvantages. In this context, in recent years, it is known that in the world in general, decisions on principles developed within the framework of strategic planning have been tested with projects developed at the lower scale and where found applicable has been applied and, where deemed as unapplicable has been subject to various revisions with feedback to the upper scale. In this way, the strict structure of the traditional planning levels approach that starts from the higher scale is broken as well as the tendency of urban projects developed at the upper scale to be disjointed is removed.

Thus, work done at the lower and upper scales identify each other, are revised and benefited from the advantages of both scales. The area in the Kartal region in which predominantly an industrial zone has become decrepit and completed its economic lifespan and with an old urban fabric has been given the goahead as a sub-center development in the Metropolitan Istanbul Master Plan on a scale of 1/100,000.

Within this upper scale plan the Metropolitan Municipality considered an idea project in rehabilitating this area and invited through written invitations foreign "star" architects to a project competiton for the approximately 500 hectares area.

Within this framework, among those invited, Zaha Hadid's Kartal Special Project Area Idea Project Studies came in first to be evaluated. With Zaha Hadid's project, the basic targets relating to the organization of a CBD were determined. The basic principles of the idea project obtained through this urban design method has been transferred to the development plan and evaluated. In this way a master plan that is suitable to the existing plan base in Turkey has been submitted to the metropolitan municipality council. However, contrary to the general tendency in the world, this urban design project and development plans do not have the means to affect and test the upper scale plan. In this context, the applicability of the CBD decision given at the upper scale, its legitimacy in the eyes of the users and its effects on metropolitan Istanbul in general have not been decided through a review at the lower scale. Consequently, the need for flexibility of the planning practice in Turkey is being resolved with an incomplete application.

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¹ Decrepit and non-functioning, little used or abandoned regions in cities are known in the literature as "grey areas."

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According to Saskia Sassen,² Istanbul is a giant complex city. Istanbul is where very wide and diverse activities meet an unchanging fixed city. Again, according to Sasen, it is seen in the first ten metropolitan cities in terms of political influence together with Washington, Beijing, Paris, Cairo, London and Brussels. By political influence is meant the affect it has in developing global politics and political dialogue. Among the 19,000 international companies that are active in Turkey more than half are located in Istanbul. This and other facts have taken place in the literature with different studies and metropolitan Istanbul has been defined as a regional center, a beta global city etc.

At the same time it should not be overlooked that global cities have gradually become more expensive for residents; that marginal individuals have been gradually excluded from access to public resources; inequality, polarization and disassociation have reached an advanced stage; that all metropolitan cities competing for the same functions have gradually disidentified these said cities and the creation of duplicate cities have been well documented in the literature. An important part of this criticism has been voiced by Saskia Sasen.

The comments made above is important not only because Istanbul being in an influential position as a metropolitan city and in this context its need for central districts but also because of matters that need to be paid attention during the globalization process.

Having come to power since the 1980s, the Metropolitan Istanbul Municipalities even though with different nuances have adopted the objective of Istanbul as a global city with its international relations and political effectiveness and this objective has been reflected in their upper scale plans and urban policies. In this respect that a reorganization of CBDs is necessary have been voiced not only by public planning units but also by public sector investors. Within this framework, decisions on planning in the formation and establishment of functions that will provide the continuity of Istanbul's global role are expected.

The Metropolitan Master Plan has found the Kartal region suitable for this role and even though the extent and the timetable are different and even though there are shortcomings, it has been arranged similar to international planning environment methods, the technical and the social infrastructure strenghtened area is foreseen with the opportunity to provide high level services in the metropolitan area within 20 to 30 years.

The CBD is an area that generates information, that concentrates on organization and coordination skills and in which high level urban services are present. Determining the size of this area and the population that will settle here is not possible at the present time. However, estimates in which precise figures are debatable can be made. On the other hand, there are certain standards for class A office buildings where international companies can occupy. In Istanbul's CBDs there are insufficient class A office buildings preferred in particular by international companies.

In terms of public investments it can be observed that mass transit opportunities have increased; that metro lines have been provided; airport connections strengthened and with the Marmaray and sea transport the metropolitan district has increased its transport means to traditional business districts as well as other CBDs and large public usages such as the Kartal Courthouse have been moved to the region.

As a solution to the visible central district inadequacy in the metropolitan Istanbul region, the 1/50,000 scale Metropolitan Istanbul Master Plan approved in 1980, designated the Kartal region as a first degree CBD, however the development did not take place because of the lack of the means of construction. The function of the CBD introduced to the Kartal region with the 1/100,000 scale Metropolitan Master Plan in 2009 was considered together with various means of application. In this sense the effects of a planned scenario can be seen.

However, aside from the accuracy in terms of the potential in identifying this function for the Kartal district, it is noted that the problems that may take place during the application process have not been sufficiently put forward. It should not be forgotten that the practice of planning operates not only with potentials in the world but also in evaluating conceivable problems. The Kartal district which grew on the residential areas of the workforce in which the majority worked in factories near the E-5 and the surrounding factories where they lived still continues the effects of the industry sector and workforce that can be considered as the founding and formative element of this district.



² Urban Age Symposium, İstanbul, 2009

The said industrial installations not only have not lost their functions but an employment alternative for the workforce that are employed there has not been created. The residential areas that surround the industrial installations are also areas that have not completed their economic lifespan. Within the framework of the CBDs that have been introduced neither the industrial installations nor the existing industrial workforce will be sheltered in the region. In terms of investments and manpower a serious sectoral decentralization is foreseen.

Work relating to the decentralization process are performed highly inadequately within the Metropolitan Istanbul Municipality and district municipalities. The reason for this inadequacy is not being able to form participatory processes as well as not being able to create awareness among the local community.

With participatory processes the objective in planning is to explain to those concerned the decisions taken or to be taken with reasons regarding the city's future and to adopt implementable and legal decisions after obtaining their views. In this way disagreements that may arise after the plan has been prepared can be rectified.

In general the reason put forward that blocks participation in planning is introduced as the obligation to "make a rational decision." In fact this reason has become redundant in the literature on planning. Now the term given as "negotiant planning" where decision processes are participation based and whenever possible the community that is affected is included is now preferred. In the event that it is a superior public planing process that prefers rational decision processes can be adopted, however, in this situation regulatory mechanisms must be developed in order to minimize unjust treatment as a result of these justified decisions.

2.2 Zaha Hadid's Kartal District concept project on Urban Transformation

An urban design competition was held among the internationally invited urban designers by the Metropolitan Istanbul Municipality for the Kartal CBD. A project was selected among the invited urban designers although the Urban Design Law has not been included in the agenda of the Grand National Assembly and has not been debated in the general assembly. Consequently, in this regard the basic elements and principles of this project as a result of this urban design competition have been resolved within the coverage of Law No. 3194 as far as the public works law permits.

The matters stated above have been derived from the reading of the 1/5000 scale Kartal CBD Land Use Plan. A few examples of the urban design project developed by Zaha Hadid are given below.



Fig.3. Zaha Hadid's Kartal District Special Idea Project on Urban Transformation. Source: Kartal Urban Design Competition

The project known as "soft grid" and differentiated from the known grid systems developed a new design model that is without an ownership right and developed with usage decisions and different building heights based only on design anxiety. Ownership design or ownership information was not considered in the project. It was recommended that the region be developed according to this new design understanding. The buildings in general are designed as office buildings and a section defined as residential area. It is considered that the office buildings will form a whole with the project layout.

³ The draft law dated 22.06.2006 and No. 3213 letter forwarded to the Speaker of the Grand National Assembly.

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This project's basic principles and approaches were prepared and turned into a 1/5000 scale land use plan. The urban design project was prepared with an understanding of partially maintaining inbound routes of beltways but, in keeping with the philosophy of the grid arrangement, the competent and strong urban functions that provide the opportunity to develop from their present point were developed with an understanding that is independent from the ground ownership. The project only defines road width, parcel size, building heights and city block dimensions. What type of urban functions will be introduced in the regions; bearing in mind beltway connections, the property fabric and ownership; the shape of arrangements at the city block level based on the requests of sub-region diagrams to take place in the future and, that in accordance with these requests land allocated for urban social and technical facilities are understood from this plan.

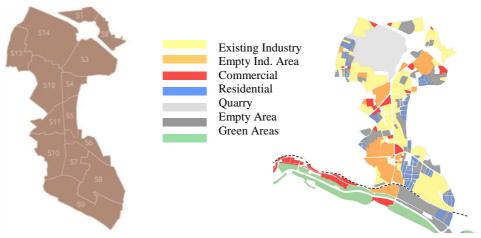


Fig. 4. Planning Zones and Land Use in Kartal Project Area, Source: Kartal Master Plan Report, 2010

Within the coverage of this project, it can be seen in particular that:

- In the residential fabric to be renewed in the city, more flexible and open air usage is provided,
- Indications on parcel size show that between avenues and streets, structures with wide courtyards will take place thereby providing open spaces to the community and for this purpose parcel scales have been readjusted and that the equivalence value has been increased in proportion to parcel size.
- Aside from residences, in line with the principles of the high plan, functions such as commercial and office as well as cultural structures and city blocks allocated for accommodations the equivalence value has been increased and that commercial use areas are encouraged.

This design project by developing suitable tools has become a development plan. The guidance in the design project of the development plan is seen as plan provisions (Kartal Master Plan Report, 2009).

Land use, function, density and their distribution is indicated in the spatial drawings and designs that is in the nature of a supplement to the plan (4.2). As stated in Article 2.3 in the Plan's provisions spatial drawings, design and research were undertaken during the plan preparation period and are studies that support the Plan. Among these that are known by public opinion are only international competition projects and in particular Zaha Hadid's project that won first prize.

In the provisions of the Plan it is stated that permission will be given to office, commercial, socio-cultural, tourism and mixed residential usages, thus the provision that the drawings to be developed for the plan's subregions as mixed usage will have a flexible structural shape and developed according to demand has been accepted (4.1). However, in the mixed usage, a limitation of a maximum of 50 percent for residential areas has been set (4.4). Again related to this it is foreseen that as residential usage declines within the total construction area, the equivalence value will increase and for certain usages the basement floors will be excluded from the equivalence calculation (4.5). Underground car parking has also be excluded from the equivalence calculation (4.7). What is understood from this provision is that the use of residences in the planning area is not encouraged.

In areas for residential usage up to 0.50 the equivalence value is indicated as 2.5. Where areas are completely for commercial, accommodations, entertainment units, sports activities and cultural activities such as cinemas and theaters, the basement floors below ground level are not in included in the equivalence value

and a 3.00 equivalence coefficient has been introduced and in particular the separation of the region's central functions is encouraged with the Plan's provisions.

The minimum parcel size for the application is 5,000 m2 and the minimum size for new allotments is 10,000 m2 (4.3). These figures indicate that the area's development is city block based and foresees progress with large investments.

In areas allocated as "M" legend or "Existing Built-up Areas" the minimum parcel size is denoted 2,000 m2 and as the parcel size increases and residential use decreases the equivalence rate is in proportion to the increasing rates (4.6). What is trying to be achieved with this Article is that the existing residential areas as far as possible achieve a structure that is equipped with the central features targeted for the planning areas. Existing maps and satellite photographs indicate that these regions contain apartment buildings on very small parcels.

The equipped areas would be indicated from the new plan's drawings, designs and research and that from each sub-region an equivalent rate of 40 percent "Arrangement Partnership Interest (API / DOP)" deduction would take place; which equipped area would take place in which sub-region is noted in a table of the attachments to the provisions. With this distribution the accessibility and continuity principle will be applied. Since there are no population and area calculations a comment has not been made regarding their sufficiency and only an inadequate analysis and synthesis determination can be made.

In the present situation the residential areas that are built-up on small parcels and which have not completed their lifespan is foreseen as new built-up areas on consolidated parcels and where possible based on city block designs. In rundown and disorderly built-up residential areas this project is but one reasonable alternative. However, while this recommendation is being developed answers to the difficulties and questions that may arise should also be developed.

It is obvious that even if it is accepted that the transformation period is necessary in the planned area is period has not been taken into consideration. A program as to where, when and by what means or by converting and beginning operations at the indicated sector of the said industrial installations is expected and this involves a wide participation period. Whereas it is known that the plans were not prepared during a transparent and participatory period and only open to participation during the evaluation period. The transformation period may be a necessity; however, this necessity must be programmed to take place together with the future of the users, investors and the workforce. It can be said that the investors or workers that want to continue their activities as it exists and in this sense have undertaken various fixed investments are left in the darkness.

3 CONCLUSION

The basic principles and approaches in the decision to form the Kartal Sub-Center is in compliance with the basic provisions specified in the 1/100,000 scale Metropolitan Master Plan;

- Within this framework, decisions on supporting the multi-center development of Istanbul can be seen.
- Idea project work on forming sub-centers were obtained from internationally invited "star" architects for an urban design competition.
- First place in the competition with principles and approaches dominated by political views was Zaha Hadid's project.
- In the building blocks that will undertake central area functions, the property owners and investors were encouraged to increase the building density and equipped with plan notes of this kind.
- In particular, with the mixed urban function (mixed land structure) approach is a structure that encourages development for property owners and investors in line with the principles of the upper plan.
- Considered as more flexible than traditional planning approaches and suitable to current conditions and in accordance with contemporary land use plan techniques.
- As a result of the competition, the design drawings and guiding principles related to the drawings are present. The city block system that based on a grid structure that is not related to a flexible and

geometric rule and with its CBD function encourages development coefficients with socio-cultural structures that is flexible and considers equivalence value but does not take into consideration the ownership design at the ground level.

• In an area of approximately 500 hectares in which an existing and active industry is present one of the most important contemporary planning approaches is that evaluating the "employment" and "value added" structure is not adequately done and that transforming an industrial area to one of service and commercial areas must be carried out with a program instages is not foreseen is observed.

In the relationship between the plan and the project, it is obvious that strategic projects that are developed within a framework of an urban vision, that a strategic plan is defined as an action plan and equipped with application steps and means within a known plan has become an important area of debate area is well known. For this reason the conclusion that the Kartal Sub-center Project is not considered together with the Urban Development Vision, Strategic Plan and the Strategic Urban Project and Implementation Program, that it is a spatial environment that is disattached and insufficiently related and that the concepts of load and benefits placed on the public is not shared with public opinion and that the participation process is exceedingly limited can be reached.

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