

**A Tale of Two Anatolian Cities:
Globalization, Europeanization and the Political
Economy of Kayseri and Eskişehir**

by

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This is to certify that I have examined this copy of a master's thesis by

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to my mother Nursel Özbay...

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for any award or any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution. It is affirmed by the candidate that, to the best of her knowledge, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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ABSTRACT

The present study is an attempt to analyze the impacts of the globalization and Europeanization processes on the transformation of Anatolia in the post 1980 period within the perspective of city-globalization dynamics. Taking the premise that a thorough understanding of the multi-faceted and the complex nature of these transformations and their impacts necessitates the act of focusing on a new local level of analysis which is city; this study focused on two Anatolian cities, Kayseri and Eskişehir.

By questioning the rather problematic perspective that Anatolian cities are passive actors of the globalization and European Integration processes as compared to big metropolises like İstanbul or İzmir, the present study mainly argues that the transformation that Turkey underwent since the 2000s symbolize encompassing, multi-faceted, and complex relationships between the global and the local, which realizes itself through the coexistence and integration of (a) tradition-modernity, (b) traditional values-free market, and (c) tradition-globalization dialectics on the Anatolian cities. Therefore, the main motivation behind this study is to observe the diverse outcomes of the crucial interaction between globalization processes and the local cultures, societal forms, lifestyles, and economic structures on the Anatolian cities through analyzing the diverse impacts of these transformative processes on the discourses and strategies of the local economic actors in Kayseri and Eskişehir.

The findings of this study demonstrate that, Kayseri and Eskişehir narrated their alternative tales, and followed their alternative paths in light of globalization, Europeanization and urban transformation processes.

Keywords: Globalization, Europeanization, Kayseri, Eskişehir, urban transformation, traditional values, modernity.

ÖZET

Bu çalışma 1980 sonrası küreselleşme ve Avrupalılaşıma süreçlerinin Anadolu'nun dönüşümü üzerindeki etkilerini kent-küreselleşme diyalektiği perspektifinden analiz etme denemesidir. Bu dönüşümlerin ve etkilerinin çok yönlü ve karmaşık doğasını derinlemesine anlayabilmek yeni ve yerel bir araştırma alanını gerekli kılmaktadır. Bu noktadan hareketle, çalışma şehir ölçeğine yoğunlaşmakta ve odak noktası olarak iki Anadolu kentini almaktadır: Kayseri ve Eskişehir.

Anadolu kentlerinin büyük metropoller olan İstanbul ve İzmir ile karşılaştırıldıklarında küreselleşme ve Avrupalılaşıma süreçlerinin pasif aktörleri olduklarına dair sorunlu bakış açısını sorgulayan bu çalışma şu argümanı ortaya koymaktadır: Türkiye'nin 2000'li yıllardan beri yaşadığı dönüşüm yerel ve küresel arasında yaşanan kapsayıcı, çok yönlü ve karmaşık ilişkileri sembolize etmekte ve kendini (a) gelenek-modernite, (b) geleneksel değerler-serbest pazar, (c) gelenek-küreselleşme diyalektiklerinin birlikteliği ve birleşimi üzerinden gerçeklemektedir. Bu bağlamda, çalışmanın arkasındaki temel motivasyon, Kayseri ve Eskişehir'deki yerel ekonomik aktörlerin dönüşüm sürecine dair söylemlerini ve stratejilerini analiz ederek küreselleşme süreçleri ve yerel kültürler, toplumsal formlar, yaşam tarzları ve ekonomik yapılar arasındaki önemli ilişkiyi ve alternatif sonuçlarını gözlemlemektir.

Mevcut çalışmanın bulguları ortaya koymaktadır ki; Kayseri ve Eskişehir küreselleşme, Avrupalılaşıma ve kentsel dönüşüm süreçlerinde farklı yollar takip etmiş ve kendi alternatif hikayelerini yazmışlardır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Küreselleşme, Avrupalılaşıma, Kayseri, Eskişehir, kentsel dönüşüm, geleneksel değerler, modernite.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Globalization has been a crucial point of reference in approaching the state-society-individual relations in Turkey in the post 1980 period. Especially since the beginning of the 2000s Turkey has undergone drastic changes and transformations in economic, political and cultural spheres as a result of further global integration as well as deepening process in Turkey-European Union (EU) relations, which triggered crucial shifts in domestic politics with regards to democracy and rule of law; and pointed significant changes in the area of economic development throughout Anatolia via rising entrepreneurial activity. Moreover, these processes have generated changing balance of power among the Turkish societal actors with regards to economic, political and societal issues. Under the impact of all these developments, Turkey entered a new period of modernity and capitalism, while new actors and new identity claims of the Turkish modernization, mainly the Kurdish and Islamic identities resulted in emergence of alternative modernities and coexistence of different cultural forms (Öniş, 1997; Keyman and Öniş, 2007; Keyman and Koyuncu, 2005; Keyman and İçduygu, 2003). The striking electoral victory of the Justice and Development Party (JDP) in 2002 and 2007 national elections have been the symbol of these rising identity claims of the Islamic actors that particularly realized itself in the emergence of a new middle class or “Anatolian bourgeoisie”, which triggered the rise of several Anatolian cities with regards to their economic and social development levels, as

well as their strategic relationships with globalization and Europeanization processes. In this context, the main objective of this study is to analyze the impacts of the globalization and Europeanization processes on the rapid transformation of the Anatolian cities in the post 2000 period within the perspective of city-globalization dialectics. Moreover, the present study also endeavors to understand how the Anatolian actors perceive the globalization and Europeanization processes through analyzing the diverse impacts of these transformative processes on their discourses and strategies.

The recovery of place within the contemporary scholarly analysis of the globalization phenomena and the discussions on the rising importance of locality triggered a deeper interest towards cities as the point of reference and level of analysis in the contemporary globalization discussions. As cities are increasingly open to global impacts, examining the dynamic interplay of global and local forces in particular cities like New York, Paris, Tokyo and London, which are also called as global or world cities has been an important development in urban studies (Sassen, 2000a, 2000b, 2006a, 2001; Short and Kim, 1999). On the other hand, the change of scale discussions within the contemporary globalization studies introduce the scholarly awareness that there are various levels of analyses such as regions or cities other than nation states, to investigate the transformative impacts of the globalization process (Brenner, 2004; Brenner and Theodore, 2002a, 2002b; Sassen, 2001). Therefore, it can be argued that global transformations lead to changes in the perception towards the city; while the role of cities within this process is defined as reworking and situating globalization; which points to the rising agency of cities and

the increasing interest towards cities within the globalization discussions (Short and Kim, 1999).

Furthermore it has been observed that cities are not influenced uniformly, hence not effected equally from the globalization processes, which results in the contemporary diversity among the cities all around the world. Each city is argued to have its particular interplay of the global and the local forces due to specific local traditions in economic, cultural, and political areas (Short and Kim, 1999: 129). Moreover, it is strongly believed that local diversity both within and between cities will remain as regards to the locally specific existence of practical and discursive knowledge, commonsense, attitudes and resistance mechanisms (Amin and Thrift, 1995: 7). That is why; this study presupposes that the globalization processes in Turkey should be analyzed on a new local scale, the city, in order to better grasp the complex set of relationships and transformations taking place at the intersection of the global and the local. Within this framework, present study aims to observe the diverse impacts and outcomes of the globalization and Europeanization processes on the Anatolian geography, by focusing on two Anatolian cities, Kayseri and Eskişehir.

Within the scope of the Turkey-EU relations, there has been a dominant perspective shared by the skeptics who argue that the EU membership is a rather painful, long, and open ended process during which the integration to the EU has just been realized by a small number of central and developed Turkish cities like İstanbul or İzmir; while the remaining part of the Turkey, namely the Anatolian cities are the passive players of this process as economically underdeveloped, culturally traditional, and politically isolated actors which are resistant to change. The present

study also aims to question the problematic contention that Anatolian cities are rather passive and stagnant players of the globalization and European Integration processes as compared to big metropolises like İstanbul or İzmir. While questioning this, the study can also be positioned as a scholarly effort towards understanding the possible dynamism of the Anatolian cities with regards to globalization and Europeanization processes through shedding light on the alternative transformations of the two rising cities of Anatolia in terms of entrepreneurship, economic development, and urbanization.

The main argument of this study is that, globalization processes, impacts of which are drastically felt in the Anatolian cities, and the transformation they bring do not result in the same outcomes, i.e. homogeneous city structures in the Anatolia; on the contrary, these transformative processes symbolize encompassing, multi-faceted, and complex relationships between the global and the local, which realizes itself through the coexistence and integration of (a) tradition-modernity, (b) traditional values-free market, (c) tradition-globalization dialectics on the Anatolian cities, while resulting in diverse city structures with regards to economic development, socio-cultural status, livability and urban transformation. Hence, the main motivation behind this study is to observe the diverse outcomes of the crucial interaction between globalization processes and the local cultures, societal forms, lifestyles, and economic structures on the Anatolian cities.

In this regard, city and the local scale in the Anatolian context provide two strategic reference points: “livability” and “coexistence” in understanding the societal change and transformation, as well as space-capital dialectics within the

contemporary globalization discussions. By analyzing the impacts of the globalization process on the political economy of Anatolia through the city-globalization interaction, this study is believed to contribute to the literature on globalization and Europeanization of Turkey, Anatolian economic actors, modernity-tradition dialectics, as well as crucial urban issues like livability and urban transformation.

This study argues that a genuine understanding of the multi-faceted and complex transformation that Turkey has been going through since the 1980s would be incomplete unless the local scale and the change and transformation experienced in the cities are analyzed. It is strongly believed that city is both a physical and a social space which enables and also hosts the interaction between capital and space. Moreover, city is the crucial intersection point of the local, national, regional, global networks; which makes it not only a local space but also a globalizing and Europeanizing space in the Turkish context. Therefore, it is argued that the city structure can not be reduced solely to municipalities or local governance mechanisms, but embraces a wide variety of economic, political and urban actors such as; local political figures, chambers of commerce and industry, young businessmen and entrepreneurship associations, civil society organizations, universities, local media, as well as city residents (Keyman and Koyuncu, 2009a). This physical and social space is firmly believed to act in accordance with local as well as national, regional, global actors and institutions.

Within this framework, the present study is centered on the analysis of two cases, two Anatolian cities which showed significant transformation in the post 1980

and 1990 period with regards to economic, political and urban issues. The cities Kayseri and Eskişehir are selected as the two alternative cases from the Central Anatolian Region located at the eastern and western parts of the region respectively. These two cities are selected mainly because of the fact that they symbolize the economically and culturally transforming face of the Anatolian geography, while showing diverse levels and patterns of integration with the globalization processes. In other words, the economic, political and cultural dynamism of these two cities, as well as their alternative urban structures are the main factors leading the case selection process.

The methodology of the study is formed of four main sections. Firstly, a thorough survey of the literature on general globalization and urban transformation discussions as well as space-capital dialectics was held. Secondly, the literature on the transformation of Turkey under the impacts of globalization was surveyed with a special emphasis on city-globalization dynamics. Thirdly, the literature on the two cases of this study with regards to academic publications as well as local publications and newspaper articles were surveyed. The local periodicals, i.e. the institutional publications of the local industrialists and businessmen associations (SİADs), Chambers of Commerce and Industry, as well as Metropolitan Municipalities, which contains further information about the activities of these institutions, as well as their perceptions towards domestic and international developments of the two cities, were examined. Moreover, a leading national business and economics daily, Dünya Newspaper, provided the main reference points in newspaper surveys with regards to the interviews, commentaries, and informative news about these local actors from Kayseri and Eskişehir. Fourthly and most importantly, in-dept interviews were held

with the leading local economic and urban actors in the two cities between December 2007 and November 2008. For the Kayseri case, the interviews were held with the presidents and representatives of the local economic institutions like the Kayseri Chamber of Commerce, the Kayseri Organized Industrial Zone, and Kayseri Young Industrialists and Businessmen Association (GESİAD), as well as two successful women entrepreneurs. The total number of interviews in the Kayseri case was five. For the sake of consistency, the interviewees of the Eskişehir case are also selected among the leading local economic institutions like the Eskişehir Chamber of Commerce, Eskişehir Chamber of Industry, and the Eskişehir Stock Exchange. However, in order to gain deeper insights about the widely discussed successful urban transformation of the city, and the impacts of the municipal governance, an additional interview was also held with a political actor, the consultant to the Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality in the Eskişehir case. Therefore, the total number of interviews for the Eskişehir case reached four. The structures of the interviews and the questions were predefined with the aim of acquiring sufficient answers which provide insights about the discourses, strategies and the perceptions of these actors towards globalization and Europeanization processes as well as their cities' transformation in light of these processes. Since the main interest was towards the content provided by the interviewees, the interviews were held in free form. The same format was applied to both cases with regards to questions and structure. Each interview was lasted one to two hours, recorded and later transcribed. The analyses were held on transcribed form of the interview data.

In this context, the organizational structure of the study is composed of five main chapters. The first chapter provides a brief introduction to the study. The second chapter introduces the analytical background of the thesis. Main theoretical approaches with regards to globalization, urban transformation, Turkish global and European integration, as well as the political, economic and urban transformations in Anatolia are discussed. Moreover, the academic discussions and the recent research on the two cases of this study, Kayseri and Eskişehir are also provided. The third chapter covers the comprehensive analysis of the first case of this study, Kayseri. The transformation of the city in light of globalization and Europeanization processes, as well as their repercussions on the urban system of the city is discussed in the first part of the chapter; whereas the economic and cultural structures of Kayseri are elaborated in the remaining part. The fourth chapter analyzes the second case, Eskişehir, from two main perspectives; the transformation of the city under the impacts of globalization and Europeanization processes; and the economic and cultural structures of the city. In parallel to the former chapter, Eskişehir case is elaborated within the analytical framework of the Kayseri case, with the aim of having the chance to compare and contrast the two cities on certain grounds, such as urban transformation experiences. The discussions end with a concluding chapter which provides grounds for a concluding analysis of the current study as well as prospects for future research.

CHAPTER 2

ANALYTICAL BACKGROUND

The analytical background of this study rests on five main pillars which provide a robust review of the literature on globalization and urban transformation on the international scale and the repercussions of these transformations on Turkey, specifically on two Anatolian cities, Kayseri and Eskişehir. Moving from a macro level perspective of globalization to a more focused analysis of its diverse transformative impacts on two Anatolian cities; this chapter is organized as follows; firstly, a general background on globalization discussions is provided underlining the three main aspects of the phenomenon, namely, political, cultural and economic globalization debates. Secondly, in close relation with the globalization discussions, the urban transformation literature and the hotly debated change of scale discussions are provided; while briefly touching upon world city and global city phenomena. Thirdly, the discussions move to a nation-state level through the illustration of Turkey. A robust analysis of the literature on globalization and Europeanization developments of the post 1980 period are provided and their impacts on several domestic developments are discussed. Later, the focus shifts towards the urban transformation experience of the Anatolia region of Turkey significantly emphasizing on the developments of the post 1980 period triggered by globalization and Europeanization processes. Lastly, a brief survey of the literature focusing on the two cases of this study, Kayseri and Eskişehir are provided.

2.1. Globalization, Understanding a World Wide Transformation

The political climate of the immediate post 2nd World War period in many parts of the world is marked with relatively stable social democratic regimes in which the living conditions in the general society had improved; while the business community enjoyed sufficient levels of profit upon liberalization. Along with the leadership of Margaret Thatcher in Britain, Ronald Reagan in the US, and Helmut Kohl in Germany, a rightward political turn was accompanied with the rising level of activities under the name of globalization (Marcuse and Van Kempen, 2000: 270). The historical roots of this dynamic transformation were symbolized with the shift of power from labor to capital, which have significant impacts on national policies as well as the spatial structures on both national and supranational levels.

By the 1980s, capital flows all around the globe dramatically increased; a wide variety of cultural products from diverse countries became available in many places; and people's political life and ideas began to be shaped by the ideologies and stances of various political actors and institutions other than nation states. This transformative process is summarized by scholars Short and Kim (1999: 3) as they clearly assert, "economy, culture and polity are being transformed, reshaped and reworked to produce a more global world and heightened global consciousness". Moreover, scholar Albrow (1997) puts forward the core propositions of globalization as he identifies "globalism" by the widely shared constructed values and beliefs about the globe and its inhabitants; while from his perspective "globality" refers to worldwide interaction, circulation, and movement; and lastly globalization is referred as a process of "disembedding" which gives humankind the confidence that they can

maintain their life routines in any part of the world without forming indispensable ties with a specific place. Despite of the fact that reaching a single and universal answer to the question “what is globalization?” is not an easy or realistic task; it can be argued that one commonly shared view about the phenomena is that it triggers change, both geographically and politically. Scholar Brenner (2004) also defines globalization as a “socio-spatial change”, which is conflictual, uneven, simultaneously temporal and spatial, unfolding upon multiple geographical scales. From this perspective, it can be said that globalization brings change and dynamism not only on a nation-state level, but also on various levels such as regions, cities or towns.

Ideas about globalization reflect the general view that spread of technology, rising economic interdependencies and deepening social and political relations transform and reshape the globe as a social space on which the actions of one part can have a direct, tremendous, and deep impacts on any other part. This perspective is demonstrated by scholar Cox (2002: 331) as he argues that: “states are no more islands”. These discussions also brought about a new understanding of space which denies the widely debated issue of ending territorial distinctions and vanishing local cultures; but argues for stronger agency of nation-states as well as cities, and asserts further enrichment of local identities and development capabilities with globalization (Scott, 2001; Short and Kim, 1999; Amin and Thrift, 1995).

Globalization, defined by scholar Helvacioğlu (2000: 327) as a historical and geographical condition affecting the whole world in different ways, has diverse aspects; hence it is almost impossible to reach a clear consensus about its structure or

nature. Here, a number of conceptualizations have been provided to express the encompassing nature of the phenomenon, yet the deep and robust discussion on all aspects and outcomes of globalization is not within the scope of this study. Hence, globalization here will be analyzed within the framework of its impacts on economic, political and cultural spheres to provide a brief introduction on the upcoming debates of urban transformation.

To begin with economic globalization, the transition from an international to a global economy dates back to the early 1970s, the break up of the International Bretton Woods System of controlled national economies. By the mid 1970s, Keynesian welfare policies¹ faced a severe stalemate; while in the areas of industrial production as well as in social relations of production, Fordism was replaced with “flexible production techniques”² and a Post-Fordist³ industrial design became dominant with increasing competition, rising consumer power and choice, decentralization of business firms, and rising number of Small and Medium Size Enterprises (SMEs). The crises of the Keynesian welfare policies mainly in the US and UK and the rising profitability of the flexible production techniques urged nation states to mobilize a range of policies to extend market discipline to all sectors of

¹ For a detailed discussion on Keynesian policies, see Grenwald and Stiglitz (1993); Arestis and Sawyer (1998); Hall (1993).

² For a brief explanation of the phenomena, Buğra (1999:12) provides a clear description as declining significance of labor unions and collective bargaining practices; the advent of more individualized and fluid consumption patterns replacing mass consumption of standardized goods; trend toward descaling, downsizing, and decentralization of business firms and increasing significance of international forces of competition implying the emphasis of export production and opening up to the world market.

³ For further discussion on Fordism and Post-Fordism see, Buğra, 1999; Kim and Short, 2008; Brenner and Theodore, 2002b.

society (Brenner and Theodore, 2002b: 350). Therefore, by the 1980s neo liberalism⁴ became the dominant political and ideological force of capitalist globalization

Economic globalization is generally identified with (a) rising mobility of capital, (b) increasing volume of financial transactions, (c) heightening privatization and deregulation, and (d) emerging structural changes in national welfare systems as well as bureaucracies (Gill, 1995a, 1995b). The process is also symbolized with the liberalization of trade and monetary policies, the spread of transnational networks of investment, finance, advertisement and consumption markets (Strange, 1995, 1996). According to scholar Scott (2001: 4), globalization is most developed in the sphere of finance by creating ever freer flows of capital all around the world, while causing a rapidly globalizing and wildly competitive world economy. Scholar Sassen (2001, 2000a) also provides a robust analysis of the diverse aspects of rising financial activities and its impacts on global geo-economy.

To sum up, neoliberalism as a “politico-regulatory project” (Brenner and Theodore, 2002b: 361), has left actors with little choice other than to pursue an entrepreneurial path of their own (Hackworth, 2007). In this new global economic system, finance surpassed production, importance of the knowledge structure or expert systems increased, technology is transnationalized, oligopolies or Multinational Companies (MNCs) rose and levels of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) increased (Sassen, 2000a; Amin and Thrift, 1995). Globalization penetrated into the local economies, creating losers and winners simultaneously. While making them more vulnerable to external impacts and instabilities, it also offered

⁴ See Craig and Cotterell (2007), Harvey (2005) for a more detailed analysis of the phenomena.

opportunities to narrate their own entrepreneurial success stories through rapid integration to the international markets.

On the cultural front, with the impact of increasing movements of people, goods, capital, and information, the interaction among diverse cultures intensified, while it has become even more difficult to find purely territorialized cultural forms. The cultural traits start to engage in closer communication with other cultures as hybridities, diversities and the coexistence of the alternative values dominate the global socio-cultural environment. Scholars Short and Kim (1999: 4) stress on deterritorialization of cultural traits as they argue:

The growth of cultural flows has increased sameness between distant places; but it has also fostered the complexity of local cultures. The culturally globalizing world is a complex process of the creation of deterritorialized cultures which are reterritorialized in different forms in different places. Global culture is a combination of multiple reterritorialized cultures, rather than a unified culture reflecting American cultural hegemony.

Moreover, scholar Appadurai, (1996: 33-36) proposes various dimensions of global cultural flow such as; the rise of “ethnoscapes” as movement of people, “mediascapes” as distribution of information via media, “technoscapes” as spread of technology, “finanscapes” as global financial flows, and “ideoscapes” as the distribution of political ideas, which together symbolize the multiple impacts of globalization on the cultural area. Despite of the fact that diversities between geographies and cultures still exist, commonalities and shared norms across continents have also become more visible, such as the rules of the neoliberal market economy influencing the decisions of actors all around the world without any special reference to their geographical location. As Scholar Magnusson (2000: 289) asserts, “the crucial thing about globalization is not its ability to create centers of command

and control but; its potential to delocalize those centers and draw the most remote regions into a common way of life.”

Lastly, political globalization reflects itself on the changing roles and powers of the political actors like nation-states; and on the transforming structure of the relations among them. With the rise of globalization, economic actors like multinational firms and banks have increased their significance in the world economy, and the predominant position of the nation-state in controlling transactions crossing borders is challenged. Various market oriented actors begin to compete with national governments over the rules and regulations of international trade, business, and exchange. Transnational economic blocs, interest based economic organizations, and businessmen associations in various parts of the world have become more vocal actors throughout this process; while the roles of the nation states have also been redefined.

Scholars Short and Kim (1999: 4-5) rightly argue that, states have become another player in the world market instead of being separate control institutions as they start to compete and negotiate with the other actors like nations, states, city governments, or regional economic organizations. Sovereign states and national economies underwent a deep transformation. Under conditions of intensifying globalization, they find themselves less and less willing to protect all the regional and sectoral interests within their jurisdictions, which triggered the resurgence of region based forms of economic and political organizations, and the rise of global city regions in world politics and economy (Scott, 2001:13). The proliferation of the multinational or regional blocs such as EU, NAFTA, MERCOSUR, ASEAN, APEC,

CARICOM, and many others, as wide scale political or economic governance projects represent the institutional responses to the globalization process (Scott, 2001: 13). From local to regional or to multinational levels, new actors acquire new roles, and the positions of the old actors are redefined, while their level of integration with the globe increases.

Globalization, approached from economic, political, and cultural aspects, is observed to symbolize the actions of decentralization and mobilization of capital, goods, people, values, and norms all over the globe. However, there is also a strong scholarly attempt (Sassen, 2000a, 2000b, 2006a, 2006b; Florida, 2002; Brenner, 2004) to reemphasize the localizing, concentrating, and centralizing impacts of globalization which urge the contemporary studies to focus on spaces, geographies, scales, and localities. Within this effort, cities and city-regions emerge as the new level of analysis, with regards to their transformative impact by being both the subjects and objects of the globalization process. Hence, globalization begins to be closely associated with the urbanization debates, as scholar Sassen (2000b: 59) asserts that globalization has triggered the formation of at least an incipient “transnational urban system” while actors all around the globe increasingly transnational and in contestation, find the city as a strategic terrain for their operations. As a result, it is argued (Sassen, 2006a: 94) that globalization means not only dispersal but also concentration being realized through the rising legacy of cities.

Globalization as a complex ontological status contains dynamics of embedding and disembedding realized locally and globally; while territories or

spaces do not evaporate, but continue to exist in a stronger fashion. Albrow et al. (1997: 34) has pointed out that globalization in its effects of disembedding and reembedding appears to involve the reorganization of social life:

Far from the breakdown of the social life, we see a reconstitution of it in which individuals can both disembed themselves by moving through generalized milieu, or alternatively embed themselves through attachment to local placements of global phenomena.

Moreover, within the contemporary globalization discussions, the rising popularity of scale debates reemphasize the close interaction between the local and global forces with reference to new geographical levels of analysis, such as cities, or regions. Scholar Brenner (2004: 29) perceives the lack of appropriate historical and dynamic conceptualizations of social space as one of the central intellectual barriers to a more adequate understanding of contemporary global transformations. A genuine understanding of current globalization requires realization of various geographical scales in which the systemic transformations take place, and a reconceptualization of space which transcends through state-centric modes of analysis (Brenner, 2004: 30). For the sake of clarification, geographical scale according to scholar Smith (2003: 228) is a product of economic, political, and social activities and relationships; as such it is as changeable as those relationships themselves. Scale as an analytical tool helps to approach and analyze current globalization from multiplicity of levels; while city has become one of the most appropriate geographical scales to understand the significant impacts of global transformations.

2.2. Urban Transformation, the Rise of Cities

The industrial transformation of the 1970s from massive production to flexible specialization shifted the interest from huge factories to small manufacturing plants spread all around the world producing diverse parts of a single product. Since the production process divided into diverse units realized in various localities, the importance of competitive advantage of the individual regions rose. The liberalization of trade and speeding up of globalization has intensified the movement of people and goods across country borders; while regions have gained rising importance and validity as units of financial and political analyses. Therefore, “the regions ceased to be passive players subjected to decisions of a national centre or the fluctuations of the global economy but became active players who develop their own economic and social future” (Sepic, 2005: 2). The recovery of place in the analysis of the globalization phenomena and the discussions on the rising importance of locality triggered a deeper interest towards cities as the point of reference and level of analysis in the contemporary globalization discussions.

The past decade witnessed fueled competition between cities around the world over mobile investments, while the expansion of world city functions has been the major source of urban restructuring in world cities like London, New York and Tokyo where corporate headquarters, bank head offices and financial firms cluster (Short and Kim, 1999: 11). Moreover, under the influence of privatization and deregulation, cities as the engines of local economic growth also begin to shape their own economic futures through rising entrepreneurial activity. Furthermore, the rise of transnational cultural flows offer cities to meet diverse cultures from all over the

world; while under the area of urban management increasing connections across borders such as sister city projects, have led to the adoption of similar policies in diverse geographies. While globalization puts pressure on cities to develop specific cultures in ways to attract business, investment and skilled professionals (Short and Kim, 1999); cities began to develop their cultural economies to create new kinds of localized competitive advantages with major employment and income-enhancing effects (Scott, 1997: 335). On the other hand, cities witnessed the transformation towards entrepreneurial forms of urban governance as for many cities the hegemonic economic projects concentrate on the promotion of international competitiveness (Short and Kim, 1999: 12).

As cities are increasingly open to global impacts, examining the dynamic interplay of global and local forces in particular cities has been an important development in contemporary urban studies. Scholar Sassen (2000b: 49, 2006b: 88) argues that focusing on cities allow people to specify a network of strategic places at the global scale, places bound to each other by the dynamics of economic globalization, while she calls this “geography of centrality”. The most powerful of these new geographies of centrality are the major international financial and business centers like New York, London, Tokyo, Paris, Frankfurt, Zurich, Amsterdam, Los Angeles, Sydney, Hong Kong, among others. However, scholar Sassen (2000b: 51) deems that this geography also includes cities such as Sao Paulo, Buenos Aires, Bombay, Bangkok, Taipei and Mexico City. It can be observed that globalization realizes itself through cities while increasing the functions and popularity of major centers. Yet, cities are not regarded as the passive players, but active agents of this transformative process. Scholars Short and Kim (1999: 9) follow the same line of

argument as they assert that: “globalization takes place in cities and cities embody and reflect globalization”. Moreover, scholars Brenner and Theodore (2002b: 375), also touch upon the active roles of the cities in the globalization process as they argue that cities are not only localized arenas for unfolding global transformations, but also “incubators” for many of the major political and ideological strategies through which the dominance of neoliberalism is being maintained. Hence, cities and the urban transformation process they experience are crucial areas to analyze the change and transformation triggered by economic, political and cultural globalization process.

The shifting functions of cities throughout the urban history are summarized by scholar Bugliarello (1994: 143), who argues that in its 6000 year history, the city has evolved from a centre of trade and artisanship like Venice; to one of manufacturing like Liverpool or Pittsburg; and followed by to one of services like London, New York, or Tokyo. Moreover, three major trends in global urban transformation are identified by Scott (2007: 757) as: post-Fordism, globalization and neoliberalism, which underline the interwoven character of the economic developments, political transformations and changes in the urban structures.

Despite of the fact that urbanization has diverse appearances triggered by varying dynamics, generally economic, social, political, technological, and administrative factors lie behind the process. Historical perspectives on urbanization (Abu-Lughod, 1991; Kim and Short, 2008) assert that political centralization is the underlying factor behind urban civilizations. Yet, today new factors such as economic cooperation units, free zones, regional organizations, and immigrant labor

force trigger urbanization process, which have become increasingly “global in scope” (Harvey, 1996: 313). The interdependency perspective with its focus on relations of global capitalism and spread of urbanization is discussed by Clark (1996), which stresses on the importance of economic forces in recent urbanization trends. Another line of inquiry on the history of urbanization comes from scholars Rodriguez and Feagin (2006: 33) who argue that in the development of the world system, new stages of capitalism brought new structural conditions of urban specialization, such as Amsterdam’s financial centrality in the 17th century, London’s rise and Manchester’s industrial power in the era of British hegemony, and New York’s rising hegemony in parallel with U.S dominance in the contemporary world system. This systemic perspective is shared by scholar Abu-Lughod (2006: 44) who argues that throughout world history, certain cities remarkably large for their times like New York have served as key nodes through which wider circuits of production exchange and culture have been coordinated.

In line with the above discussions, a diverse strand of urban studies (Clark, 1996; Short and Kim, 1999; Friedmann, 2006; Keil, 1996; Sassen, 2001) focus on the major cities of the world, variously identified as world cities, global cities, and mega-cities. Megacities are identified as cities having a population size above over 8 million by a demographic tradition followed by the United Nations Population Division.⁵ Nevertheless, for the discussions on world cities or global cities further diverse perspectives and approaches exist which are briefly introduced hereby.

⁵ *World Urbanization Prospects, the 2007 Revision*, United Nations Population Division Publications, February 2008.

Clark (1996: 137) introduces the world city concept with reference to Geddes (1915) and Hall (1966) who defines world cities as major centers of political power, seats of national and international government and concentrations of related professional bodies, trade unions, employer's federations and corporate concerns as well as centers of trade, finance and communication. According to Clark (1996:138), rise of world cities is closely associated with the global economy by examining three key factors: (a) the growth of the number and range of the institutions of global capital, (b) their geographical concentration, and (c) the recent extension of global reach via telecommunications and transport.

On the other hand, scholars Short and Kim (1999: 53) define world cities as the "hub points" in the global network. Moreover, there has been a consensus in the literature on the distinctiveness of London, New York, and Tokyo in terms of their supremacy in the contemporary world economy. The propositions of scholar Friedmann (2006: 67) on the world city concept also underline the importance of global capital, international political power, and concentration of migrant population in forming the world city hypotheses. In the height of world city discussions, a different perspective comes from Huang et al. (2007) as they adopt a new language and suggest that most of the cities effective in world economy and politics are international cities such as Mumbai, Istanbul, or Buenos Aires; instead of world cities such as Paris, Tokyo, or New York.

On the other hand, the interaction of the local and global forces in the world city formation process is widely discussed in the work of scholar Keil (1996) who dwells on the idea that, world city formation is non of a unitary or homogenizing

process, rather due to the intermingling of local and global forces it brings complexity, duality, and coexistence of the local norms and global forms, as well as their synthesis. World cities approached from diverse perspectives lead to the conclusion that: they trigger and facilitate interaction between the local and the global as they exist in a world of flows, linkages, connections, and relations. According to Beaverstock *et al.* (2006), world cities represent an alternative meta-geography, one kind of networks than a mosaic of states that will continue to dominate the globalization discussions.

Under the discussions of global city, scholar Sassen (2001: 4) underlines the fact that dispersion of economic activity has brought about new requirements for centralized management and control where global cities are the obvious locations for activities geared toward the international market and transnational firms:

Cities concentrate control over vast resources, while finance and specialized service industries have restructured the urban social and economic order. Thus a new type of city has appeared. It is the global city. Leading examples are New York, London, Tokyo, Frankfurt and Paris.

Four major functions of those cities differentiating them from the rest are; first, the command points in the organization of the world economy; second, key locations for finance and for specialized service firms; third, sites of production and innovation; and fourth, markets for the products and innovations produced (Sassen, 2001: 3).

However, leading world cities are not the only places to observe the urban impacts of globalization. Nevertheless, cities all around the world which are economically or politically less powerful also experience various forms of economic

and political restructuring under the influence of globalization. Third World cities experience no lesser version of the urban restructuring observed in world cities or global cities. The forms and extents of urban transformation may vary, yet these third world cities also warrant attention. This lack of scholarly attention to the third world urbanization is underlined by scholars Short and Kim (2008: 118), as they argue: “Third world cities have been grossly under theorized and frequently under emphasized in the mainstream urban studies”, and provide a valuable analysis for the third world urbanization literature.

The studies of third world cities identify four successive traditions of world cities. The first tradition with a strong empirical orientation examines the urban problems and attempts to solve them by focusing on one or more cities within a country or region to review their historical development, including pre and post colonial periods. (Amirahmandi and El Shakks, 1993; De Blij, 1968; Harris, 1978; Tarver, 1994). The second is a rather short lived tradition of the 1960s and 1970s when some academics attempted to draw generalized spatial patterns of urban structure in the underdeveloped world (Friedmann, 1966; McGee, 1967; Taafe et al., 1963). The third group of studies refers to an academic effort in the 1980s to interpret third world urbanization from the perspectives of dependency theory and world system theory (Chase-Dunn, 1985; Potter 1992; Roberts, 1978; Smith 1996; Timberlake, 1985). The fourth and the most recent tradition of world cities research examine the impact of globalization on major cities of the developing world. (Grant and Nijman, 2002; Grant and Short, 2002; Gugler, 2004; Keyder, 2005; Logan 2002; Roberts 2005; Segbers, 2007; Ward, 1998).

On the other hand, according to the New Conventional Wisdom in urban studies (Buck, 2005), it is not only the cities that matter but their particular strengths and qualities are also of great significance. This new perspective underlines the fact that, competitiveness of a city largely depends on economic factors making a city attractive for foreign investment or financial flows; however, there also other relational and societal factors determining the competitiveness level of a city. In particular, the quality of social networks, the nature of formal and informal organizational life, and the degree of social trust through the quality of governance and the development of human capital contribute to the factors of competitiveness of a city. The approach of scholar Turok (2005) on the urban competitiveness is an economically shaped perspective, yet inspiring for contemporary urbanization discussions. According to him (2005: 26), competitiveness comprises of three key determinants for growth and prosperity. Firstly, the ability of a city's firms to sell their products in contested external markets, i.e. the foreign trade potential of a city; secondly, the value of these products and the efficiency with which they are produced, i.e. productivity; and lastly, the extent to which local human, capital and natural resources are utilized.

Apart from competitiveness, an emerging strand in the urbanization literature is composed of creative cities discussions. Creativity of cities is attributed to various factors, such as openness to diversity, level of tolerance and peaceful coexistence of differences in a society. Level of technological innovation and a population comprised of talented and innovative people⁶ are also believed to have a direct

⁶ In the study of Florida (2002), two population indexes are used; Creativity index measures the number of artists, musicians, painters, living in a city, they are called the bohemians, and the index is called the bohemian index. Diversity index is composed of few pillars, the first one is melting pot index, the number and ratio of foreign born people, immigrants, etc; the second one is gay lesbian index, this one measures the tolerance of the community, as well as the region.

impact on the creativity and hence, development in a city. Those factors are summarized as 3 T's by Florida (2002); who argues that the existence of Talent, Tolerance, and Technology in a city attracts creativity and consequently brings development and progress. In his latest book, Florida (2008) also asserts that people can now choose the cities in which they want to live in, and this choice is shaped by the characteristics of the cities which provide a social capital, and a dense network raising the quality of life in a city. There is a global competition among cities to attract creative talents, innovative human capital, and economic activity. However, the factor of quality of life in a city turns out to be the most crucial factor in this competition.

There is a recent study⁷ held by a global Consulting Agency Mercer on the quality of life in urban centers, covering 215 cities all around the world. Results of the study show that since 2008, the quality of life in many urban centers is deeply affected by the global political turmoil, increasing unrest and instability, health and climatic concerns. Despite of the fact that quality of life is a broadly used term; the study of Mercer provides a clear perspective on discussions of quality of life which further widens the scope of this study. Mercer's quality of living factors include the following: political and social environment (relations with other countries, internal stability, enforcement of law); medical and health considerations (hospital and medical services); economic environment (banking services, currency exchange services); schools and education; recreation (restaurants, cinemas, sports, theatrical and musical performances); housing; socio-cultural environment (censorship on

⁷ Mercer's 2009 Quality of Living Survey, available [online] at <http://www.mercer.com/qualityofliving>

media, limitation to personal freedom); natural environment (climate, disasters); public services and transport; and lastly consumer goods.

Directly related with urban growth and quality of life in cities, the issue of urban rights provides a different perspective to the contemporary urbanization discussions. The European Urban Charter declared in 1992 by the European Commission is the most reputable regional act on urban rights. The European Urban Charter⁸ has one of the most important documents on urban rights that propose a certain criteria for a better, egalitarian and livable city not only for Europe but for the entire world. The preparation and execution of the Charter can be regarded as the one of the most significant reflections of the impacts of globalization on cities on the level of awareness, importance attached to the city, as well as rising interaction among cities necessitating a better and shared future.

Competitiveness, creativity, quality of life, and urban rights are crucial levels in analyzing the contemporary urban transformation. Also, livability discussions enhance scholarly attempts on urban transformation. Defining a livable city is not an easy task, since livability emerges from a combination of various factors. According to a study on livable cities held by CNBC-e Business Magazine in Turkey (2008), livability is measured by a number of criteria grouped under six headings as their main variables. Inspired by the current examples on the global scale, the study included various criteria such as; crime rate, natural disaster risk, arts and sports, air

⁸ The European Urban Charter is built upon the work of the Council of Europe on urban policies which is inspired by the European Campaign for Urban Renaissance. The campaign and later the Covenant focuses on four main areas to foster urban development; improvement of the physical urban environment; rehabilitation of existing housing stock; the creation of social and cultural opportunities in towns; and community development and public participation.

pollution, traffic, green field areas, doctors and hospitals per person. The variables contain twenty-eight sub criteria and six main parameters; economy, arts and high culture, security, health, education, urban life. The results of this study suggest that livability is not a direct result of economic development; on the contrary there are other societal factors shaping the livability level of a city. Moreover, the livability levels of Turkish cities are highlighted by this study, which will be discussed in depth under the section of the urban transformation in Anatolia.

According to scholar Evans (2002), livability of a city is composed of livelihood and ecological sustainability. There are various actors contributing to the urban life in a city from city residents, to non-governmental organizations; from political parties to state; from economic actors such as business owners to workers; from minorities to immigrants, a city is composed of various actors. For scholar Evans (2002: 223), the key to livable cities is the “ecologies of agents”, i.e. the synergy and common action of various actors like political parties, state, Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and the urban community for the common good of the city. Ecologies of local political agents focus on the power of connections rather than the capacities of individual actors, which underline a striking point for urban development discussions. As scholar Evans (2002: 245) clearly asserts:

For cities to become more livable, groups and individuals inside and outside of the state must become more conscious of the necessity of looking for complementarities, forging alliances, and bridging differences that separate the multiple agendas that are part of livability.

Creating livable cities has become a crucial factor for sustainable urbanization in the contemporary period. The factor of livability of a city is closely

associated with the urban actors who shape the political and economic agendas. The number and power of these actors have increased with the rising forces of globalization on the economic, political and cultural fronts. These actors include municipal leaders, local NGOs, business leaders and associations, local politicians, local economic actors such as big industrialists who shape the labor market, urban residents, universities, as well as city governorship. The harmony and communication among these actors is not only the key to the increase in the number and sustainability of livable cities but also the engine of urban economic and social development. Moreover, this harmony among the urban actors is also vital for ensuring good urban governance structures as well as good urban policies. The speech of Jean Claude Paye at the OECD International Conference on the Economic, Social and Environmental Problems of Cities which took place in Paris, in 1992 provides clear answers to the questions about good urban policies:

Urban policies should be coherent, they should attempt a multisectoral approach to different aspects of urban life; they should enable cities to cope with the consequences of economic, environmental, and social change; and they should enhance the capacity of urban residents and institutions to take a more active, creative role in the process of urban change. In the final analysis, urban policy should enable public and private institutions, businesses and communities, individuals to respond creatively and competently to the challenges in cities, by their very existence, pose in modern times.

The interaction of various actors from public and private institutions is generally seen as a crucial factor for sustainable urban policies. The rising importance of the civil society actors for good urban governance are also widely discussed by scholar Keil (2003) who underlines the fact that civil society actors as policy generating mechanisms play great roles in the local political agenda, while they are crucial actors of the urban landscape of the 21st century. The changes in the post 1980 world have brought about major internal economic and social

transformations in cities; and sustainable local governance initiatives of the cities have become the requirements of future prosperity and social stability in this rapidly changing global environment. Scholar Scott (2007: 759) emphasizes on the significance of collective action that good urban governance structures provide:

Political tensions and latent synergies that reside in intraurban space call forcefully for strategic as well as remedial collective decision making and action. The viability of the city in terms of its efficiency, workability, and livability depends therefore on the existence of policy making infrastructures capable of carrying out corrective programs of intervention and regulation.

The capacity of urban actors to take collective actions is directly related to the coordination and harmony among them. This capacity has a significant influence on livability of cities as well as on good urban policies of sustainable governance. It is crucial for multiplicity of actors in the urban arena to peacefully coexist to create democratic solutions for the future problems of the cities. As globalization rapidly transforms the urban area, not only the economic growth levels but also the quality of life provided to urban residents, with values like livability, competitiveness and creativity are crucial in analyzing the cities of the 21st century.

2.3. Globalization and Europeanization of Turkey

Since the 1980s and especially during the 1990s, Turkey underwent a variety of societal developments intersecting at the point of globalization, which symbolizes a significant change in the Turkish society. These developments embrace Turkey's transformation through globalization from various fronts such as economy, politics, and culture. Turkey's economic globalization has been a process of the integration of

its economy into the world market under the dominant global rules of neo-liberalism; while the political globalization of Turkey refers to its constant efforts to gain full membership status in the European Union. Lastly, the cultural globalization of Turkey symbolizes a process of resurgence of Islam, the rising identity claims of diverse actors for pluralism and recognition, and the emergence of a more dynamic Turkish civil society.

Under the impact of all these developments Turkey entered a new period of modernity and capitalism, while identity politics emerged and cultural, regional and religious forms of identity replaced the concepts of national identity (Buğra, 2002a, 2002b; Öniş, 1997). Since the 1980s and the 1990s, new actors, new perspectives, and new identity claims of the Turkish modernization resulted in emergence of alternative modernities, coexistence of different cultures, forms and interpretations (Keyman and Koyuncu, 2005; Keyman and İçduygu, 2003).

Turkish modernity in the post 1980's witnessed newly emerging actors in Turkish politics. New economic actors became strong supporters of financial globalization, foreign trade, free market economy and liberal state; whereas political actors mobilized identity politics to gain recognition of their differences, and rising number of civil society actors and stronger social movements reshaped the perspective of politics and active citizenship (Keyman and Öniş, 2007; Keyman and İçduygu, 2005; Özbudun and Keyman, 2003). All these developments transformed the economic and political landscapes in all parts of Turkey, especially in the Anatolia region where certain parts has shown great dynamism in terms of urban transformation, economic progress, as well as societal change.

In this part of the study, the above stated transformations in Turkey are analyzed in three interrelated parts; the economic globalization of Turkey, the cultural globalization of Turkey, and the political globalization of Turkey as regards to the EU full membership efforts and the Europeanization experience. Therefore, a general and comprehensive picture of its transformation through globalization and Europeanization processes are be provided to position Turkey within the general globalization discussions.

To begin with the economic arena, in the post 1980s period the Turkish society has begun to experience the most visible impacts of the global integration process as the discourse of the ‘free market’ dominated the economic life in Turkey (Heper and Keyman, 1998; Keyman and Koyuncu, 2005; Keyman and Öniş, 2007). Since the 1980s and the 1990s, the capital and trade have been globalized; the global market and its rules and norms start to dominate the national market; the necessity of technological innovation and strategic planning for production has been realized. The rapid pace of liberalization of the Turkish economy resulted in rising number of economic actors all around Turkey who have realized the importance of free market, and triggered the pluralization of economic organizations in the Turkish society.

The story behind the liberalization and opening of the Turkish economy is strongly shaped by certain societal and political developments in Turkey, mainly by the military coup of 1980. The civilian rule following it under the tutelage of the army, is argued to have a significant impact on the rise of a Turkish bourgeoisie which ardently support the rule of free market and Turkey’s integration into the

capitalist global economy, in order to be more economically autonomous and independent (Aydın, 2005; Işın, 2001).

According to scholar Işın (2001: 360), the trajectory of Turkish economic globalization has strong commonalities with the countries like Chile, Argentina, or Brazil, on the basis of the general trend from Import Substituting Industrialization (ISI) to neoliberal deregulation, privatization, and market led reform, which shaped the contours of the structural adjustment of the Turkish economy in the post 1980 period. This adjustment had a long lasting impact for the remainder of the 1980s, since the democratically elected governments of the post coup period continued the program of rapid economic liberalization. The role of the Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Özal with regards to the Turkish global integration has been widely discussed by various preeminent scholars like Çolak (2005), Yavuz (2003), Toprak et al. (2004), Heper and Keyman (1998), while his reforms during the 1980s are called as “Reaganesque” (Akyol, 2006) regarding their revolutionary and deeply transformative nature, and their drastic impacts.

The post 1980 economic transformations enabled the global financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) to have a significant influence on Turkish policy making. Soon after the coup, the government signed a three year stand by agreement with the IMF in 1980 which could be interpreted as the threshold in the Turkey’s global integration via market liberalization. Since the 1980s, the Turkish government followed policies in line with the global economic principles, i.e. the principles of the Washington Consensus, which include predominance of the market system through the opening of the

economy, liberalization of the financial sector, establishment of an enabling environment for the private sector through privatization and deregulation, and the restructuring of public expenditure priorities. These economic policies since the 1980s have encouraged exports through the adoption of rapid fiscal and monetary measures such as the continual devaluation of the Turkish Lira and a flexible exchange rate policy (Boratav, 1991). In order to ensure the competitiveness of the Turkish products in the world market and to make export business more profitable, industrialists were supported by policies such as tax rebates and export credits (Aydın, 2005). As a result of all these developments, the Turkish economy has been transformed into a more outward oriented economy, especially under the huge impact of market reforms. However, this process has not been a smooth one; on the contrary this rapid integration into the global economy resulted in certain negative side effects. The report on the impact of globalization on the Turkish economy, prepared by the Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey (2002: 60) summarizes the globalization experience of Turkey clearly:

Every country has its own story to tell on globalization. Turkey's experience was full of ups and downs, as the basics were not properly in place before the economy was opened up. Since this analysis is ex-post, it is difficult to judge whether the policy makers could have known the necessary macroeconomic framework at the beginning of the 1980s. This has mainly been a "learning by doing" process as people and countries learn from their own mistakes.

In light of the above discussions, scholars Keyman and Öniş (2007: 249) assert that: "we have seen the increasing importance of market liberalization as a linkage between Turkey and the globalizing world." The Turkish economic actors start to be in close interaction with global economic trends, institutions, and actors, while the Turkish economy has been globalized through the market reforms,

structural adjustment programs, export oriented business activity, and rising profitability of entrepreneurship in the form of SMEs spreading all around Turkey.

Apart from the transformations in the economic arena, the Turkish society has experienced dramatic changes and dynamism on the cultural front. The rising influence and number of civil society actors along with stronger identity claims, and the resurgence of Islamic values in social and economic life resulted in a more complex, hybrid, and heterogeneous Turkey moving between the global and the local. Under the impact of culturally globalizing forces as well as the spread of ideas of democracy and human rights all around the globe, there has been an emergence of cultural pluralism and identity fragmentation in Turkey, as political and economic actors started to ask for recognition of their religious, or communitarian identities (Aydın, 2005). Scholars like Buğra (2002a, 2002b), Güllalp (2001) and Öniş (1997) underline the impacts of economic globalization on the rise of identity politics. The rapid economic transformations of the 1980s in the areas of production, finance, and trade resulted in changing relations between the capital and labor. Economic actors has become increasingly powerful to claim relative autonomy from the state, hence their identity claims became more visible. The coexistence of western capitalism together with the rising influence of neoliberal norms into the Turkish economy has resulted in a complex interaction of the local and the global. As scholars Keyman and Koyuncu (2005: 111) argue; “cultural globalization creates both the universalization of western values and cultural patterns, and at the same time the revitalization of local values and traditions, paving the way to the universalization of western modernity and the emergence of alternative modernities”. Actors from various fronts, but especially economic actors start to engage western values like capitalism with

Islamic discourse, as they have become supporters of both neoliberal market activity and Islamic way of life.

The impact of culturally globalizing forces on the Turkish society can also be clearly observed in the area of civil society which has been growing since the 1980s. As the process of Turkish modernization since the 1980s involved new actors, new mentalities of development and new identity claims, the rising civil society activity has become the venue to articulate and express these identity claims, while the Islamic discourse has emerged as a ‘political actor’ and as a ‘symbolic foundation’ for identity formation (Keyman and İçduygu, 2003). The reflections of the global integration on the Turkish civil society resulted in a more democratic and liberal environment in which various ideological interests and political demands of diverse groups have been articulated and represented. The rise of Islamic identity in both the political and economic spheres has become the most visible manifestation of the cultural globalization of Turkey.

In the political sphere, there has been an “Islamization of politics” since the 1970s as Islam became increasingly prominent in electoral politics and won major electoral victories by the 1990s (Işın, 2001: 362). The rise of political Islam has been analyzed from the perspective of identity politics by prominent scholars like Keyman (1995) and Buğra (2002a, 2002b) while Işın (2001) approaches the issue from the perspective of International Relations. According to scholar Işın (2001), there are three reasons behind this Islamic revival: firstly, the EU’s and America’s shifting interest towards the newly capitalist Eastern European countries instead of Turkey in the 1990’s -just when Turkey was waiting for final admission to the EU- resulted in

rising Islamist politics as an alternative to the Western style consumerism as a source of identity, belonging, and identification. Secondly, the tragic results of the Gulf War left huge costs and burdens on the Turkish economy and triggered Islam as a political force in international politics. Lastly, as a result of the 1980 military coup in Turkey civil and political liberties such as association were dismantled and the cultural imagination was left open to Islam which provided an alternative to Western subjugation and modernization, and a link to tradition and history. Scholar Yavuz (2003) also touches upon the impact of the 1980 coup on the Islamic political climate in Turkey, while he provides a brief inquiry about the transformative impacts of post 1980 economic policies on rising Islamic discourse among the business actors, especially ones from Anatolia.

In the economic sphere the impacts and repercussions of the Islamic discourse are also clearly visible. According to Buğra (1999: 11):

Political Islam in Turkey is in no way cut-off from the developments within the global economy, but reflects often well articulated strategies of adapting to these developments evaluated in a manner which highlights their congruity with 'Islamic ways of going about the daily business of life'.

The interests of the bourgeoisie has been promoted by the political Islam, while the language of recognition has been used by small and medium businesspeople mostly from Anatolia, which joined Islamic political parties to end the hegemony of the western oriented big business of the Istanbul bourgeoisie. As scholar Aydın (2005:199) clearly asserts, "the challenges of globalization have prepared the ground for attempts to use Islam as a strategic resource by business and political circles." Under the impact of economic and cultural globalization, the spheres of economy and politics start to intersect at the point of rising Islamic or

communal discourse. Moreover, the increasing levels of Anatolian business activity under the influence of these developments signaled the emergence of an alternative form and structure of “locally oriented” yet “globally visioned” political economic phenomenon.

The relations between Islam and the rising Anatolian business activity have been widely discussed by prominent Turkish academics like Buğra (1999, 2002a, 2002b), and Öniş (1997, 2001), as they emphasize on the internationalization of production and the spread of flexible specialization, which have provided economic opportunities for the most significant supporters of political Islam: the Anatolian artisans, businesspeople, and merchants. These economic actors from Anatolian provinces benefited from the transformations that globalization brought, and they paved their own paths towards economic dynamism and regional socio-economic development in their localities, i.e. in a number of Anatolian cities.

This group of Anatolian centered economic actors is called as “Anatolian Tigers”, allowing significant scholarly work to be centered on this phenomenon. The Anatolian Tigers is a term internationally used in the context of the post-1980 Turkish economy for the phenomenon of the impressive growth records of a number of provinces in Turkey, particularly in Anatolian cities like Denizli, Konya, Çorum, Urfa, Kayseri. The term also refers to the socio-economic transition of those provinces from traditional, agricultural and inward-looking characteristics towards pro-liberal outward-looking economic features. As scholar Öniş (2001: 289) argues:

This phenomenon, popularly described as the emergence of the "Anatolian Tigers" refers to the rise of industrial activity in emerging centers of industrial growth in the context of inner Anatolian towns based on small and medium scale enterprises. These firms typically are highly export-oriented, employ flexible manufacturing practices and receive little or no subsidy from the state.

The Anatolian Tigers as a new phenomenon has become a fruitful area to observe the impacts of the post 1980s developments on the Turkish political economy, from various perspectives; such as culture, urbanization, and economic development. There is a significant literature on the Anatolian Tigers, which can be approached from a number of perspectives. There is an economic performance oriented approach (Filiztekin and Tunalı, 1999; Eraydın, 2003); an organizational structure centered perspective (Buğra, 1998; Öniş, 2001; Koyuncu, 2003; Öniş and Türem, 2002); an approach underlining the role of religion and its possible coexistence with modern phenomena like capitalism (Kösebalaban, 2007; Aktay and Topçuoğlu, 2007; Toprak et al., 2004, Knaus, 2005; Bilefsky, 2006); and lastly a more political-economy dominated perspective on the Anatolian transformation which focuses on the economic actors who; a) are well integrated with the globalization and Europeanization processes, b) provide an alternative to the Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen Association (TÜSİAD) by forming organizations like Independent Industrialists and Businessman Association (MÜSİAD) or local businessmen and industrialists associations (SİADs), c) integrate market based entrepreneurial logic with traditional values (Keyman, 2002; Keyman and Koyuncu, 2005; Özbudun and Keyman, 2003; Öniş, 2006a, 2006b).

The economic performance oriented approach mainly analyzes the productive capacities and export performances of the Anatolian Tigers to understand the level of

economic potential they brought, while the organizational structure centered approach focuses on the institutional structures of businessmen and industrialists associations, mainly MÜSİAD, to analyze the structure of interest mobilization and representation among these Anatolian firms. This perspective underlines the importance of religious or communitarian networks, and forms of solidarity or reciprocity among the Anatolian businessmen, while making significant comparisons with TÜSİAD as a secular organization clarifies the interest mobilization structures and methods of these associations. Deeper analysis of the organizational structure and the foundational values of MÜSİAD as an organization provide clear insights about the Islamic or communitarian values embedded in these economic organizations. The religion oriented perspective establishes a close relationship between economic dynamism and Islamic values in explaining the rise of Islamic entrepreneurial activity and economic growth in the Anatolian provinces. Lastly, the political-economy dominated approach on Anatolia embraces a wider perspective and underlines the importance of social and cultural values, as well as locally embedded diverse dynamics in explaining these alternative economic growth stories of Anatolia, which are not homogenous but following their alternative paths due to their diverse socio-cultural infrastructure. The findings of a major study (Özbudun and Keyman, 2003) focusing on the impacts of the cultural globalization process in the 1990s in Turkey clearly demonstrate the rapid transformation of the Anatolian region into a diversified, dynamic, and globally integrated structure, while opened new paths for further scholarly discussions. The impacts of this transformation on the perceptions, discourses, and economic strategies of the economic actors of Anatolia were studied recently by a comprehensive research (Keyman and Koyuncu, 2009a) on the political economy of Anatolia. The findings of this study lead us to further

question the urban socio-cultural structures of those economically growing provinces while opening up a new area of scholarly discussion on the urban transformation of these rising provinces and cities in light of globalization and Europeanization processes.

Before moving to the literature on the Europeanization of Turkey as the process of political globalization, it must be stated that the economic and cultural globalization processes of Turkey are not two independent; on the contrary, two closely interwoven sets of developments, influencing and shaping each other. The rise of Anatolian Tigers as a socio-economic phenomenon stands at the very intersection of globalizing Turkish economy, culture, and politics. The rise of political or economic Islam increased the number of societal actors with their diverse identity claims. They triggered the dynamism in Turkish civil society, and the neoliberal restructuring of the Turkish economy which has simultaneously shaped the Turkish society in the post 1980s. The globalization of Turkey resulted in significant transformations on various fronts, now the political globalization experience of Turkey, from the perspective of the integration of Turkey in the EU is discussed.

There is an extensive literature (Vardar, 2005; Müftüler-Baç and McLaren, 2003; Öniş, 2000; Kirişci, 2005; Rubin and Çarkoğlu, 2003; Uğur and Canefe, 2004) on the historical, institutional and political progress of Turkey's relations with the EU. According to Vardar (2005: 91), "integration in the EU would be the last step in Turkey's century and a half long march toward modernity via 'Westernization'". The initial steps of this process can be traced back to the period of the late Ottoman

Empire Period, and then to the Turkish Republic with Turkey's application to the associate membership to the European Community (EC) on 1951. Another crucial step was the Ankara Agreement, i.e. the Association Agreement signed between Turkey and the EC in 1963. This agreement defined the terms of Turkey's admission as well as its timetable. Despite of fact that, the military coup in the 1980 resulted in the suspension of relations with the EC, after the military regime came to an end, all pro-establishment actors sustained their positions in favor of European integration. However, as mentioned above, the European integration process of Turkey has never been a smooth one. The challenges towards the pro-EU environment have been visible before and after the Luxembourg Summit of 1997, in which Turkey was excluded from the official list of candidate countries. These challenges and rising tension continued until the Helsinki Summit of December 1999, in which the decision to include Turkey as a candidate for future enlargement was taken. This decision symbolized a new era in Turkey-EU politics. According to scholars Keyman and İcduygu (2005: 11),

The summit declared the inclusion of Turkey into the process of enlargement. Thus Turkey's long association with the EU has finally produced a certain level of certainty, as the decision to include Turkey also meant that Turkey had a chance to find a place in the enlarged Europe as a full member.

However, this decision also reemphasized the importance of the conditionality in Turkey's membership regarding the vitality of meeting the political, economic, and legal conditions to be a full member of the EU. The Helsinki Summit clarified the fact that, the major condition for beginning the accession negotiations was the full implementation of the Copenhagen Criteria, adopted by the Copenhagen Summit of the European Council in June 1993. The criteria involved three important steps for EU integration. First of all, the existence of a functioning market economy

and the capacity to cope with competitive pressures and market forces within the EU. Secondly, the stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities. Lastly, there are obligations to take on the laws of the EU membership which requires Turkey to adhere to the political, economic and, monetary laws of the union (Müftüler-Baç, 2002). These criteria have dominated the political discussions and fueled a significant debate about the future of Turkey regarding its long engagement with the EU in the post 1990 period.⁹

Two developments in the late 1990s are argued to have drastic impacts on the rising popularity of support for EU membership in Turkey: the Helsinki Summit of December 1999 and the November 3rd national elections of 2002 (Keyman and İçduygu, 2005). First of all, the Helsinki Summit of 1999 decided to make Turkey an official candidate for future membership; hence, ended the rising level of uncertainty and discontent among the Turkish society. Moreover, the decision resulted in significant shifts in the stances of various political and economic actors with regards to Europe. Political actors from various ideological backgrounds, especially Islamic actors began to realize that European integration served their long term interests by providing a pluralist and democratic ground for the protection of individual rights and freedoms, which necessarily includes religious beliefs. Therefore the popular support for the EU membership among the Islamic groups has increased (Vardar, 2005: 93).

⁹ For further discussion on the Copenhagen Criteria and Turkey's EU membership from an economic perspective, see Eder (2003)

The second critical development was the national elections of the November 3rd, 2002, which strengthened the ties with the globalization dynamics and the EU as the new ruling party Justice and Development Party (JDP) expressed a pro-EU stance and strengthened its efforts for full membership to the EU (Keyman and İçduygu, 2005). The political context of Turkey at that period also showed signs of popular electoral support for pro-EU political parties, and it is argued that nationalist and ultra nationalist parties have found themselves unable to voice clearly and directly their opposition to the EU as the Union has become one of the powerful determinants of Turkish politics (Vardar, 2005: 93).

Moreover, the position of the pro-EU ruling party the JDP is referred to as “communitarian liberal synthesis” (Keyman and İçduygu, 2005:16) with regards to the coexistence of Islam and free market in party’s political agenda is also crucial to understand the linkages between its pro-EU stance and the values they support. The underlying motive for the JDP’s active support for EU membership involved not only the economic benefits associated with full-membership, but also the extension of religious freedoms which is a crucial development for any significant part of the party’s electoral base. The reforms in the process of EU accession regarding the area of human rights, freedom of expression and encouragement of identity claims has provided certain level of protection for the formerly repressed groups, such as Islamists in Turkey and gives them the chance to be more vocal in their identity claims. As a result, the pro-EU coalition included actors from various fronts and the Islamic actors within or out of the JDP have been a crucial part of this coalition.

On the other hand, upon analyzing the contemporary pro-EU coalition in Turkey, economic actors emerge as the most ardent supporters of the process of EU integration despite the differences with respect to their specific claims to identity and modernity (Keyman and İçdygu, 2005). The economic benefits of EU membership regarding macroeconomic stability, increasing levels of trade, ability to have international business partners, and being able to invest in new ventures were quickly realized by certain business groups and Turkish industrialists became stronger and more straightforward supporters of the EU project. Scholars like Ülgen (2006) and Öniş (2003) discuss clearly the role of business actors in the Europeanization process, which provides a crucial analytical contribution to this study.

According to Ülgen (2006) the Economic Development Foundation (İKV) was the initial step in the institutionalization of business support for Turkey's EU objectives. İKV with its unique focus on EU relations provided a strong position to Turkish business in the forthcoming European journey. Later, as Turkish industrialists and businessmen have become ardent supporters of the Turkey's integration into the EU, business-based civil society organizations, TÜSİAD emerged as the most vocal actor of this pro-EU coalition (Öniş, 2003). Apart from TÜSİAD, other business-based civil society organizations and economic actors, such as the Women Entrepreneurs Association of Turkey (KAGİDER); The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB); sectoral organizations such as Textile and Apparel Exporters' Associations (İTKİB), and the Turkish Association of Metal Producers (İMMİB) start to deploy their own active pro-EU strategies (Ülgen, 2006).

One crucial element of these pro-EU strategies is monitoring in the sense that business groups hold the government accountable from the EU reform agenda. The second element of pro-EU strategies is education regarding awareness raising activities, publications and information campaigns about the EU. Moreover, in order to have a stronger say in Turkey-EU relations, the business community has strengthened its presence in Brussels. TÜSİAD opened its Brussels office in 1995 and it was followed by TOBB, İTKİB, and KAGİDER. KAGİDER as one of the ardent supporters of Turkey's EU integration, opened an office in Brussels in March 2008, and has since pursued effective lobbying activities in the European political agenda. In terms of networking, Turkish business associations have integrated themselves and built alliances with EU-wide business organizations. TÜSİAD has become a member of the European Employers Federation (UNICE), while TOBB has raised its profile within, the European Association of Chambers of Commerce (Eurochambers). At the sectoral level, İTKİB has joined Euratex, its EU counterpart, while İMMİB is now a member of Eurofer. KAGİDER also is a member of the European Women's Lobby (EWL) which is a leading umbrella organization of women's associations in the European Union.

However, the pro-EU stance of business actors is not limited to Istanbul or Ankara centered business associations and chambers like TÜSİAD, TOBB, or İKV. As the results of a recent study on the political economy of Anatolia held by scholars Keyman and Koyuncu (2009a) clearly assert, there is also a strong pro-EU stance among the leading economic actors of Anatolia such as the Industrialists and Businessmen Associations, and Chambers of Commerce and Industry all around Anatolia. These local organizations have strong economic ties with the EU member

countries regarding levels of trade and they play active roles in managing and monitoring various EU funded projects which contributed significantly to the urban transformation in Anatolian cities since the 1990s.

As it can be seen, since the 1990s, economic and political actors from various fronts take part in the Turkey's Europeanization process. From business leaders to industrialists, from entrepreneurs to traders, from interest based business organizations to chambers of commerce and industry; economic actors with diverse ideological affiliations are becoming ardent supporters of Turkey's integration into the EU. Also, Islamic actors are starting to support the EU integration process as they benefit from the relatively tolerant and liberal political environment under the impact of EU reforms.

To conclude, in the post 1980 period the processes of Europeanization and globalization brought significant change to Turkish society in the areas of economy, politics, and culture. Rising number of actors, especially economic actors start to take active roles in these processes, while change and dynamism have become visible on economic, social and urban landscapes of various parts of Turkey throughout Anatolia. Economic dynamism and growth accompanied rising identity claims of various actors, while societal dynamism triggered expression of alternative values and cultures. All these developments triggered the rapid urban transformation in Anatolia.

2.4. Urban Transformation in Anatolia

The economic and societal dynamism in Anatolia reemphasized the need for a creative and analytical understanding of urban transformation in the region. This section mainly dwells upon the literature of the urban transformation in Anatolia. The issue will be elaborated from various perspectives such as; the impacts of post 1980 globalization and Europeanization dynamics; the rising levels of entrepreneurship and industrial activity; increasing multiplicity of actors; changing local governance structures; and urban development, competitiveness and livability discussions.

Turkey, like many other nations in the 21st century has been transformed by rapid urbanization. The outward oriented industrialization strategy of the post 1980 period resulted in a major transformation of the socioeconomic structure of the country, while rural to urban migration in Turkey since the 1950s has increased the share of urban population from 25% in 1945 to 65% in 2000 (TUIK, 2000). By the 1990s, the rapid pace of liberalization in economy, as well as in society started to transform the industrial and societal relations across the Anatolia region. Rising small and medium size entrepreneurial activity, increasing population in the urban centers and increasing ethnic or cultural heterogeneity in city centers as a result of urban migration have symbolized a new era in the urban life of Anatolia. On the other hand, the regional and supranational organizations such as the EU have begun to dominate the urban structures of various member and candidate countries with newly defined economic, political, or urban norms and conditions triggering reform on various areas. Turkey has become a striking example of the EU triggered urban

transformation. The EU reforms, policies, scientific and cultural projects and economic potential have had a high influence on the transformation of the various Anatolian cities (Keyman and Koyuncu, 2009a). The rising level of foreign trade with European countries, and increasing industrial output targeting the EU are the symbolic impacts of the integration on the economic front. On the societal front under the impact of political reforms rising number of vocal civil society organizations, women's or youth associations, interest based organizations and politically more active chambers of commerce and industry have become observable. Lastly, on the spatial restructuring front, changing spatial characteristics of the cities with EU funded urban regeneration projects, city infrastructure renewals funded by the European Investment Bank (EIB) or construction of new shopping malls, or industrial zones are considered as clear examples of the globalization and Europeanization triggered urban transformation process in Anatolia (Hovardaoğlu, 2004; Keyman and Koyuncu, 2009a; Taşçı, 2009).

Economic dynamism regarding rising levels of entrepreneurship and industrial activity in the post 1980 period have become one of the most visible areas to observe the change in the nature of the relationship between capital and the city and the transformative impacts of this change on the urban landscape of Anatolia. According to author Şengül (2007), the urban transformation of Turkey in the post 1980 period has been shaped by two incidents radically redefining the relationship between capital and the city. Firstly, the military coup of 1980 repressed the resistance of the labor front; and secondly the financial liberalization of Turkey implied a significant shift from the ISI to export oriented macroeconomic balances. Author Şengül (2007:87) clearly asserts that, the military coup not only repressed the

social resistance to big capital, but also set the ground for the activities of the urban entrepreneurial class shaped by the needs and logic of capital. Medium and large size capitalist groups start to realize the profitability of investing in cities; and as a result since 1990s there has been a rise in investments in city infrastructures and in private resource channeling to local governments. The impacts of the rising consumerist logic all around Anatolia started to be observed, as five star hotels, shopping malls, trade and business centers has invaded the urban space in various Anatolian cities (Şengül, 2007).

A more industrial transformation and production oriented scholarly perspective on the Anatolian urban transformation is offered by scholars Özkaynak (2008) and Hovardaoğlu (2004), as they provide linkages between the changing socio-spatial structures of Anatolian cities regarding rising number of Industrial Zones or export oriented free zones and changing production dynamics as a result of the global integration of the Anatolian economy. In understanding the industrial dynamism in Anatolia, clustering¹⁰ in the form of organized industrial zones and export oriented free zones can be regarded as crucial developments regarding the economic advantages in terms of lowering the costs, but more importantly regarding the emphasis on the social capital or the “institutional thickness” - the shared norms, common values, and relationships of trust- they provide.¹¹ The linkages among the economic actors and the rising values of “know-who”¹² instead of “know-how” are strategic points in understanding the role of cohesion and communication among the urban economic actors and their impact on the economic dynamism in Anatolia. This

¹⁰ For further discussion on clusters see Bradford (2002)

¹¹ See Amin and Thrift (1995)

¹² Term used and discussed by Glückler (2007)

dynamism and its spatial repercussions are crucial points in analyzing the urban transformation in Anatolia.

The reflections of the economic growth on rising export levels and industrial expansion in the post 1980 period and their impacts on the Anatolian urban landscape are deeply analyzed by scholar Özcan (2000), who clarifies two strategic developments in the urban front in the post 1980 period; the rise of new Anatolian cities and their successful integration with the regional and global markets. As a result of global economic integration, industrialization has been diffused to provincial Anatolian towns and the rapid urban growth triggered the emergence of new metropolitan towns in addition to the older established cities of Izmir, Istanbul and Ankara. Moreover, city economies gradually transformed with SMEs integrated into regional and world markets. According to scholar Özcan (2000:201), “This transformation process has resulted in the emergence of new urban classes which combine capitalist practices with strong rural and religious ties”. This notion of coexistence is very crucial in analyzing the urban transformation in Anatolia. Communitarian values like reciprocity, strong familial ties or religious values especially the form of Islamic doctrine start to coexist with capitalist practices and neoliberal norms in various parts of Anatolia. New urban actors like the newly emerging local capitalist classes embody the coexistence of the local values of their cities and modern capitalist practices; while the reflections of this coexistence have become observable on the urban landscape, such as construction of big mosques in the middle of huge industrial zones.¹³

¹³ This example is observable in the city of Kayseri, where a mosque had built within the Industrial Zone.

The post 1980 developments on the urban scale resulted in multiplicity of actors shaping the urban space and politics. The newly emerging entrepreneurial class is a crucial part of this new urban coalition, yet there are other actors like the local political actors such as municipal leaders or governors, NGOs, universities, youth and women's organizations, as well as chambers of commerce and industry. All these actors play active roles in the urban transformation of Anatolia, and their cohesion and communication are the keys to good local governance structures and more livable cities. The conflicts, consensuses, bargains, and alliances among these urban actors such as individuals, local government, private sector, social groups, politicians, and planners are sources of good policy initiatives on the urban scale and understanding the roles of various actors is crucial in analyzing the urban transformation of Anatolia (Özkaynak, 2008).

When we come to the discussions on local governance structure and practices in Turkey, a more historical perspective is adopted by scholars Ünsal (2004), Özcan (2000), Kutlu (2007), and Şengül (2007) as they discuss the evolution of the local governance structure in Turkey with special emphasis on certain historical periods. This historical perspective clearly analyzes significant shifts in the governance structure and their relation with the domestic political climate of the specific periods; while it puts forward the historical backgrounds of the dominant centralization tendency of the local governance structure in Turkey.

The contemporary efforts for the decentralization of local governance structure are discussed by scholar Özkaynak (2008) as she provides an analysis of the new set of legislation on local governmental reform which rearranges

intergovernmental relations among central government, provincial authorities and municipalities. According to scholar Özkaynak (2008), the need to harmonize policies with the EU principles in the field of local governance, have constituted a powerful driving force for local government reform in Turkey. This new local governance mentality symbolizes a shift from top-down, paternalistic governance models to a more transparent and participatory mechanism in which urban actors become crucial stakeholders, and rising number of urban actors participate in urban decision making processes through civil society or interest based organizations.

Author Şengül (2007) also underlines the importance of a more participatory structure on the urban level, and argues that increased participation from various actors in the decision making processes regarding the urban issues would be a better future policy for Turkish cities. A more participatory urban governance structure leads to a more democratic urban environment, in which the peaceful coexistence of diverse urban actors can be sustained. This perspective underlines the strategic relationship between livability and coexistence in the urban environment, which provides new reference points in analyzing the urban transformation and space-capital dialectics on urban scale.

In understanding the urban transformation of Turkey, development levels of cities have long been a crucial area to study, which required a mainly economic approach and hence remained limited. Yet the contemporary studies on the urban transformation bring a new perspective to the issue and include the notion of livability in urban studies, which necessitates the socio-economic development, as well as the culture of consensus and dialogue within the city. According to the study

of the State Planning Agency (DPT)¹⁴, the socio-economic development levels of the Turkish cities are based on two major indicators; the social index and the economic index. The social index encompasses; demographic variables, employment levels, education, health, infrastructure, and other welfare measures, whereas the economic index includes manufacture, construction, agriculture, and financial variables. However, livability discussions bring a totally new perspective, as an interesting study held by CNBC-e Business Magazine¹⁵ in Turkey assessed the Turkish cities in terms of their livability status while providing an interpretation of livability phenomenon within the framework of the six criteria introduced by the study. Economy as the first criterion is considered as a crucial part of livability since the economic environment of the city contributes significantly to the quality of lives of the urban residents. The GDP of the city, the public investments to the city, the average rent for housing, number of cars and houses per person are the lower parameters of the economic variable. The second variable, health, is also considered as a major component of livability and quality of life in a city. Another main variable is education which is argued to raise the quality of urban life in terms of social and cultural opportunities, but it also contributes to economic development and industrial progress through innovation, research and development. The fourth variable security is believed to contribute significantly to the quality of urban life, while urban life is also qualified as the fifth independent criterion with the values like traffic, quality of fresh air, sports facilities, green fields, and number of libraries or nurseries. And lastly, arts and cultural activities are regarded as the major parts of a livable city.

¹⁴ DPT. Study on Regional Socio-economic Development Ranking, 1996, <http://www.ekutup.dpt.gov.tr/bolgesel/dincerb/il/1.pdf>

¹⁵ *The Livable Cities of Turkey*, Cnbc-e Business, October, 2008.

On the other hand, a recent study held by EDAM and Deloitte (2009) on competitiveness of Turkish cities used 50 independent variables and a principal component analysis to assess the ranks and potentials of the cities in terms of competitiveness. The major variables were economic activity and effectiveness, labor market, creativity, human capital, physical infrastructure, and social capital.

By including economic as well as societal values, these two studies give the chance to analyze the notion of urban transformation from a wider perspective which is not limited with a rigid economic development line of vision, but includes culture, society, and diverse urban values. Moreover, in order to attach further meaning to the term livability, the urban area should also be analyzed from the perspectives of human rights, individual freedom, responsibilities and urban rights (Tekeli, 2000; Ökmen, 2003). The urban space should be perceived as an arena to observe democratic, tolerant, and socially just governance mechanisms which provide livable spaces to its residents within the framework of urban rights, individual freedom and urban responsibilities. Cities under the impact of globalization and rapid urban transformation provide different levels of livability to its residents, regarding the fact that successful global economic integration and economic dynamism does not automatically result in livable and democratically governed cities. That is why, urban transformation in Anatolia under the impacts of economic, political and cultural global integration has not produced homogeneous cities; on the contrary the process resulted in more complex and multidimensional city structures regarding levels of livability, social democracy, and tolerance for diversity.

2.5. Kayseri and Eskişehir Cases

Globalization has posed paradoxical challenges, but at the same time provided significant development opportunities for cities. As author Wolfson (2002) argues, global shifts in economy and politics have hurt some cities while benefiting others. While some of the impacts of recent economic trends have made cities vulnerable to fiscal decline, diverse market opportunities and investment alternatives offer a number of cities new growth alternatives. The economic development potential of the localities have long been discussed, as scholar de Filipis (1999: 987) clearly asserts that; “localities are not static, pre given entities but are instead constantly being produced and reproduced by the relationships they are embedded in”. Understanding the relationship between globalization and urban changes necessitates the act of underlining the importance of the local context and initiatives in economic development. As scholars Short and Kim (1999: 129) strongly claim:

Case studies reveal the fact that no all cities are affected equally by globalization. Each city has its particular interplay of the global and the local as specific local traditions in economic, cultural, and political terms actively rework global forces.

The perspective of scholars Amin and Thrift (1995: 7) also supports the above argument as they underline the fact that, without any reference to globalization, local diversity both within and between places will remain as regards to the locally specific existence of practical and discursive knowledge, commonsense, attitudes and resistance mechanisms. The study of scholars Short and Kim (1999) also aims to go beyond the dichotomy of homogenization and heterogenization of global culture, as they reject the efforts towards seeing globalization as a one-way process. They argue that globalization is a process

through which the global is adapted to differentiated local conditions. Hence, globalization does not mean homogenization to Turkish cities; on the contrary, the localities within Turkey showed diverse reactions to global integration, while they build their own synthesis of the global norms and local values.

The developments in Turkey since the 1980s such as; globalization on many fronts, European integration, rapid urbanization, demographic mobility and socio-cultural dynamism raised many questions. Since the impacts of these processes shaped various geographies in diverse ways, the transformations in Anatolia attracted significant attention. A number of Anatolian cities have become the successful cases to observe the impacts of globalization, yet the scope of this study is limited to the comparative analysis of two rising Anatolian cities; Kayseri and Eskişehir. These cities are rising in the sense that, they show significant urban transformation, economic dynamism, and high levels of foreign trade, while they have strong claims for creating world wide brands which originate from Anatolia. In short, they are the cities which benefited from globalization (Wolfson, 2000).

In terms of economic development, Kayseri and Eskişehir, the two rising cities of a developing country, have been pushed by export oriented local producers who have a high propensity to congregate together in their own cities instead of investing in the formerly established industrial centers of Turkey like Istanbul or Kocaeli. Knowledge based innovation and university-industry cooperation also paved the ways of these two cities towards development. As scholar Bradford (2002: 1) significantly puts forward, knowledge based innovation is the critical ingredient for prosperity and well being in the 21st century, and it thrives in local spaces that

cluster economic producers, value diverse ideas and cultures, and include producers in learning opportunities. According to authors Özdemir and Taşçı (2008: 63), the positive effects of cities on economic growth mostly through either exports or urban employment are widely known. However they argue that existing literature generally focuses only on the export potentials of these cities, while the human resources of these cities are another strategic source of growth. Thanks to well established universities of the two cities, and to the young demographic potential, Kayseri and Eskişehir together reemphasized the vitality of human resource in globally integrated local economic development.

However, these cities also narrated their diverse stories, which contributed to the perspective of this study in assessing the diverse discourses and strategies adopted by local actors of Anatolia. They show significant differences in their authentic paths towards integration with the global. Kayseri and Eskişehir formulated the coexistence of the local and the global differently, regarding the diverse local values, norms and cultural infrastructure they own. Kayseri has been the Islamic conservative variant, with regard to cultural and religious heritage embedded in societal dynamics and structures of daily as well as economic life, whereas, Eskişehir has been the social-democratic alternative regarding the dominant municipal governance heritage and the role of municipality in urban transformation; historically embedded values of tolerance, respect and openness to plurality and diversity; and the crucial role of institutions like university in urban transformation. The actors who play the most crucial roles in the urban transformation of their cities also vary among the two cases. In Kayseri, the role of economic actors, namely industrialists have been relatively predominant. Industrialization and economic progress shaped the

urban landscape of the city significantly, as the Kayseri Chamber of Industry and its President Mustafa Boydak's family has become the most popular actors of city's progress and global integration story. However, in Eskişehir case, the leading role in city's progress and transformation shifts to the Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality, and Mayor Yılmaz Büyükerşen. It must be stated that, there are multiplicity of urban actors from economy to politics in both cases, who play active roles in cities' transformation experiences. Yet, the above stated leading actors are crucial in understanding the alternative tales of the two cities. While they are both "globalization friendly" and pro-EU cities having significant growth rates, they are at the same time two diverse stories of the Anatolian transformation telling us once again the importance of looking at the local, the vitality of togetherness within diversity, and the necessity of inventing city specific democratic solutions to urban problems of Turkish cities. This section of the study, in spite of the scarcity in the scholarly literature of the two cities, the leading written academic resources about Kayseri and Eskişehir are analyzed with the aim of giving an idea about their diverse stances in their interaction with the global.

The recent study on the political economy of Anatolia focusing on twelve Anatolian cities by scholars Keyman and Koyuncu (2009a) provides a strong background for this study. Moreover, their illuminating articles published in a daily newspaper Radikal¹⁶ which focus on the urban transformation of Anatolian cities contributed to the analytical framework of this study significantly. Moreover, the study on the competitiveness index for Turkey held by EDAM and Deloitte (2009) puts forward the diverse structures of the two cities and provide valuable information

¹⁶ Radikal, between March 22nd -27th, 2009, five days series. To reach entire work, see F. Keyman archive in www.radikal.com.tr

about the urban competitiveness levels of both Eskişehir and Kayseri. For a comparative perspective of the livability levels of the two cities and the definition of livability in the Turkish context, the study of CNBC-e Business Magazine, “The Livable Cities of Turkey” (2008) gives clear ideas about the urban structures of the two cases.

For the case of Kayseri, the hotly debated study on Islamic Calvinism (2005) by a Berlin based think tank European Stability Initiative (ESI) puts forward the strong interaction between Islamic values and capitalist economic transformation of the city. This study with its widely discussed notion of Islamic Calvinism defended the argument that Islam and capitalism can coexist, and Kayseri can be the showcase of the synthesis of tradition and modernity. The study has been influential in the sense that, it clearly described the Islamist entrepreneurial mind set and its significant impact on the economic growth of the city. Scholar Kösebalaban (2007) also touches upon the transformation of Kayseri within the perspective of the complex relationship between modernity and tradition. With reference to a French observer, scholar Kösebalaban (2007:23) asserts that; “Kayseri is a spot on the map between the east and west of Turkey, between Europe and Asia, between modernity and tradition.” In order to gain a deeper insight about the traditional and religious values embedded in the societal structure of the city, the study of scholar Küçük (2007), on Sufizm¹⁷ is another crucial reference point in understanding the culture of Kayseri, as a central city of mystical thought in the Islamic world.

¹⁷ Sufizm refers to tasavvuf, which is a specific kind of mysticism developed by Muslims. This order, by bringing a holistic approach, not only has a high influence on the religious issues, but also on every part of the daily life, as well as on the city cultures.

A deeper analysis of the local economic development process of Kayseri is provided in the study of scholar Özcan (2000), which underlines the importance of kinship and social ties in forming alliances in local politics. Scholar Özcan (2000) clearly analyzes the political struggles among Islamist and non-Islamist groups in the economic and social development of the city, while she emphasizes the role of Islam in the urban politics as well as in the economy of the city. Moreover, authors like Karatepe (2003) and Doğan (2007) provide valuable insights about the political struggles throughout the urbanization history of the city, while they give detailed information about the local governance structure as well as socio-cultural heritage of the city which is interwoven with Islamic values. The work of author Karatepe (2003) provides a deep sociological analysis of the city on various fronts, such as economy, politics, and culture; while he provides encompassing observations on local values, norms, communitarian ties, and discourses. In understanding the sui-generis identity of the city, author Karatepe's work contributes significantly to this study. Moreover, author Doğan (2007) provides a detailed and historical urbanization analysis of Kayseri, as he focuses on the evolution of the local governance structure of the city from 1930s to this day, while clarifies the influence of the notion of Islam in the local politics.

Hovardaoğlu (2004) offers valuable insights about the economic restructuring of the city and the impacts of the industrial development on the urban landscape of the city under the impact of rapid global integration. Apart from these, the publications of KAYSO (2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c) have been crucial reference points in analyzing the economic and social transformation of the city, as they provide valuable resource in terms of economic development rates.

Moreover these local publications also provide crucial insights about the societal dynamics of the city as they introduce the perspectives and visions of the various local actors. Lastly, a special publication by Garanti Bank (2007), offers a comprehensive perspective on the economic, social and cultural transformation of the city within the perspectives of Europeanization and global integration.

When we come to the second case, Eskişehir as the “social democratic alternative”, the structure of the urban relations and livability levels differ markedly from the Kayseri (Mavi, 2009). In spite of the scarcity regarding the academic studies on Eskişehir, the local publications of the Eskişehir Municipality and the Eskişehir Chamber of Commerce (ETO) (2008a, 2008b) have been the major resources as they provide reliable and up-to-date information on the city’s culture, politics, economy, and urban transformation.

In understanding the economic transformation of the city and the impact of industrialization on Eskişehir, the study by Yurdakul (2005) focusing on the organized industrialization experience of Eskişehir provides valuable insights. On the demographic front, Güneş (2006) offers a detailed analysis of the population structure and human resource of Eskişehir while the study also brings a sociological perspective to the urban transformation experience of the city.

To clarify the social democratic stance of the city, and to demonstrate the relationship between the political stance of the municipal governance and the successful urbanization path the city has followed, a recent study by author Taşçı (2009) gives significant historical and sociological information about the city and

about its popular Mayor Yılmaz Büyükerşen. Based on in depth interviews with President Büyükerşen, author Taşçı (2009) narrates the success story of Eskişehir on various fronts such as; economy, education, and urban transformation. Moreover, author Taşçı (2009) introduces significant linkages between the social democratic character of the city and Mayor Büyükerşen, based on the historical transformation of the city from a desert land¹⁸ to a European city, regarding the modern infrastructure and the artistic outlook dominant in the city landscape, as well as the progressive vision of the municipal leader. Lastly, a recent publication of Anadolu University (2008) analyzes the role of the University in Eskişehir's development through the results of a survey about the perceptions and attitudes of the people of Eskişehir towards the Anadolu University. As a result of the growing impacts of globalization, universities have found themselves in an environment more open to interaction with their cities and with other universities all around the world, while the relations between universities and their cities has become even more crucial for a city's development and quality of urban life. For the case of Eskişehir, the study of scholar Sürmeli (2008) offers a new perspective in understanding the transformation and development in Eskişehir, by perceiving university as a strategic urban actor in fostering cooperation among other urban actors and in leading research and development based economic performance.

To conclude, this chapter introduces diverse yet closely related literatures on globalization and urban transformation which comprised the analytical background of this study. Firstly, a general background on globalization discussions is provided

¹⁸ Eskişehir is usually known as a “bozkır şehri”, a desert city, due to its climatic factors and geographical location. But the term also implies a kind of naive deprivation, which has been common feature of a number of Anatolian cities.

and later the discussions are enriched by including the perspective of urban transformation. Moreover, a robust analysis of the literature on globalization and Europeanization process of the post 1980 period in the Turkish context are provided and their impacts on several domestic developments are discussed. Later, the focus shifts towards the urban transformation experience of the Anatolia region of Turkey with a special emphasis on the developments of the post 1980 period triggered by globalization and Europeanization processes. Lastly, a brief survey of the literature focusing on the two cases of this study, Kayseri and Eskişehir are provided with the aim of building the analytical linkages of the interaction of the two cities with the global forces in order to further enlighten their rapid transformation.

CHAPTER 3

KAYSERİ, THE CITY WHERE TRANSFORMATION MEETS CONSERVATISM

Due to its historical heritage, pragmatic approach in economy, deep rooted trade culture and current industrial progress, Kayseri has become one of the major cases to observe the impacts of global transformations on the local scale and to analyze the successful synthesis of tradition and modernity on the Anatolian geography. The current industrial success of the city and rising productivity levels without any reference to state supports strengthens the claim of Kayseri to be the “industrial base”¹⁹ of Turkey. Moreover, historically and culturally embedded values of trade and commerce have been just the two reasons behind the widely accepted economic success of the city. As scholar Kösebalaban (2007: 233) puts it: “Kayseri’s talent in trade has been noted in Anatolian folk tales for many centuries”.

Not only the outstanding production capacity and rapid development of its industry, but also its specific socio-cultural values such as strong communitarian and familial ties, solidarity, and mutual support distinguish the city from the other dynamic cities of Anatolia and contribute to the explanation of its entrepreneurial success without economic state support mechanisms. Therefore, it can be argued that

¹⁹ The depiction is used as a slogan by the Kayseri Chamber of Industry.

Kayseri as an authentic case provides a successful alternative for the Anatolian cities experiencing globalization and Europeanization processes. This achievement appears on the “Islamic Calvinists: Change and Conservatism in Turkey” titled report published by ESI (2005), as it puts forward how Kayseri “exceptionally” shows the successful development of free-market based entrepreneurship in an Islamic-conservative city. The report aroused great attention in the national as well as local media.²⁰ The author of the report, Gerald Knaus, emphasizes that the main motivation behind the launching of the report was to “explain Europeans the change in Turkey, yet, not the change in the western Turkey, but the change in the heart of Anatolia”, by the words: “Because the Europeans believe that Anatolia is too conservative to allow change and they argue that it is underdeveloped” (Benmayor, 2005).

Kayseri as a traditional Central Anatolian city is observed to be a rapidly transforming and developing geography regarding the economic dynamism, urban transformation, and pro-globalization and pro-EU stance of the city. Therefore, Kayseri is regarded as a fundamental case of the coexistence of Islam and modernity. This part of the study provides the analysis of the transformation and global integration of the city in light of the in-depth interviews with the local economic actors such as the Kayseri Chamber of Commerce (KTO), Kayseri Young Industrialists and Businessmen Association (GESİAD), Kayseri Organized Industrial Zone, and leading women entrepreneurs of the city; as well as newspapers and written academic resource surveys. Moreover, this chapter discusses the cultural and sociological structure of the city with the aim of further understanding the distinctive

²⁰ See “Is Kayseri the Islamic Protestant center?”, *Hürriyet*, 26 January, 2006

conservative character of the city. The structure of the chapter is as follows; in the first part, the general transformation of the city in light of globalization and Europeanization processes is analyzed in order to gain insights about the dynamism of the city as regards to urban transformation, global integration and Europeanization processes. In the second part, an analysis of the economic structure and success of the city takes place with the aim of presenting a robust picture of Kayseri economy and its transformation. Moreover, cultural and religious values embedded in the city are analyzed in order to recognize the underlying factors behind Kayseri's economic success and its alternative modern structure with regards to the coexistence of conservatism and modernity in the city.

3.1. Transformation of the City in the Light of Globalization and Europeanization Dynamics

The city of Kayseri maintaining a history of 4500 years, has been experiencing a kind of rapid transformation with the impact of changing production and consumption patterns of the post 1980s which not only brought drastic change to its economy but also to the various parts of the society. Analysis of this transformation would be incomplete unless the urban actors from various fronts and their respective roles in this process are deeply observed. Understanding the rapid transformation of the city requires scholarly awareness of the multiplicity of actors; civil society organizations, local chambers of commerce and industry, businessmen and industrialists associations, women's associations, local industrialists, municipal

governance, universities and the urban residents of Kayseri playing a vital role in this transformation process.

According to Ali Coşkun, the former Turkish Minister of Industry and Commerce, Kayseri as the leading Anatolian Tiger has obtained a powerful stance within the process of global integration with regards to its position as the industrial and commercial center of the Anatolian Region, while Turkey became a center of attraction for foreign as well as domestic investors.²¹ Here, Kayseri is perceived as a crucial medium and actor of Turkey's global integration. Coşkun further emphasizes that Turkey must be a center of investments from all around the world to survive in the wild rivalry of the world economy, and he expresses that Kayseri's role in this battle is strategic. It is observed that actors from various levels try to prepare Kayseri for the harsh conditions of the global economic competition, of which Kayseri has become an active player regarding the levels of foreign trade and industrial supply-demand linkages established with various geographies and economies.

3.1.1. Globalization and Kayseri

According to scholar Özcan (2000), the period of 1980s symbolize the drastic transformation of the city as regards to the neo-liberal policies and the gradual opening of the Turkish economy to the world markets which significantly contributed to the technological and business advances of the Kayseri economy.

²¹See KAYSO (2006a).

Through increased trade and manufacturing opportunities, many local businesses grew, and became outward looking and risk taking companies, while the dynamics of global integration started to dominate the economy of Kayseri.

Hasan Ali Kilci, President of KTO, builds strong relationships between contemporary transformations in Kayseri and the neo-liberal reforms of the 1980s.²² According to Kilci, the neo-liberal restructuring of the Turkish economy during the reign of Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Özal and his significant reforms in the Turkish economy and politics are the milestones for the development and growth process of Kayseri.²³ Moreover, Kilci openly states that the period of 1980s was a kind of transition for the economy of Kayseri in adapting to global economic dynamics, and this successful transition opened a new path to further integrate with the world economy, which was a significant opportunity.²⁴ The neo-liberal reforms of the 1980s, according to Kilci, provided strategic economic and political infrastructure for the contemporary industrial growth of Kayseri.²⁵

Hasan Ali Kilci further argues that the entrepreneurs of Kayseri, who generally develop their businesses with their own initial capital, are also successful in adapting to the changes and transformations on the global scale.²⁶ The industrial and entrepreneurial strategies are mainly based on the rules of the global competition and the general aim has always been gaining competitive advantage in the respective industrial fields. The institutional strategies of the individual firms are mainly shaped

²² Interview recorded on November 13th, 2008, in KTO.

²³ Interview recorded on November 13th, 2008, in KTO.

²⁴ Interview recorded on November 13th, 2008, in KTO.

²⁵ Interview recorded on November 13th, 2008, in KTO.

²⁶ Interview recorded on November 13th, 2008, in KTO.

by adaptation to the recent technological developments, which clearly shows that the global developments in science and technology are followed with attention as well. Kilci expresses that “it is not rational to resist the forces of globalization in the contemporary period” and further adds that “the people of Kayseri rationally adopt a pro-globalization stance as they accept and utilize change and transformation in necessary fields, especially in industry”.²⁷ Representatives from the Kayseri Organized Industrial Zone, Secretary General Tahsin Onuş and Director of Press Relations and Publications Zuhâl Göktaş, also emphasize that the general awareness towards the process of globalization is significantly high among the people of Kayseri, who have realized the importance and the possible positive impacts of the global integration process, mainly in the economic arena.

The transformation of the city and its global integration is generally attributed to the dynamism in the economic arena, as some of the key local actors interpreted the global transformation mainly from an economic perspective. Mustafa Boydak, President of the Kayseri Chamber of Industry (KAYSO), emphasizes that: “Turkey and Kayseri are in a great process of change and transformation, during which successful adaptation to the globalizing economy is the only way to minimize the losses and maximize the gains”.²⁸ He clearly expresses that their greatest desire as KAYSO is to see Kayseri as a city with a significant competitive power, with rising number of successful national and global brands, and with continuously increasing exports.²⁹ The perception of KAYSO towards rising amount of foreign capital in Turkey is significantly positive as Mustafa Boydak argues that the growth of Turkish

²⁷ Interview recorded on November 13th, 2008, in KTO.

²⁸ Editorial published in KAYSO (2006b).

²⁹ Editorial published in KAYSO (2006b).

economy is closely related with the channeling of foreign capital to diverse regions of Turkey with regards to rising investments and increased employment and development rates that they trigger.³⁰

However, some of the actors interpret the global integration process of Kayseri from various fronts, and shed light on the changing societal dynamics. Hasan Ali Kilci, the President of KTO, significantly underlines the contemporary dynamism in the civil society of Kayseri in light of the globalization dynamics, and establishes a close relationship between rising non-governmental activity and the visible societal impacts of globalization in Kayseri.³¹ Women empowerment has become a rising area for associations and especially for local chambers to develop projects and initiatives, and KTO has been among the leading organizations which develop projects targeting social and economic empowerment of women. When such a traditional conservative Anatolian city like Kayseri is considered, where the existence of women in economy and society had almost been invisible, the increase in the number of projects towards women empowerment makes the transformation in Kayseri more visible. Kilci, while proudly presenting the third project of KTO on women's rights, which underlines that the societal dynamism and transformation at the grass roots level can be genuinely observed only by focusing on the popular interest on women's issues.³²

Moreover, Berna İltter, a distinctive women entrepreneur from Kayseri and a member of the Women Entrepreneurs Association of Turkey (KAGİDER), also

³⁰ Interview published in KAYSO (2007c).

³¹ Interview recorded on November 13th, 2008, in KTO.

³² Interview recorded on November 13th, 2008, in KTO.

underlines that globalization is not only a transformation in the economic area but also a social and political transformation which has significant impacts on every part of the societal life, and on the daily lives of the people as well.³³ Giving examples from the near past, her school years, she makes comparisons about the quality of daily life and technological opportunities of today, and concludes that the life standards have been clearly improved mainly due to developments in the economic area. She illustrates this with the example of how the appearance of the city has changed in the past twenty years as the technological changes and innovations are integrated into the daily lives of the people together with luxurious consumptions while the utilization of the internet has brought up new communication opportunities.³⁴ While expressing the increasing visibility of women in every aspect of social life, İlter underlines that her own story of entrepreneurial success is a great sign of the change in Kayseri.³⁵ İlter notes that the existence of women in the industrial zones was regarded unusual in contrast to the recent positive attitude towards women and happily asserts that the current position of women in the economy has become highly significant as those of men.³⁶

3.1.2. Europeanization and Kayseri

In understanding the change and transformation in Kayseri, analyzing the process of Europeanization is regarded as a crucial task of this study. The observed perceptions and strategies of the local actors towards the EU integration reveal the

³³ Interview recorded on November 13th, 2008, in Kayseri

³⁴ Interview recorded on November 13th, 2008, in Kayseri

³⁵ Interview recorded on November 13th, 2008, in Kayseri.

³⁶ Interview recorded on November 13th, 2008, in Kayseri

fact that Kayseri can be a significant case study to analyze the impacts and reflections of Europeanization process on the localities in the Anatolian context.

The position of Kayseri towards integration to the EU is quite positive both among the business circles and the general public. The sister city projects, which have been increasingly visible among the EU member countries and the candidate states, can be regarded as a significant push for further communication among the cities from diverse geographies. Kayseri became sister cities with a German city Saarbrücken, with the protocol signed by two Mayors: Mehmet Özhaseki and Michael Burkert (Türkmen, 2007). Moreover, another German city Krefeld has been the sister city of Kayseri since 2004. Two Mayors Mehmet Özhaseki and Gregor Kathseide share the same view that, the sister city projects are the crucial stepping stones for further cooperation in economy, environmental issues and educational projects.³⁷ The cities are believed to provide new markets and enhance the trade volumes between Germany and Turkey. However, the sister city projects do not only serve further cooperation with the EU, but they also provide strong grounds for dialogue between Kayseri and various countries like South Korea, Syria, and Bosnia-Herzegovina since the beginning of the year 2000. It can be concluded that, the relations between the local and the global forces penetrate multiplicity of geographies, not only nation states, but also cities. The initiatives stated above reveal the individual efforts and potentials of the cities in integration with the globe in the 21st century.

³⁷ See <http://www.kayseri-bld.gov.tr/kardes-sehir/krefeld.htm>

KTO, an important actor leading the economic and the social transformation of Kayseri, supports the EU integration process and believes in the importance of the close relations with the EU both for Kayseri and Turkey. According to Kilci, President of KTO, the popular support for the EU membership among the people of Kayseri is way above the average number of Turkish citizens supporting Turkey's full membership.³⁸ Kilci clearly puts forward the attitude of KTO on this issue by expressing that they approach exactly like Europeans to the developments, reforms and transformations taking place in the world.³⁹ In line with the above stated arguments, KTO established the EU Information Office with the aim of raising public awareness of the EU and executing various EU funded projects. Projects targeting women empowerment began to dominate the agendas of the KTO board members, especially after realizing the importance of women's rights and empowerment for EU integration. The latest project on gender issues was successfully completed in 2007, which aimed at self awareness rising among the working women over the age of 28 to achieve senior level management positions.⁴⁰

Hacı Boydak, the head of the board of directors of the Boydak Group, a well known local conglomerate, underlines that the city of Kayseri in general and specifically their company Boydak Group are in a dynamic process of preparation to the EU for the last five years (KAYSO, 2007a). It is observed that most of the companies under the group are not only the leaders in their own sectors, but they are also among the leading firms in their respective fields on the global scale. Boydak clearly states that, there are difficult issues that Turkey must handle in the process of

³⁸ Interview recorded on November 13th, 2008, in KTO.

³⁹ Interview recorded on November 13th, 2008, in KTO.

⁴⁰ See <http://www.kayserito.org.tr/web3/pxp/hizmetlerimiz/projeler-birimi.php>

the EU integration and holds the view that the firms, rather than countries, are becoming vocal actors in the structure of the new globalizing world (KAYSO, 2007a). There is a widely held belief that EU membership brings both various advantages and political costs to member states. Moreover, the candidacy process regarding the adaptation to the EU norms can become a rather painful and demanding period for many countries and the economic actors within those countries as well. Adaptation to new market conditions, and being able to meet the demands of the new markets are challenges and some local enterprises turn out to be rather successful in facing these challenges. The Boydak Group is one of them, since Hacı Boydak strongly believes that the EU integration process will continue efficiently and more fluently on the side of Kayseri as well as the Boydak Group, owing to the successful communication network among the conglomerate and the EU member countries (KAYSO, 2007a).

When it comes to the motor forces of the Kayseri economy, namely industry and commerce, it can be observed that Kayseri has built close relations with the EU in terms of business partnerships, levels of foreign trade between the two parties and the spread of several EU funded projects in Kayseri. The economic benefits of the European integration are widely accepted by the general public, regarding the fact that, most of the companies, in terms of export destinations, have figuratively become a member of the EU and have strengthened their partnerships in the past twenty years. On the other hand, among the newly established firms the dominant views about the EU are the profitability of doing business and the economic potential the organization offers to investors from Turkey.

Mustafa Boydak, President of KAYSO, has clear and objective views about the EU integration, as he asserts that the EU project has been a popular issue in Turkish politics for the last fifty years, and the EU integration has been widely discussed since then (KAYSO, 2007c). The developments achieved during the current JDP government in Turkey, such as setting a clear EU agenda and continuous ambition in carrying the membership negotiations are vital achievements according to Boydak, while his perception of the EU project is also interesting. For Boydak, the EU project means firstly wide spread democratization, secondly rising economic prosperity and lastly increasing opportunities for more modern life styles (KAYSO, 2007c). Placing a special emphasis on the historical evolution of the EU project from the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), to contemporary political and economic governance structure, Boydak claims that, “the EU membership is rather a long road, the oppositions in the EU towards Turkish membership shall not ruin hopes and shall never interrupt the insistent efforts of Turkey in the way of full membership” (KAYSO, 2007c). It can be concluded that, KAYSO as one of the leading economic actor of the city, perceives the EU integration process almost as a must of the Turkish politics, regarding the values they attach to full membership such as economic prosperity and increasing quality of life.

The Regional Development Program co-funded by the EU and the Republic of Turkey, and executed by the State Planning Agency (DPT) and the Central Anatolia Development Union (ORAKAB) is also a crucial development concerning the activities carried in Kayseri and their impacts on the whole city. The program initiated in 2006, has been a crucial branch of the regional development strategies of the DPT, which mainly aims at preparing certain regions of Turkey to benefit from

the EU pre-accession funds through taking part in the EU projects on various areas. Applied in thirteen different cities, including Kayseri, the project provided technical and practical know-how about the EU projects, and the funding structures. Moreover, the program has also strengthened the culture of strategic planning among the participants from Kayseri. The financial contribution of the program to the city turned out to be outstanding, as out of the 265 project proposals from Kayseri, 86 projects were granted a total of 12.5 million Euros of donation, which is a significant amount.⁴¹

Under the area of the EU funded projects, Kayseri Metropolitan Municipality has lead other municipalities with its novel steps, as it enabled the local entrepreneurs to get the most out of these offers by setting a special institutional structure for the EU projects. The Directorate for the EU and Foreign Relations was established in August 2006 with the primary goal of developing projects that benefit from the EU information network and the funds. The institution specializes in project preparation and execution. By the end of 2007, Kayseri Metropolitan Municipality has been a part of five EU projects and acquired 6.350.000 Euros of donation from the EU.

The relations with the EU in the area of education have also been strengthened through student exchange programs and several joint programs in the universities. Erasmus and Leonardo Da Vinci exchange programs for students and professors have provided the ground for closer interaction with the EU structures and systems in Kayseri. Moreover, the rising awareness about the European integration

⁴¹ For detailed information, see <http://www.orakab.gov.tr/>

process has been backed by these programs, especially among the young population whose ideas about Europe and the EU has been significantly shaped throughout this process. Kayseri has also shown a great realization in the EU funded training programs and acquired a great deal of vocational training support in various sectors.

The EU projects applied in Kayseri do not only target business circles or students, but they are also successful in reaching diverse parts of the society, such as the local craftsmen. The traditional and almost forgotten local crafts like stone carving are supported within the scope of the EU projects in the region, with the aim of keeping local cultures and traditions alive. More than thirty trainees who are the future local craftsmen candidates took special courses on stone carving in the province of Ağırnas. At the end of the courses, their products were utilized in urban renovation projects in this small province of Kayseri. The project is supported by the EU with an amount of 94.000 Euros.

The support for the process of Europeanization in Kayseri is not surprising, when one takes into account the encompassing nature of the EU projects and their visible positive impact on the lives of the local people. The process of Europeanization embraces various actors such as craftsmen, businessmen, students, and local politicians; and various areas such as local arts, urban regeneration, business partnerships, and local industrial production; as a result of which, the idea of EU membership implies positive developments such as economic growth and socio-cultural improvement. The positive attitude towards EU membership in the city becomes more meaningful by considering both the physical and the intangible positive impacts such as financial support or the rising local cultural activities.

Civil society actors in Turkey have generally been the supporters of the Europeanization process, regarding its positive impacts on politics such as democratization, or stronger protection of human rights. Moreover, the interest based organizations such as various SİADs, which hold an economic perspective mainly, support the process of Europeanization. Namık Subaşı, Secretary General of the Kayseri Young Industrialists and Businessmen Association (GESİAD) openly states that the NGOs in Kayseri have never been indifferent to the EU projects and funds; on the contrary, civil society actors of Kayseri are active in the EU integration processes.⁴² Subaşı emphasizes that more than one hundred participants have recently been trained under two fishery projects for six months, which brought forth the establishment of the greatest cage fishery system in Turkey, products of which are directly exported to Germany. Moreover, he adds that currently a budget of 100.000 Euros is rendered available for an industrial design project, within the management of Kayseri GESİAD.⁴³ In addition, there is an interesting sociological point that Subaşı underlines; all these improvements and developments in Kayseri are accomplished independently from the political and ideological stances of the successive national governments, i.e., the entrepreneurs of Kayseri have been carrying their close relations with all the governments from various political affiliations, from center left to center right and even to more Islamic parties.⁴⁴ This political culture of ruling party support dominant in Kayseri, also interpreted as political pragmatism in this study, is elaborated in depth in the second part of this chapter.

⁴² Interview recorded on November 12th, 2008, in GESİAD, Kayseri.

⁴³ Interview recorded on November 12th, 2008, in GESİAD, Kayseri.

⁴⁴ Interview recorded on November 12th, 2008, in GESİAD, Kayseri.

Not only the European Union, but also the idea of Europe and various European cities has been a point of reference or comparison for Kayseri. Both in historical and contemporary discussions, Kayseri has been compared and contrasted with various European cities in terms of population structures or economic relations. For example, according to author Karatepe (2003: 99), Kayseri with its dynamism and high growth rates in the 16th century, was among the major cities of not only Anatolia but also Europe. Author Karatepe (2003: 99) further narrates that Kayseri had almost the same amount of population and geographical size as the major European cities; such as Amsterdam or Barcelona. This comparison strengthens the argument that relations with Europe both physically and mentally has strong cultural bases in many rising Anatolian cities. Europe may not be perceived as the sole model to be reached, but it is a significant point of reference in history, economy, politics and society in the progressive cities of Anatolia.

3.1.3 Urban Transformation and Kayseri

A brief observation of the transformation on the demographic front also strengthens the argument that, Kayseri has been undergoing a significant process of transformation not only in the economic arena, but also in the area of urbanization. It can be concluded that these two areas has reinforced each other in explaining the contemporary dynamism in the city. Moreover, the urban transformation in Kayseri has been under the influence of the globalization and Europeanization dynamics, while it can be asserted that these three processes show a closely interwoven

character. The findings of the 2000 census show that Kayseri with a population of 1.060.694 makes up 1.6% of Turkey's overall population; while 732.410 of the city's total population resides in urban centers and only 328.284 people lives in rural areas (TUİK, 2000). However, according to the latest data based on the address-based population registration system (ADNKS), the population of the city rose to 1.184.386 in 2008, while total urban population increased to 1.001.449, and rural population drastically decreased to 182.937 (TUİK, 2008). According to author Karatepe (2003: 127), the rising population in the Kayseri has been absorbed by the city and triggered productivity and economic dynamism.

The Kayseri Metropolitan Municipality as a leading urban actor designs several mega projects on urban regeneration in order to meet the rising demands of the increasing urban population and also to support the city's transformation into a commercial center. Up to seventeen mega projects with a budget of approximately 1.2 billion U.S. dollars (USD) was launched to reorganize the spatial structure of the city (KAYSO, 2006c). Huge shopping malls, expo centers, public transportation projects included in the master urban plan of the Kayseri Metropolitan Municipality which carries strong objectives for transforming the city into the commercial center of Anatolia.

It can clearly be observed that, the projects designed for urban transformation in Kayseri goes hand in hand with commercial or industrial motivations. The spatial products of the urban transformation in the city can be successfully observed in the areas of consumption with huge shopping malls, and more significantly in the area of industrial organization with rising number of organized industrial zones (OIZ).

According to scholar Hovardaoğlu (2004), capital accumulated by the local producers of Kayseri who are successfully integrated to the global production chains, is primarily reinvested for production; however, a considerable amount of this capital is directed towards organized production structures, namely the OIZs. The İncesu, Mimarsinan and Kayseri OIZs in the city are established to spatially plan the industrial activities in the region and to increase productivity with the positive impacts of clustering on industrial development. The global integration of the urban economy results in visible spatial restructuring and the organized industrial zones have become the latest areas to observe the change and transformation in the economy, as well as in the urban space of Kayseri. Apart from OIZs, the Kayseri Free Zone (KAYSER)⁴⁵, and the Kayseri World Trade Center⁴⁶ are other significant examples of the urban space structure of Kayseri mainly dominated by industrial and commercial motivations.

Moreover, the transformation in the urban landscape of the city can not only be explained by industrial dynamism but also the increasing international networks contribute to the analysis of the urban spatial structure of the city. According to Karatepe (2003:181), the most prestigious neighborhood of the city is located around the Nato Road, formerly Mustafa Kemal Paşa Boulevard, which connects the old and

⁴⁵ The Kayseri Free Zone (KAYSER) was established in 1997, in accordance with the rapid industrialization and export orientation of the city. KAYSER contributes significantly to the trade potential of the city regarding its strategic position surrounded by diverse markets of Russia, Central Asia, Middle East, Mediterranean and North Africa.

⁴⁶ The World Trade Center of Kayseri, established as a build-operate-transfer model by the partnership of the Chamber of Industry of Kayseri, Chamber of Commerce of Kayseri, Kayseri Metropolitan Municipality and the World Trade Center of Istanbul, operates as an essential center for fairs of the region and Turkey for the goods of the service sector, such as: industrial and agricultural products, mines, handcrafts, tourism, transportation and international relations of Turkey and the region. The World Trade Center of Kayseri arranges national and international profession fairs that hold lectures and seminars as well.

new airports and a crucial venue for domestic and international transport. On the other hand, the city center has been populated densely with the increasing number of offices and buildings of the companies performing in the service sector (Hovardaoğlu, 2004).

Universities as crucial urban actors start play more visible roles in Kayseri, due to recent industry-university cooperation initiatives, which also trigger the creative capital in the city. Kayseri ranks as the 6th among the 81 Turkish cities in the creative capital index, according to the recent study of EDAM and Deloitte (2009) on competitiveness levels of cities. The benefits of the Kayseri Erciyes University's research potential have been especially noticed in the recent years with the increase in the number of projects designed to benefit from university and industry partnerships. Close relations between KAYSO and Kayseri Erciyes University resulted in the establishment of sectoral innovative solutions such as "ERTEK/KAYSO Textile Engineering – Test and Analysis Laboratory" which has contributed immeasurably to the technological progress of Kayseri's textile sector.

Another example is the Erciyes Technopark, established to support innovation in the region by providing technical assistance on high-tech and software development areas. Widening the opportunities for the establishment of alternative sectors within the economy of the city and encouraging the modernization of the local industry, Erciyes Technopark aims to restructure the local economy by R&D based activities. Namık Subaşı, Association of Young Industrialists and Businessmen (GESİAD) Secretary General, points out that Kayseri is one of the most innovative cities in the Central-Anatolia where any event, development or incident on trade or

commerce that takes place on the global level is closely followed and adopted to local conditions with the aim of maximizing social and economic benefits.⁴⁷

University in the Kayseri context emerges as a crucial urban actor which channels significant efforts and concentration to the industrial development initiatives, instead of putting more emphasis on artistic and cultural activities targeting the enrichment of the socio-cultural environment of the city. The second university of the city, Melikşah University founded in 2008, and is ready to receive students for the 2009 fall semester. As a product of a private sector initiative, Melikşah University has a corporate logo of an ant, symbolizing the hardworking people of Kayseri. The objective of the university is to contribute to the economic and social development of the city by keeping the industrial workforce potential within the city borders. Memduh Boydak, the head of the board of trustees of Melikşah University clearly asserts the mission of the university by these words: “our aim is to keep our highly educated and qualified young workforce in our city; we want to stop the brain drain trend dominant in Anatolia” (Erdem, 2008a: 14).

The reflections of the urban transformation under the impacts of globalization dynamics can also be observed in the local governance structure of the city in the post 1980 period. According to author Doğan (2007), the urban governance structure of Kayseri has been under the dominance of center right or Islamic parties since the 1980’s and partially 1990s. The neo-liberal transformation of the city and its integration to the global capitalist system has parallels with the municipal governance mentality and the governing parties. Urban governance of the city is

⁴⁷ Interview recorded on November 12th, 2008, in GESİAD, Kayseri.

characterized as “eğreti kamusalılık”, meaning artificial public structure by Doğan (2007: 249), with regards to the problematic coexistence of Islamic and communitarian social help mechanisms and capitalist free market ideology, which hinder a genuine social democratic system meeting the needs of urban residents from all social and ideological spheres. This dominance of neo-liberal perspective characterizing the municipal structure provides valuable insights about the urban structure as well as societal dynamics of Kayseri.

Despite the dominant center right municipal tradition in Kayseri, Islam has begun to play a visible role in municipal politics only after 1990’s, with the period of Mayor Şükrü Karatepe. The two most important spatial reorganization projects of the Karatepe period are the reorganization of the Kayseri Anatolian Expo as the Expo Cultural Park; and the Cumhuriyet Square Project. The Kayseri Expo that consisted of bars, restaurants, and taverns were demolished and the area was reorganized as a Park, which was established as a venue for familial weekend activities. This project was fairly welcomed by the Islamic conservative groups according to Doğan (2007: 225).

The municipal governance under Mayor Karatepe was symbolized under a big project named “White City Kayseri”. This project was a product of cultural symbolism, as well as communitarian economic help mechanisms, which came together to reproduce an urban rhetoric of philanthropy, transparency in governance, and pureness in interpersonal relations. This constructed identity had a strong impact on the urban structure of that period. One of the major social activities of the municipal governance of “White City Kayseri” comprised of philanthropic activities

targeting the deprived and poor parts of the society. The Welfare Party leadership in municipal governance took the advantage of philanthropy tradition well grounded in the ideological and cultural backgrounds of the local capitalist groups. The SME owners as well as big industrialists of the city are wholly integrated with the poor parts of the society and a strong social cohesion and idea of togetherness was reached, which was a deliberative project of the municipal leadership, according to author Doğan (2007: 233).

However, the urban governance structure of the city has drastically shifted to strong global integration and capitalist spatial restructuring by the beginning of 2000s. The socio-spatial legitimization of the new urban project has been the “World City Kayseri” rhetoric, under the municipal governance of JDP and the Mayor Mehmet Özhasaki who came to leadership with strong claims such as making Kayseri a world city; and he backed these claims by several projects. The global integration and Europeanization of the city have been speeding up, and full fledged neo-liberalism has been dominant in the socio-economic structure of the city. Author Doğan (2007: 242) asserts that privatization projects dominated the economic scene of the urban life, and the municipal governance is organized as a private sector firm, on the basis of profit maximization. The infrastructure projects and other activities all targeted to reach the world city status and to carry Kayseri to global standards. Several major infrastructural projects fulfilled by either KAYSO or local firms like Beğendik under contract system. On the other hand, communitarian economic help mechanisms continued to serve the duties of a public social services system.

Despite the official claims of local political actors towards making Kayseri a world city, Kayseri still have significant problems embedded in the urban transformation process of the city. It is observed that the dynamism in the economic activity as regards to industrial productivity has not reflected itself on the cultural economy. Moreover, the urban transformation process of the city does not provide an urban environment tolerant to ethnic, social or cultural diversities or differences. The identity of Kayseri is still being reproduced by firm familial and religious ties, which has a bias towards excluding differences and bringing social and cultural stability. Therefore, it can be observed that, the livability as a crucial part of the urban transformation of cities turns out to be dissatisfactory for the case of Kayseri, which is also discussed in depth by scholars Keyman and Koyuncu (2009a, 2009b). Kayseri ranks as 35th among Turkish cities in terms of livability as regards to these criteria; economy, health, education, urban life, security, arts and cultural activities (Mavi, 2008). As it is previously stated, economic development does not directly cause livable cities; on the contrary, livability of a city also means a dynamic urban life, more cultural activities, and most importantly tolerance in the urban sphere. In other words, livability is closely associated with the culture of the city. Therefore, a deeper analysis of the economic and cultural structures of the city is believed to provide clearer answers to the low levels of livability in Kayseri. Furthermore, unveiling the strategic relations between the economy and culture of Kayseri is argued to clarify the alternative “conservative-modern” structure of the city.

3.2. Economy and Culture of Kayseri

According to scholars Amin and Thrift (1995: 12), embeddedness in economic development refers to the fact that economic action and outcomes like all social action and outcomes are affected by actors' dyadic relations and by the structure of the overall relations. Thus, this perspective underlines the vitality of seeing economic action as social action, while putting the emphasis on social and cultural factors in understanding economic success. In this sense, the present study presupposes that, analyzing the economic success and structure of Kayseri can not be thought in isolation from cultural and societal values specific to the city. Moreover, understanding the distinctive cultural texture of the city is believed to contribute to the explanation of the city's rather unique character which distinguishes it from Eskişehir and other rising Anatolian cities. Lastly, a deeper analysis of the economic and cultural dynamics in the city demonstrates the argument that capitalism and Islam, tradition and modernity, global and local can coexist.

3.2.1. The Story of Economic Development

Kayseri plays an important role in the economic dynamism of the Central Anatolian Region regarding its high productivity levels and significant trade surpluses. According to a study held by a notable Turkish business magazine, Capital, (Bazzal, 2004), the economically dynamic export oriented cities of Anatolia, i.e. the "Anatolian Tigers" are grouped into five categories based on their economic potential. Kayseri has been categorized as the "Vanguard Tiger" together with four

Anatolian cities.⁴⁸ Kayseri is observed to preserve this pioneer position in economic dynamism and continues to design projects to carry on its development, despite the contemporary global economic crises.

The close interaction with the global economy which suffers from the contemporary crises results in certain challenges for the city. Yet, the economic actors of the city have already studied on their crises scenarios, and build certain projects based on future projections. Innovation and institutionalization are designed to be the two strategic weapons of the Kayseri economy in the post-crisis period. According to journalist Erdem (2009a: 15) the business groups of Kayseri including the SMEs put more emphasis on developing innovative techniques in production and marketing, while they also search ways for establishing stronger corporate structures. Taking the family based company structure dominant in Kayseri into consideration; these new crisis receipts seem promising. Arif Engin, the Director of the EU Business Development Center in Kayseri, asserts that: “the local SMEs are seeking ways to turn the crises into an economic opportunity; more than two hundred local SMEs have already applied to us to solve the problems emanating from deinstitutionalized familial structures in corporate management”, while he also adds an interesting observation: “the businessmen of Kayseri thinks big, their vision and success based on entrepreneurship without any state support mechanism should be promoted” (Erdem, 2009a: 15).

⁴⁸ Gaziantep, Bursa, Denizli, Antalya and Kocaeli.

Statistical data can give further insights of the economic dynamism and the alleged success of the city. According to the official statistics for the year 2000 (TUIK, 2000), Kayseri ranks 35th in overall Turkish cities with its 2.308 USD of GDP per capita and stands 17th with its 2.4 billion USD of contribution to the national GDP. These statistics carry Kayseri to 7th place for its GDP per capita and 3rd place for its contribution to the overall GDP among the 13 cities of the Central Anatolian Region. The growth rate regarding the GDP per capita of the city for the year 2001 is 51%, which implies a significant progress despite the negative impact of the economic crises during early 2000s. According to the latest available statistics (KAYSO, 2004), the sectoral breakdown of the GDP is as follows: agriculture 12%, industry 25%, construction 4%, trade 29% and transportation 15 %. A comprehensive study held by the State Planning Agency (DPT) reveals the fact that between the years 1987 and 1997, the biggest growth among sectors is observed in industry with a rate of 4,8 %, while the sector continues to grow (Özaslan and Şeftalici, 2002).

Moreover, according to the results of the “Top 500 Industrial Enterprises” survey conducted by the Istanbul Chamber of Industry in 2008, there are 13 firms in the list from Kayseri, which strongly compete with the Istanbul and Ankara based firms. A similar dynamism is observed at the foreign direct investment (FDI) rates. International Investors Association of Turkey (YASED) reports that there are 17 foreign companies from 8 different countries operating at Kayseri.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ These companies either operate as direct investors or establish partnerships. Being established since 2004, 8 of these companies are from Germany, 2 from Netherlands, 2 from Russia, 1 from USA, 1 from Switzerland, 1 from Saudi Arabia, 1 from UK, and 1 from Albania.

The significant potential of the city regarding the export levels is also a crucial point to analyze. According to journalist Sabah (2008a), in the year 2005, Kayseri ranked as the 15th among 81 Turkish cities in terms of per capita export revenues which was 431 USD, whereas the total export revenue of the city has reached up to 1.241.236 USD in 2007 with 118 diverse destinations. Main export items are furniture, carpets, cotton-wool and denim clothes, electricity cables, aluminum profile, home textile and various food stuffs; while the primary export destinations are: the EU, Middle-East and Africa. The target of KAYSO in total exports was set as 5 billion dollars by the year 2010 (Sabah, 2008a).

The industrial dynamism of the city with increasing number and efficiency of the Organized Industrial Zones and SMEs has shown a significant progress that can be a model to many Anatolian cities. According to the results of a relatively recent survey (Martin, 2007: 12-14), the industrial production structure of the Kayseri economy rests on high value added products with a significant level of technology use. Moreover, survey underlines the fact that, the importance attached to well educated and qualified human capital in Kayseri is above the sectoral average in Turkey, which helps to explain the industrial dynamism in the city (Martin, 2007).

The furniture sector, also known as the engine of the Kayseri economy, keeps growing in recent years especially under the brand of İstikbal, a prominent member of the Boydak Group. İstikbal products are sold in over 78 countries all around the world, including diverse geographies like Greece, Bulgaria, Russia, Egypt or Germany. The strategic target of the brand expressed by Mustafa Boydak is

becoming a “global brand” by setting more than 300 İstikbal stores all around the world (KAYSO, 2007c).

It is observed that the rising awareness of brand building as a global trend and increasing competitive advantage of the Turkish products in the global markets have gone hand in hand, while they have found their repercussions in the Kayseri industry which start to channel its efforts towards building international brands, and marketing their products overseas. Hacı Boydak, the head of the board of directors of the Boydak Group asserts that, the Kayseri furniture industry should combine product quality and capacity with innovative design and branding in order to compete with their rivals in the international market, especially with the furniture producers in Germany and Italy (KAYSO, 2007a: 83). The changing professional marketing strategies of the İstikbal brand, is a clear example of this rising awareness on the local scale about the requirements of the global competition.

It is known that the furniture sector plans new expansions and offers solutions to maintain its favorable position in the current harsh conditions of the global competition, especially during the recent global crises. The alleged target of the sector to double the total exports have not been realized in the last four years due to shifts in the global economy, and the furniture producers plans to launch a new firm with multiple shareholders, which will specifically focus on foreign markets (Sabah, 2008b). Moreover, to overcome the challenges in branding and marketing, representatives of the furniture sector came together to launch a new project for the establishment of a Furniture Zone containing an R&D center, a design lab, and a modern show room that will be a novel model for other Anatolian cities (Sabah,

2008b). The common action potential of the economic actors in Kayseri and their ability to pool individual initiatives towards a common good are the strategic factors behind the economic success of the city. Similar to the Furniture Zone initiative, the producers in the sector initiated a second project, the International Furniture Fair Expomobile'09, with the aim of increasing their export levels via international marketing (Erdem, 2009b).

When the rise of the industrial sector in Kayseri is analyzed within a more historical framework, certain crucial linkages between the developments and macroeconomic dynamics of their respective periods can be established. In the first place, there is an interesting linkage between the post 1980 macroeconomic shift of Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Özal government and the rise of the Boydak Group in the furniture sector. Under the impact of the neo-liberal reforms, construction sector all around Turkey has flourished between years 1983 and 1987, which triggered the total supplies in the housing market and consequently brought drastic dynamism to home textiles and furniture sectors. Boydak Group started to focus on the furniture sector with the İstikbal brand exactly during this period (KAYSO, 2007a).

However, it is a widely known fact that, the industrialization experience of Kayseri dates back to the Republican Period. According to scholar Özcan (2000), its central location and proximity to Ankara provided Kayseri the opportunities in receiving public sector investments during the early periods of the Republic. The first state venture was Hava İkmal, an airplane factory, established in 1927. The Kayseri ve Civarı Elektrik T.A.S. was established in 1926 as the first private company of the republic, followed by a yarn factory established in Bunyan, which is known as BÜNTEKS today. The third private enterprise was the Mill Plant which was also

established by domestic entrepreneurs as the first modern flour factory in Kayseri, in 1932. After 1950, the weight of the private sector in Kayseri industry gradually increased. During the 1950s and 1960s, many industrial plants were established by the private sector, while the weight of the public sector in the Kayseri industry was gradually decreasing. By the end of 1960s and the early 1970s, the manufacturing industry in Kayseri experienced growth and development regarding product diversity, rising number of individual enterprises and improved product quality.

Post 1970 period witnessed the spread of private enterprises and the continuity of the structure of multiple shareholders in newly established firms. As a significant characteristic of the industrial enterprises of Kayseri, multiple shareholder structure implies the tradition of solidarity among the economic actors and contributes to rapid growth with high levels of initial capital. For example the worldwide known denim manufacturer “Orta Anadolu” established in 1953 with 100 partners, similar to “Saray Halı” and “Çinkur Bakır-Çinko” enterprises which are among the biggest industrial enterprises not only in Kayseri but also in Turkey, regarding their export potentials. Moreover, in the 1970s, a significant amount of guest workers from Kayseri channelized their savings to these enterprises and became shareholders. By the late 1980s, together with the economic liberalization policies of the Özal period, and the establishment of the first OIZ in 1989, private investments triggered, entrepreneurial activity boosted and hence, the grounds for the contemporary industrial potential were laid down. The changes in the macro-economic policies and the related boost in the export oriented production in the post 1980 period resulted in rising number of big industrial enterprises in Kayseri (Özaslan and Şeftalici, 2002).

It is observed that the industry of Kayseri has turned towards nanotechnology. The developments in science and communication technologies and their utilization in various fields of life, especially commerce, have forced the industrialists in Kayseri to follow the global technologies and find novel paths for their businesses. According to Mustafa Boydak, the increasing productivity of the machinery sector as regards to the adoption of latest technologies in the sector is a clear example of the industrial development levels of the city (Özsoy, 2009: 10).

However, President Boydak also expresses that the efforts in the industry alone is not enough for the development of the economy, while tourism as a rising sector provides a promising investment alternative to the city, as well as to Turkey. Undertaking responsibility for this purpose as the Chamber of Industry, Boydak calls the entire tourism sector in the province to invest more in Kayseri (Erdem, 2008b). It can be concluded that KAYSO has a rather holistic vision of economic development that requires growth and productivity in alternative sectors, not only in industry. It is expected to spread the habit of winter tourism to the region by a new project focused on the Erciyes Mountain, which is believed to bring dynamism not only to the tourism sector but also the overall service sector in the region. Moreover, it is crucial to underline that the Kayseri Winter Tourism Project is realized by a strategic cooperation between two urban actors KTO and Kayseri Metropolitan Municipality.

As it can be seen, KAYSO and KTO, as two leading actors play crucial roles in the economic and social development of the city. Economic dynamism in the city is accompanied with institutional organization among economic actors. KAYSO as one of the most effective chambers of the city supports its members to gain a global

perspective on entrepreneurship and investment issues by conducting EU projects, arranging technical education programs, and providing consultancies. By the end of 2007, there were 1095 registered members within KAYSO from 26 different profession groups. KAYSO defines its mission and objectives as: to contribute to the economy of the country by establishing, improving and preserving the continuity of its members' competitive force in the domestic and foreign markets by closely following the local, regional, national, continental and global developments; while constituting strong linkages among diverse actors like industrialists, government, workers, foreign investors, and entrepreneurs (KAYSO, 2004). Another highly influential economic institution of the city is KTO, which characterize Kayseri as "the city which works, produces, and prospers".⁵⁰ The Chamber supports its members to compete in the foreign markets by keeping up with the global economic developments while plays active role in the execution of EU funded projects in Kayseri. By the end of 2007, there were 13.890 registered members within KTO from 36 different sectors.

To sum up, it is observed that the economic potential of the city is gradually rising. Especially in the post 1980 period, with the rapid integration of the Turkish economy to global markets and the full fledged neo-liberal policies with export promotion provided the local entrepreneurs the favorable conditions to establish their business and to grow via export oriented production. Kayseri experienced this process directly, while the economic dynamism of the city has become a model for many growing Anatolian cities. Kayseri realized this significant economic dynamism only based on its entrepreneurial activity and mostly private investments without

⁵⁰ Official motto of the Chamber, see <http://www.kayserito.org.tr/web3/pxp/ana-sayfa.php>

state support mechanisms. In this sense, Kayseri is characterized as “the city that built itself” by author Karatepe (2003). The institutional organization of the economic actors, strongly established global ties, and high industrial productivity levels are found as the crucial factors behind the economic success of the city. Yet, the role of culture in this success and in the alternative conservative structure of the city is undeniable.

3.2.2. The Role of Culture

The historical heritage of the city traces back to ancient times while it is a widely claimed fact that the city has preserved its strategic importance throughout history. The distinctive cultural texture of the city and the virtues that define the notion of unity and cooperation among the people of Kayseri can be interpreted as the product of the historically established close ties between the geography of the city and its residents. The cultural texture of Kayseri has been shaped by values like Islam, pragmatism in politics and economy, philanthropy, and a different kind of conservatism which reinforces familial life and solidarity networks among actors. The identity of Kayserianness is built on these values which establish dense networks among urban actors. These networks are crucial in the patriarchal and personalized systems of authority where the concepts of trustworthiness, reliability and loyalty are at the core of social relations among individuals.

Kayseri has long been characterized by its thrifty and hardworking people who carry strong values of economic pragmatism. Lack of fertile agricultural land

resulted in specialization in trade and also flexibility in adapting to economically hard conditions and scarcity. That is why, the people of Kayseri learned to save for the future, consume responsibly, and calculate carefully. According to author Karatepe (2003: 51) the “thrifty, money saver person from Kayseri” image has been grounded on the above stated factors.

However, the pragmatic values of the city are not limited to the economic arena; on the contrary, a kind of political pragmatism is also dominant in Kayseri. The people of Kayseri are rather successful in foreseeing the ruling parties, and keeping close relations with them to reach their strategic ends. A well known woman entrepreneur of Kayseri, Berna İlter defines this position as “Kayseri’s ability to foresee the future”.⁵¹ According to İlter, Kayseri has foreseen the future success of the ANAP, just like they have foreseen the rise of the JDP government, which is indeed a rationalist approach.⁵² İlter makes clear that if a new party is suggested or foreseen to rise to the governmental levels; Kayseri will orient its course towards that direction and will provide electoral support to that political party.⁵³ It can be concluded that Kayseri, as a city that has found the critical balance between politics and economy, likes and supports ruling parties.

Social interdependency, solidarity and cooperation have not only united the city residents with strong communal bonds but it has also provided a cultural texture of trust and mutual support. The entrepreneurial experience of Berna İlter, as a leading women economic actor in Kayseri can illustrate this point very well. With a

⁵¹ Interview recorded on November 13th, 2008, in Kayseri.

⁵² Interview recorded on November 13th, 2008, in Kayseri.

⁵³ Interview recorded on November 13th, 2008, in Kayseri.

small amount of initial financial capital and a limited social capital regarding industrial and business linkages, Berna İter establishes her firm and in a relatively short period of time and she becomes one of the leading exporters of the Kayseri economy. However, she underlines one of the major points behind her success, the help of the Boydak Group, which is a significant example of the strong communal linkages and support mechanisms dominant in the entrepreneurial tradition of Kayseri. İter strongly emphasizes the support of the Boydak Group, which has provided crucial supply linkages and even provided raw materials to İter's firm in the initial phase despite their male dominated firm structures.⁵⁴

Solidarity and communication among societal institutions in Kayseri is also another important virtue. Hence, the development of the city is maintained by the synergy and the harmony among the urban actors: governorship, municipalities, associations and local chambers. President of KTO, Hasan Ali Kilci notes that, despite being from diverse ideological and political backgrounds, all the actors unite for a common action which is beneficial for the city Kayseri.⁵⁵ The traditions of cooperation and working together in the form of organized unions have been a dominant institutional form throughout the history of the city. The "Ahi" tradition in the period of the Seljuk Empire has played a dramatic role in the establishment of societal and professional organizations in the city. Therefore, it has brought up an informal local governance structure together with a constitution similar to today's chambers of tradesmen and artisans where the impacts of this tradition is still effective in the 21st century's Kayseri.

⁵⁴ Interview recorded on November 13th, 2008, in Kayseri.

⁵⁵ Interview recorded on November 13th, 2008, in KTO.

Not only with the Ahi tradition, but also with its significant impacts on the socio-cultural background of the city, the period of the Seljuk Empire had the most visible and deep impacts on the spatial and societal characteristics of the city (Karatepe, 2003: 93). Today, several mosques and monuments remain as the fascinating examples of the Seljuk Islamic architectural tradition which coexist with the rising factories, industrial zones in the outer skirts of the city. This hybridity is reproduced by the tradition on one hand and industrial transformation on the other; which have their reflections of the socio-spatial structure of the city. Kayseri as the trade center of the Seljuk Period has become the “production base” of Turkey; while carefully conserved Seljuk monuments accompanying the new industrial image of the city.

The dominance of family life and strong ties among family members are the other basic norms of societal life in Kayseri. Familial values become determinant in almost every economic or political decision and “common action” is popular among families in Kayseri. Family business and financial support among family members are the most common examples. It is believed that people from Kayseri enjoys and shares life with their families, and give or receive any kind of support from the family (Karatepe, 2003).

The guidance of the familial doctrines has strong influence on the societal, as well as economic developments in the city. The people of Kayseri guide their children towards trade at early ages; therefore, the close relations of Kayseri people with money and entrepreneurial spirit begins at an early age. According to Necmiye Dericci Postaagasi, a leading women entrepreneur of Kayseri who runs her business in

the food sector, the key to Kayseri's success in trade is the familial doctrines and communal guidance leading children to commercial activity in the small ages. Dericci openly asserts that: "the businessmen of Kayseri willingly let their children to face the harsh conditions and challenges of market; the future success of the traders comes from the determined guidance of families".⁵⁶

Family is a crucial institution in the socio-economic structure of Kayseri; while houses are the centers of socialization. Consequently, in Kayseri people do not hesitate to invest in their houses (Karatepe, 2003). Full comfort and luxury is tried to be reached while all technological facilities and furniture make the houses most livable places. However, this care and attention paid to houses can not be observed in the urban spaces. That is why, cafes, restaurants, bars and other spaces of socialization have generally been underestimated. It can be concluded that, the social life in Kayseri does not develop with the same rate as the economical successes are achieved. The variety of social activities where the city residents can participate is limited. Although, the recently built malls contribute a lot to urban socialization, it is observed that the people of Kayseri tend to spread the culture of "house gatherings" rather than "going out". Kayseri people, men and women from every age, prefer spending their time by meeting and gathering with their friends and relatives at ones house. This preference due to various reasons is quite widespread. These meetings are engaged by the businessmen as well, where the economic and the political agendas of the city are set. The broad and luxurious interior designs of the residences in Kayseri become more meaningful in this sense. According to Berna İlter, a leading women entrepreneur in Kayseri, house gathering is a crucial part of the social life in

⁵⁶ Interview recorded on November 12th, 2008, in Kayseri.

Kayseri as she clearly asserts: “Kayseri prefers to live its social life at home; this is a kind of tradition”.⁵⁷ Houses emerge as a crucial venue for socialization for men, women, and even youth in Kayseri.

Lastly but most importantly, Islamic values and doctrines comprise the most important part of the culture of the city. Moreover, the coexistence of the Islamic values with modern economic developments in the city attracted a significant amount of attention, while understanding the role of Islam in the societal development of Kayseri becomes even more crucial. Kayseri has been a central city of Sufism, a dominant mystical thought in the Islamic world. According to scholar Küçük (2007), during the Seljuk dynasty, many Sufis from central Asia immigrated to cities like Kayseri and Konya and spread the Islamic mysticism to the surrounding regions, while leaving a dominant heritage of Islam in the culture of the city.

According to the ESI Report on Islamic Calvinism (2005: 23), Kayseri turns out to be a deeply religious society, while at the same time the city embraces change and modernization eagerly. The existence of mosques in the middle of university and the industrial zone in Kayseri underlines the fact that, people preserve their religious values and apply them to their daily lives. The rare presence of the restaurants which serve alcohol in the city is also closely related with the dominant Islamic thought in the city. The findings of the Report (2005) demonstrate that, most of the companies set aside rooms for prayer; and most of the older businessmen have been to Mecca on the Hajj. In line with the above arguments, Berna İltter, clearly asserts that she allows

⁵⁷ Interview recorded on November 13th, 2008, in Kayseri.

her workers to join the Friday Prayers, and does not restrict their daily prayers.⁵⁸ Moreover, it can be observed that Islamic charity is deeply rooted in the societal dynamics of the city. According to Necmiye Postaağası, the solidarity and the coordination among the people in Kayseri are closely associated with the Islamic values. She openly asserts that: “we as the Muslim people of Anatolia are strongly tied to our religious doctrines which order us to help the poor and the deprived; while the spiritual richness of this can never be compared with anything else”.⁵⁹

When we come to the subject of political Islam and the Islamic municipal governance culture of the city, scholar Özcan (2000) argues that since the success of the Welfare Party in the 1994 local elections, Kayseri experienced an increasingly important role played by political Islamists and various groups attached to different Islamic networks. This success according to Özcan (2000) contributed to the development of a new brand of Islamist businessmen with strong networks among the society, and increasing number of MÜSİAD membership among the economic circles of Kayseri. This period was also marked with the rise of the Islamic municipal governance in the city. The ideology of the Islamic municipality according to Doğan (2007: 234) served the establishment of a city identity: “tied to Islamic rules and lifestyle, center of philanthropic activities, and expression of strong social cohesion among diverse groups”. Islam plays a crucial and visible role in the society, economy, as well as politics of Kayseri.

⁵⁸ Interview recorded on November 13th, 2008, in Kayseri.

⁵⁹ Interview recorded on November 12th, 2008, in Kayseri.

To conclude, the distinctive culture of Kayseri interwoven with diverse yet closely associated values like philanthropy, solidarity, Islam, familial ties and support mechanisms underline fact that, the developments in the socio-political and the economic arenas of the city can not either be thought or understood in isolation from this cultural ensemble. The economic life in Kayseri with its significant levels of dynamism is closely linked with different forms of shared understanding and collective consciousness among the society which is densely surrounded with networks of interpersonal relationships based on trust and mutual support. This dense societal structure is a promising and fruitful environment for the insiders, i.e. who share the dominant norms and values of the Kayseri society; whereas it is strikingly intolerant towards difference of the outsiders, who have religiously, ethnically, or ideologically diverse lifestyles and practices. This is the major reason behind the low levels of livability in Kayseri.

3.3. Conclusion

The changes that called forth in the last few decades, especially beginning from the early 1980s, and the 1990s have drastic impacts on overall Turkey and especially on several Anatolian cities which began to play actively in the global integration process. Kayseri, as a conservative Central Anatolian city experienced a significant transformation in the economic, social and political areas. This transformation mainly triggered by globalization and Europeanization processes resulted in certain visible reflections on the urban landscape of the city, which from the 1950s onwards experiencing an important urbanization trend. Therefore, Kayseri

provided a significant case for this study to analyze the impacts of global transformations on the local scale and to challenge the argument that local actors from Anatolia are static and passive players in the globalization and Europeanization process. In light of the in-depth interviews held with local economic actors such as successful entrepreneurs, heads of the local chambers, representatives from the OIZ, and leading figures from SIADs, and in light of the newspaper and written academic resource surveys; this chapter aimed to understand the actors, strategies and discourses of the local economic actors of Kayseri towards globalization and Europeanization processes. Moreover, this chapter intended to clarify the strategic coexistence of modernity and tradition, change and conservatism, Islam and capitalism dialectics in the Kayseri context.

In the first part, general transformation of the city in light of globalization and Europeanization dynamics is discussed. It is significantly recognized that Kayseri is a case of successful global integration on the Anatolian scale. The reflections of this transformation on the urban landscape of the city are analyzed, and it is observed the urban transformation process of Kayseri carries strong commercial and industrial motives. The OIZs, trade centers, huge shopping malls dominated the urban landscape of the city while places for urban socialization recreation in the form of bars, restaurants, cultural and arts centers, theaters are strongly underestimated, which contributed to the low levels of livability in Kayseri.

In the second part, the economic dynamism of the city as regards to industrial productivity, high export rates and close relations with foreign markets is discussed. It is observed that the significant entrepreneurial dynamism of the city even in the

lack of state support mechanisms results in current economic potential. In light of the statistical data, the growth and development rates of the Kayseri economy is intended to be concretized. Moreover, the second part of this chapter included a thorough analysis of the cultural dynamics of the city, which give Kayseri its authentic character. The cultural factors behind the conservative structure of the city are discovered. It is once again understood that Islam plays a significant role in the cultural texture of Kayseri. Moreover, values like solidarity, familial ties, trust, and communal help contribute to the societal character of the city, as well as to its economic development. However, it is also observed that this cultural structure causes lack of tolerance towards ethnic, religious, or ideological diversity in the city. This factor also helped to explain the low levels of livability in the city.

Kayseri, a former Seljuk city, has hosted several civilizations throughout the history. But it always preserved its pioneer position in trade and her talent in commerce. Today, in a world order continuously being shaped by culturally, politically and economically globalizing forces, Kayseri turned out to be an active player who tries to have a strong stance in the global economic competition. However, despite its strong ties with globalization and Europeanization processes, the city preserves its unique traditional character and conserves its cultural values. As a result, Kayseri emerges as one of the leading alternative modernities in the Turkish context.

CHAPTER 4

ESKİŞEHİR, THE CITY WHERE DIVERSITIES PEACEFULLY COEXIST

Eskişehir is among the rising cities of Anatolia with reference to its economic and socio-cultural development, as well as its successful urban transformation process. The tolerant urban culture open to diversities trigger the transformative power of the city which is regarded as a crucial case to observe the impacts of the globalization process on the local. The city, recognized as the shining star of Anatolia, combines its historical accumulation with its rapid transformation, while the urban environment of the city has always been socio-economically balanced and well planned. This situation reflects itself clearly on the high quality of life, livability, and urban development levels of the city. According to the results of a latest study held by EDAM and Deloitte (2009) on competitiveness levels of Turkish cities, Eskişehir ranks fifth in overall regional competitiveness following Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir and Kocaeli which are the most developed metropolises of Turkey.

Globalization and Europeanization processes have significant repercussions on the context of Eskişehir as the city is observed to be an active player, as well as supporter of these transformative processes. However, Eskişehir reveal major differences as compared to the Kayseri case which displays a conservative alternative in global integration, and presents a second alternative with a social-democratic

governance tradition and a tolerant urban environment open to diversity. Cemalettin Taşçı, the political consultant to Mayor Yılmaz Büyükerşen openly asserts: “what makes Eskişehir a rising star of Anatolia, is not solely its industrial performance or export potential, but the urban culture of tolerance and respect to diversity which makes the people embrace and protect their city; this urban culture is the reason behind Eskişehir’s difference”.⁶⁰

Eskişehir is among the few Anatolian cities which realized their industrial development, and as a result, their economic and social modernization during the early period. The history of the city traces to Phrygian, Roman, Byzantium, Seljuk and Ottoman Empires; while being at the crossroads of the Central and Western Anatolia and in the junction of Marmara, Aegean, and the Black Sea Regions, Eskişehir throughout history has become a dynamic center of its region, while acquired a significant historical and cultural background. Moreover, the city has been a popular destination of the diverse migrant population due to its central position in economic and socio-cultural development of its region. As a melting pot of civilizations for various people from diverse cultural backgrounds, Eskişehir distinguishes herself from other traditional Anatolian cities; with her wide spread values of tolerance towards foreigners.

Eskişehir representing change and transformation in the Anatolian geography is regarded as a crucial case for this study in understanding the dynamism, transformation and change in the Anatolian context. This chapter focuses on the transformation of the city in light of globalization and Europeanization dynamics;

⁶⁰ Interview recorded on October 8th 2008, in the Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality.

while providing a robust analysis of the urban transformation experience which makes Eskişehir a distinctive case. The aim of this chapter is to understand the factors and dynamics behind the alternative structure of Eskişehir; while analyzing the strategies, discourses, and perspectives of the local actors towards globalization and Europeanization processes, in light of the in-depth interviews held with leading local economic and political actors like the Chambers of Commerce and Industry, the Eskişehir Stock Exchange; and the Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality; as well as newspaper and written academic resource surveys. The structure of the chapter is as follows; firstly the general transformation of the city under the impacts of globalization and Europeanization processes is discussed, while a specific emphasis is put on the urban transformation of the city. In the second part, the economic dynamism of the city is analyzed while the cultural values and the characteristics which make the city the “tolerant and social-democratic alternative” are thoroughly discussed.

4.1. Transformation of the City in Light of Globalization and Europeanization Dynamics

The geographical advantages throughout history have provided Eskişehir a strategic position as a gateway to Europe. This geo-strategic advantage attributed logistical importance to the city, and contributed to its economic and political development. Being at the crossroads of the railway and the highway transport, and having a significant amount of natural wealth, Eskişehir achieved important growth

levels in the agricultural and industrial areas and has acquired a central place on the economic and commercial activities of its region.

As a city experienced state led industrialization in the early Republican Period, hence achieved a significant pace of modernization via industry, Eskişehir underwent a drastic transformation in the post 1980 period as regards to the opening of the city towards economic, social and political globalization processes. Rising entrepreneurial activity and private investments by the 1990s transformed the economic structure of the city and brought a certain level of dynamism to the urban environment of the city. The Europeanization process influenced the urban vision of the city; while global integration on various fronts made the economy of the city further integrated to foreign markets.

By the 2000s, Eskişehir strengthened its plea for being a trademark city; while various urban actors from industrialists to municipal governance; from local chambers to universities supported their cities' further integration to the global dynamics. Selim Ögütür, President of the Eskişehir Stock Exchange (ESKTB) a leading economic institution of the city, clearly expresses: "Eskişehir and Turkey have two clearly defined missions: global integration and the EU membership."⁶¹

⁶¹ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO

4.1.1. Globalization and Eskişehir

Cities provide convenient cases to observe the dynamic interplay of global and local forces, while at the same time they provide the chance to visualize and better understand the spatial impacts of the interaction between local and the global. This perspective is shared by Cemalettin Sarar, the former President of Eskişehir Chamber of Commerce (ETO), who argues that Eskişehir is a good place in the Anatolian geography to observe and analyze the impacts of the globalization process.⁶² According to Sarar, Eskişehir is well integrated to the globalization process, while from his perspective the multicultural structure of the city provides an interesting case for studying the diverse global impacts.⁶³

The impacts of the post 1980 neo-liberal restructuring of the Turkish economy and the accompanying global economic integration imply drastic changes for the city as this period symbolizes the “opening of the Eskişehir economy” according to Cemalettin Sarar.⁶⁴ The reflections of the economic liberalization process accompanied by societal transformations of the city are mainly observed in the rise of the number of new entrepreneurial actors who have become export oriented producers. The obstacles posed on local entrepreneurs are removed by the neo-liberal reforms, while these actors start to be better equipped and strongly visioned towards the global competition: “the rising awareness about branding and marketing activities encouraged the local producers to expand beyond national borders and to reach foreign markets mainly in the post 1980 period” argues Sarar and adds: “this process

⁶² Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

⁶³ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

⁶⁴ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

provided the opportunities for local entrepreneurs to learn, adapt and to train themselves”.⁶⁵ The privatization attempts in the national economy and the accompanying neo-liberal reforms of the post 1980s triggered the economic actors of Eskişehir to own their businesses. These transformations according to Sarar, lead to a significant change in the mentality of the people in the post-1980 period such that the motivation for entrepreneurship has increased.⁶⁶ Finally the duty of the ETO as a pioneer organization in this process is defined as supporting its members on these issues by providing information, training and resource to foster their integration to the global and European markets.⁶⁷ Similar to Kayseri case, post 1980 period symbolize a significant turning point for the economy of Eskişehir. Entrepreneurial dynamism and intensification of external relations with other economic actors by the 1990s emphasize the significant volume of change and transformation experienced by the two cities.

The entrepreneurial story of a leading brand of the Eskişehir industry SARAR further exemplifies the post 1980 changes in the globalizing Eskişehir economy and underlines the economic dynamism introduced at that period. SARAR, as a rising brand in menswear and textiles which exports their products to diverse destinations from five continents, is a leading fashion conglomerate of the city as well as in Turkey, which builds close ties with the global markets. Similar to the Boydak Group and the rise of the İstikbal brand in Kayseri, SARAR Group in Eskişehir also established their initial factory in the 1980s. Taking advantage of the liberalization policies in the economy and the increasing international connections of the period,

⁶⁵ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

⁶⁶ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

⁶⁷ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

SARAR Group received professional consultancy from a textile firm in Switzerland, and brought their initial machinery from Europe. Moreover, during the post 1985 period the Group witnessed a rapid growth. In the following years, their partnership with a global brand Hugo Boss in their sector contributed to the success and the vision of the SARAR brand. By the early 2000, under the impact of rising consumer practices all around the world, SARAR brand started to establish stores all around Turkey, as well as in Europe and Middle East.

Cemalettin Sarar, the President of the SARAR Conglomerate and the former President of ETO explains the success of the SARAR Brand with their continuous efforts in following the latest technological developments abroad and adapting them to their company since the very establishment of their business.⁶⁸ The initial motive of Group is defined as: “establishing a factory which meets the European standards and reaches the technological development level of Europe” by Sarar.⁶⁹ Moreover, the importance attached to branding and corporate marketing strategies are the other crucial reasons behind the success of their brand according to Sarar.⁷⁰ Very much similar to the Boydak family in the Kayseri case, the Sarar family and their successfully established conglomerate in Eskişehir, emerges as the leading actor of their cities’ economic integration to the global markets. These family-owned businesses have a significant voice in the industrial potentials of their cities, while they continuously innovate and try to keep their economies in line with the latest developments. Moreover, in both of the cases it is observed that these families hold

⁶⁸ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

⁶⁹ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

⁷⁰ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

leading positions in the local chambers of their cities, and further contribute to the dynamism of their economies through the active projects of their chambers.

Similar to the Kayseri case, the Chambers of Commerce and Industry in Eskişehir emerge as the leading economic organizations of the city which trigger the integration with the global markets. In Eskişehir case, it is observed that these actors are well aware of their strategic position in the integration process. According to Cemalettin Sarar, the former President of ETO, the opinion leaders in the Anatolian cities are the Chambers of Commerce and Industry, which are the key actors in bringing the latest economic know-how to the city; subsequently they are the mediums of the interaction of the local with the global while pushing for transformation of their cities.⁷¹

The ESKTB, another leading institution of the Eskişehir economy, is also observed to be a pro-globalization and pro-Europeanization actor, which holds the institutional perspective that latest technological developments in agricultural production should be closely followed in order to keep up with the global transformations and to show a progress in respective fields.⁷² The institutional strategy of the Stock Exchange towards global integration is defined by President Selim Öğütür as: “following the latest developments in mainly the EU and the U.S., and bringing these technological developments to Eskişehir, while putting great effort to adapt them to local conditions in order to maximize the benefits of the process.”⁷³

⁷¹ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

⁷² Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ESKTB.

⁷³ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ESKTB.

Globalization process is taken seriously in Eskişehir with regards to the institutional strategies set by ESO, ETO and ESKTB. Some of the primary strategies of these economic actors towards globalization can be listed as: the increase in the innovative projects and the Research and Development (R&D) studies by establishing technology development regions like technoparks, and training programs about the global economic developments targeting the new entrepreneurs. Savaş Özaydemir, the president of ESO, calls attention to the fact that the rules of the market are changing in the globalizing world economy, that is why the standard products are no longer in demand while the development of innovative products are strongly necessary for survival in all conditions, including global crisis. Moreover, these innovative products are believed to be the strategic weapons of the Eskişehir economy in the rising competition with Indian and Chinese products (Taşkın and Beceneli, 2009a). ESO channels its potential and efforts mainly towards innovation and R&D practices while puts a special emphasis on building sustainable industry-university cooperation in globalizing Eskişehir economy. Furthermore, Özaydemir openly asserts that Eskişehir needs specific universities which mainly target the development of industry in the city, hence channel their scientific input directly to industrial actors, while he believes that in three or five years of time these developments will be witnessed in Eskişehir.⁷⁴

On the other hand, the master plan of ETO in the post 2000 period is gradually reformulated to design strategies for adapting to the changing global economic conditions and to further open the economy of Eskişehir to the world

⁷⁴ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ESO.

markets. ETO emerges as a determined actor in this process, as former President Sarar clearly states that the city having a combination of strong industry, infrastructure and sectoral diversity, should expand to global markets (Taşkın and Beceneli, 2009b). In order to reach these goals, ETO envisions partnerships with foreign investors, mergers and acquisitions with foreign firms. Moreover, ETO endeavors to open the Eskişehir Organized Industry Zone (OIZ) to foreign investors and to create global brands in Eskişehir with the rising technology transfers.

It is observed that the Eskişehir industry represent openness to global transformations, while especially the machinery sector aims to adapt a strategic stance towards the global economic crises by fostering R&D and brand building activities. In addition, the machinery producers are observed to be fairly aware of the clustering models in Europe and they attempt to establish similar systems by taking the successful projects in Europe as models. The ultimate goal of the sector is defined as building global brands, while the necessity of standardized production emerges as a shared view among the sector representatives (Taşkın and Beceneli, 2008b).

ETİ MAKİNE A.Ş. as one of the leading corporations of the machinery sector in Eskişehir insistently emphasizes the importance of well established foreign relations in every sector; while holding the corporate view that global partnerships and strategic division of labor among parties will raise productivity and profitability which are crucial for making Eskişehir a well known global brand (Taşkın and Beceneli, 2008a). A significant part of the local producers from all sectors desire to expand to the world markets to become a global brand, while a significant portion of

the industrialists have already succeeded that and shown a great deal of progress in global economic integration.

Closely related with the transformations of the global integration on the economic arena, changing consumer practices and their reflections on the urban space of Eskişehir present another crucial area to analyze the impacts of globalization on the city. At this point, Cemalettin Sarar, the former President of ETO points out the importance of the globalization process in the changing consumption patterns of the cities, and significantly underlines the strategic balance between a city of production and a city of consumption; while he warns the Anatolian cities about the risks of becoming solely consuming cities which do not produce.⁷⁵ Therefore, entrepreneurship is seen as the optimum solution to these challenges by Sarar, while he further argues: “balancing the consumption and production activities, meeting the needs and impacts of the globalization process with local dynamics, and utilizing the local resources will be the keys to the further success of Anatolia and Eskişehir”.⁷⁶ Cemalettin Sarar believes that the global brands in various consumer products are brought by newly established shopping malls to the city, and this development played a crucial role in the dynamism of the economy of Eskişehir, instead of posing a threat to the local economy.⁷⁷ The increasing number of new shopping malls in Eskişehir is further analyzed in the urban transformation part of this chapter. However, here it is crucial to underline that the opening of the Eskişehir economy and the arrival of global products, brands, and producers to the

⁷⁵ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

⁷⁶ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

⁷⁷ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

city are seen as positive factors which trigger the local producers towards progress, instead of putting obstacles on their ways.

4.1.2. Europeanization and Eskişehir

It is observed that the pro-EU stance of Eskişehir does not show striking differences from the Kayseri case; on the contrary, these two cities together are emerged as vocal pro-Europeanization actors of the Anatolian geography, which trigger the interaction between the EU and Turkey on certain levels. Cemalettin Sarar as the former President of ETO has a significantly visible pro-EU stance, while he sees Eskişehir very close to Europe regarding the human development levels, quality of human capital, multicultural structure and active civil society present in the context of Eskişehir.⁷⁸ Moreover, Sarar argues that there was a general tendency towards focusing on the urban structure and economy of Istanbul as a level of analysis in Turkey's growth and development discussions, while Istanbul has long been regarded as the main medium of the Europeanization process in Turkey, which is a rather problematic attitude.⁷⁹ The former President of ETO is rather worrisome about the general tendency of the focus on İstanbul, Ankara, or İzmir in studying growth or development; while he openly asserts that, genuine growth and development should be dispersed all around Anatolia, and the Anatolian cities should be further focused on in analyzing transformation, growth and development in Turkey.⁸⁰ Hence, this study argues that Eskişehir as a level of analysis in

⁷⁸ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

⁷⁹ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

⁸⁰ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

Europeanization discussions provides alternative perspectives as the city presents a striking case of transformation in the light of integration to the EU.

Eskişehir is a distinctive city in the Anatolian context, with regards to the spatial image of the city which is very much inspired from the European architectural designs. Impressive sculptures, beautiful fountains and artistic bridges are widespread all around the city, but especially in the city center they provide an astonishing image of a European city located in the hearth of Anatolia. These developments are initiated by the Metropolitan Mayor Yılmaz Büyükerşen who devotes his impressive energy to the spatial restructuring of Eskişehir which experiences a drastic transformation in the last decades. “There are European cities on which rivers pass through, very much similar to Eskişehir and its Porsuk River” says Büyükerşen and adds: “I just wanted to make Eskişehir a cocktail of the European cities; the coastal restructuring of the Porsuk River is like Strasbourg, while bridges are a composition of St. Petersburg and Vienna” (Terzi, 2008). Moreover, Mayor Büyükerşen claims that the city is like Venice in the spring as regards to the gondolas on the Porsuk River, while there are boats to enjoy the summer evenings on Porsuk very much similar to the famous boat trips of Amsterdam (Terzi, 2008).

Various European institutions are observed to have a significant influence on the transformation of Eskişehir. Mayor Büyükerşen was appointed as the Head of the Turkish Delegation in the European Council Local Government Initiatives; while he attended the meetings in Strasbourg every six months till the year 2004. These visits to Strasbourg and the successive meetings in the EU context have a crucial impact on

the drastic change of the urban space of Eskişehir. Moreover, it is known that the urban regeneration master plan of the municipality received significant amounts of financial assistance from a leading EU institution, the European Investment Bank (EIB). In the post 2000 period, the successive urban projects like the light tram and the infrastructural plans are collected under a massive project named “Urban Development Projects” and presented to the EIB, with the aim of receiving technical and financial assistance. After a series of visits between the municipal officers and bank representatives from Luxembourg and Eskişehir, the Bank granted a total fund of 120 million Euros to the Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality in the year 2001. Since then, the change and transformation on the urban landscape of the city has become significantly visible. Cemalettin Sarar, the President of ETO, sees the year 2000 as a turning point in the urban transformation experience of Eskişehir and openly asserts that the city built a new path in the area of urbanization after 2000s: “thanks to the transformative impacts of the Europeanization process, the accumulation of the city have been growing since the 2000’s and now Eskişehir has the will to advance in a new path towards being a European city while having the capability to solve the problems remaining from the past”.⁸¹

As important as the urban master plan financed by a leading EU institution, the EIB, the sister city projects also contribute to the vision of the city in light of the Europeanization process. Eskişehir has carried on its close relations with Salzburg in Austria, within the sister city protocol. Moreover, Eskişehir has sister cities from diverse geographies like St. Petersburg in Russia, the city of Changzhou in China and

⁸¹ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

the city of Paju in South Korea. Cultural and social interaction among these cities contributes to the intercultural dialogue among diverse geographies.

ESO and ETO as leading economic and urban actors of Eskişehir have certain strategies and visions towards the EU integration process. ESO has executed various EU funded projects, as well as has been a crucial partner in various technical assistance programs designed by the EU. Leonardo Da Vinci Vocational Training Program, EU Active Labor Force Program, and Strengthening the Vocational Education and Training System in Turkey Program (MEGEP) are the leading examples of ESO partnered EU projects in Eskişehir. These projects bring a significant level of know-how to the city; moreover they trigger EU investment in respective fields. It is a widely held view that preparing for the EU membership requires far reaching changes across various sectors and in many of the local institutions. These assistance programs are crucial for the enlargement process, while they provide cohesion among member states and candidates like Turkey. Moreover, ETO receives professional assistance from an EU consultancy firm with the aim of playing more active roles in the application and execution of the EU funded projects in Eskişehir. The latest common effort of the ESO and ETO towards EU integration is the establishment of the EU Business Development Center (ABİGEM) in Eskişehir. “The European integration process made the local actors in Eskişehir more external-oriented and it triggered change and transformation in Eskişehir” argues Cemalettin Sarar, the former President of ETO, while the EU membership process is

believed to make the local economic and social dynamics better prepared to the rules of the global competition.⁸²

The main activities of Eskişehir ABİGEM can be summarized as: adjusting the corporate structures and institutional mentalities of the Eskişehir firms and SMEs to their European counterparts and providing training and consultancy to the local firms which are faced with problems stemming from the adaptation process to the EU laws and legislations. The institutional counterparts of the ABİGEM project are the European Commission, TOBB, ESO and ETO, which share the common view that local SMEs of Eskişehir should be supported and encouraged to pursue their sustainable development in the international markets.⁸³ This project also received a significant amount of financial assistance from the EU with a budget of almost 3 million Euros.

Moreover, it is observed that, ESO has clearly set goals and targets for Eskişehir throughout the EU membership process. In the year 2005, Savaş Özaydemir, the President of ESO clearly defined the year 2015 as the Turkey's full membership date and openly asserted that as ESO they have a number of projects to foster Turkey's successful integration to the EU.⁸⁴ In the year 2009, it can be argued that ESO pursues these goals in a rather deterministic fashion, and supports the rise of Eskişehir as a pro-EU actor of Turkey's globalization process. According to Özaydemir, ESO is a leading actor in Eskişehir economy, which ardently supports

⁸² Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

⁸³ For detailed information see <http://www.esabigem.net/sayfa.php?s=1>

⁸⁴ Quoted from *Dünya Newspaper*, 11 March 2005. Available [online] at <http://www.dunyagazetesi.com.tr/haberArsiv.asp?id=210828>

industrial development and EU membership in the city, as he characterizes ESO as an “EU friendly” organization.⁸⁵

On the other hand, Selim Ögütür, the President ESKTB adopts a more sectoral perspective towards the Europeanization process of Eskişehir and claims that Eskişehir is the most successful Turkish city with regards to the levels of adaptation to the agricultural regulations of the EU, moreover he asserts that Eskişehir in this sense is the best prepared Turkish city for the EU membership.⁸⁶ Successfully adapting to the EU laws on agriculture, Eskişehir indicates its preparedness and its enthusiasm towards the Europeanization process. In light of the EU norms on agricultural production, the long term target of the Eskişehir economy is defined as lowering the weight of the agriculture in total labor force to 7% by increasing productivity. According to Selim Ögütür, the rising labor supply channeled from agriculture to industry should be embraced by a planned urbanization process, which will be the key to the further development of the city in the near future.⁸⁷ The mass housing projects of the Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality provided the sustainable absorption of the incoming population by the urban center and they are believed to provide a model to many cities.

The area of education is another crucial venue for integration with the EU, while University as a major urban actor triggers the dialogue between Eskişehir and the EU member countries. Eskişehir Anadolu University having students from all 81 cities of Turkey and from 42 countries all over the world, participates in the Erasmus

⁸⁵ Quoted from *Dünya Newspaper*, 23 February 2005. Available [online] at <http://www.dunya.com/haberArsiv.asp?id=208744>

⁸⁶ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ESKTB.

⁸⁷ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ESKTB.

Student Exchange Program, which enables higher education students, teachers and institutions in 31 European countries to study for part of their degree in another European country, while fostering intercultural dialogue. According to the results of a recent study on the Anadolu University (Sürmeli, 2008), throughout the term 2007-2008, as a part of the Erasmus Student Exchange Program the University hosted 169 exchange students from 22 European countries and from 56 diverse European Universities; moreover 377 students and 177 professors from Eskişehir went to several European Universities as a part of the program. This dense interaction ground provided the students and the universities the chance to build closer inter-institutional and interpersonal relations. Moreover, the rising awareness of the European Integration has been backed by these programs, especially among the young population whose ideas about Europe and the EU has been significantly shaped throughout this process.

Lastly, urban actors from various backgrounds reach a clear consensus on the perspective that the urban culture of Eskişehir is a crucial area to observe the impacts and reflections of the Europeanization process. Moreover, Eskişehir is generally regarded as a European city with respect to cultural values embedded in the societal structure. Cemalettin Taşçı, the political consultant to the Mayor Yılmaz Büyükerşen, links the values of tolerance in Eskişehir with Europeanization discussions and clearly asserts that: “Eskişehir, regarding the high levels of societal tolerance, is much more European than most of the cities within the EU”.⁸⁸ Moreover, Cemalettin Sarar also points out that, in addition to its European outlook as regards to the architectural design of the city, the interpersonal relations and the

⁸⁸ Interview recorded on October 8th, 2008, in the Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality.

civilized manner dominant in the societal structure of the city carry Eskişehir closer to other European cities.⁸⁹ Savaş M. Özaydemir, the President of ESO, shares this argument as he depicts Eskişehir as a European city with regards to the strong signs of cosmopolitanism in the city as a result of the immigrant population coming from diverse geographies and ethnic origins; while on these grounds he underlines the contrasts between Eskişehir and Kayseri.⁹⁰ It is observed that, the urban structure of Eskişehir provides a distinctive character to the city and differentiates Eskişehir from the other rising Anatolian cities in many respects. Under the influence of globalization and Europeanization processes, the urban structure of the city has also significantly transformed.

4.1.3. Urban Transformation and Eskişehir

City is identified as the core of civilizations in the “Strategic Planning to 2010” study of the Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality (Taşçı, 2008), while in the same study the principle property that separates a city from a town is also defined as being a host to different ideologies, beliefs, lifestyles, and dreams. The most valuable asset of Eskişehir in the process of pursuing these objectives is mentioned as “its urbanized people who are grateful, open to change, and determined to resist ruralization” (Taşçı, 2008). These properties prove once more the distinctive structure of Eskişehir which rests on a strong urban heritage and provides a model for rapid and sustainable urban transformation. The objective of the Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality which brought a new perspective to the urban

⁸⁹ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

⁹⁰ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ESO.

development in Turkey is defined as enabling the people of Eskişehir to gain their urban identity (Taşçı, 2008:19). This transformation in Eskişehir is accompanied by sustainable socio-economic development levels, a livable urban environment and a regionally competitive economic and social structure.

Cemalettin Sarar, the former President of ETO notes that the resistance against globalization and Europeanization processes is strikingly rendered limited in Eskişehir due to the high urbanization levels of the city as a result of which only a small proportion of the population lives on rural areas.⁹¹ Moreover, Sarar asserts that the qualified human capital of the city as regards to high educational levels and the wide spread urban mentality fostering diversity, tolerance and support for change strengthen the position of Eskişehir as a city open to transformation.⁹²

With reference to the UNDP 2004 Human Development Report in Turkey, Güneş (2006) in her doctoral thesis analyzes the socio-economic development rates of Eskişehir and mentions that, 9 provinces have made high and all other provinces achieved medium human development records in the year 2004; while Eskişehir ranked 14th in Turkey after Kocaeli, Yalova, Istanbul, Bursa, İzmir, Muğla, Sakarya, Bolu, Tekirdağ, Balıkesir, Ankara, and Bilecik. Moreover, Güneş (2006) also underlines that, among the provinces which showed medium human development, Eskişehir ranked 5th place, which is a habitable place with relatively high living standards. The recent studies on the regional competitiveness (EDAM and Deloitte, 2009) and the livability levels of the Turkish cities (Cnbc-e Business, 2008) also show that Eskişehir is now among the top five Turkish cities which provide

⁹¹ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

⁹² Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

economically and socially livable urban environments to their residents. This significant success of the city once again underlines the sustainable urban transformation experience and its repercussions on the urban life of the city residents.

The results of the study held by EDAM and Deloitte (2009) puts forward the relatively favorable condition of Eskişehir in regional competitiveness index among Turkish cities as regards to six independent variables; economic dynamism, labor market, creativity, human capital, social capital, and physical infrastructure. The findings demonstrate that Eskişehir is the 5th most competitive city in labor market index which includes the unemployment and labor force participation levels, while underlining the relatively favorable and just labor market conditions that are believed to have a close relationship with the social democratic character of the city. On the other hand, Eskişehir is ranked as 2nd in terms of human capital index with regards to the high levels of literacy and success in the university entrance exam. Eskişehir also shows considerable success in creative capital index, which includes R&D, innovative capacity, patents and branding. The city is observed to have a strong position in overall regional competitiveness levels while exhibiting its difference as regards to favorable labor environment, educational assets and high creativity levels. Moreover, a second crucial factor, livability is also vital in understanding the alternatively successful position of Eskişehir in sustainable urban environment as compared to Kayseri.

A latest study conducted by CNBC-e Business Magazine (2008) on the livability levels of the Turkish cities points out interesting results, while Eskişehir ranks as the 4th livable city of Turkey as regards to its favorable condition in (a)

economy, (b) health, (c) education, (d) urban life, (e) security, (f) arts and cultural activities. Eskişehir turns out to be the city with the 8th densest urban population while the city stands 17th with its GDP per capita and stands 8th with its public investment per capita in 2007. According to the study (2008: 66) the municipal projects, the attention paid to education and university life, and social activities have major roles in the high livability level of the city. The results also suggest that (2008:66) Eskişehir provides an example of the transformative capacity of good local governance, while underlining the importance of the visions of the municipal leaders in development and progress of their cities. Eskişehir as a unique case shows once again the significance of local actors in urban development of a city. The Metropolitan Mayor Yılmaz Büyükerşen is regarded as the leading actor in the rise of Eskişehir, while the transformation of the city in terms of both infrastructure and social life owes so much to the local governance and its charismatic leader in the Eskişehir case.

Furthermore, the success of Eskişehir on the livability index underlines the fact that economic and industrial potential are not the sole determinants of livability in a city; on the contrary livability requires a hospitable and sustainable urban environment which provides tolerance to diversities and embraces its residents with social, educational, and cultural facilities. Cemalettin Taşçı, the political consultant to the Mayor Yılmaz Büyükerşen, underlines a striking point as he asserts that: “I appreciate the industrial success of Kayseri or Konya, yet industrial performance can never be solely sufficient to invigorate the urban life; hence the city can not be regained via industry”. Here, the contrast between Kayseri and Eskişehir can easily be seen while Eskişehir exemplifies as a city where diversities peacefully coexist

while Kayseri despite of its transformation still shows a considerable conservatism in urban life. This perspective is also shared by leading economic actors of the city such as Cemalettin Sarar, the former President of ETO who clearly underlines the difference of Eskişehir regarding the transformative nature of the urban life while he compares Eskişehir with Konya, another rising city of Anatolia and openly asserts that: “Eskişehir is different, Konya is conservative and traditional; however Eskişehir is open to change”.⁹³ This distinctive character of the city is closely associated with the demographic and the educational structure of the city, which fosters openness to change and diversity as regards to the student population. Moreover, the urban culture of Eskişehir also plays a major role in this tolerant and dynamic environment.

According to the latest results of the address based population registration system (ADNKS), the total population of Eskişehir is 741.739. When the demographic indicators in light of the latest census (TUIK, 2000) data are analyzed, the total population of 641,301 people in the year 1990 increased to 706,009 people in 2000, while the annual rate of population increase is 1.01%. Eskişehir emerges as one of the leading urban models of Turkey with its urbanization rate of 86%; while the total urban population for the year 2008 is 653.663, and the rural population amounts to 88.076 (ESO, 2008).

Eskişehir has been receiving migrants from diverse geographies throughout history. The Turcoman population forms the ancient demographic group in Eskişehir, while the structure of the population has been continuously increasing in variety as Caucasus, Balkans, and Crimean migrants settled in Eskişehir throughout history,

⁹³ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

while preserving their cultural diversity. In 1960, Eskisehir ranked 6th place in volume of urban population, following Istanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Adana and Bursa. In this period too, migration continued and Eskisehir attracted a significant amount of population from various regions. Eskişehir, one of the most important socio-cultural development models of Turkey, has suffered from the post 1960 internal migration trends which demolished the demographic and socio-economic balances all around Turkey. However, the city has regained its dynamism and leading position at the end of the 1990s due to the successful urban development process and the transformative power provided by the universities. Therefore, Eskişehir has become a role model for many Anatolian cities which suffer from internal migration and socio-economic imbalances.

The city receives internal migrant population from mainly Afyon, Bilecik, Ankara, Konya, Kütahya, İstanbul, Erzurum, Ağrı, Bursa, İzmir, Kars and Balıkesir, while migrants from Germany, Bulgaria and Romania also come to Eskişehir, which shows that people from diverse geographical regions come and settle in Eskişehir. After 1980, Erzurum and Diyarbakır also became one of the provinces where migrants flowed into Eskişehir. Undoubtedly, one of the most important reasons of migration is the industrial potential of the city (Güneş, 2006). However, educational factors also increasingly play active role in the migration trends in the post 1985 period.

Eskişehir is one of the Turkish cities with the highest level of literacy at the rate of 96%. Among İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Bursa, Kocaeli, Denizli, Kayseri and Gaziantep, it ranks 3rd, just after Ankara and İstanbul (ETO, 2004: 32). The

foundations of the higher education in Eskişehir were laid in 1958 with the establishment of the Eskişehir Financial and Commercial Sciences Academy. The establishment of the Anadolu University was realized in 1982, while the Osmangazi University was established in 1993. Eskişehir has been for a long time the only city with more than one university, besides Istanbul, Ankara and İzmir, while 5% of university graduates to the overall represent the Eskişehir population. The Anadolu and the Osmangazi universities receive students from all around Turkey, and even from Europe. Since the city is capable of the necessary infrastructure, this advantage gave rise to the establishment of the third university. Cemalettin Sarar, the former President of ETO emphasizes that a specific university focusing on commerce is desired for Eskişehir and underlines the awaiting support from the government for the establishment of the third university in the city (Ünal, 2008). The existence of the qualified labor force is an important property of the city that separates Eskişehir from the remaining cities of the region as Sarar argues that: “today, Eskişehir is not faced with the problems that other cities have suffered from, the human development levels are higher than many Anatolian cities and students find a livable environment here”.⁹⁴

For the growth of cities and regions, the role of universities is critical in economic development and global competitiveness. Especially for growing cities like Eskişehir and Kayseri, the existence of well functioning universities is the key to the development of the city. As prominent urban theorist Richard Florida in an interview with a Turkish Magazine Bilgiçağı (2009) argues, Turkish universities can be the engines of the growth of the cities and the national economy as a whole. “To attract

⁹⁴ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

creative force and investment, openness to diversity and new ideas is crucial” says Florida in Bilgiçağı (2009: 41), and adds “Turkey in order to have a place on the global competition in the era of creative economies, she should attract global technology and talent to her territories; and the key is openness and tolerance”. When the case of Eskişehir in terms of tolerance and openness to diversity is considered, the role of the universities as leading urban actors can not be underestimated.

The Anadolu University emerges as a crucial urban actor in the Eskişehir case, while the interaction between Eskişehir and the Anadolu University is composed of closely interwoven sets of economic and socio-cultural relationships which trigger the urban transformation of the city from various grounds. According to scholar Sürmeli (2008), Anadolu University in Eskişehir without doubt opened a new market, created employment, improved the services sector, and changed existing consumption patterns in the housing market. Furthermore, it provided qualified labor force for future investments in the city, as well as in Turkey. On the other hand, the cooperation among university and industry triggered R&D, technological innovation and product development, which all together provide more value added to the economy of city.

Apart from the economic impacts, Sürmeli (2008) also underlines the fact that, the university stands as a venue for cultural and social activities of the city, hence reinforces the dynamism of the urban life. The results of his interesting survey (2008: 227-231) demonstrate that 94% of the respondents believe in the crucial role of the Anadolu University in the cultural life of the city, which hosts approximately 55 events and 28.000 guests monthly, while 92% of the respondents express that the

University has a significant impact on the level of tolerance, hospitality, and civility spread all around the city.

When the transformations on the urban space of Eskişehir is analyzed, it can be argued that, triggered by economically, politically and culturally globalizing forces of the 21st century changing consumption patterns result in organized shopping practices in the form of huge shopping malls in the urban space of the city. Eskişehir, together with Kayseri, witnessed construction of new shopping malls in the post 1990 period. As a result, further opening of the economies of these cities, consumption patterns change in parallel and new brands, tastes, and variety of preferences from all around the world are offered to the residents of Eskişehir and Kayseri. Increasing number of huge shopping malls in Eskişehir changed the spatial outlook of the city, at the same time symbolized a new shift in the consumption patterns of the city. Espark, Eskişehir Neo Shopping Mall, and Kanatlı Mall are the leading examples of these newly established malls which bring global brands to the consumers of the city, and aim to provide a “living space” to the urban residents.⁹⁵

However, a possible drawback of the globalization process on the urban space of Eskişehir is also put forward by Cemalettin Sarar, as he argues that globalization can also bring homogenization to cities, in the form of same consumption habits, similar spatial structures like huge shopping malls, and a homogenized urban culture.⁹⁶ However, how he positions Eskişehir in this process is rather different, as he asserts that “Eskişehir can have a diverse vision, still in line with global

⁹⁵ Espark has the corporate motto of the “living space of Eskişehir”, for further information see the official website at <http://www.espark.com.tr/>

⁹⁶ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

integration, but having a more authentic urban culture and a more flexible urban space with multiple centers”.⁹⁷ The urban structure of the city is observed to be a crucial asset in successful integration with the globalization and Europeanization processes, which also provides a distinctive characteristic to the city.

4.2. Economy and Culture of the City

Eskişehir was among the first Anatolian cities which experienced a significant state led industrialization in the early Republican Period. State investments between 1923 and 1950 had given an impulse to the economic growth of the city. However, in the post 1980 period; the entrepreneurial dynamism in the city has gradually increased. Especially with the impact of privatization and export oriented production, the industrial capacity of the city has risen. However, the socio-economic balances have not turned against the labor, while the social democratic structure of the city has reflected itself on the capital-labor relations. Yet, there are still obstacles to overcome in the economic arena, as regards to the results of the regional competitiveness study by EDAM and Deloitte (2009), which suggest that in terms of economic dynamism index, the scores of Eskişehir are lower, as the city ranks 15th. However, with regards to the considerable success of the city in terms of urban transformation, and its distinctive urban culture, Eskişehir offers an alternative development story to the Anatolian cities. A story that combines economic potential with a social-democratic political heritage, while underlining the transformative power of a well established urban culture open to diversity and change.

⁹⁷ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

4.2.1. The Story of Economic Development

The globalizing world economy turns the economic crises also into global crises, impacts of which have been severely observed in the Turkish economy. The cities which show successful and rapid integration to the global economy are at the same time the ones which drastically suffer from the negative impacts of the global economic downturn. Eskişehir, like Kayseri experienced the visible impacts of the contemporary global crises. As the leading economic actors of the city keep designing strategies to minimize the negative impacts of the crises, Cemalettin Sarar, the former President of ETO, emphasizes that the impacts of the current global crises is severely felt in the Eskişehir economy like every part of the world (Taşkın and Beceneli, 2009b). Moreover, he underlines the point that globalization brought changes in every aspect, while the most crucial one is the rising power of cities not only on the nation but also on the global scale (Taşkın and Beceneli, 2009b). Special emphasis was given in the midst of the scholarly discussions which point the rise of global cities in leading the world economy; this statement of Sarar above which is exactly in parallel with the contemporary scholarly discussions is quite interesting. Since globalization realizes itself through cities, the global economic trends and crises are also spreading through cities, while showing their most observable impacts on the economies of cities. According to Sarar, in the contemporary period when national economies are inundated by Multinational Corporations (MNCs), individual potentials of firms should be pooled and multi-partnered corporate structures need to be established in Turkey, especially in Eskişehir to be able to successfully cope with the challenges posed by globalization (Taşkın and Beceneli, 2009b).

Despite of the serious threat posed by the global crises, Eskişehir economy rests on certain advantages such as strong industrial background, organizational capacity in the form of vocal institutions like ESO and ETO, and a cultural habit of openness to change which trigger the economic dynamism of the city. Eskişehir as one of the first industrial centers of the Turkish Republic can also be characterized as a city of industrial novelties with special reference to the first moulding factory, the first national automobile Devrim and the first sugar and airplane factories established in the city.

When the statistical data on provincial economic growth (TUIK, 2000) is analyzed, the GDP per capita of Eskişehir for the year 2000 turns out to be rather impressive with an amount of 3369 USD, and a growth rate of % 43,8. Especially when the macro economic downturn of the early 2000's in Turkish economy is considered, these numbers point to a certain level of dynamism. The share of Eskişehir in the national economy was around 1.2% in the year 2001, which is expected to rise in the near future (Akgün, 2005). The average income per capita is around 12.000 US dollars. Eskişehir turns out to be a leading city among Turkey with its financial capacity. According to the financial report of BDDK in 2008, Eskişehir stands 5th among 81 provinces for its 5.075 TL deposits per capita after Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir and Muğla. Also the 2.893 TL of credits per capita carry the city to the 9th place among Turkish provinces.⁹⁸

Leading economic sectors of the city are; industry, trade, services, commercial agriculture, and construction; while the sectoral breakdown of the GDP

⁹⁸ Data are from the March 18th 2008 speech of Savaş Özyaydemir, the president of ESO, in the “The Developments and Expectations in the Turkish and Global Economy” titled meeting of İş Bank.

is; industry 24,8%; trade 24%; public sector 16,5%; transportation and communication 12,4%; agriculture 10%; and construction 3,4% (Akgün, 2005). The industrial sector having the biggest share in the GDP, contributes significantly to the economic dynamism of the city. The industrial potential of the city is supported by several factors such as; the rapid growth of urban population, the existence of qualified labor force, proximity to strategic domestic and foreign markets, strong infrastructure and sustainable energy and raw material resources. Moreover, the establishment of ESO in 1968 and the OIZ in 1973 turned out to be two major developments further contributing to the industrial dynamism of the city. The number of ESO members has reached 550 today, employing 43 thousand people, with a total endorsement 5.5 billion USD and a total export revenue of 1.5 billion USD.

In relation to the surrounding industrial cities, Eskişehir's relatively diverse and preferable position is explained by Selim Ögütür, the President of ESKTB as he argues that the cities surrounding Eskişehir like Bursa İzmit, and Ankara all saturated with industrial investment, and they have relatively less flexibility for new investments; however Eskişehir is a rather flexible and convenient place for attracting industrialists.⁹⁹ Only Eskişehir has the airplane motor manufacturing and the diesel engine manufacturing factories in Turkey. Besides sugar, textile, wood, cement, machine industries there is also production of refractor brick, ceramic, tile, plaster and prefabricated cement construction units. The industrial investments were triggered with the establishment of Arçelik factory, which have brought forth the well known trademarks like Toprak Group, Şişecam, Ford Otosan, Pınar Milk and

⁹⁹ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ESKTB.

İzocam to Eskişehir. By the early 2000s, Neo Shopping Mall and CarrefourSA projects brought further dynamism to the economic life in the city.

Eskişehir OIZ, as the biggest organized industry zone of Turkey, serving in nine main sectors with 345 enterprises, and providing employment to 20 thousand people plays a great role in the economic potential of the city. The technoparks in the OIZ and the industrial cooperation with the Anadolu University lead the technological advancement of the city. The spread of industrial growth to the eastern provinces of Turkey via newly established OIZs is a crucial step according to Cemalettin Sarar, the former President of ETO, to foster the socio-economic development of Turkey, which already occupies an important position in the global economy.¹⁰⁰

SARAR, as a leading brand of the Eskişehir industry, as well as a leading brand of the Turkish textile sector well known in international markets, has currently forty two shops in Turkey, while the brand continues to grow by opening new shops in various parts of Europe, Middle East, and the U.S. The brand recently opened new shops in Frankfurt, Boston and Washington. The European market occupies a special place for SARAR, as Cemalettin Sarar asserts that their aim is to make SARAR, a Turkish and Eskişehir brand well known and preferred in the Frankfurt market. “Sarar will be seen and known by everybody in Frankfurt” says Sarar (Taşkın, 2009a).

¹⁰⁰ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ETO.

The machinery sector also has a significant production capacity. While the number of export oriented companies of the sector in 1990 was 9, with total export revenue of 43 million USD; by the end of 2007 the number of these firms have increased to 65 and their export revenues increased to 933 million USD. It is observed that the number of export companies have been multiplied by 7 and the amount of exportation has been multiplied by 22 through these 18 years.

On the other hand, with regards to the furniture sector which has underperformed in the recent years but still representing a significant potential with its future strategic plans, it is observed that the sector representatives want to develop a cooperation ground to regain the dynamism of the 1970s in the furniture industry of Eskişehir. The Eskişehir Chamber of Carpenters and Furniture Producers initiated cooperation with Anadolu University and Osmangazi University to foster innovative production and branding in the sector. Innovative design is regarded as one of the most crucial factors by the sector representatives who build strategic relations with the Industrial Design Department of the Anadolu University to regain their competitive potential in the national as well as international markets (Beceneli, 2008: 13).

In light of the global economic developments and their repercussions on the national level, ESO has recently prepared the Industrial Strategic Plan for Eskişehir, with the aim of designing future policies and initiatives based on economic and demographic prescriptions of the city. The strategic sectors determined are aviation, defense, ceramic, machinery and metal, which are believed to carry the potential of the city to the year 2020. The population of the city is foreseen to reach 1 million, whereas the share of industry in total economy is expected to rise to 33% with total

revenue of 20 billion USD by the year 2020. According to Savaş Özaydemir, the President of ESO, in parallel with the rising population of the city, the economy of Eskişehir will accelerate, and the GDP per capita of the city which is currently around 8 thousand USD is targeted to reach 20 thousand USD by the year 2020 (Taşkın, 2009b). Moreover, the total exports of the city is expected to increase by four billion USD, while the number of investors in the Eskişehir OIZ is believed to reach 600, and the workers are expected to be 45 thousand people by 2020. On the other hand, it is observed that ESO puts great importance to human capital in industrial development, as Özaydemir claims that ESO prepared 30 training programs and carried out five EU projects in the area of education and training (Taşkın, 2009b).

The future projections of the economic actors turn out to be rather impressive, yet the areas in which Eskişehir demonstrates its difference and puts forward its relatively superior position are the general employment patterns and the related socio-economic balances of the city. According to a study held by DPT (2003), Eskişehir ranks as the 6th most developed city among the 81 cities of Turkey with regards to sustainable socio-economic balances, which also provide valuable insights in understanding the roots of the social-democratic character of the city. The socio-economic conditions of the city turn out to be better when compared with other Anatolian cities. The salaried population, such as governmental officials, workers and the retired people take the first place as regards to their share of the provincial revenue, while the income distribution is considered as rather balanced. A general analysis of the employment patterns reveals the fact that the ratio of workers with wages/salaries or daily wages among total labor force is pretty high with a rate of

77.27%. The reason that this percentage is high in Eskisehir is that a large portion of the population is employed in public sector institutions such as defense, state offices, transportation and education, while self-employed workers amount to 14.07% (ETO, 2004: 41). Another significant indicator which depicts Eskisehir's economic and social structure is the amount of total income and their distribution. Labor income constitutes 47% of the Eskisehir province's income, and retirement payments and all types of state aid as well as complimentary income from the foreign transfers make up 18% of the total income of the province (Güneş, 2006). The structure of the employment patterns and income distribution are quite different than the Kayseri case, in which entrepreneurship and competitive private sector dominate the economic arena. Whereas in Eskişehir, the role of public sector in the economy, and the weight of the workers with wages/salaries in the macro-economic balances still preserve their significant positions.

4.2.2. The Role of Culture

The cultural values distinguishing Eskişehir from the other Anatolian cities, especially from Kayseri can be summarized under two main headings; firstly the vivid urban culture of tolerance, coexistence of diversities, and openness to change; and secondly a social-democratic tradition dominant in local governance. These two sets of values and perspectives play major roles in the urban identity of Eskişehir which has always been open to diverse backgrounds and ideologies as regards to dominant student and migrant population in the society. Moreover, the urban culture of Eskişehir and the vision of the Mayor Yılmaz Büyükerşen also contribute to the

livable environment of the city with opera houses, theaters, recreation facilities, artistic and cultural activities, which are the main assets of Eskişehir in preserving its alternative and model position among Turkish cities.

Eskişehir as an urban center holds together people from diverse socio-cultural and economic backgrounds peacefully. The strong urban culture of the city is underlined by Mayor Büyükerşen as he argues that: “the urban people know that others may or can not be similar to them; the urban people lives together with different people, does not afraid from diversities; on the contrary they believe that diversities bring enrichment” (Taşçı, 2009: 463). The notion of “Eskişehirlilik”, being from Eskişehir is defined on the ground of tolerance towards the incoming population from other provinces, while the goal of urban life has been bringing forth harmony among people from varying socio-cultural and economic backgrounds. Cemalettin Taşçı, the political advisor to Yılmaz Büyükerşen, the Mayor of Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality explains this distinctive character of the city as: “Foreigners are treated friendly in Eskişehir”.¹⁰¹ Without being faced with invisible social exclusion mechanisms, foreigners are embraced by the city and quickly start to feel themselves as a part of the colorful urban environment of Eskişehir. According to Taşçı, Eskişehir is among the few Anatolian cities together with İzmir, where the question “where are you from?” is almost never asked.¹⁰² Taşçı explains this situation with the central position of the Anadolu University which is almost a living part of the urban life in Eskişehir and the levels of social tolerance increased by the rising student population in the city.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Interview recorded on October 8th, 2008, in the Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality.

¹⁰² Interview recorded on October 8th, 2008, in the Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality.

¹⁰³ Interview recorded on October 8th, 2008, in the Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality.

Selim Ögütür, the President of ESKTB also shares this argument as he underlines the fact that universities of the city and the tolerant local people who have always been hospitable to the student population are the crucial assets of Eskişehir, which also trigger the dynamism of urban life.¹⁰⁴ This increasing quality and dynamism of the urban life and the rising number of cultural activities are also regarded as the leading factors that distinguish Eskişehir from other Anatolian cities.¹⁰⁵ “Eskişehir is an enlightened city” claims Selim Ögütür, while he demonstrates this argument by the efforts of the farmer families in the rural areas who temporarily move to city centers for university education of their children. Moreover, underlining the urban culture and the livable urban environment in Eskişehir, Selim Ögütür also briefly expounds on the crucial character of the city: “Investors from all around the world, especially from Europe can find the adequate life standards here, and they will prefer to live here”.¹⁰⁶ The urban life in the city is believed to embrace residents from various fronts, and provides not only high quality educational opportunities, but also cultural activities with the International Eskişehir Festival, the increasing number of theaters and the popular opera house. The cultural and social infrastructure in the city is believed to successfully host the population coming from other cities, especially the students. “Nobody intervenes in others life” says Ögütür, “Anybody who wishes to go to night clubs or bars, he/she is free to do so as he/she is not regarded odd or socially excluded”.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ESKTB.

¹⁰⁵ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ESKTB.

¹⁰⁶ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ESKTB.

¹⁰⁷ Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ESKTB.

This culture of tolerance dominant in Eskişehir is also underlined by Cemalettin Taşçı who argues that: “Cities are dynamic systems; therefore they carry the accumulation of the past to the future” and adds “Eskişehir is a different city, its historical accumulation; cultural background and openness to ethnically, culturally and ideologically diverse people are the major factors contributing to its distinctive character”.¹⁰⁸ This notable feature of the city is also summarized by a prominent Turkish excursionist lived in 17th century, Evliya Çelebi, as he underlines the civilized side of the Eskişehir people by these words “they are friends to whom are from abroad”.¹⁰⁹

Eskişehir is observed to be a city which has a vivid daily life on the streets. The urban environment offered to the city residents is welcomed by the people who enjoy living the daily life of their city. “The people of Eskişehir have a rather relaxed attitude towards the harsh economic conditions, they prefer to enjoy daily life and do not compete with each other, which make the societal life more dynamic and keeps Eskişehir ‘alive’” argues Taşçı.¹¹⁰ Eskişehir is characterized as the only Turkish city which does not endeavor to make the urban life easier for automobiles by Taşçı as he argues that: “Eskişehir lives the life in the city streets; the urban mentality of the municipality here closed the city center to automobile traffic while making the urban life more livable for pedestrians”.¹¹¹ The urban vision of Mayor Büyükerşen has a direct influence on the gradual removal of the automobile traffic from the city center as he refers to the European Urban Charter in underlining the negative impacts of automobiles on the urban space (Taşçı, 2009: 430). According to journalist Faraç

¹⁰⁸ Interview recorded on October 8th, 2008, in the Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality.

¹⁰⁹ Interview recorded on October 8th, 2008, in the Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality.

¹¹⁰ Interview recorded on October 8th, 2008, in the Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality.

¹¹¹ Interview recorded on October 8th, 2008, in the Eskişehir Metropolitan Municipality.

(2008), people coming from diverse parts of Turkey to Eskişehir are amazed by the urban transformation of the city; while walking on the city streets gives a feeling of peaceful and healthy environment surrounding the city residents.

Moreover, Eskişehir is known for its deep rooted press tradition tracing back to Pre-Republican Period. The first communist newspaper New World [Yeni Dünya] was published in Eskişehir together with other newspapers having diverse ideological backgrounds (Taşçı, 2009: 76). The first local newspaper of Eskişehir was published in 1908; from this day on 131 diverse daily and weekly newspapers are published in the city.

On the other hand, the high urbanization levels and successful urban transformation of Eskişehir is compared with other rising Anatolian cities like Konya and Kayseri by Selim Öğütür, while he concludes that the quality of urban life, educational opportunities and the narrower gaps between the rich and deprived poles of the society make Eskişehir better than Kayseri or Konya in socio-economic balances.¹¹² It is observed that, the leading actors of the city share a common view on the strong urban culture of the city which is defined as civil, tolerant, and hospitable. The role of university as an urban institution and the role of migrant population contributing to diversity is also regarded as crucial factors in shaping this urban culture. According to Mayor Yılmaz Büyükerşen, the friendly and hospitable manner towards the university students in Eskişehir is an indication of a well grounded urban culture in the city (Taşçı, 2009: 411).

¹¹² Interview recorded on December 3rd 2007, in ESKTB.

The second distinguishing value of Eskişehir, the social-democratic tradition and its repercussions on the urban life are also crucial to analyze. Two vital factors are observed to significantly contribute to this tradition, the Mayor Yılmaz Büyükerşen and his municipal vision, and the universities of the city. There is a rather complex causal relationship between these factors, yet it is clearly observed that they all together form the alternative character of the city.

Yılmaz Büyükerşen, as the key local actor of the transformation and progress of Eskişehir, was born in Eskişehir and has devoted his life to his city. Apart from municipal and urban transformation projects, Anadolu University owes its contemporary development to Büyükerşen. He initiated the establishment of the İÇEM Auditory Handicapped Children Education and Research Center and the State Conservatory within Anadolu University, while bringing the Open University System to Turkey is also one of the leading achievements initiated by him. Mayor Büyükerşen has a vital role in turning Eskişehir into a city of universities and providing a livable environment for students and people coming from every part of Turkey. The social democratic character of the city has close relations with the local leader Büyükerşen and his ideals, while these factors and the socio-cultural infrastructure of the city fit each other very well that result in contemporary distinctive urban identity of Eskişehir.

The political career of Yılmaz Büyükerşen formally begins in the year 1999, when he won the local elections as the candidate of the Democratic Leftist Party (DLP). However, his political affiliations and activism traces back to his early student years, as he was a critical local journalist who had the will to shape the local

political agenda (Taşçı, 2009: 104). Büyükerşen underlines the kind insistence of Bülent Ecevit, a prominent leftist leader, the Turkish Prime Minister of that period, and the President of the DLP for his candidacy in local elections of the late 1990s, while he summarizes the political proposal made by Mr. Ecevit: “You established a university which became a model, now I ask you to make a model city, Turkey needs this” (Taşçı, 2009: 409). This proposal of Bülent Ecevit also gives a clear idea about the vision of Yılmaz Büyükerşen and the scope of his municipal projects. Later, Büyükerşen also asked to be the President of DLP; however he preferred to stay as the Mayor of Eskişehir and to carry on realizing his municipal ideals; while in 2009 local elections he was reelected as the Metropolitan Mayor.

The personal political affiliation of Yılmaz Büyükerşen since his academic life has been close to left, as he participated in several initiatives which have leftist and social democratic notions and objectives, such as the separation of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry in Eskişehir in 1968 and declaration of the “Social Industry Manifesto” [Topluma Dönük Sanayici Bildirgesi]. Together with the assembly members of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the leading industrialist families of Eskişehir, Yılmaz Büyükerşen initiated the idea of dividing the Chamber into two as Chamber of Commerce and Chamber of Industry to bring further dynamism to the city economy, as well as to foster professionalization in the two Chambers. Following the separation, Büyükerşen and the leading economic actors of the city and member of the Chamber like Mümtaz Zeytinoğlu, and Orhan Erden initiated the “Social Industry Manifesto” [Topluma Dönük Sanayici Bildirgesi] of Eskişehir which was a guiding document that draws the industrial as well as political-economic path of the city (Taşçı, 2009: 212). The Manifesto touched

upon several issues such as the Common Market with the EU, taxation policies based on social justice, promotion of industrialization, unionist rights to labor such as lawful strike and lock out, and fair income distribution (Taşçı, 2009: 213). According to Büyükerşen, based on a strong social democratic ideal, this initiative proposed a socialist approach to various hotly debated issues of the period (Taşçı, 2009: 213). It can be concluded that there is a crucial synergistic linkage between Yılmaz Büyükerşen and the dominant social democratic vision of the city.

On the other hand, universities of Eskişehir also have vital roles in fostering the social cohesion and the notion of social equality in the city. Embracing students from various backgrounds and providing a livable environment to them are believed to demonstrate the crucial role of the city in sustaining social equality and educational opportunities to students all around Turkey. According to the findings of the research held by a group of researchers in Anadolu University led by Fevzi Sürmeli (2008: 87), the focus group surveys showed that majority of the people underline the social equality impact of Anadolu University for the region, as well as for Eskişehir. In providing equality of opportunities, and sustaining the social democratic requirements in terms of social equality, it is believed that Anadolu University gives students the chance to study with lower financial requirements and provide equality of opportunities in the entrance to the university. The city is believed to embrace the students from various financial and cultural backgrounds, provide a hospitable and welcoming environment, and as an urban center meet the social, economic, and environmental needs of its residents.

Eskişehir turns out to be a different Anatolian city which hosts more students than any other Turkish cities, while provides a livable environment to all of them. Moreover, not only students but also all the city residents enjoy a culture of cohesion and harmony of differences which provide a civil and tolerant urban environment to its people. As scholars Keyman and Koyuncu assert, “Eskişehir is a progressive model Anatolian city, which we have to support, work on, and should not lose” (Keyman and Koyuncu, 2009c).

4.3. Conclusion

The transformation experienced by various cities of Anatolia under the impacts of globalization and Europeanization processes does not provide unitary urban models; on the contrary this complex interaction between the local and the global results in alternative urban structures. Eskişehir emerges as a social democratic alternative with a tolerant urban culture which enables peaceful coexistence of diversities within the city. From this perspective, Eskişehir is observed to display a significant difference from the conservative Kayseri example, and underlines the general conclusion that globalization does not result in homogenization of cities.

The first part of this chapter provides a robust discussion of the impacts of globalization and Europeanization processes on Eskişehir which emerges as a vocal pro-EU and pro-globalization actor of the Anatolian geography; while shedding light on the discourses, strategies, and the actors of this transformation on the Eskişehir

context. Whereas, in the second part the economic and cultural characteristics of the city is analyzed; and the roots of the social democratic tradition in economy, politics, as well as culture of the city are uncovered.

It is observed that the urban dynamism of the city, the culture of coexistence, and the livable environment provided to the city residents distinguish Eskişehir from the other Anatolian cities. Not only the economic development rates, but also the hospitable urban environment open to university students all around Turkey with the convenience of Anadolu University located at the heart of the city, makes Eskişehir a distinctive Anatolian city. The transformation of Eskişehir demonstrates the fact that livability is a strategic asset for the cities of the 21st century, as well as a stepping stone to narrate an alternative success story.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study aimed to analyze the impacts of the globalization and Europeanization processes on the transformation of Anatolia in the post 1980 period within the perspective of city-globalization dynamics. Furthermore, this thesis also intended to realize the perceptions of the Anatolian actors towards globalization and Europeanization processes through analyzing the diverse impacts of these transformative processes on their discourses and strategies. Following the premise that a thorough understanding of the multi-faceted and the complex nature of these transformations and their impacts necessitates the act of focusing on a new local level of analysis which is city; this study focused on two Anatolian cities, Kayseri and Eskişehir.

By concentrating on two Anatolian cities, this study also questioned the rather problematic perspective that Anatolian cities are passive actors of the globalization and European Integration processes as compared to big metropolises like İstanbul or İzmir. After analyzing the alternative transformations of the two rising cities of Anatolia in terms of entrepreneurship, economic development, and urbanization under the impacts of globalization and Europeanization processes, the above contention is falsified; while a certain level of dynamism in Anatolia is clearly observed. However, a crucial question remained: “Do this general dynamism and the

transformative potential result in same city structures, forms, and strategies throughout Anatolia?”

In this context, the present study mainly argued that globalization and Europeanization processes and the transformation they trigger do not result in unitary outcomes among the Anatolian cities; on the contrary, these transformative processes result in diverse city structures with regards to economic development, socio-cultural status, livability and urban transformation. Hence, it is argued that the transformation that Turkey underwent since the 2000s symbolize encompassing, multi-faceted, and complex relationships between the global and the local, which realizes itself through the coexistence and integration of (a) tradition-modernity, (b) traditional values-free market, and (c) tradition-globalization dialectics on the Anatolian cities. Therefore, the main motivation behind this study was to observe the diverse outcomes of the crucial interaction between globalization processes and the local cultures, societal forms, lifestyles, and economic structures on the Anatolian cities.

The first chapter engaged in providing the analytical background of this study. Moving from a macro level perspective of globalization to a more focused analysis of its diverse transformative impacts on two Anatolian cities, the chapter firstly introduced a general background on globalization discussions; secondly touched upon urban transformation literature; thirdly discussed the globalization and Europeanization processes that Turkey has undergone since the 1980s; then briefly analyzed the urban transformation experience of Anatolia; and lastly provided a brief survey of the literature focusing on the two cases of this study, Kayseri and Eskişehir.

The Kayseri case was thoroughly analyzed in the second chapter. The transformation of the city in light of globalization and Europeanization processes, as well as their repercussions on the urban system of the city is discussed in the first part of the chapter; whereas the economic and cultural structures of Kayseri are elaborated in the remaining part. In light of the in-depth interviews held with local economic actors such as successful entrepreneurs, heads of the local chambers, representatives from the OIZ, and leading figures from SIADs, and in light of the newspaper and written academic resource surveys; the chapter analyzed the perceptions, strategies and discourses of the local economic actors of Kayseri towards globalization and Europeanization processes. Hence, Kayseri provided a significant case for this study to analyze the impacts of global transformations on the local scale and to challenge the argument that local actors from Anatolia are static and passive players in the globalization and Europeanization process. Moreover, Kayseri case provided an alternative story of global integration by demonstrating the strategic coexistence of modernity and tradition, change and conservatism, Islam and capitalism dialectics in the city. As a traditional and rather conservative Anatolian city, Kayseri presented a crucial model of economic development and successful integration with globalization and Europeanization processes. Moreover, the city exemplified a crucial coexistence of (a) global-local, (b) traditional values-free market, (c) conservatism-transformation, and (d) Islam-capitalism in the urban context. However, the Kayseri case pointed out another crucial fact that economic development or successful transformation in light of globalization and Europeanization dynamics do not automatically result in high levels of livability for a city. Therefore, it was concluded that together with economic development, an urban culture of openness to change and diversity, tolerance for differences, as well

as more attention paid to a vivid urban social life are vital for livable cities, which were observed to be significantly absent in the Kayseri context.

The third chapter focused on the second case of this study, the city of Eskişehir from two main perspectives; the transformation of the city under the impacts of globalization and Europeanization processes; and the economic and cultural structures of the city. Globalization and Europeanization processes are observed to have significant repercussions on Eskişehir as the city emerges as an active player, as well as supporter of these transformative processes. However, Eskişehir revealed major differences as compared to the Kayseri case which displays a conservative alternative in global integration, and presented a second alternative with a social-democratic governance tradition and a tolerant urban environment open to diversity. This distinctive urban culture emphasized by all the interviewees of the Eskişehir case and the successful urban transformation of the city providing a livable urban environment to the city residents contributed Eskişehir's alternative structure. Eskişehir demonstrated the importance of urban governance and urban culture in sustaining livable cities, as well as underlined the crucial role played by metropolitan municipality in urban transformation.

The findings of this study demonstrate that these two cities that experience different global-local interactions exhibit diversity in terms of their livability levels; while they significantly diverge in their ways of articulating the coexistence of “traditional values-democracy”, “traditional values-modernity”, “traditional values-globalization”. Despite of the fact that, the scope of this study was limited with two cases with regards to time and financial limitations, with this study it is aimed to

contribute to a more adequate and comprehensive analysis of Anatolia as a fragmented, economically dynamic social space open to globalization and change. Moreover, the present study also aimed to contribute to a deeper understanding about the changing, complex and multi-faceted nature of global-local relations in Turkey within the perspective of space-capital dialectics.

Taking the city as the level of analysis enabled this study to point out the multiplicity of actors in the urban context, which actively take part in their city's transformation and integration with the globalization and Europeanization processes. These actors include the municipalities, universities, chambers of commerce and industry, young industrialists associations, civil society associations, as well as urban residents. It is observed that these actors, their discourses on globalization and Europeanization processes, as well as their economic, cultural and political strategies contribute significantly to their city's transformation; while reproducing the space-capital and global-local dialectics on the city scale. However, due to the fact that the interviewee group of the present study was composed of leading economic actors of the two cities, who play active roles in their cities' transformation, the positive and inclusionary impacts of the globalization processes dominated the analyses and outcomes. Whereas, the voices of the excluded and negatively influenced parts of the society under the possible negative impacts of neoliberal globalization could not be heard. This limitation is believed to be overcome by increasing the size of the interviewee group towards the excluded and marginalized parts of the society in these cities in order to have a deeper insight on both the positive and negative impacts of the globalization process in these cases. However, this is beyond the

scope of this study with regards to time constraints, yet these limitations provided a new motivation towards future research on this area.

These two Anatolian cities experiencing their alternative transformations on their diverse paths, demonstrated the fact that city and the urban transformation process play crucial roles in the contemporary transformation of Turkey on the axis of globalization and Europeanization processes. At this point, the sustainability of this urban transformation process throughout the Anatolian cities emerges as a crucial question, and a new strategic area to investigate. Eskişehir and Kayseri narrated their alternative stories, yet there are other Anatolian cities which experience different global-local interactions, while holding significant potential for urban transformation. Analyzing the alternative paths of the other Anatolian cities and designing a sustainable urban transformation structure throughout Anatolia by defining the roles of public and private urban actors within this process, which are not within the scope of this study, are believed to provide a crucial area to investigate with regards to future research.

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