

GLOBAL CITY IN THE FLEXIBLE CAPITAL ACCUMULATION AND NEW INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOR; PROSPECTS FOR İSTANBUL

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I-INTRODUCTION: The capitalist world economy which dominated the immediate post-war period was overturned in the 1970's. Radical process of social change affects the economic and spatial situations in both developed and underdeveloped economies. N.Harris claim that old world dying, but new still far from clear (N.Harris,1990,7). Key elements in this world order are flexible capital accumulation and new international divisions of labor(NIDL). Both concept are also the main dynamics for creating new spatial pattern that is called global eco-spatial flexibility.

During the previous NIDL and dynamics of capital accumulation dictated a world production where manufacturing remained and became increasingly concentrated in the core countries while the peripheral countries suffered from industrial stagnation however new global eco-spatial structure that based on flexible accumulation generates a changing geography of world manufacturing. Moreover global eco-spatial restructurings give rise to importance of global spatial mobility, which historically different pattern of growth and decline was observed in the geographic regions and cities that include de-industrialization and re-industrialization process. Both processes have accompanied de-urbanization and re-urbanization. Global eco-spatial restructuring reserve special place for those cities and regions that are the command centers of financial and corporate decision making and global eco-spatial restructuring is helping to create an urban hierarchy are what we have come took now as the global cities (Cohen,1987,289). The global cities tend to specialize in particular new materials, production, distribution, marketing and financial and service activities and global cities became increasingly important in the bloody competition. As a consequence of global eco-spatial restructuring process, core and periphery countries compete each other very violently to have world command cities in order to take advantage. Competition processes create condition in which some global oriented cities relegated to increasingly peripheral status, and some city was become pivotal city for new global flexible capital accumulation.

In this paper focused on giving information about new realities of economic/spatial structures for understand global city concept which more popularized in actual literature.

II-GLOBAL ECO-SPATIAL PROCESSES

A-Main Dynamics:

Global cities that are rapidly restructuring are the consequence of mode of accumulation and NIDL so study of global cities have to linked mode of accumulation and NIDL.

1.Mode of Accumulation and Urban Space: Decline previous NIDL can be analyzed in the mode of capital accumulation because"each capitalist development of society is characterized by a specific mode of accumulation. by mode of accumulation we means a form of surplus value production and realization supported by particular types of production and management technology" (Esser and Hirsch,1989,419). On the other hand, the mode of accumulation able us to see within the context of a comprehensive theory of social development, the town as a historically specific connection between production and reproduction, socialization, politics and ideology whose form determined by a complete method of regulation interwoven to the international mode of accumulation and its spatial expression (Esser and Hirsch, 1989,420).Hence it can be argued that there is strong relationship between accumulation and urban space.

Previous mode of accumulation was fordist which based on mass production at the same time "fordism was underpinned by large and highly capitalized units of production consisting of either a)continuos flow process as in cases of petrochemicals or steel production b)assembly line process as in the cases of cars, electrical appliances or machinery (Storper and Scott,1989,23). Fordist accumulation led to the assurance of full employment and growth and it guaranteed the stability of profit rates. Spatial structure was also effected deeply intensive accumulation which pulls clusters of economic activities into a structured coherence within particular regions. Furthermore structured coherence brings several manufacturing activities one specific place, for example; Belt of the USA,

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English Midlands, France, Ruhr. Great manufacturing regions also leads firms were surrounded by complexes of input and service providers and job, a lot of workers employed in these areas/cities. On the other hand middle class housing was almost excessively located in suburban areas (Mallenkof,1981,328). Another functional space in intensive capital accumulation was central cities that include administration and high level service activity. Inward oriented development model ,thus, created more closed and unequal spatial pattern.

2-International division of labor(IDOL): The discovery of concept IDOL was first pointed out by K. Marx; Marx takes view that labor may be progressively divided into parallel operations through the adaptation of machinery and the replacement of skilled labor with less skilled and cheaper labor. Marx and others (A.Smith, H.S.Simone and Babage) shoved that" involved incorporation of colonial regions as material suppliers and grudging consumers for the economies of industrializing European states. In pristine form the division was geographic and functional, down to the destruction of rustic manufacture in the colonies and imposition of costly finished goods from Europe (Walton,1985,4). The second IDOL implied by Esser and Hirsch that accumulation, supported by the internal capitalization of the cities, produced a center-periphery relationship on a world scale, which was spatially structured, relegating the peripheral countries of suppliers of simple manufactured goods and raw materials. Accumulation and internal trade were concentrated in the developed capitalist cities (Esser and Hirsch,1989,423). Thus, IDOL was based on subcontracting between core and periphery and relations served low labor and raw material to fordist firms.These dynamics deformed spatial pattern of periphery countries. Especially, partial industrialization of agriculture and internal peripherization led to big migration of labor to core regions in peripheral countries and these dynamics have been creating over urbanization.**

3-Flexible Mode of Capital Accumulation; By the early 1970's the fordist accumulations have been worsened and changed. Crisis of fordist accumulation built upon the proposition that capitalism generates obstacles or impediments to the expanded reproduction in so far as the emerge from the process of accumulation itself (Trache and Ross,1990,29). Essential problem is decline in the rate of profit. Without more profit and capital the production system itself is unable to continue (Bradbury,1989,25). Profit crisis also combined bloody competition among national and international level market. Thus, capitals need to break previous coherence structure in order to create more suitable or least survival condition .

Harvey has maintain that flexible accumulation (FA) characterized by the emergence of entirely new sectors of production, new ways of providing financial services, new markets and above all greatly intensified rates of commercial, technological and organizational innovation (Harvey,1990,415). FA is include production flexibility all of them can move easily from one to other country or city to city. Flexibility both of production and labor market and new type of technology give rise to mobility of capital in order to organizing production globally. More high level mobility of capital made likely both of deconstruction of industry and reconstruction of industry Both activities also create condition that is called as a re-urbanization and de-urbanization. De-industrialization is caused by flexible accumulation which forms of production characterized by a well developed ability both to shift promptly from one process to and/or product configurations to another, and to adjust quantities of rapidly up or down over the short run without any strongly deleterious effects on level of efficiency (Rosenberg,1991,76). Flexible productions provide with more mobile and adaptable conditions, thus, employers are seeking more numerical and functional flexibility within the international labor market and wider range for subcontracting (Harvey,1990,145). As a result of FA, the traditional industrial locations and regions threatened. Production and a labor market are divided very sharply among core, peripheral subcontracting and self employment under conditions of flexible accumulation. Previous mode of accumulation also created crisis of spatial structure. After the 1970's, spatial analysis became more important in order to understand changing dynamics, also new flexible accumulations need to create nodal points to control more diverse production activity. Spatially more important consequence of FA was de-urbanization; for example Detroit in the Los Angeles was called fordist production center however today "these regions have numerous plant closures, high employment, economically devastated neighbors, extensive out migrations and deskilling and wage-reducing occupational shifts from industry to service jobs" (Soja,1987,180). Several cities faced with this type of negative consequences of new way of capital accumulation. Flexible production and labor market also brought new sectors that were high technology industry, revitalized craft production and services. As a result of this re-industrializing process, previous urban space was revival.

Re-urbanization process in developed countries based on new high technology such as: scattered across North America and Western Europe at such locations is Silicon Valley, Orange county, Route 128, Dallas-fant, the Cambridge. Reading, Bristol axis, so on (Storper and Scott,1989,28). Other re-urbanization occurred especially areas in which are self-employment and subcontracting areas. For instance, Artisanal or design intensive industry is currently highly developed in the Third Italy. Proto (woolentextiles), Bologna (machinery), Corpi (knitwear), Sasuader (ceramics), Arezzo (gold). Recent two study in Bursa show similar subcontracted (in textile and truck) oriented spatial urban restructuring (Eraydın,1993 ve Ansal,1989).

B-NEW INTERNATIONAL DIVISION LABOR/NEW INTERNATIONAL SPATIAL STRUCTURE

Flexible accumulations is not only effect internal production and urban space but it creates new international division of labor. When production, management and control operations can become increasingly fragmented on the basis of accumulation "especially information, communication and transport technology can become more developed all these dynamics allow various aspects of location to be exploited flexibly (Esserand Hirsch,1989,425). Flexible firms start relocated their productive activities to find cheap or qualified workforce and highest capacity environment and worldwide sourcing. Flexible accumulation and its consequence relocation on which we have touched only implicit, are the increasing importance of transitional corporate investment (often in coalition with national capital) in the urban manufactures' sectors of Third World economies. The specific variations of more flexible accumulation created "the industrializing economies such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, S.Korea, Singapore and longer internally directed industrialized countries such as, Mexico, Brazil from new material exporting countries such as, Zaire or Nigeria and low income agricultural exporters such as Bangladesh" (Armstrong and Mcgee, 1982, 48) As a result new international division of labor, in many third world cities embraced export processing industries, and informal economic sector which support NIDOL. Furthermore new structure based on fierce competition among countries in order to take more share in the competition. New export oriented countries present more suitable spatial/economical climate For international capital for attracting investment. Finally," corporations are making arrangements to production among their own plants or those of other corporations. These arrangement have give rise to co-production deals with, foreign sourcing, parallel plant strategies, and many other institutional innovations that characterize what has been called new global division of labor" (Harrison, 1984,82) Hence new global economic and spatial divisions bring new reordering structure in which some volunteer for inclusion in the NIDOL and few cities chosen and many peripheral countries excluded. Thus, capital and capitalist production scattered over the all world in the condition of flexible capital accumulation. Moreover capital also need to control all these dynamics in order to rationalization its world level source. In these stage we introduced with capitalist global cities which provide central places for transnational corporations, world financial institutions and business, administrative and political cities" (Armstroek, 1982,49).

III-CAPITALIST GLOBAL CITY FORMATION:THEORETICAL OUTLOOK

Flexible accumulation and NIDOL constitute own new spatial division of labor both national and international levels. Flexible capital accumulations require adaptation new type demand of production factors to supply of these production results in what may be called a spatial division of labor.Thus, the geographical distribution of economic activity, which result from the evolution of a new form of division of labor, giving rise to a new form and spatial distribution of inequality (Massey,1979,235). In contrast previous spatial division of labor, new spatial division of labor established global level because new dynamics of capitalism became more world level matter than before. What M.Castells argued that capital has always moved throughout the world. But only in the most recent period of our history have individual amounts of capital been able to operate daily on global scale (Castells, 1989,338). Global spatial division gave rise to nodal points to coordinate global more flexible dynamics. Nodal points that are called global cities or world cities are location of institutional heights of worldwide resource allocation. They also concentrate production of cultural commodities that knit global capitalism into a web of material and symbolic hierarchy and interdependence (Kent and Ross,1990,145).

A. GLOBAL CITY LITERATURE:

In spite of growing body of the literature about global city, literature does not clearly specify what exactly meaning of global city.

One tendency sees the global city "as nested entity of privileged national community of core industrial state" (Trachte and Ross,1990,149). This view was produced from Hymer's world city concept which model assumed that there is only one model of the world economy and that is represented by the American multinational corporations (and lesser degree their European countries) that created their own international division labor. (Fujita,1991,270) Hymer extended this formulation and point out that world cities are the sites of the headquarters operations of the global enterprises (Trachte and Ross ,1990,149). Hymer's model was developed and set up a series of world city hypothesis in 1980's. First and most important formulation were implied by J.Friedman and G.Wolff.They are focused with the "spatial articulation of emerging world system of production and markets through a global network of cities..Moreover global cities are the control of global economy (Friedman and Wolff,1982,319). Similar tendency can be found studies of R. P. Cohen, Cohen emphasis the multinational firms which developed around corporate headquarters and those global cities are centers of corporation for the new international system (Cohen,1981,300). Cohen observe that "if the examines available data an international and domestic activities for the Fortune 500 firms and for a member of advanced services, it apparent that only few cities in the US are vastly more important as a centers of national business .Firm headquard in New York account for 40 % of foreign sales of Fortune 500 companies, compared to 30 percent of all sales of Fortune 500 firms (Cohen,1981,301). Portes and Walton's early work suggested the global cities are points of destination for large numbers of both domestic and international migrations. Production oriented argument in the Rimmer's study argue those, global control functions of world cities are directly reflected in the structure and dynamics of their production sectors and employment.

In contrast previous arguments, Sassen Koob,E.Soja and K.Trachte pay more attention analytic structure of new global economic and social transformation. Sassen Koob's analytic structure focus on the internationalization of production and capital that produce demand for the command and control functions at the centers of the system. Sassen Koob also tend to explain to geographic dispersion of plants and offices in the global cities. She claim that " these cities can than be seen as these of production for a sort of new basic industry" (Koob,1987,89). E.Soja,like S.Koob, differs Hymer type of explanation because Soja shows that"global city is only understood the systemic context which implied here is the need to set the particular experience of urban restructuring within the long duration of capitalist development and its characteristic historical patterning into periods of accelerated expansion, emergent crisis and anticipatory restructuring" (Soja,1990,232). E.Soja gathering all these dimension in their report on Los Angeles that "in the contraction of the late 1970's and early 1980's Los Angeles was undergoing a selective de-industrialization that was obscured by its continued aggregate growth in manufacturing.The internationalization of production and finance made Los Angeles a major global financial and administrative centers, rivaling San Francisco as the West Coast headquarters for Pacific Rim financial central" (Soja,1990,232).

In my view,it is no doubt useful to research and explains cities within this framework, however, these frameworks assume that global economic force's monolithic. Serious doubt can be raised against this type of view, First, the internationalization of capital and production are more flexible and this mode of accumulation cause decentralization and diversification. Decentralization caused by large firms which changed their activity as a motive of more flexible and mobile. Procedures became more flexible and spatially changed rapidly. This system of organization and production encompasses more then network corporation. More recent studies suggest that major cities tend to specialize in particular aspects of raw materials, production, distribution, marketing, financial and other service activities, such as the auto companions Detroit, Michigan, and rubber companies Akron, Ohio steel making Birmingham, Alabama and car manufacturing in Birmingham, state command cities like Washington.(Feagin and Smith,1987,3). Second critical point is almost all the formulations of global city tend to focused on highly industrialized countries whereas, discussed previously, global eco spatial restructuring widely based on associated with an increasing number newly industrializing countries (Taiwan, Hong Kong, S. Korea, Brazil, Mexico) More flexible global eco-spatial structuring process is not now simply based on a single economic pole(US)but has become multipolar, with the borders of capitalist production moved much more further out" (King,1990,16) It would be better to add the peripheral countries and their new eco spatial structure in the analysis of global city. K.Fujita state that "Japanese transplant to the USA, also involves the transplant of whole or part of network system of social organization. This involves much more extensive communication between Tokyo, an

American city close to the transplant, and third or fourth city in NIC's like Singapore and Mexico, which the transport can source parts from, then was required by fordist global mass production system" (Fujita,1991,272). Finally, global city analysis generally formulated that global cities are permanently fixed whereas flexible accumulation model lead to more competitive structure. Violent competition among countries and firms caused all structure of industry and spatial division ,thus, hierarchies of city system change easily. Lima is best example changing situation, Lima was a pivotal city for global capital accumulation, recently,"Lima has been relegated to increasingly peripheral status by the changing international division labor" (Wilson,1987,199). B. The Main Characteristics of Global Cities: The main characteristic of global city in which transnational corporation is locus of overall control of whole structure of its activity and in which center of taking the high level for shaping and directing entire activities Moreover there is tendency to large numbers of corporation cluster spatially in order to face to face relations other global level corporations (Dicken,1986).Cohen gave numbers of headquarters of Fortune 500's firms which settled cities such as; New York 107, Los Angeles 21, Chicago 48, Phideliphia 15, Detroit 12, San Francisco 12. There is a tendency which rate of concentration increase, for example, in headquarters numbers increased from 163 in 1970 to 307 in 1984. + One more characteristics of global cities, these cities are specialized command cities which concentrate the activities of particular industries. More significant global level concentrations occur in financial activity as a consequence of world level flexible capital accumulation. Especially, London went more deregulated conditions and won a competitive edge, also New Yo rk and Tokyo became major centers, and Singapore and Hong Kong take secondary position in the financial control. Numbers in this area more fascinating, New York, London, Tokyo together accounted for 80 percent of world market capitalization, up from 73 percent in 1974, in a process of growing concentration and dominance by the top tier of financial centers. New York alone controlled 44 percent of world capital" (Castells, 1990,341).

There are other global cities control some specialized industries such as auto companies in Detroit, Michigan and rubber companies in Akron, Ohio, steel making in Birmingham, Alabama and car manufacturing in Birmingham. Furthermore, there are some cities provide with linkage web of transnationals' corporations, their facilities, subsidiaries, suppliers and subcontractors. Such as Singapore, Mexico City and Sao Paula, these cities can be define peripheral seconded cities. (Feagin and Smith,1987). In these characteristics give us more inner logic of global cities, those cities have to be nodal point international network system and specialized same economic activity in the level of world wide. Freedmen draw picture of network of global cities. "The complete spatial distributions suggest a distinctively linear character of the world system that connects, along on East-West axis, three distinct sub systems; an Asian subsystem centered on Tokyo-Singapore axis in Southern Asia; on American sub-system on three primary core cities of New York, Chicago and Los Angeles, linked to Toronto in the North and Mexico City and Caracas in the South, thus bringing Canada, Central America and small Caribbean nations into the American orbit; and the Rhine valley axis from Randstad and Holland to Zurich. The Southern hemisphere is linked into this sub-system via Johannesburg and Sao Paulo" (Friedman,1986,74). Global city formations create new social and economics condition in order to continue its role. Service sectors grow more rapidly and these sector produce new type of labor condition; highly paid international elite, which are called a transnational producer service class (banking, insurance, business service, advertising etc.). Furhermore, new industrial employment is associated with informally organized types of manufacturing, and hence, low wage unskilled jobs. Especially, international level labor source is used more inhuman condition. Immigrant labor and ethnic minority women are chosen, for example, last twenty years, two million Third World migrants from South-East Asia, the Middle East and Latin America have moved into Los Angeles region resulting a major change ethnic, economic and social composition of city, what M.Davis define global city as a example, Los Angeles, the shortest route between Heaven and Hell (Davis,1987). Hell and heaven together because global city formation created more segmented structure as a meaning of both class and spatial structure. Low level waged and unskilled labor also faced with losing their spatial position, Fujita give more valuable numbers about Tokyo in which low and middle level income group lost city center positions because the skyrocketing land prices have pushed many residents out of city(Fujita,1991).

Global cities also concentrated the production cultural commodities that knit global capitalism into a web of material and symbolic hierarchy and interdependence(Trachte and Ross,1990,148).

Finally, It can be argued that global city formations have to understood, only put concept in more general tendency of capitalism (flexible capital accumulation and spatial division of labor) and historical/social condition of city. After the that analysis, it must take attention global city formation established on same winners and losers. S.Koob give full picture when New York became global city informal activities increased sharply, manufacturing activities, plants closed and wage decreased, other side of picture more small international oriented capital and management took more high level life standard. Picture became more pessimist in the when one periphery city became global oriented city, Kowarick and Comparania give full information about Sao Paulo they claim that price of World city status, minimum wage decreased almost 55 percent in real terms among 1959 and 1984, unequal income structure and urban rents create dramatic spatial division and hence the working people thrown into distant areas favelas, corticos like squatter settlement increase. Assaults and violence are become part of existence. All these inhuman conditions, in the aspects of capital point of view, are very efficient in that they reduce the average social costs of reproduction of labor. (Kowarick and Milton).

IV- PROSPECTS OF ISTANBUL: GLOBAL CITY?

Last years, there are more common idea among academician, politician, and businessman that argued that Istanbul has to be global city in near future because its potential or integration of global level eco-spatial division of labor (Especially, Keyder, 1992 and 1993). This type of idea became more popular in spite of inefficient information both of concept of global city and concrete structure of Istanbul. It is more clear reality that İstanbul faced with world wide dynamics of flexible capital accumulation and these tendencies coincide with transformation of outward oriented mode of capital accumulation. Economic and spatial structures in Istanbul formed as industrial and commercial center of Turkey. Import substitution industrialization (ISI) and its more dynamics' sectors concentrated in the Istanbul. Process of inward oriented accumulation give rise to structure in which "With growth feeding on growth, Istanbul continued to capture a disproportionate share of Turkey's expanding economy. Istanbul remains the financial, commercial, and industrial center as well as the cultural and intellectual capital of Turkey. Istanbul accounts for 40 percent of nation's commerce, 34 percent of its manufacturing" (Kelles and Danielson,1985,58).

Inward oriented capital accumulation had reached its border middle of 1970's, because of profitability, market, and foreign exchange crisis. Those crises create own solution, "The solution envisaged by the big industrial bourgeoisie, however, was clear and made explicit. This solution, whose necessity was also argued by the IMF, World Bank and OECD, was also a through transformation of the economy from ISI to export orientation where industry could be leading sector" (Gülalp,1985,341). Transformation process based on liberalization of foreign trade regime, removal exchange controls and policies to attract foreign direct investment. All these features mean that Turkish economic social structures have been integrating global eco spatial restructuring process. New integration dynamics tried to deregulated fiscal, labor and market condition in order to create condition of flexible capital accumulation.

All these dynamics not equal distributed on the spatial level again that transformation, firstly, concentrated in the İstanbul. Hence İstanbul became translator of international level structuration to internal country conditions. After the 1980's, Istanbul introduced within international banks, insurance, new telecommunication services, international marketing. Pattern of consumption adapted more international characteristics. After the all this transformation city structure, there is more urgent problem which İstanbul can be define as a rule maker thus, pass the level of control some specific activity in world level, or İstanbul can be define as a rule taker. Answer is lie on compare characteristics of İstanbul to characteristics of global city. At first sight we mention that, global city is a nodal point that is not only" specialized in one kind product or services that may sell all around the globe is not enough for it to qualify. The world city is expected to contribute to various facets of life of humankind, to begreat crossroads attracting people different parts of world for some sort of transaction or other reasons" (Gottman,1989,63). It is more clear, both of capital pattern and infrastructure can not adequate level in İstanbul. Especially after the deregulated economic structure, capital and its productive activity was not give consequence expected level efficient whereas these liberal policies produced mere speculative capitalist class. Hence to hope about liberal outward oriented accumulation changed a largely"parasitic and state-dependent bourgeoisie will transform itself overnight into group of competition risk-taking entrepreneurs may turn out to be more ideological fantasy than empirical reality" Roxborough,1992,423). Hence ,like Latin American

experience, international depended and speculative oriented capitalist class in Turkey can not produce structure that integrated new eco-spatial dynamics as a rule maker. Financial structures very weak and depend on daily corruption, there is not special production for controlling worldwide condition, for example, consumer electronics settled in the İstanbul and takes more advance, taking more market share in Europe but it is highly depended international subcontracting relation with Japan and S. Korean huge firms.***

One more inefficient condition level of transportation. Also, we can not find any international corporation headquarters in İstanbul. Worldwide education center, like London, only can be dream after the YÖK. There is one chance is becoming global city as a size of population, this type of international analysis put idea İstanbul will became global city in 2000 years (Doğan and Casarda,1989,9 or Feagin and Smith,1987).

In spite all this negative condition, we assume that İstanbul will able to became global city, in this stage rise question, global cities provide new high level life condition, if this is occur, is this new condition really distributed evenly among groups of city. As it is already shown lively experience global cities have more high level price. Sao Paola is good example. But as S.Koob and M.Davis also put idea for like Los Angeles and New York, those global cities create condition that can be define as a feature once solely attributed to Third World cities (Koob,1986,110).

On this basis it can be concluded that there are two basic dimensions for discussing global city formation; one is related scale of analysis, each analysis has to mention global city concept in the focus of worldwide restructuring process that can be called global eco-spatial dynamics. Moreover becoming global city analysis have to focused historical/social/spatial characteristic of particular city in this macro framework of dynamics. And second level problem more value/political oriented which global city produced more uneven conditions in which live hell and heaven together.

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**More information in these manner look, Armstrong and T.G,MacGee (1985)

***For information consumer electronics sector and İstanbul dynamic relations look, my unpublished paper Development of Turkish Electronics in The Context of Worldwide Restructuring Process that presented ODTÜ Development Planning ,seminar (1993)

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