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## CITIES TRANSFORMED BY GLOBALIZATION

### Abstract

Globalization, which has far-reaching effects, transforms many phenomena with it. The phenomenon of urbanization, which has a direct relationship with globalization, becomes a structure increasing economic growth at a certain level together with industrialization where social, economic and political transitions and even inconsistencies are experienced. Cities transformed by the effects of globalization lead to the formation of new cities and, in association with this, new problems. Cities that have become centers of consumption have developed into a structure where the economic gap between the inhabitants, the polarization with socio-cultural differences, and the chaos with spatial and environmental changes are effective. Cities that are struggling with problems such as the exclusion of city-dwellers, changing the city silhouette in accordance with the demands of capital owners, and social inequality are now attracting the attention of many branches of science.

Overpopulation, migration, sustainable development, and environmental problems, which are among today's problems, increase with the phenomenon of urbanization. The transformation of cities with globalization is the main focus of this study. The effects of this transformation on cities constitute the purpose of this study. This study which deals the current state of cities, by examining the relationship between globalization and urbanization, aims to contribute to the field of social sciences in this regard.

**Keywords:** Globalization, Localization, Glocalization, Urbanization, Global Cities,

## KÜRESELLEŞMEYLE DÖNÜŞEN KENTLER

### Öz

Geniş kapsamlı etkilere sahip olan küreselleşme, birçok olguyu kendisiyle birlikte dönüştürmektedir. Küreselleşmeyle doğrudan bir ilişkiye sahip olan kentleşme olgusu, sanayileşmeyle birlikte bir düzeyde ekonomik büyümeyi artıran, sosyal, ekonomik ve siyasi geçişlerin ve hatta tutarsızlıkların yaşandığı bir yapıya dönüşmektedir. Küreselleşmenin etkileriyle dönüşen kentler, yeni kentlerin oluşmasına ve bununla da ilişkili yeni sorunların baş göstermesine neden olmaktadır. Tüketim merkezleri haline gelen kentler, yaşayanlar arasında ekonomik uçurumun, sosyo-kültürel farklarla kutuplaşmanın, mekânsal ve çevresel değişimlerle karmaşanın etkin olduğu bir yapıya bürünmüştür. Kent sakinlerinin dışlanması, kent silüetinin sermayenin talepleri şeklinde değişmesi, sosyal eşitsizlik gibi sorunlarla boğuşan kentler; birçok bilim dalının ilgisini çeker duruma gelmektedir.

Günümüz sorunlarından olan aşırı nüfus yoğunlaşması, göç, sürdürülebilir kalkınma ve çevre sorunları kentleşme olgusuyla birlikte artış göstermektedir. Küreselleşmeyle kentlerin dönüşümü çalışmanın ana odak noktasını oluşturmaktadır. Bu dönüşümün kentlere etkileri, bu çalışmanın amacını oluşturmaktadır. Kentlerin mevcut durumunu ele alan bu çalışma, küreselleşmenin kentleşme ile olan ilişkisini irdeleyerek sosyal bilimler alanına bu yönde bir katkı sunmayı hedeflemektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Küreselleşme, Yerelleşme, Küyerelleşme, Kentleşme, Küresel Kentler

## **Introduction**

Today, globalization is considered as a phenomenon that cannot be resisted and whose effect cannot be avoided. Globalization causes transformations in all economic, social, political, cultural areas, and as McLuhan (2011: 113) points out, it makes the world a small village. Localization also comes on the agenda due to the reasons such as questioning the role of the nation-state, increasing tendency to decentralization, increasing tolerance to differences.

The spatial units where the impact of globalization and localization is most felt are the cities. New types of cities are emerging instead of traditional cities with the changes experienced in all areas of cities due to the reasons of increasing importance and influence of cities with globalization and localization, decreasing distance between cities in respect of transportation and communication with advanced technology, orientation of globalized capital towards cities.

Thanks to globalization, capital, goods, and services have no borders. In this case, every city can be the investment center of the capital. This creates competition between cities. Cities expand their sphere of influence to the extent that they are at the center of international companies, financial centers, and commercial decisions. Cities desiring to be the center of international capital try to become more attractive to the capital by bending the conditions with various opportunities and policies. This causes inequality and polarization in cities. In addition, the cities in which capital shapes its physical structuring are homogenized. The traditions, which are actually different from each other, such as the style of clothing, the taste of food, are becoming increasingly similar. Because the companies operating globally offer similar services and products in cities and shape consumption as well. Glocalization, as a policy increasing in providing global and local values, appears in international companies such as Coca-Cola, Sony, Pizza Hut, etc.

The deductive method is used in this study. This study is based on a literature review with internet-press monitoring. The current transformation of cities is explained based on globalization, global city and city-world hypotheses. Global cities' features are explained under the title of economic, socio-cultural, political, spatial and administrative characteristics. Cities that transform after industrialization with the effect of globalization, have started to experience this transformation more rapidly. The transformation of cities with globalization forms the basis of this study and aims to contribute to the field of social sciences in this direction.

In this study, primarily, the concept of globalization is explained. After the evolution process of the concept of globalization is explained in general terms, under a second heading, the relationship between globalization and cities is explained. The concepts of "competing city" and "urban branding" that were created by changing city with globalization are addressed. Certain theses developed as a result of the fact that globalizing city creates a new type of city are explained and the characteristics of global cities are explained. Some problems such as the polarization caused by globalization in cities, the exclusion of urban dwellers, and the transformation of cities into consumption locations are mentioned. The concept of "sustainable urban development", which arises with the failure of capitalist cities to promise a future for posterity and increasing environmental problems originating from cities, is also mentioned. Finally, the effect of the globalization process on cities in Turkey is explained. Globalization and urbanization discussion, which forms the main backbone of the study, are evaluated and interpreted under all these headings.

### **1. Globalization**

Since the earliest times of humanity, people have been increasing their production capacity with the advances in technology and transportation and transporting goods from one place to another for the purpose of exchange. Globalization is the worldwide spread of organization of social life where investment, human and information flows as well as the flows of goods and services, and technology and cross-border trade have evolved (Ritzer and Stepnisky, 2007: 437). The concept of globalization is used to describe the increasing dependence of world economies, cultures, and populations.

It is possible to split globalization into three periods; industrial society where globalization has accelerated with the development of imperialism, the postmodern society, and a new phenomenon in which the order of imperialism has broken down (Elçin, 2012: 6). Together with the industrial revolution following European colonialism and trade activities, the first waves of globalization were felt with breakthroughs such as steamships, railways, telegraphs, etc. Because of the factors such as declining relations and protectionism with World War I and II, globalization has entered a period of stagnation. After World War II, a new wave of globalization was initiated with the re-established mechanisms. This impetus is achieved with the updates made especially in the economic field and the organizations created.

With the collapse of the bipolar structure, accelerated one-sided major breakthroughs were realized. With this new system established under the leadership of the Western World, it has become easier for the developed countries to penetrate other groups of countries. In the two decades following 1990, foreign direct investment increased by 678%, global GDP by 236%, and exports by 349% (Flew, 2018). By reconstructing the world with a unipolar cultural system, the spread of globalization has been facilitated with the liberalization and expansion policies adopted by the neo-liberal structure.

This process is not simple enough to be interpreted only with economic data and it is closely related to developments in correspondence, communication, cultural and social fields. Especially, a new term called the “CNN effect” has been coined by the fact that the CNN broadcasts are made 24 hours a day and global satellite systems have instant access to all parts of the world (Bahador, 2007). Now, the inhabitants of the world, thousands of miles away at one end of the world, can be instantly aware of even a small storm.

Scholte describes human movements around the world as “the pluralization of identities under contemporary globalization” and the rise of non-regional identities based on age, gender, class, race, sexual orientation or other forms of being that make collective solidarity with other people anywhere in the world possible (2005: 240). The biggest criticism of this identity resemblance, dominated by western society, comes from other nations. They state that their national culture and identity is under threat from western cultural imperialism. Since globalization can affect every area related to current life and its subject covers a wide range as required by its content, the study on the field of urbanization will be detailed under the sub-headings.

## **2. Globalization And Cities**

Factors such as globalization and questioning the role of the nation-state, decentralization trends, rise of local cultures and units have led cities to come to the forefront in this process. While the sovereignty of nation states has become controversial, cities are becoming fundamental units in the globalization process. Cities whose sphere of influence is gradually expanding and have changed as a result of globalization are emerging as a new type of city. Political, social, economic, and social changes have occurred especially in cities demanding to attract capital due to the mobility of capital. The search for new markets and new resources has also been effective in this reconstruction process. Aiming to increase consumption by creating new supply areas for itself, the capital has chosen cities as the place for this purpose.

Attracting capital to the city, thus shaping the city dependent on capital, also causes structural transformations of the cities. In other words, it is possible to say that capital is directing the spatial structuring of the city in this process. The fluidity and illimitability of capital have transformed every city into a potential investment area. In this case, transforming cities profitable regions instead of concentrating the basic units of production in certain cities, capital headed towards the cities that offer it opportunities (Kayan, 2015: 292). The mobility of the capital and the variety of areas it headed, as well as outnumbering specialization opportunities in the cities caused the city to increase in importance. However, it should be underlined that the limited mobility of the labor force in the face of the mobility of capital has created inequality. This situation causes fragmentation in society.

Changes have also occurred in the role of cities in globalization process. Cities have become not only associated with the nation-state, but with the global world. It assumed a role that is both affected by the global world and capable of influencing global processes. In assuming this role, the fact that national inter-state relations carried out under the responsibility of nation-states are now being carried out between the cities has also been an important factor (Duru, 2005: 72; Keskinok, 2006: 166).

The internationalization of cities in the process of globalization is an important result. While almost all of the growth in cities before the 1900s took place in the western countries, today the geographical locations of the world cities are spreading (Ökmen, 2005: 555). In addition, cities are becoming internationalized by having an increasing influence and importance, too, in international terms.

### **2.1. Competing Cities**

With globalization, competition between cities is increasing. Until the 1970s, the theory of comparative advantages was valid in relations between cities. According to this theory, a city is specialized in areas where it is more advantageous than other cities and thus different specializations of different cities have started to be formed. In the 1980s, globalization and capital caused that competitive advantages understanding is valid for inter-city relations instead of comparative advantages understanding. However, as the importance and strength of inter-city collaboration increase day by day, the theory of collaborative advantages has gained importance (Özsan and Özaslan, 2010: 230).

Local industry and local governments find themselves in a more competitive environment with globalization (Erdem, 2015: 188). Cities compete in accordance with their own economic, social, political, environmental characteristics and capacities in order to become an investment area for capital and not to stay out of the globalization process (Ertuğal, 2008: 26). Not every city can participate in the globalization process in the same way or receive same share from capital. Competition occurs between cities desiring to participate in the process, increase their influence or share, and this leads to the emergence of the concept of “competing cities”.

In the competition process, cities bring their economic, social and environmental advantages as well as culture to the fore. Cities use their differences within this framework. These differences in the process of globalization, where different cultures and local values come to the fore, put cities in a privileged position (Mutlu, 2012: 2). Also in this context, cities acquire an identity depending on their characteristics and capacities. Cities that use acquired identities at national and global levels strive to forge ahead in the competition process (Bal, 2008: 243). Of course, at this point, which identity will represent the city becomes a controversial issue. For example, in a city that represents it with its historical background, which history will be preserved, brought to the fore, or marketed becomes an important problem (Bartu, 2009: 44).

The fact that the city is involved in a contest with its cultural characteristics brings forth the concept of “culture/creative industries” that adds value to the city (Mutlu, 2012: 12). Competing cities are industrializing culture and creating a new image for the city in order to be involved in global capital (Ertuğal, 2008: 30). With the creative industries, different cultures, traditions, arts and beliefs are incorporated into city as originalities. At this point the historical heritage of the city is used as an important reference (Kiper, 2006: 109). Therefore, traditions, monuments and historical structures are incorporated into more cities. Cultural museums established in cities, geographical markings (French wine, Swiss Gruyer cheese, etc.) applications are the efforts that cities exert in this context (Mutlu, 2012: 13).

As a result of the gains made by cities through cultural activities, it is observed that cultural organizations have increased in cities in the recent period. International cultural organizations such as Olympics, exhibitions, festivals etc. use public resources to gain recognition for cultural identity as well as economic benefits (Taşkın, 2016: 26). The annual festivals, supported especially by local

authorities, besides being celebrated enthusiastically by the city and townspeople, include the promotion of the city to incoming guests.

According to hyper-globalists, competition between cities contributes to the city by increasing the quality and welfare level of cities and enabling them to develop. Opponents of globalization, however, focus on the concessions and flexibility that cities will make in order to take a position more advantageous than other cities'. Cities make conditions and opportunities most profitable for capital in order for capital to continue investment and this causes exploitation of city. In the context of labor, international companies choose the cities that provide the cheapest services for them, however, for workers, this means exploitation of their labor. Furthermore, the cities that produce policies in line with the wishes of the capital may have to give weight to their own strategies, leaving aside national strategies. In this case, the development of cities can take precedence over national development. Despite the existence of those who argue that urban development will also develop the country, it is observed that investments have decreased and stopped in cities that are not/cannot be involved in globalization, and in line with this, the population has started to immigrate outward (Sert *et al.*, 2005: 102).

## 2.2. Urban Branding

With globalization, cities have become, so to speak, a commodity and become marketable. Cities with the image they have enter the branding process and get involved in the competition. Having a brand in the context of cities means being able to indicate the difference between other cities. The city becomes a brand and is presented to the global stage with this image. Cities are branded in some cases willingly and consciously while in some other cases because the process requires it.

Branding reveals the aspects of the city that are different and stronger than others' and adds value to the city. In this process, the local values, identity and image of the city are transformed into products and offered to consumption. In this case, the city becomes a commodity subject to consumption. Local governments incorporate their historical, architectural and environmental differences into their urban brands in a way attracting the attention of the capital into the differences. In this way, they try to expand the global sphere of influence by using the values of city and to increase their right to speak (Birol Özerk and Akgün Yüksekli, 2011: 85).

Besides the values that are considered in the branded cities, there are also problems that are overlooked. Urban poverty, problems, inequalities are excluded from public spaces and places of consumption. In the words of Baudrillard (2004: 22), “*We are here at the heart of consumption as total organization of everyday life, total homogenization, where everything is taken over and superseded in the ease and translucidity of an abstract happiness, defined solely by the resolution of tensions.*”. Problems in urban centers are closed with an abstract and artificial happiness.

Cities are separated from their own context, history and environmental features in order to become a branded city. The social, cultural, physical and historical bond of the city remains in the background in the branding process. Because the important point is to transform into a situation that is able to attract the interest of capital. Auge puts forward the concept of “non-place” at the point of breaking the connection of the city with its own dynamics and society (1995: 34). In this case, which is evaluated as “no-space” by Uğur Tanyeli (2004), cities are the places that do not connect with geographical, historical, physical, social and cultural elements specific to where they exist “taking reference from their internal dynamics” (Ibelings, 2002; 64). According to Auge, if individuals are unable to establish connection with the city, that place will cease to be a place for individuals and become any other place. Auge gives airway, railway, and amusement parks as examples. In these places, individuals communicate with written signs, symbols, guidances without communication (1995: 34). This is the result that happens in branded cities. The branded cities are known for their integrated images and symbols. For example, the contact with the city is made with patterns and identities such as balloon ride is necessary when going to Nevşehir or eating pizza is necessary in Italy, and the items to be consumed when going to these cities are pre-coded. The individual is able to maintain communication with signs or boards in these cities.

### 3. Globalization And City Hypotheses

The origin of such terms as global cities and world cities coined to evaluate the cities that have increased their influence with globalization can be attributed to the term World League of Cities, which was developed by Patrick Geddes in 1915 (Smith, 2003: 27). Another name working on cities is Peter Hall. In his 1966 work "World Cities", Hall examined cities in terms of their roles at the national and international level. Hall has interpreted world cities as the centers of political power, trade, banking and insurance centers, the financial centers associated therewith, and the centers where all kinds of professionalized activities are concentrated. Hall argued that world cities are separated from other cities by their geographical location, manpower and capital potential they have, and that they are an important center not only for the country they are located in, but for the whole world (Taşkın, 2016: 12). According to Hall, the characteristics of world cities are as follows (Hall, 1966: 7-8):

- *To host the centers of important organizations and companies,*
- *To be an important commercial area in one of the central points of transport networks,*
- *To have significant financial services,*
- *To taking part in the center in education, arts and media,*
- *Continuance of a retail sector related to luxury consumer products,*
- *To provide a suitable environment for cultural activities.*

Brenner and Keil have criticized Hall's view of world cities by stating that he did not see them as different from the "centers that transform international forces for the benefit of the nation state (2006: 20).

After the 1980s, significant changes occurred in the content of urban studies and the perception of cities. According to Friedmann, with the globalization process, urban studies began to be associated with the global economy. In this process, cities were evaluated independently of national borders (Friedmann, 1986: 69). It was argued by Herzog (1991: 519) that an era in which urban studies would be influenced by global changes in the process of globalization, and where the international process shapes the cities began. For this reason, cities, as part of a larger system, have started to be considered as a structure affected by developments around the world.

The concepts of "world city" and "global city", which attempt to explain cities within the framework of the city-globalization relationship, was created with the idea that it would be insufficient to explain the structural and social changes in cities only with their internal dynamics as a result of the processes that developed after 1980 (Sassen, 1996: 26). During this period, cities were evaluated and studies were carried out in the context of globalization. John Friedmann and Goetz Wolff first explained the thesis "world city", and then Saskia Sassen introduced the concept of "global city".

#### 3.1. World City Hypothesis

Regarding the cities that have changed with the influence of global capital, Friedmann and Wolff carried out the first studies on the cities that have become ahead of the others. The work of Friedmann and Wolff, who started to investigate world cities within the framework of "World System Analysis", was followed by Friedmann's (1986) "world city" thesis (Pustu, 2006: 146). World cities are considered as the cities that are most influential in the broadest areas in the world (Tekeoğlu and Ildırar, 2012: 5).

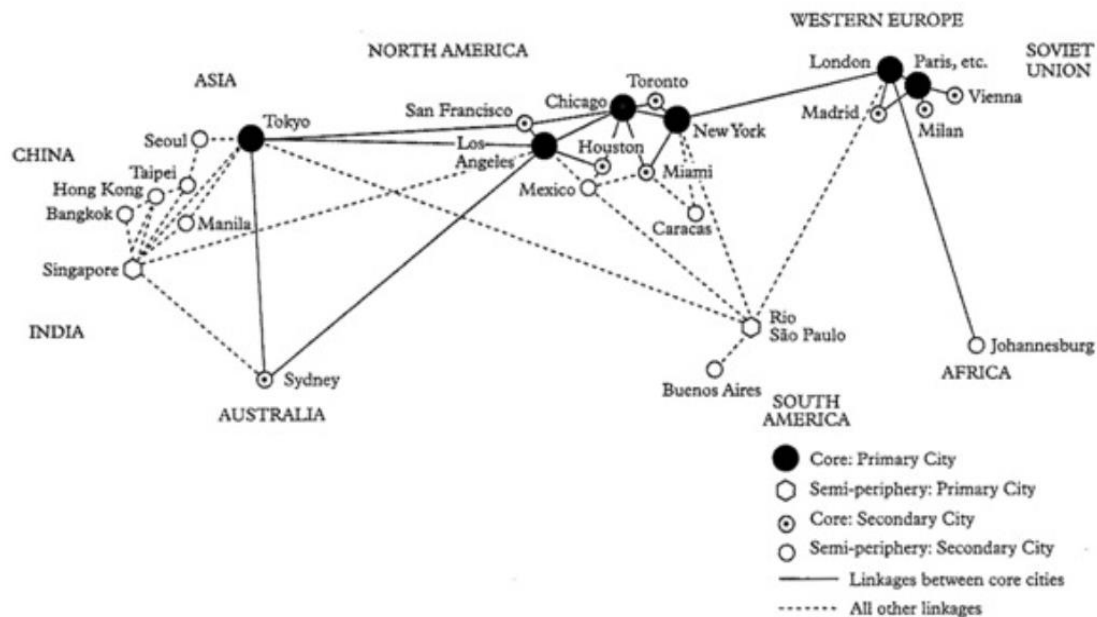
Friedmann's world cities incorporate a hierarchical network of relationships. Cities with different history, culture and national politics that determine this hierarchy include incorporation styles to the global economy and new economic functions (Budak, 2014: 12). With this study, it is stated that the way of integration into the world economy is reflected while trying to define the life

that determines the character of the urbanization process. Friedmann suggests some criteria for the inclusion of cities in the hierarchy (Karakurt, 2003: 61):

- *Having control centers in the areas of capital and production,*
- *Having the inventions and technologies related to production in these cities,*
- *Taking place at the center of the information flow system,*
- *Being the center of global companies, stock exchanges, insurance companies instead of the manufacturing sector,*
- *Being the center of the management units of financial institutions, global firms,*
- *Having superiorities in transportation,*
- *Being the centers where capitalist power relations are controlled.*

Although Friedmann's "World Hierarchy of Cities" thesis reveals the relationship with globalization and capitalism, the inter-urban network that he established is hierarchical and rigid (Taşkın, 2016: 13). In this study, which classifies cities as periphery, semi-periphery, core and semi-core, he describes the countries in regions such as Western Europe, North America and Japan as having core cities, while the cities of South America and Far East are defined as the periphery cities (Fig. 1). The cities such as New York and Toronto are in the central country position, while the cities such as Sao Paulo and Buenos Aires are referred to as semi-periphery cities. While making this distinction, Friedmann interprets it as the spatial organization of the new international division of work.

**Figure 1.** Friedmann's Core and Semi-Periphery Countries,



**Source:** Friedmann, 1986: 72.

Friedmann states that world cities are leading the international economy and that service sectors such as finance, accounting, and law are concentrated in world cities. It attracts attention that cities have evolved with the concentration of different types of areas/services in these world cities and that the historical accumulation concentrated in these cities with this evolution has become the main fundamental element. Historical accumulation within the framework of world cities is considered to be the development of the city's infrastructure, technological equipment, capital accumulation process, and labor form the city owns (Ertuğal, 2008: 21).

With the globalized world, service sectors replace production activities in the world cities. However, they are not completely free from the manufacturing sector and cheap labor in the manufacturing sector also continues to exist. The fact that the world cities are in the target country position in migration movements is leading to the concentration of international capital in these cities. However, world cities also mean the growth of urban problems. The financial and demographic growth of the world cities reveals a social and economic burden that exceeds nation-state budgets (Friedmann, 1986: 69-83).

In Friedmann's "world city" thesis, according to Weyland and Öncü, that the idea that the world city cannot be governed by a nation-state system and that it will bring about social and spatial tensions due to the failure of equitable distribution in world cities draws attention (quoted by Taşkın, 2016: 13). The overgrowth of cities and the fact that they are under attack in many ways make the cities more susceptible and fragile to global events.

### 3.2. Global City Hypothesis

John Friedmann's "world city" hypothesis was followed by the "global city" hypothesis introduced by Saskia Sassen. Sassen's work is among the most important studies on globally influential cities.

Saskia Sassen first used the concept of "Global City" in 1991 to distinguish the phenomenon of the new city that emerged with globalization from the "World City". In his work "The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo", Sassen describes how these three cities became central for the global economy in this process and underwent parallel changes (1991; 5). Sassen stated that as a result of the combination of spatial expansion and global integration, new strategic roles have been afforded to some cities (Birok Özerk and Akgün Yüksekli, 2011: 83). The features of global cities are stated by Sassen as follows (Taşkın, 2016: 14-15):

- *Global cities should be between global production and distribution networks. As the network in which they are located increases, their position becomes stronger.*
- *In global cities, the financial sector of international nature is established in the city. The "finance- insurance and real estate sectors", abbreviated as FIRE, constitute the main areas of economic activity of the city, along with the financial sector.*
- *Global cities have more relations with the global economy than with the center of the country in which they are located.*
- *In global cities, the population is not considered to be an important criterion. The cities where the population density is not very high, for example Geneva, can also be a global city.*

In Sassen's Global City thesis, each city has the capacity to become a global city. Therefore, there may be changes in the number and location of the global cities in due course. Although senior management and control are located in the global cities, the cities that are not included among the global cities also have the qualifications to support the global market and growth (Kayan, 2015: 282).

Global capital is located in the global cities and is home to regional and national economies (Sarioğlu, 2005: 58). In addition, international companies, companies producing advanced technology in these cities, the cities with the physical and social infrastructure needed for urban comfort, and where all kinds of needs are met are considered to be global cities (Holston, 2001: 17). The service sector is concentrated in the field of labor in global cities. In these cities, with the employment in the informal sector, specialized workforce also increases (Yaylı, 2012: 342).

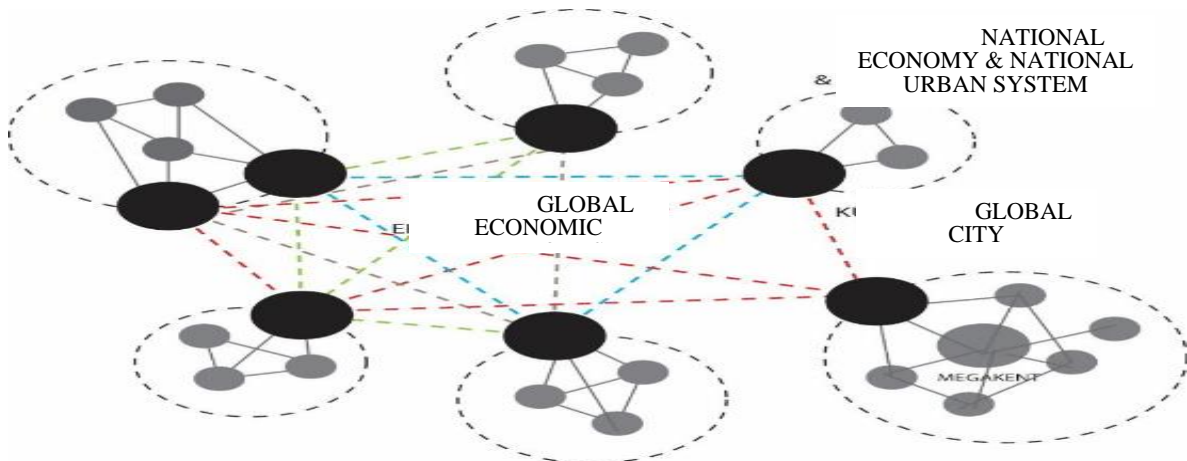
The cultural economy is also an important area of activity in global cities. Olympic Games, World Cups, important exhibitions, and festivals are seen as cultural activities that often take place in global cities. The managements desiring to realize the spatial transformation that Sassen described for New York in the 1980s and for London in the 1990s in their own cities have carried out activities



to host various cultural activities in order to gain a place on the world map and to integrate with the global world (Ertuğal, 2008: 19). In this way, city governments have not only strengthened their position but also became a more privileged option for capital by increasing the global recognition of their cities.

Instead of cities have a place in the hierarchical order of Friedmann, Sassen's global cities are located in a system of networks (Taşkın, 2016: 14). Global cities communicate through their own sub-ties. Production activities in these networks are distributed among cities. Cities leading in different areas develop their own networks. Therefore, it is possible to mention not a single global city, but the cities that are associated with the sub-units and other global cities through different networks (Fig. 2).

**Figure 2.** Saskia Sassen's Global City and Global Networks Hypothesis



**Source:** Taşkın, 2016: 15.

Transport is important for global cities to maintain their central position and expand and sustain their sphere of influence. Proximity to transportation networks is important both in terms of distribution and control of products. Indeed, Sassen's global cities are also connected to transportation networks. Today, the airway comes to the fore, especially because of its speed. In connection with this, just as the financial center is a symbol of the city's economy, airports are considered as the symbols of the global city's transportation (Taşkın, 2016: 25).

The spatial structure of global cities is dominated by multi-story plazas, skyscrapers, magnificent shopping centers, highly safeguarded luxury housing estates, and these structures cater to capital and high-income group. In global cities, the physical environment is determined by polarization, the international financial center, which aims to become the economic center of the city, and the public realm criteria set by the private sector (Taşkın, 2016: 26). In global cities, there are international business and financial centers for the operation of the global financial sector. Existing historic buildings and new buildings are being iconized in order to improve the image of the city and increase its promotion and marketability. The spatial structuring of the city is decided by capital or it is decided indirectly according to capital. In this case, the private sector becomes the space producer by entering the urban space. For this spatial framework, social polarizations are occurring, and society segregates. The gap between income levels and lifestyle difference increases this segregation.

Sassen also states the contradictions harbored by global cities: *"it becomes stateless in part because of the virtualized global-scale shopping, while, on the other hand, becoming obliged to be physically and spatially concentrated and deepened in its place in order to exist as a center within the same network"* (2001: 350). In order to exist in the same network, there is a need for concentration in a single center in both physical and numerical sense.

One of the criticisms addressed to Sassen's global city thesis was made by Robinson. Robinson criticizes Sassen and her thesis for the uncertainty of parameters and data about how much the city

is globalized and the scale (2009). The main focus of these criticisms is that Sassen does not make a definite distinction and it is open to comments.

The concept of “post-metropolis” was developed by Edward Soja to describe the cities that have changed with globalization. Soja supports this concept with six sub-titles (Didier, 2018: 7):

- *The concept of a Post-Fordist Industrial Metropolis describes the transformation and spatial dimensions of the regional economic base of large cities.*
- *The concept of Cosmopolis (Universal City) questions the globalization and different meanings of the metropolis in relation to the dynamics of globalized capital, culture and labor.*
- *The concept of Exopolis (outer city) refers to the process of the countryside forming the city and urban spaces being transformed by the process of globalization.*
- *The concept of the fractal city (metropolarities/ Fractal city) addresses the issues of polarizations and inequalities in cities that are increasing with globalization and cultural and ethnic diversity.*
- *The concept of prison society (Carceral Archipelago) refers to increased surveillance and control mechanisms in cities and the fortress technique created to safeguard their own areas within cities.*
- *The concept of simcities (similar cities) refers to the strengthening of the image of the city and the urban structuring of hyper-reality.*

Soja benefited from Regional and Urban Economics School when creating the first concept, from Mike Davis' militarization of the universe when creating the fifth concept, and from the reinterpretation of European semiologists such as Jean Baudrillard and Umberto Eco when creating the sixth concept (Didier, 2018: 7). Soja tried to make the issues of globalization and concept of city more identifiable with these urban concepts (2011). This difference, based on the modern concept of city, is based on the concept of city formed after the industrial revolution.

Arjun Appadurai, another name working on globalization and cities, assesses cities through the different fluidities that takes place in the city. Appadurai identifies five categories as Ethnoscapes for the masses of people displaced in the world (tourists, migrants, asylum seekers, etc.), Technoscapes for various global technological flows such as mechanical-informative or low-high, Finanscapes for the flow of global capital that forms organizations such as the World Bank, Mediascapes for communication and telecommunication that make smaller and connect the world, Ideoscapes for the combination of images of sovereignty, democracy, etc., which are often directly associated with political and state ideologies (2003: 33-36). Each of these categories is subject to its own constraints, and the global relationship between them operate in both segregated and interrelated way.

Another study for the classification of global cities was conducted by Taylor. Taylor created a ranking by scoring 263 cities under certain criteria. 55 cities out of 263 are designated as global cities (2001: 161). By evaluating the position and size of the companies of global services such as law, advertising, finance and banking, which are the main service sectors of global cities, the cities are divided into three categories as alpha, beta and gamma cities.

**Table.1.** Cities by Taylor's Scoring “World Cities and Territorial States Under Conditions of Contemporary Globalization”

	Scores	Cities
<b>Alpha World Cities</b>	<b>2 points</b>	London, Paris, New York, Tokyo.
	<b>10 points</b>	Chicago, Frankfurt, Hong Kong, Los Angeles, Milan, Singapore.
<b>Beta World Cities</b>	<b>9 points</b>	San Francisco, Sydney, Toronto, Zürich
	<b>8 points</b>	Brussels, Madrid, Mexico City, Sao Paulo
	<b>7 points</b>	Moscow, Seoul
<b>Gama World Cities</b>	<b>6 points</b>	Amsterdam, Boston, Caracas, Dallas, Dusseldorf, Geneva, Houston, Jakarta, Johannesburg, Melbourne, Osaka, Prague, Santiago, Taipei, Washington
	<b>5 points</b>	Bangkok, Beijing, Roma, Stockholm, Warsaw
	<b>4 points</b>	Atlanta, Barcelona, Berlin, Buenos Aires, Budapest, Copenhagen, Hamburg, Istanbul, Kuala Lumpur, Manila, Miami, Minneapolis, Montreal, Munich, Shanghai
<b>Cities Indicating Strong / Very Strong Evidence for World City Formation Process</b>	<b>3 points</b>	Athens, Auckland, Dublin, Helsinki, Luxembourg, Lion, Mumbai, New Delhi, Tel Aviv, Philadelphia, Rio de Janeiro, Vienna
<b>Cities Holding Some Evidence</b>	<b>2 points</b>	Abu Dhabi, Almaty, Birmingham, Bogota, Bratislava, Brisbane, Bucharest, Cairo, Cologne, Cleveland, Detroit, Dubai, Ho Chi Minh City, Kiev, Lima, Lisbon, Manchester, Stuttgart, Oslo, Montevideo, Rotterdam, Riyadh, Seattle, The Hague, Vancouver
<b>Cities Holding Little Evidence</b>	<b>1 point</b>	Adelaide, Antwerp, Arhus, Baltimore, Bangalore, Bologna, Brasilia, Calgary, Colombo, Cape Town, Columbus, Dresden, Edinburgh, Genoa, Glasgow, Gothenburg, Guangzhou, Hanoi, Kansas City, Leeds, Lille, Marseille, Richmond, St. Petersburg, Tashkent, Tijuana, Turin, Utrecht, Wellington.

**Source:** Taylor, 2000.

Entering the alpha City Group, cities such as London, Paris, New York, and Tokyo are the leading cities in the world (Table 1.). It is important for global power balances that the cities that are listed in the Alpha World cities do not only consist in the group of western countries and that the Asia-Pacific countries are also included in this group. It is seen that Istanbul, which has a central location, has taken its place among the gama world cities, which are ranked among the third line of cities.

#### 4. Features of Global Cities

It has been mentioned before that Sassen considers cities that have changed with globalization as a new type of city. Cities both affected and were affected due to the influence of neo-liberal policies, globalization of capital, questioning of nation-state, and the fact that the localization trends were supported. The insatiable actors of globalization have been turning their goods into traditional products in local markets in the last decades (Gündüz ve Karahasanoğlu, 2020: 877). The characteristics of cities created or affected by globalization have also changed. In this context, these cities have economic, socio-cultural, political-administrative, spatial-environmental characteristics.

#### **4.1. Economic Features**

The limited level of prosperity created by economic globalization is considered an inevitable price that needs to be paid by national governments. Friedmann states that with the growth of economies, the field of politics has narrowed and nations have been dressed with a "golden straitjacket" (2001: 106). With the declining importance of nation-states, the rise of a common global culture has led to the formation of increasingly hybridized cultural identities and, consequently, capitalist urban economies.

In global cities, economic activities are concentrated in the service sector. In addition, these cities have decision-making centers for distribution and control of production goods. The central management of the decisions that will affect the country and the city is located in these cities. The decisions taken in these cities are effective not only for the national level but also for other world cities. Since multinational companies, banks and decision-makers are located in global cities, international import and export activities are directed through these world cities (Sarioğlu, 2005: 58)

In cities that are free from industrialization, the service sector comes to the fore, and therefore the changes occur in the labor market. The decrease in demand for the labor force due to advancing technology, the shift into the service sector, and the orientation of demand to the specialized labor force increase unemployment. This also means an expansion of the population working in informal sectors. The demand for human labor in industrial and production-oriented cities, today, creates groups that are not experts working at the low-wage generally in informal sectors in global cities. This situation is experienced more intensively, especially, in sectors such as furniture, construction, and footwear (Sarioğlu, 2005: 59).

#### **4.2. Socio-Cultural Characteristics**

With globalization, the borders between countries, cities, and individuals disappear. Geographical distances have no significance anymore. Today, a change experienced in any city can instantly show its effect in another city thousands of kilometers away. With the advances in communication and transportation, both differences are recognized and closeness is created. This situation is viewed, sometimes positively and sometimes negatively, by different approaches to globalization. Proponents of globalization, who argue that globalization makes local values and culture a universal value and preserves originality, assert that cities increase their chance to express themselves with their own characteristics.

Opponents of globalization argue that all of the cities that compete and divide themselves physically and socially according to capital became alike. The buildings built to attract the interest of capital, or huge structures which are considered as the resource of reputation for multinational companies invest in every global city. For this reason, skyscrapers, shopping centers, multi-story structures, which are the spatial structuring of global cities, are actually becoming more and more alike to each other with their designs that do not fit the fabric of the city in order to make a difference.

Opponents of globalization argue that local values have disappeared due to globalization. The purity that cities have can also be damaged by being influenced by other cultures. The cultural values, legacies, and differences that cities often resort to for the purpose of image building are becoming consumption objects on a global level.

#### **4.3. Political and Administrative Features**

The political impact of the globalization process is experienced most intensely in the transformation of nation-states. For reasons such as the questionings on the sphere of influence and role of nation-states and that locality gains importance, the importance of cities as local units is increasing. That the role of the states is narrowing in favor of the local, that the states are limited to basic public services, that decentralization is rising, that the private sector is entering public services, and that the transparency of public administration are considered as the administrative characteristics of the globalization process (Dursun, 1998: 158). Cities are managed with business logic, while city dwellers are considered as customers. City dwellers are charged as the users for the costs of the

private sector in the provision of public services (cost-recovery principle) and public sector-private sector partnership (public private partnership) is resorted to frequently (Keleş, 2001: 565).

The decrease in public services of the state as a result of policies developed with the neo-liberal state approach has also decreasing effects on the trust to the public sector, the collective agreement and collective bargaining power and decreases the goods and services offered by the public sector (Falay, 1998: 15). The zoning legislation, which is shaped by neo-liberal policies, also presents a view that will delight very large capital investors rather than the public benefit.

Capital's decision-making authority is increasing in the administration of global cities and capital can be effective in urban decisions by influencing city governments and national governments. Urban expenditures are also used in the direction of international capital (Çınar, 1998: 95). In this sense, cities and states do this sometimes willingly by becoming members of some international organizations, and sometimes unwillingly under the effect of globalization (Kayan, 2015: 288). This causes the questioning of the legitimacy, authority, and validity of urban and national policies.

The intervention of international organizations in nation-states and, specifically, in cities tends to increase. In particular, foreign borrowing is an effective tool for the intervention of international companies and credit institutions. Local governments with increasing foreign debts are trying to recover the cost of these investments in a short time through privatization and service pricing. The dependency on international institutions for foreign borrowing, and on foreign capital investment for repayments arise and, thus, making urban areas open to foreign capital and institutions.

#### **4.4. Spatial and Environmental Characteristics**

Mumford describes global cities as the cities that incorporate both heaven and hell (2007: 675-676). In global cities, it is possible to see slums on the one side, and luxury houses next to them on the other side. Luxurious living areas are created, on the one side, unhealthy living areas where the minimum needs can be met with difficulty exist, on the other side.

Global cities, as previously said, are the destinations of migration movements. Migration increases the population and this causes the land to be valued more as a scarce resource. Migration also causes additional costs for the cities. Especially with increasing transportation problems, this is tried to be solved with the introduction of new multi-story intersections, bridges and roads, thus changing the spatial structure of the city. In addition, the centers in different fields such as medical research centers, well-known universities, scientific research centers, institutes producing new technologies, and academies of fine arts are also incorporated into the urban space (Clark, 1996: 138-139). Therefore, it is seen that the phenomenon of migration does not only affect the suburbs, but it changes the city completely.

Advancing technology leaves negative effects on agricultural fields as well. With the decrease in the need for manpower thanks to technology, people working in agriculture are breaking away from the land and migrating to global cities. In addition, small farming is replaced by international or larger scale farms. Sowing and plantation, which are not suitable for soil, and increasing the use of pesticides to increase the crop damage the lands as well.

Another factor affecting the environment is the constant increase in population. Increasing population means the need for resources and increased use of resources. Globalization is one of the most important reasons for the destruction of biodiversity (Kayan, 2015: 290-291). Areas with high biodiversity are occupied by cities and spent uncontrollably for human needs. Urban expansion is one of the main reasons for the destruction and change of habitats as well as of the extinction of plant and animal species worldwide (Seto *et al.*, 2010: 168).

The increasing number of environmental problems and the inability of countries to close their borders to environmental problems, which have become a global problem, bring the issue of the environment from the national dimension to the global dimension. However, in this case, it does not mean that valid steps to prevent the destruction of the environment are taken. Because the philosophy

of the gain and consumption of global capital places the environment in the second priority. At the same time, however, global environmental crises are constantly kept on the agenda by non-governmental organizations and local governments (especially in underdeveloped countries).

The concept of sustainable development is defined by the Our Common Future Report prepared by the United Nations Commission on Environment and Development in 1987. The United Nations World Commission of Environment and Development defines the concept of sustainable development as a development that "*meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*" (The United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development, 1991: 51, 71). Planned and sustainable life is aimed for the future with this report.

The concept of sustainable city came to agenda in the 1990s. At the conference held in Aalborg in 1994, the concept of sustainability was introduced into the global world in the Aalborg Charter - the Charter on European Cities and Towns Towards Sustainability. The Aalborg Charter recognized that justice, sustainable economy and sustainable environment are the basis of sustainable cities (the Charter on European Cities and Towns Towards Sustainability, 1994).

In the expansion of the concept of Sustainable Urban Development, HABITAT I (Vancouver, 1976), HABITAT II (Istanbul, 1996), HABITAT III (Kito, 2016) conferences held by the United Nations carried out serious studies in the area of sustainable environment and livable cities. The world urban population was 37.9% in 1976, rising to 45.1% in 1996 and 54.5% in 2016. A global action plan is aimed to prevent rapid urbanization in the world, create adequate housing and sustainable human settlements.

As a result of the Aalborg Charter and HABITAT conferences, it is seen that handing down livable cities, which do not harm environmental values but do improve the environment, to future generations is essential in order to ensure urban sustainability. In this context, it is expected that sustainable steps, which are environment-friendly and not harmful to the environment, will be taken in urban policies and decisions by taking future generations into consideration as well. Sustainable cities are planned not only for the people living today, but also for future generations' benefit. However, since today's global cities are developing without taking the damage they cause to the environment and the benefits for the next generation into account, they are not considered sustainable cities. In addition, global cities cannot prevent demographic growth due to migration and birth rates, and in this case cities are expanding against the environment.

### **Conclusion**

Globalization, which has accelerated due to the replacement of neoliberal policies with the policies of the welfare state, is a multifaceted process including different dimensions. The cultural, social, and economic effects of globalization are exhibited in the cities mainly as space. Restricting the role of the nation-state, too, contributed significantly to the cities in coming to prominence. As a result of the changes occurred in the structure and content of the cities during this transformation process, a new type of city is emerging with globalization. Today, the cities where global economic, political, and social decisions are made affect the whole world. The population of some mega-cities continues to increase by doubling the population of many countries and they continue their urban expansion. The decision power and functions of some cities exceed even those of countries. Global cities are distinguished from other cities by their economic, social, political, cultural, and spatial characteristics. The management and service centers of international companies and political associations are concentrated in these cities.

When it is evaluated in the context of cities, it should be kept in mind that as much as global capital, culture, and developments affect the city, global cities affect the world. Furthermore, this process is moving at such fluidity and speed that there is no option to stay out of this process. In other words, finding a city isolated from today's developments in the world is unlikely. Today, any development in cities affects the whole world.

Because of technological developments and advances in transportation and communication, geographical distance between cities is no longer an obstacle. Today, the effect of decisions taken in any city in the world is able to affect another city thousands of kilometers away at the same time. This also causes different cultures to become familiar with each other. But this can also destroy local cultures. As a matter of fact, one of the most important criticisms developed today in the context of globalization and city focuses on the likeness of cities. The differences between cities diminish due to skyscrapers, plazas, magnificent structures created by capital, or built to attract capital. Globalization, which affects social habits as well as structural ones, creates alike cities and, also, societies all over the world. Globalization, which argues that differences will be represented, has contradictions in this respect. The specialties of cities that have changed with globalization are commoditized in order to attract capital and the historical connection of the city is broken. Cities are serving, more and more, the global capital than their own inhabitants. In this case, local needs and demands are pushed into the background against the capital and are excluded from the envisaged plans.

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