THE MAKING OF A 'CITY OF CULTURE':
RESTRUCTURING ANTALYA

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ABSTRACT

THE MAKING OF A 'CITY OF CULTURE': RESTRUCTURING ANTALYA

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This study tries to identify agencies' strategies in the 'urban restructuring' of Antalya into a 'city of culture' by examining the underlying relation between urban cultural policies and global capitalism. Pursuing the relational thinking of the Marxist urban political economy paradigm, the theoretical frames for the concepts of 'restructuring' and 'city of culture' were investigated using multi-dimensional approaches of existing scholarly literature. Since the concept 'city of culture' involves growth oriented development strategies of cities competing with other cities for capital, the concept is examined in these sub-fields: (*field of art and culture*; *subfield*(s) *of urban* -planning, -governance, -politics, -design; *field of economy*; *field of tourism*).

Thus, to outline a theory of practice for the 'growth machine' agents, the transformation of the 'forms of capital' that both the agents and Antalya 'city' possess is examined in four sub-fields in the general field of power in Antalya. Various qualitative research methods were used to understand what underlies the restructuring process. Most of the qualitative data resulted from direct interviews; 28 individuals from six groups (the representatives of -cultural, educational and academic institutions; -capitalist investors; -local government; -NGOs; -central government; Antalyalite Intelligentsia) and a group interview (with 6 academics at Akdeniz University) during the field research conducted between 2006 and 2008.

This thesis identifies the Antalya Greater Municipality (AGM) as the leading agency in the pro-growth coalition in Antalya with support from ATSO (Antalya Chamber of Trade and Commerce) among various other local and global agents (TÜRSAK, İGM-İstanbul Greater Municipality, WTO, EU) with their wealth of *economic, cultural, commercial, social*, and *symbolic capitals* influencing urban restructuring in Antalya. Opposing them is a group critical of cultural, economic and urban policies compatible with the policies trying to ease the transformation of Antalya into a festival marketplace or fantasy city. Eventually, it is argued that the urban elites' strategies to transform Antalya into a 'city of culture' have produced a 'growth machine' using the *world city* ideology to convince people of the benefits of this transformation. The essential finding of this study is that the 'state' is the most active player in the restructuring process through its interventions in various fields.

ÖZ

BİR 'KÜLTÜR KENTİ' YARATMA: ANTALYA'YI YENİDEN YAPILANDIRMA

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Bu çalışmanın amacı, bir 'kültür kenti'ne dönüştürülmek üzere Antalya'nın yeniden yapılandırılma sürecini etkileyen nedenlerin ardında yatan kentsel kültürel politikalar ile küresel kapitalizm arasındaki ilişkiyi anlamaktır. Marksçı kentsel siyasal iktisadın ilişkisel bakış açısıyla, çok boyutlu akademik yazın taraması yapılmış, 'yeniden yapılandırma' ve 'kültür kenti' kavramlarının kuramsal çerçevesi oluşturulmuştur. Kültür kenti kavramı küresel sermayeyi kendisine çekmek isteyen yarışmacı, yaratıcı kentler olarak anılan büyüme hedefli kalkınma stratejileri geliştiren kentler ekseninde tartışılmaktadır. Yeniden yapılandırma kavramı dört alt-alanın yeniden yapılandırılması süreçlerinde ele alınmıştır (*kültür ve sanat alanı; kentsel yönetim-, kentsel politika-, kentsel planlama-, kentsel tasarım alanı; turizm alanı; iktisat alanı*).

Antalya'da büyüme makinesini oluşturan eyleyicilerin *genel iktidar alanı* içinde *pozisyon aldıkları alt-alanları* yeniden yapılandırırken yapı ile diyalektik ilişkilerini anlamak üzere, hem eyleyicilerin hem de Antalya kentinin sahip olduğu sermaye çeşitlerinin birbirlerine nasıl dönüştürüldüğü incelenmiştir. Antalya'da yeniden yapılandırılma sürecinin ardında yatan ilişkiyi anlamak üzere çeşitli niteliksel araştırma yöntemleri kullanılmıştır. Tezin bulguları, 2006-2008 yılları arasında altı farklı çıkar grubunu (Merkezi Yönetim; Yerel Yönetim; Sivil Toplum Örgütleri; Sermayedar girişimci (Yerel ve çok uluslu); Kültür Kurumları; Antalyalı Aydınlar) temsil eden 28 kaynak kişi ile yapılan derinlemesine mülakatlar ve Akdeniz Üniversitesi'nin 6 akademisyeni ile yapılan grup mülakatından edinilen verilere dayanmaktadır.

Antalya'da Antalya Büyükşehir Belediye'sinin liderliğinde oluşan büyüme makinesinin en büyük destekçisi Antalya Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası'dır. Antalya'da büyüme makinesini oluşturan diğer eyleyicilerin bazıları; İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, Dünya Ticaret Merkezi gibi bölgesel ve küresel ölçekte etkin eyleyicilerdir. Sahip oldukları sermaye çeşitlerini arttırmak üzere çeşitli alanlarda yatırım yaparak Antalya'nın yeniden yapılandırılması sürecinde etkin büyüme makinesinin karşısında; 'dünya kenti' ideolojisi ile meşrulaştırılmaya çalışılan kentsel kültürel siyasaların, Antalya'yı festival pazarına çeviren, Dubaileştiren neoliberal politikalardan farklı olmadığı görüşünde birleşen 'karşı grup'ta ise Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Antalya Sanatçılar Derneği, Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi, Şehir Plancıları Odası Antalya Şubesi, Antalya Tanıtım Vakfı gibi kurumlarla ilişkili eyleyiciler bulunmaktadır. Antalya'nın yeniden yapılandırılması sürecinde etkin rol oynayan devletin çeşitli kademelerdeki eyleyicilerinin müdahalesiyle gerekli alanların yeniden yapılandırılması sürecini hızlandırması, tezin en önemli bulgularından biridir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kentsel Yeniden Yapılandırma, Kültür Kenti, Büyüme Makinesi Stratejileri, Sermaye Çeşitlerinin Dönüştürülmesi, Antalya/Turkey

To My Daughters

Ecem Layra Görk and Eliz Dora Görk

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGM	Antalya Greater Municipality
AGOFF	Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival
AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (the Justice and Development Party)
AKSAV	Antalya Kültür Sanat Vakfı (the Antalya Golden Orange Culture and Art Foundation)
AKTOB	Akdeniz Turizm ve Otelciler Birliği (Mediterranean Tourism & Hoteliers Ass.)
ANAP	Anavatan Partisi (the Motherland Party)
ANSAN	Antalya Sanatçılar Derneği (Antalya Artists Society)
ANSIAD	Antalya Sanayiciler ve İşadamları Derneği (Antalya Industrialist and Businessmen's Association
ATSO	Antalya Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası (the Antalya Chamber of Commerce and Industry
CHP	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (the Republic People's Party)
DİE	Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü (State Satistical Institute)
DPT	Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı (State Planning Organization)
ECOC	European Capital of Culture
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FYDP	Five Year Development Plan
GATGP	Güney Antalya Turizm Gelişim Pojesi (South Antalya Tourism Development Project)
İGM	İstanbul Greater Municipality
İKSV	İstanbul Kültür Sanat Vakfı (İstanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts)
MOAŞ	Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi (Chamber of Architects Antalya Branch)
NUTS	The Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
RDA	Regional Development Agency
ŞPO	Şehir Plancıları Odası (Chamber of City Planners)
TDK	Türk Dil Kurumu
TMMOB	Türkiye Mühendis ve Mimarlar Odası (Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers And Architects
TUİK	Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (Turkish Statistical Institute)
TURBAN	T.C. Turizm Bankası A.Ş. (Turkish Republic Tourism Bank Inc.)
TÜBA	Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi (Turkish Academy of Sciences)
TÜRSAK	Türkiye Sinema ve Audio Visual Kültür Vakfı (The Turkish Foundation of Cinema and Audiovisual Culture)
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

INTRODUCTION

ANTALYA[1]

Gardens tell breezes
of three-thousand years past.
The gate to a fairytale heaven lies open,
Young statues with arms severed at the shoulder,
Pass slowly through stone doors
In dreams left unfinished
Amidst orange groves' sea of light
(…)

Baki Süha Ediboğlu

Antalya is a city of 20,591 km² on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey, neighboring the cities of Muğla, Burdur, Isparta, Konya, Karaman and İçel. Its climate, nature, tourism investment possibilities and ever-increasing influx of migrants from other parts of Turkey have made Antalya one of the most rapidly developing cities in Turkey, and it is also the seventh most crowded city with a population around 1,100,000 (Kıvran and Uysal, 1992: 37; Güçlü-Özen, 2002: 45). Antalya is the second in Turkey in terms of rapid population growth rate, due to migration for nearly 40 years. Because of its quiet atmosphere and short winter *seasons*, the city has been a destination for retired families from EU countries, too, especially from Germany, Austria and Holland and England since the beginning of the 1980s, and from Russia, the Ukraine, and the countries in the northern Caucasus since the beginning of the 1990s.

Founded as a port city, bearing the name of its founder, Attaleia, Antalya was once a naval base and a dominant commercial center for the Roman and later the Byzantine Empire. Later, it was renamed Adalia, after being taken over by the Seljuks to expand trade in Anatolia via the port's

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[1] One of the inscriptions bearing poem by Baki Süha Ediboğlu mounted on the upper part of the Kadınyarı Bridge in Antalya. Translated into English by the author

ANTALYA

Bahçeler meltemlerle konuşuyor
Üç bin yıl evvele dair.
Masal cennetlerinin kapısı açılmış,
Ağır ağır geçiyor taş kapılardan
Omuz başları kopmuş genç heykeller,
Yarım kalmış rüyalar içinde,
Portakal bahçelerinin ışık denizinde.
(…)
            Baki Süha Ediboğlu

access to the Mediterranean until it was controlled by the Ottomans as a trade center until the mid-sixteenth century, when is started losing its strategic importance in international trade. From this date on, the Ottomans' efforts encouraging permanent settlement in the Antalya region made Antalya an agricultural town.

Antalya has been a seat for agriculture. Until 1950, it housed only small-scale industries, which produced floor-mats, furniture and wood by-products. 1957 saw the founding of a Ferrochrome factory, which was the first factory of its type in Turkey. In 1965, with the start of Antalya's Cotton Textile industry, another important industry came into being (Kıvran and Uysal, 1992: 53). Rather than an industrial city, Antalya brings to one's mind a destination for tourism, tourism investment, or holidays. The region appeals to both foreign and Turkish tourism investors because of its historical treasures and natural beauty with its untouched shores and translucent sea (Kıvran and Uysal, 1992: 52). In the early 1980s, the central government passed a law permitting the 49-99 year leasing of and construction on the forest land along the coastal line, which has resulted in a great deal of tourism investment both in the city and along the 640 km shoreline in the form of hundreds of licensed establishments built to date. The opening of these establishments dramatically changed the whole economic, social, and cultural structure.

Beside its fame as a tourism destination, Antalya is also a city where "all branches of art have been respectfully accepted by its residents, who are known for their appreciation of and openness to art" (Demirtaş, 1996: 391), primarily because of the Golden Orange Film Festival held there annually since 1964, the Antalya International Piano Festival since 1999, 'the Faculty of Fine Arts,' founded as part of Akdeniz University in 1998, as well as other cultural and conventional activities on art and literature. On March 21, 2004, on "World Poetry Day," Güven Turan was awarded the first prize at "the 8th Annual Golden Orange Poetry Competition" in Antalya. During the ceremony, he claimed that "Antalya is the third 'city of culture' following Istanbul and Ankara" (*Portakal,* 2004: 9).

Following Weber, Mumford, Harvey, Sassen, and others, if a city can be called a 'consumer', a 'producer' (Weber, © 1958, 1966: 68-9), 'occidental' (Ibid.: 91), 'ancient' (Ibid.: 94), 'medieval' (Ibid.: 281), 'patrician' (Ibid.: 121), 'baroque' (Mumford, © 1961, 1989: 344), an 'industrial city' or a 'coke town' (Ibid.: 469), a 'space of capital accumulation' (Harvey, 1985), a 'global city' (Sassen, 1991), a 'creative city' (Bianchini and Landry, 1995), a 'fantasy city' (Hunnigan, 1998), and so on, it may also be appropriate to call a city a "city of culture". I am suggesting this as the ultimate commodification of the entirety (social, spatial, cultural and symbolic capital of) of the urban as a cultural product in order to attract global capital to a city through the transformation of a city's collective 'species of capital' (Bourdieu, 1986; see section 2.4) into economic capital.

My reference point for studying this subject dates back to the end of December 2002, when I started working as a Research Assistant in Akdeniz University's Faculty of Fine Arts, in Antalya until June 10 2004. Seventeen months of living and working in Antalya gave me the opportunity to get to know people intimately in a natural setting for a relatively long period of time, despite being employed there with the acquired status of a *stranger*, to put it in Simmelian terms. This dual position of being both an employee and a stranger at the heart of the social relations in Antalya gave me a sufficiently distanced position to critically observe the happenings in Antalya. Thus, I became a "research instrument," as in Esterberg (2002: 61)'s definition of an observer in an ethnographic study.

Still, the starting point of my conceptualization of all of these happenings in Antalya took place after reading a statement made by Menderes Türel, the Mayor of the Antalya Metropolitan Municipality after the April 2004 election. About a week after the election, on April 12, 2004, he said the following to a journalist for a national newspaper, *Hürriyet,* during an interview:

> I am determined to make Antalya soar. To this end, I am going to pave the way for the private sector. You will see that the most famous universities will establish campuses here. At least 30,000 international students will come and study in Antalya. We are going to turn the Golden Orange Film Festival into an international film festival organization like the Cannes Film Festival. Meanwhile, celebrities will come to Antalya and buy villas here. I plan to build a hotel in the sea with an aquarium.[2]

My preliminary interest for studying this subject therefore, in a sense, was prompted by Mr. Türel's declaration. Living and working in Antalya for a period of time, I felt I had been grabbed by the rhythm of the city, as Lefebvre mentions as he coins the term, '*Rhythmanalysis*', referring to the analysis of the rhythm of everyday life found in the workings of towns and cities, in urban life and movement through time and space. Lefebvre also proposes that to properly analyze the rhythm of a city, "one must get outside of [this grasp]." Thus, my 'outsider' position in Antalya as a Simmelian 'stranger', allowed me to analyze the rhythm of the city.

Above all, any *rhythmanalysis* necessitates a 'feeling' of transformation from one phase to another. First and foremost, it requires almost an observable change beforehand, a signal of structural transformation or restructuring because at that moment any 'arrhythmia' as the discordance of 'rhythm' can be analyzed. As implied by the phrase, the 'transformation of Antalya into city of culture', the distinguishing feature of this study is its conceptualization of the ongoing change observed in the city context of Antalya. This can be theoretically analyzed in terms of

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[2] Menderes Türel: "Antalya'yı uçurmaya kararlıyım Yener ağabey, bunun için özel sektörün önünü açacağım. Göreceksiniz, dünyanın en ünlü üniversiteleri burada üniversite kuracaklar. Çoğu yurtdışından 30 bin öğrenci gelip okuyacak. Altın Portakal'ı Cannes gibi uluslararası bir film fwstivaline dönüştüreceğiz. Gelecek olan dünyanın en ünlü starları buradan birer villa alıp gidecekler. Bu arada denizin içinde bir otel ve bir akvaryum yapmak istiyorum." Interview by Yener Süsoy "Dünyaca Ünlü Üniversiteler Antalya'da Kurulacak", *Hürriyet*, 12.04.2004, accessed on 08.01.2005 at http://www.hurriyetim.com.tr/koseprinterversion/1,,,00.html?nvid=396800.

structural transformation or restructuring or the discursive moment of structuration, as well as the transformation of the structure of the field(s) within the general field of power via the transformation in the relations of force (forms of capital). Though the strategic role of urban cultural policy with the municipality as a leading agency in this transformation process is highlighted throughout the study, a primary assumption was developed about the underlying causes of the observable process of urban restructuring in Antalya as follows:

> The strategies of urban elites for transforming Antalya into a city of culture have resulted in the constitution of a 'growth machine' with some ideological key claims intended to convince the public of the importance of Antalya's 'becoming a city of culture' for the well being of the city's residents. During the process of restructuring Antalya into a city of culture, the nexus between cultural policies and global capitalism has impacts on Antalya in both the social context and the spatial.

The concept 'city of culture' in urban studies literature revolves around the issues regarding the *growth oriented development strategies* of cities competing with other cities for financial and capital investment. In the so called 'inter-urban competition' era, according to Stevenson (2003), two major strategies for cities can be defined.

One is *cultural planning,* or, to use Bianchini and Schwengel's (1991) term, *Europeanization*, a kind of hybrid model or, better, a Third Way Urbanism model as a blend of social democratic principles and neo-liberalism.

Europeanization as a *cultural policy* generally leads the stakeholders in urban governance on nominating the city as a European Capital of Culture (ECOC). The concept of a ECOC, which was launched on June, 13, 1985 by the Council of Ministers on the initiative of the Greek Minister of Culture, Melina Mercouri, refers to a city designated by the European Union for a period of one year during which it is given a chance to showcase its cultural life and cultural development. In 1999, the European Parliament and the Council (EU 2007a) decided to allow non-member country such as Turkey to participate in the action in the upcoming millennium. Thus, any such country may nominate a city as an ECOC, and should notify its nomination to the European Parliament, the Council, the Commission and the Committee of the Regions. Istanbul was nominated as an ECOC and selected as an ECOC for 2010, even though Turkey is not an EU member. The findings of the field research show that the Mayor Menderes Türel and other key actors in Antalya were thinking about nominating Antalya as an ECOC as well.

Though it is criticized for ignoring local cultures and for failing to support the development of local cultural infrastructures, the second major strategy utilized to restructure a city into a city of culture are *festival marketplace*s. Since it is originally American, the *festival marketplace* redevelopment is also known as *Americanization* in the literature. It consisted of a combination of 'theme park' entertainment, leisure shopping, street theater and other services and soon has become a focus for

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tourist activity (Hall, 1989: 281; Stevenson, 2003: 101). Within the framework of the *festival marketplace* urban development strategy, in order to repackage the city as a tourist destination the spectacle of the urban festival is promoted - a celebratory event like the Olympic Games or carnival which is designed to focus regional, national, or international attention on a given city (Roche 2000; Stevenson 2000). The result is that neo-liberal policies necessitate a context of individual *entrepreneurialism* leading to competition between cities where the local municipality and even the central government itself act like a capitalist corporate structure. Above all, it should be noted that the motif of *entrepreneurialism* captures the increasingly 'businesslike' manner in which "city governments operate, taking on characteristics once distinctive to the private sector - risk taking, inventiveness, promotion and profit-motivation" (Hubbard and Hall, 1998: 2; Hubbard, 2006: 186).

Eagleton (2005: 25) once wrote that "by the 1960s and 70s, culture was coming to mean film, image, fashion, lifestyle, marketing, advertising, and the communications media." Supporting this argument, Bianchini (1993: 12) asserts that toward the end of the 1960s, the organization of festivals of art and other forms of cultural animation held in European cities helped to consolidate opportunities for participation in public life for people of different ages, social classes, genders, lifestyles and ethnic origins. The organization of the first Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival (AGOFF) in 1964 proved that Antalya was a follower of those European cities in the 1960s, particularly Cannes and Berlin.

In the course of the 1980s, the shift towards neo-conservatism and neo-liberalism by most national governments in Western Europe was accompanied by a squeeze in local government financing and subsequently, expenditure (Bianchini, 1993). It was observed in some of the European cities that, in the field of cultural policy, as in many other policy areas, the changing national political climates and the pressures to reduce local government expenditure has led to a strategic shift from social to economic objectives. As Bianchini asserts, in the European context, the language of subsidy was replaced by the language of investment.

The discourse of 'cultural industries', then, is not simply about policy making but rather part of a "wider shift in governance, [that] requires a new set of self-understandings as part of the key skills in a new cultural economy" (O'Connor, 2004: 40). O'Connor provides an example from Britain for such a shift in governance based on a new cultural economy. He writes that in the United Kingdom, by the time Tony Blair's New Labour came to power in 1997, the cultural industries had a strong policy presence - it was here that consultants and policy makers translated academic literature and practical examples into coherent policy possibilities. He also emphasizes that the cultural industries at the same time became a U.K. policy export, with consultants - and now academics - being invited by many European cities to advise on the role of culture as the engine of

economic development (Ibid.: 41). Further he states that "the shift from 'cultural' to 'creative' industry discourse, in those days, was associated with Blair's 'Third Way'."

In Europe, as well as over the globe, it was observed that what is often referred to as the 'creative industry' represents one of the most important areas of the 21st century's global economy. Also known as 'creative economy', creative industries represent a set of interlocking, knowledge intensive industry sectors focusing on the creation and exploitation of intellectual property (Henry, 2007: 1).

Theoretically speaking, this thesis is based on the 'urban political economy' approach, which is examined in Chapter 2. In spite of their common critical stance towards capitalism, or the question of space within the framework of Marxism, there has been serious disagreement among urban political economy theorists. Some feel that the emphasis on formal, *structuralist* elements of orthodox Marxism leads to a sterile, at least fragmentary, understanding of the urban arena. Some emphasize the importance of the *actor* who has the revolutionary power to transform the structure of society. On one hand, *structuralists* believe that the future of economic and therefore, social and spatial relationships, will be determined *not by new ideas* but by past and present economic/social/spatial relationships. Thus, they disregard the presence of the agent as an active component of the structure and argue that "just as the world order is dynamic and subject to continuous 'restructuring', cities, as components of global system grow, shrink, change, function, and otherwise adapt to wider changes" (Flanagan, 1993: 75). On the other hand *anti-structuralists* place importance on agentic features and believe that "difference in local histories and even the autonomy of individual reflection and action deserve attention as potential influences on the future" (Ibid.: 86). Although *anti-structuralists* acknowledge the importance of capitalism as a fundamental feature of society, they are still charged by *structuralists* for reducing Marxism into a kind of social psychology. Anti-structuralists have advocated that differences in local histories and even the autonomy of individual reflection and action deserve attention as potential influences on the future.

In the endeavor to outline a 'theory of practice' for the actors comprising a 'growth machine' in Antalya to transform it into a city of culture, it makes sense to first explain why these three distinct and yet complementary approaches developed by different theorists - 'growth machine' (Molotch), 'structuration' (Giddens), 'transformation of forms of capital' (Bourdieu) - have been juxtaposed in this study. The goal here is not to achieve any kind of eclecticism; but to pursue one and the same paradigmatic guideline which can be defined by a basic proposition of Marxian theory applied to the theories of urban political economy, as well as Bourdieu's theory of practice which states: "everything relates to everything else in society."

In my conceptualization, this relational thinking differs from functionalist structuralism, which ignores the actor. Regarding Molotch's 'growth machine' thesis and Giddens' theory of

'structuration', the actor is an active component of the society and has the power to modify the structure. Hence, during such a transformation, the first task at hand is to understand how this dialectical relationship between the agent and structure enables and constrains the actors. Like Lefebvre and Harvey, Bourdieu believes that "social reality can be grasped by relational thinking" and according to his theory of *field* and *habitus*, the transformation of society takes place in sub-field(s) within the general field of power without ignoring the structure of the relatively autonomous sub-field(s) and the freedom of the agent, whose practices are generated by his habitus. What I understand from Bourdieu's 'relationality' is not a static or a set of strictly structured relations of different parts functioning in the society like Durkheim's structuralist approach to the 'division of labor in society'. Rather, Bourdieu's 'relationality' implies a kind of *fluidity* among relations akin to the art of *ebru*[3], in terms of the interaction of colors swimming freely in photo-flo filled with thickened water. The relatively autonomous fields within the general field of power, like the various colored liquids changing in volume, tone, and form through the manipulation of the artist within the thickened water, may sometimes take in other fields or may be taken in by others. Because of this 'fluid relation' among the *fields*, the same actor may sometimes have to play in more than one field. While playing the game, according to the convergence and divergence of the *position* and *position takings* of the actor(s), the structure of the field(s) might be maintained or changed.

1.   **The Aim and the Scope of the Study**

As the title implies, the aim in this study is to understand the relation between cultural policies and global capitalism as well as this relation's impact on the process of restructuring Antalya into a 'city of culture', while scrutinizing the strategies of the growth machine under four sub-fields; namely art and culture; urban -planning, -politics, -governance, -design, economy; and tourism. With regard to this definitive aim, the major concern of this dissertation is to achieve an understanding of the strategies of the actors involved in this urban restructuring process, observable and determinable, within the 'form and structure' uttered or executed by the agents, whether at the individual or institutional level. For the purposes of this study, the representative(s) of the central and local government, NGOs, national and transnational companies, cultural and academic institutions, the intellectuals in Antalya are defined as the actors or the players, in the general field of power, in which four key sub-fields are defined. Thus, it is supposed that the agents who actively play in the sub-fields of art and culture, of urban-planning, -politics, -governance and -design, of economy, and of tourism change the exchange rate among various species of capital with their

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[3] Traditional Ottoman art known also as 'marbling' art: figures made by simply leaving the splash paint on the surface of the thickened water.

strategies, while aiming to maximize the species of capital they preferentially possess, which also changes the structure of the field in which they play.

In the *field of art and culture,* the aforementioned urban restructuring process is examined to understand the shift in the consciousness of city dwellers from the concept of 'city culture' [or of citizenship] to the concept of 'city of culture'. Also examined is the shift from the concept of culture industry or cultural industry to creative industry. In the *field of urban planning*, the shift from planning to strategic projects draws the conceptual frame of the inquiry. Similarly, in the *field of urban politics*, the observable shift from social progressive urban politics to neo-liberal urbanism in Antalya is worthy of attention. Paralleling the shift in the field of urban politics, in the *field of urban administration* a shift from urban government to urban governance, in other words, from urban managerialism to an entrepreneurial city is also examined in the case of Antalya. A shift from modern urbanism to postmodern urbanism is studied in the *field of urban design*. In the *field of economy*, the actors' strategies are observed as a restructuring process from local to global economy with their efforts to represent Antalya in the global market as a world city, global city, or global city region via the city branding "More than Mediterranean." In the *field of tourism,* a literature survey again focuses on the concept of restructuring, namely a shift from mass tourism to niche tourism.

Under the grand scheme of 'transforming Antalya into a city of culture', the urban restructuring processes in the four sub-fields mentioned above, a recent growth and development strategy by the urban elite has been used to repackage the city more as a tourist destination for people belonging to upper socio-economic classes in their respective societies from all over the world, who seem to value cultural supply more than any other classes of society. For this purpose, as is true in the case of Antalya, the representation of a city in the global capitalist market with such inviting brands as 'world city', 'global city', 'cultural city', 'city of culture', and 'European Capital of Culture' has become a most attractive tool, as is also mentioned in urban sociology literature under various names like 'competitive', 'creative', 'innovative', 'post-modern', 'fantasy', 'neo-liberal', or 'entrepreneurial' city.

Though Antalya's collective economic, social, cultural, symbolic, and historic capitals are examined in the fifth Chapter under the heading of 'short historical geography', the main focus of this thesis is the period between 2004 and 2009. In his first interview one week after he was elected, Menderes Türel, Mayor of the 'Antalya Greater Municipality', was the proponent of such a shift from managerialism to entrepreneurialism in 'urban governance'. At the time, the municipal government in Antalya was of the same political party, namely *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (AKP, Justice and Development Party). In order to see the shift in local governance and to explore the strategies of the 'growth machine' for the above-mentioned 'grand scheme' under the leading agency of the Antalya Greater Municipality, I also investigated the period in which the municipal

governance of Antalya was carried out by a social democratic mayor during the period immediately preceding, that between 1999-2004. The selection of the study period corresponds with the accelerated transition to neo-liberal urban policies which in fact began in Turkey right after the coup d'état on September 12, 1980.

Hence, this study focuses on urban governance during two separate and distinct terms of municipal administration. First, the social democratic mayoral period from *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (CHP, or Republican People's Party) between 1999 and 2004, during which art and culture were regarded as a social service to be offered for collective consumption and completely independent of the field of economy. Secondly, the term of the neo-liberal mayor from *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (AKP or Justice and Development Party) between the years 2004-2009, during which art and culture were regarded as values to be transformed into commodities.

In this part of the dissertation, however, any survey seeking to identify the impact of the urban restructuring process on the residents of Antalya has been kept out of the scope. In order to evaluate the outcomes of all these strategies developed by the urban elite to transform Antalya into a city of culture, a supplementary study among people from different social classes and occupations in several districts of Antalya is certainly necessary in the future. In order to comprehend how people experience, sense, are affected by, and benefit from the above mentioned urban restructuring process in Antalya; a further study should be conducted in the future.

2.   **Research Questions**

Inspired by a survey of economic development officials in 226 cities in the US reported by Clingermayer and Feiock (1991), I posed five questions to probe local politics and explore the indicators of the existence of a 'growth machine' in Antalya to start my case study. First, I asked, "Is there an overarching or elite organization in Antalya that takes the lead in the development efforts or coordinates the activities of other community groups?" Second, on the assumption that civic and business organizations would support growth promotion, I asked, "How active are these organizations in the city?" Third, attending to Molotch's (1976) emphasis on the importance of local media as a partner in boosterism, I inquired, "How supportive are the local media in economic development efforts?" Fourth, to measure the strength of the potential opposition, I raised the question, "How active are neighborhood associations in the city?" This was to test the existence of potential opposition(s) to some definite associations with the pro-growth coalition in Antalya. In the case of Antalya, in addition to these four questions, I also asked, "How does this overarching 'local elite' organization connect with the global (ruling class) organizations?" This question is crucial because local space becomes incidentally important within the process of the global *restructuring* of

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space according to the needs of multinational corporations to know and to act, since "every organizational entity, no matter how wide its arena of action needs to be physically anchored somewhere" (Flanagan, 1993: 161).

First and foremost, the research questions formulating the major argument of this dissertation had to be raised in order to understand the social, economic, cultural, and political dynamics behind the process of Antalya's restructuring into a city of culture. Given the primary assumption, the questions can be formulated into four general questions.

Research Question 1: *How can one identify the project of "transforming Antalya into a city of culture"?* [as literally termed by Menderes Türel, the Mayor of the Greater Antalya Municipality]

    Sub-questions:

1. *Can one discuss the process of transformation of Antalya into a 'city of culture' in four sub-fields namely: art and culture industry; urban-government, -policy, -design, -planning, economy; and tourism?*

2. *What are the main elements of the strategies utilized in the urban restructuring agenda within this period?*

Research Question 2: *Who are the major actors involved in this restructuring process?*

    Sub-questions:

1. *Who are the personal and institutional agents taking part in this process of transformation, restructuring, or structuration?*

2. *Do these actors constitute a growth machine to legitimize their growth-oriented restructuring process and to convincing the general public?*

3. *What is the role of the Antalya Greater Municipality as a leading agency in this process of urban restructuration?*

4. *What characterizes the common policy of the strategies employed by the affluent elite in Antalya? Can they be discussed in the context of neo-liberal policies?*

Research Question 3: *Can one discuss the strategies for transforming Antalya into a city of culture in the global city context?*

    Sub-questions:

1. *How can one categorize Antalya with regard to Friedman's Hierarchy of World Cities?*

2. *How can the hinterland of Antalya be determined?*

Research Question 4: *Can one discuss the strategies for transforming Antalya into a city of culture in terms of gentrification [by the tourist population coming to Antalya]?*

Sub-questions:

1. *Considering this possibility how can one determine the tourist profile in Antalya at the present time?*

2. *If the tourists coming to Antalya are expected to be gentrified via the urban cultural-political-economic policies, can we determine any losers or winners in this process?*

3. The Structure of the Study

The structure of the study is divided into four major parts; namely, 'Introduction', 'Theory and Methodology', 'Case Study' and 'Conclusion'. The research has been presented here in nine chapters excluding the 'Introduction' and 'Conclusion' parts. It begins with the introduction pointing out the problem very briefly and demonstrating how it is manipulated. The reader is briefly informed in advance of the subject matter to be studied, its aim, its scope, its limits and its structural arrangement.

The first part called 'Theory and Methodology' consists of three chapters. The first chapter is devoted to the theoretical review of the term 'urban restructuring' with the paradigmatic guideline of urban political economy approach. In the first part of the chapter, the *urban political economy* approach is examined, within the general field of urban sociology from the perspective of its three forerunners; namely, Henry Lefebvre, Manuel Castells, and David Harvey. The second part is allotted to four distinct theoretical perspectives on the question of the relationship between the government (both central and local) and capital in advanced capitalist societies. In the third part, in order to go beyond the polarization between structuralism and anti-structuralism existing in the theory of urban political economy, Giddens' 'theory of structuration', Molotch's 'growth machine' thesis, and Bourdieu's 'theory of practice' are examined along with a search for a unitary theory conducive to a conclusion about the particular case of Antalya.

The second chapter deals with the concept, 'city of culture' while scrutinizing the concept of 'city culture', also known as 'urban culture' in the field of sociology. In the successive parts of the third chapter, the meaning of the term, 'city of culture' is examined in four sub-fields; namely, the *field of art and culture*; the *field of urban-planning, -politics, -government, and –design*; the *field of economy*, and the *field of tourism*.

The third chapter is devoted to the research design of the thesis. It starts with the conceptual framework of the thesis by introducing the concepts utilized throughout the study. The second part explains the 'realist methodology' beside the 'qualitative method's tools and techniques' that have been employed in this thesis. In the next part, the nature of the research universe and sampling is described according to the indicators of the existence of 'growth machine' in Antalya.

Then the stages of data collection, including the difficulties faced during the field research, are mentioned.

The second part, 'Case Study' consists of six chapters. The first of these, the fourth chapter, is allocated to the literature on urban studies in Turkey. The first section touches upon three layers of urbanization in Turkey. The second discusses the establishment of local municipal administration in Turkey and then the emergence of municipalities as important actors in the urban development and urban restructuring processes. The next part deals with the concepts of 'city culture' and 'city of culture' in Turkish urban studies literature, and also urban studies specifically about Antalya. Since tourism activities in the Antalya region have brought about spatial impacts in urban space as well as socio-economic changes in the lives of its inhabitants, most studies about Antalya are closely related to tourism studies. For this reason, tourism studies and regional development plans in Turkey with an emphasis on the *Güney Antalya Turizm Gelişim Projesi* (GATGP or the South Antalya Tourism Development Project) initiated on June 7, 1972, are discussed in the last part of the fourth chapter.

In the fifth chapter, a short historical, geographical and sociological outlook of Antalya is reviewed from the first human settlement in Karain cave to the Republican province of the 1980s, with an emphasis on the multi-layered cultural heritage from several civilizations. Though it draws on the social history of 'Antalya city', actual findings of the field research are also employed in this chapter.

The sixth chapter deals with the urban restructuring strategies of the growth alliance in the *field of art and culture* with a presentation of findings collected during the field research. In this chapter, the institutional and organizational background of the transition to become a 'city of culture' is provided with reference to archeological sites, urban space, architecture and monuments, museums, galleries, libraries, theaters, cinemas, schools, cultural events in Antalya. Empirical data gathered from the survey research will be employed in order to demonstrate the local and international networks among the actors behind the cultural institutions and organizations. In the field of art and culture, it is assumed that in Antalya the awareness of city dwellers about the term 'city culture' has also been restructured with the introduction of a new term 'city of culture' as if it is a novel concept entering the local agenda.

The seventh chapter deals with the urban restructuring strategies of the stakeholders in the *field*(s) *of urban -policy, -planning, -governance, and -design.* As argued in the seventh chapter of the thesis, the restructuring of Antalya in the *field of urban politics* reveals itself as a shift from social progressive urbanism toward neo-liberal urbanism, as was first proclaimed by Türel, who says he is going "*to pave the way for the private sector.*" In the same way, it is suggested that 'urban restructuring' in the *field of urban planning* manifests itself as a shift from urban planning approach for the long term expectation toward flagship projects such as the internationalization of the Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival

(AGOFF), for instance. It is also put forward that the shift from urban management toward urban entrepreneurialism in the *field of urban governance* pushes cities into the inter-urban competition. During this period, like most local governments, the Antalya Greater Municipality believed it has no other option, given the coercive laws of competition. Finally, the restructuring of Antalya in the *field of urban design* is observed as a shift from modern urbanism toward post-modern urbanism as determined by the strategies to construct a City Museum Building like the Guggenheim in Bilbao, or constructing a '*Festival Sarayı*' (Festival Palace) for the organization of the AGOFF as a flagship project.

The eighth chapter deals with the urban restructuring strategies in the *field of tourism* with some data collected through the survey. In the *field of tourism,* growth machine strategies for restructuring Antalya from being a traditional 3S [sun-sea-sand] mass tourism destination to an urban 3E [entertainment-education-environment] niche tourism destination were examined in this chapter.

Similarly, in the ninth chapter, the urban restructuring process in the *field of economy* is delved into with findings from the field research conducted in Antalya. In the *field of economy*, it is also maintained that Antalya's restructuring displays itself as a representative city in the global market via 'branding' which can also be defined as a shift from local economy to global economy.

The thesis ends with some general evaluations and concluding arguments in the 'Conclusion' chapter. First of all, it is argued that in Antalya, growth oriented 'coalition policies' comprise a 'growth machine' dedicated to improving the city's competitive position in the global market. The 'Rentier' class, who are those centering around land developers with an interest in the exchange of land and property, remains at the heart of the growth coalition as the basis for the 'urban restructuring' process through restructuring the major fields in the general field of power in Antalya. The most important finding of this thesis is that under the leading agency of the *Antalya Büyükşehir Belediyesi* (the Antalya Greater Municipality, AGM) along with the *Antalya Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası* (the Antalya Chamber of Commerce and Industry, ATSO) as a prime agent of the 'growth machine' in Antalya, the 'state' or the 'central government' played an active role in the implementation of neo-liberal policies for urban entrepreneurialism by mediating the restructuring processes of the *sub-fields* (the field of culture; field of urban planning, -design, -politics, -government; field of tourism; field of economy). The second important finding of this study is that all the strategies for restructuring the major fields carry the intent to increase the value of 'Antalya' as a distinctive urban *brand* representing the *collective symbolic capital* and the *collective cultural capital* attached to Antalya.

The third important finding of the study is about the directions of the shifts in the restructuring processes of the *sub-fields*. First, a more entrepreneurial and business-minded city

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governance has been restructuring the field of art and culture by introducing the new concept of 'city of culture' instead of the older concept of 'city culture' in order to legitimate political projects that function primarily in their interest. Second, since the field of urban government has already been restructured toward urban governance, the shift from urban managerialism to urban entrepreneurialism was applauded as if it were a kind *communicative model of urban planning* in Antalya. A shift took place from a more pluralist social learning and communicative model of planning of the previous municipal term toward strategic Urban Propaganda Projects (UPP) boosted by growth alliances, along with the shift in urbanism and architectural design from a modernist understanding toward the postmodern. Furthermore, the shift from the Third Way Urbanism toward the neo-liberal urbanism is reinforced by the 'state' itself. The fact remains that all these efforts are intended to ease the process of restructuring the field of tourism with the shift from traditional 3S mass tourism toward 3E niche tourism. Finally, the endeavor for branding Antalya is the strategy for the shift from local economy toward global economy.

What is distinctive in all of the restructuring processes of the fields is that the strategies of cultural political economy are sublimated. To this end, festivals, fairs, art shows and galleries, museums, concerts, theme parks, and the Olympic stadium have become vital to the reimagining of Antalya, which seeks to represent itself positively around the globe, with aspirations of climbing the ranks of the hierarchy among world cities.

CHAPTER 1

URBAN RESTRUCTURING: A THEORETICAL FRAME

In this chapter, the theory of 'urban political economy' as the theoretical frame of the thesis is examined. First, the emergence of the 'urban political economy,' beside the other theoretical approaches to urban sociology, is reviewed. Secondly, the principles of this approach are briefly discussed based on the theories developed by three forerunners of this school, namely Manuel Castells, Henry Lefebvre and David Harvey. Thirdly, short descriptions of four distinct theoretical perspectives of urban politics are given for further understanding of urban restructuring process. Finally, going beyond the existing polarization in the theory of urban political economy: Logan and Molotch's theory of 'growth machine', Giddens' theory of 'structuration', and Bourdieu's 'theory of practice' are used to outline a unitary theory for the unique case of Antalya, the core subject of the thesis.

There is a common belief among sociologists that 'urban sociology' originated from the issues arising from fast urbanization as a consequence of industrialization and modernization, which are breaking down the patterns of rural life. According to Castells (©2000, 2002: 390), the most innovative sociologists of the time - Park, Burgess, McKenzie, (1925); Wirth, (1938)—created the Chicago School of Urban Sociology as a scholarly discipline which was built around the central theme of social integration in a new, urban society made up of recent rural immigrants, and where the traditional institutions of social integration was crumbling under the weight of population growth, economic development, social mobility, and social struggles, specifically in Chicago in the 1920s and 1930s.

The first attempt to develop a conceptual framework for a distinctive urban sociology is represented by Park's theory of *human ecology*. This approach was from the very beginning divided into two concerns, the first of which was to explain the 'process of city growth' and 'differentiation', and the second, the 'process of human adaptation' to environmental changes within society as a whole.

A second attempt to develop a coherent conceptual basis for urban sociology is represented by the works of Simmel (1950, ©1902-3) and Wirth (1938), in which some causal relation is

hypothesized between the demographic characteristics of cities and typical cultural patterns. This approach sees the urban as a cultural form (see Chapter 2.1.).

A third approach in 'urban sociology' was based on three propositions that: space is inherently unequal; the way in which these inequalities are distributed among the population depend upon social processes (that is, on the actions of strategic urban managers); and, these processes will in turn affect and reflect struggles between different competing groups within the population. From this perspective, urban sociology is defined in terms of its theoretical concern with the distributive consequences of *urban managerial decisions* and with *social conflict* between different 'housing classes' over the allocation of scarce and crucial urban resources.

And finally, a fourth approach is based on the recent Marxist literature on space and urban question. According to Saunders (1981: 255) this fell broadly into two categories:

> work (by Castells) that remains in the tradition of urban sociology to identify a specific social phenomenon which coincides with the <u>spatial object of the city,</u> and alternative approaches (notably those of Lefebvre and Harvey) which begin not with the question of urbanism but with that of <u>capitalism,</u> and which address the problem of space only to the extent that it is seen as significant for an analysis of capital accumulation in contemporary period. The former is a theory *of* the urban, the latter is a theory *applied* to the urban (in other words, a theory of capital accumulation which takes space into account as an increasingly important factor affecting capitalist property.)

1.1.   Urban Political Economy

Political economy may be described as the analysis of the consequences of political choices that statesmen and other persons make involving the polity's scarce resources (Illchman and Uphoff 1969: 26). Applied to urban studies, political economy guides researchers to ask questions about the ways in which policy has been portrayed with economic forces to produce particular kinds of urban environments, with particular costs, profits for different elements of urban population, bringing forth particular popular reactions from citizens. Although the term *political economy* may have its origins in the structure of Marxism, it has come to have a much broader application. *Political economy* often also extends to consideration of other political forces in the city, including *coalitions of influential elites* [like growth machine], and *collective actions* [social movements of opposing groups] of other citizens.

Since the early 1980s, there has been a growing impatience with the narrowly Marxist structural tradition in urban sociology. As Flanagan (Ibid.: 92) evaluates, by the mid-1980s there was a growing emphasis in urban sociology on localism and empiricism, on the role of the state and public policy, the various features of *local history* and other circumstances. Therefore, understanding *the uniqueness of each city as a case history*, and *attention to the operation of elites* or even coalition of common citizens in shaping the future of the locality become important.

According to an emerging paradigm, the lessons of local histories were acknowledged which suggests that people do *make a difference* and that ideas and meanings are not perfectly subject to the dominant economic and political forces, and to the material conditions that these forces produce. People are free to reflect, to react, to effect.

Manuell Castells

Inspired by Althussers's interpretation of Marxist theory and methodology, Castells developed his own structural approach in his early works. In his approach to the study of cities, Castells offers that: the city is the arena within which the reproduction of labor is concentrated; that is, the urban center consists, among other things, of a system within which individuals reproduce the power of their labor through private (self-provided) and collective (state-mediated) consumption (Flanagan, 1993: 88).

Structural Marxism used to offer a departure from conventional scientific approaches that are bound to be trapped by established intellectual conventions, categories of thought or simply "ideology." Duly impressed by the Althusserian interpretation of Marxism, Castells rejects existing theories as ideological while setting up his own approach. According to Castells (1976: 83) since "there is no such thing as direct relationship between researcher and real object, all thought is more or less consciously shaped by pre-existing theoretical-ideological field."

Althusser's theoretical framework constitutes a rejection of traditional Marxist concepts of an economic base which determines a political and ideological superstructure. In its place, Althusser conceptualizes a complex system of three levels - economic, political and ideological - in which contradictions develop both within and between each level. The system as a whole represents a specific mode of production in its pure form. The political level corresponds to urban administration (local government and other locally based agencies of the state), which performs the dominant function within the urban system of regulating the relations between the different levels in order to maintain cohesion of the system. The ideological level corresponds to the urban symbolic (the meanings emitted by socially produced spatial forms). Finally, the economic level is broken down into its three elements of production, consumption and exchange, each of which corresponds to different elements in the urban system (such as factories and offices, housing and recreation facilities, and means of transportation respectively).

Castells' starting motto is that "the urban system is not something separate from the total system" but merely one aspect of it (Castells, 1976: 78). Like all other structuralist thinkers, Castells offers a major function of the urban system. Thus, he defines the *function* of the urban system as the *process of consumption.* The specific function of the urban system, Castells (1977: 236-7) argues, lies in

the *reproduction of labor power*. The means whereby such reproduction is realized are the *means of consumption* - housing and hospitals, social services and schools, leisure facilities and cultural amenities, and so on.

Castells' conception of urban as a *system within a system* is a theoretically significant object of his study; it is not a merely a microcosm of the total system but performs a specific function in relation to that system. In short, it is not space that is essential to Castells' theory but collective consumption, for space is simply the vehicle through which certain social processes are expressed (Saunders, 1981: 211). For Castells (1977: 442), 'sociology of space' can only be an analysis of social practices given in a certain space. In other words, Castells' major concern is not the space itself as a significant problem, but the social phenomena that can be identified as spatially specific. Therefore, he never sees urban space as a commodity being produced and consumed in the capitalist mode of production, which is what Lefebvre shows us throughout his theory of space.

Henry Lefebvre

Lefebvre (1996: 12) names his theory a 'unitary theory' because it aims to discover a unity among separate fields of space. The fields he is concerned with are: first, the *physical*-nature (occupied by sensory phenomena); secondly, the *mental*-logical abstractions (scientific and formal abstractions of logico-epistemological space); and thirdly the *social*-lived experiences (the space of social practice). For Lefebvre (1976: 29) "[a]ny representation is ideological if it contributes either immediately or 'mediately' to the reproduction of relations of production. Ideology is therefore is inseparable from practice." It is precisely because space is a product of capitalism that it is therefore filled with the logic of capitalism (production of [or for] profit and exploitation of labor). In Lefebvre's theory of space, the urban consists of three related concepts, namely 'space', 'everyday life' and 'reproduction of capitalist social relations'. That c*apitalist social relations are reproduced through the everyday use of space* has itself been captured by capital and subordinated to its logic: "[s]pace, occupied by neo-capitalism, sectioned, reduced to homogeneity yet fragmented, becomes the seat of power" (Lefebvre, 1976: 83).

In Lefebvre's understanding, since space bears the imprint of capitalism, it imposes the form of capitalist relations (individualism, commodification, etc.) on the whole of everyday life. In his theory of space, the influence of capitalism can not only be explained by 'money' and its powers of intervention, or commercial exchange, the commodity and its generalization, in that 'everything' can be bought and sold. Rather, he places great importance on "the *actors* in these worldwide dramas: national and multinational companies, banks, financiers, government agencies, and so on" (Lefebvre 1996: 10).

But above all, his well known proposition "*(social) space is a (social) product*" means that "space is not just a built environment but a force of production and an object of consumption" (Ibid.: 26). In reality, social space 'incorporates' social actions, the actions of subjects who are born and who die, who suffer and who act both individually and collectively (Ibid.: 33). The reproduction of the social relations of production within this space inevitably displays two tendencies: the *dissolution of old relations* on one hand and the *generation of new relations* on the other (Ibid.: 52)

Based on the dialectical aspect of Marxist thought, Lefebvre (Ibid.: 55) suggests that "abstract space, despite its negativity, carries within itself the seeds of a new kind of space." Abstract space, the space of bourgeoisie and of capitalism, bound up as it is with exchange (of goods, commodities, as of written and spoken words, etc.), depends on consensus more than any space before it (Ibid.: 57). Thus, the production (of space) "is performed solely by classes, fractions of classes and groups representative of classes." Agreeing with Lefebvre, it can be asserted that only class struggle has the capacity to *differentiate* space. This issue is further examined in parts 2.3.1 and 2.3.2 by both Giddens and Molotch as the capability of human actors to *make a difference*.

According to Lefebvre (1996: 53), 'abstract space' has been produced by capitalism and neo-capitalism including the 'world of commodities', its 'logic' and its worldwide strategies, as well as the power of money and that of the political state. This space, Lefebvre argues, is founded in the vast network of banks, business centers and major productive entities, as well as on motorways, in airports and information lattices.

As Lefebvre (Ibid.: 58) has stressed, a remarkable case of the production of space on the basis of a difference internal to the capitalist mode of production is supplied by the current transformation of the perimeter of the Mediterranean into a leisure-oriented space for industrialized Europe. Without a doubt, Antalya is among those cities on the Mediterranean coast where the leisure time of one class confronts the labor time of the other class. As such, and even in a sense as "a 'non-work' space," this area on the Mediterranean coast "has acquired a specific role in the social division of labor" (Ibid.).

For Lefebvre (Ibid.: 59), the truth is that all this seemingly non-productive expense is planned with the greatest care: centralized, organized, hierarchized, symbolized and programmed to the nth degree; it serves the interest of the tour-operators, bankers and entrepreneurs of places such as London and Hamburg. In the spatial practice of neo-capitalism (complete with air transport), *representations of space* (tourist guides, city maps, advertisements, etc.) facilitate the manipulation of representational spaces (sun, sea, festival, waste, expense) (Ibid.).

Social space is not a thing among other things nor a product among other products; rather it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity (Ibid.: 73). According to Lefebvre (Ibid.: 76), though Venice is indeed a unique space, a

true marvel, "it is not a work of art," it is a product of social relations. Even in Venice, social space is produced and reproduced in connection with the forces of production (Ibid.: 77).

As a result, social spaces interpenetrate one another and/or superimpose themselves upon one another (Ibid.: 86). Therefore, interpenetrating social spaces contradict each other as contradictory spaces. According to Lefebvre (Ibid.: 352), the first contradiction occurs between quantity and quality. What he means by 'quantity' is the measurability of *abstract space*, which is at the same time homogenous, conceived, cognitive, ideological, and dominated space in the hegemonic power relations of production in the capitalist mode.

In Lefebvre's theory of space, though 'quantity' refers to the *space of consumption,* 'quality' refers to the *consumption of spaces*. On the one hand, *spaces of consumption* are the regions exploited for the purpose and by means of production (of the consumer goods in *quantities* and services as well). At the same time, the *consumption of spaces* refers to regions for the purpose of unproductive forms of consumption and by means of the consumption of space (for the *qualities* consumers seek namely sun, sea, snow via tourism and leisure practices).

Lefebvre (Ibid.: 354) claims that the *quality-quantity* contradiction is not grounded in a binary opposition but a rather in a three-point interaction, in a movement from the space of consumption (labor SoC) to the consumption of space (non-labor CoS) via leisure and within the space of leisure or from labor to non-labor.

$$SoC \quad \underline{\qquad} \quad CoS$$

(Labor to non-labor)
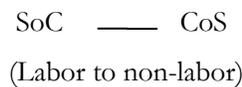
Within this triangular interaction, the contradiction lies in the clash between *spaces of consumption* (SoC), which produce surplus value and the *consumption of spaces* (CoS) which produces only enjoyment and, is therefore unproductive (Ibid.: 358-61). The dialectical analysis of how leisure and work are related (a crucial analysis in terms of everyday life) may complement the work of both 'industrial sociologists' and 'sociologists of leisure' (Lefebvre, ([1991] 1992: 39). In Lefebvre's terms "leisure appears as the non-everyday in the everyday" because he holds that "we cannot step beyond the everyday" (Ibid: 40).

In Lefebvre's theory of space, space has become a - even *the* - key *commodity* by means of which capitalist production has been extended into new areas, and the production of space thus reflects and sustains the process of surplus value creation (Saunders, 1981: 221). Regarding this commodification process of space, one can understand how and why 'space' produced in the borders of any district is much more valuable than that of another district in a city. Once Gottdiener (1988, 176) suggests that the value of land is based upon its 'location' not upon its intrinsic worth. What I understand from the term 'location' here is not a geographical location in *physical space* but an

abstract location in *mental/abstract space* in Lefebvrean terms, because the agent him-/it-self with a practical consciousness attributes the value upon the physical space in the nature.

In Lefebvre's theory, physical space has no 'reality' without the *energy* that is deployed within it. He (1996: 12) mentions the following about *energy, time* and *space*:

> when we evoke '*energy' we must immediately note that energy has to be deployed within a space. When we evoke 'space', we must immediately indicate what occupies that space and how it does so: the deployment of energy in relation to 'points' and within a time frame. When we evoke 'time' we must immediately say what is that moves or changes therein. Space considered in isolation is an empty abstraction; likewise energy and time (**italic* added).

In accordance with this view, *energy* [of an actor or institutional agent]/space-time condenses at an indefinite number of points (local space-times) (Ibid.: 13). In his book *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life,* Lefebvre analyses the rhythm of everyday life with reference to time and space. As he (2004: 15) notes "everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy, there is rhythm." That is to say different 'space[s]' is produced in different places in the web of time and space within which the *energy* is deployed as the result of actor's *action to make difference* though it is for creating more surplus value.

In the analysis of rhythms - biological, psychological and social - Lefebvre shows the interrelation of understandings of space and time in the comprehension of everyday life (Elden, 2004: vii). For Lefebvre 'rhythm' is found in the [measurable repetition of] workings of towns and cities, in urban life and movement through space (Elden, 2004: viii). Deeply inspired by Marx, Lefebvre (2004: 7) insists on "the 'transformation' of brute nature through human work, through *technology*[4] and investigations, through labor and consciousness. Yet he [human] doesn't discover rhythms." In this respect, it can be asserted that any *rhythm analysis* necessitates a transformation from one phase to another; first and foremost it requires beforehand almost an observable change, a signal of structural transformation or restructuring. Lefebvre (2004: 16) himself uses the different notions of 'polyrhythmia', 'eurhythmia' and 'arrhythmia' to define the notion of 'rhythm'. For him, the everyday reveals itself to be a 'polyrhythmia' from the first listening. In this sense, 'eurhythmia' is the normal everydayness of the rhythms in the state of health while 'arrhythmia' on the contrary is suffering or a pathological state. 'Arrhythmia' as the "discordance rhythms brings previously eurhythmic organizations" or structures towards fatal disorder or sometimes towards another organizations or structures having completely different healthy rhythms of eurhythmia.

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[4]   Translators' (Stuart Elden and Gerald Moore) Note: *Les techniques* would normally mean 'techniques' or even the 'applied sciences', but Lefebvre is using it here to translate the German *der Technik*, employed by both Marx and Heidegger. Lefebvre was greatly influenced by Kostas Axelos, *Marx penseur de la technique: De l'aliénation de l'homme á la conquête du monde,* Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1961; translated by Ronald Bruzina as *Alienation, Praxis and Techne in the Thought of Karl Marx,* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1976, which reads Marx in a Heideggerian way.

However, in order to grasp a rhythm, Lefebvre (Ibid.: 27) proposes that one must let oneself go, give oneself over, abandon oneself to its duration, like in music and the learning of a language. Nevertheless, when rhythms are lived, they cannot be analyzed (Ibid.). In order to analyze a rhythm, one must get outside of it (Ibid.: 88).

David Harvey

Though inspired by Lefebvre, Harvey rejected completely the independent determinative qualities Lefebvre attributed to spatial relations (Katznelson, 1988: "Foreword" to Harvey, 1988, ©1973). For Harvey (1988, ©1973), space is not an ontological category as such, but is a social dimension that both shapes and is shaped by the human agency. For him spatial forms are seen not as inanimate objects within which the social process unfolds, but as things which contain social processes in the same manner that social processes are spatial.

First of all, Harvey (Ibid.: 22) believes that the city cannot be conceptualized in terms of our present disciplinary structures of 'Sociology'. In his understanding, sociologists, economists, geographers, architects, city planners all appear to plough lonely furrows and to live in their own confined conceptual world. Accordingly, he (Ibid.: 31) argues that, if we are to evaluate the spatial form of the city, we must somehow or other, understand its creative meaning as well as its mere physical dimensions. The city as a whole, even the modern amorphous version of it, still possesses this symbolic quality (Ibid.: 32). However, a space only takes on meaning in terms of 'significant relationship', and a significant relationship cannot be determined independently of the social space which "is made up of a complex of individual feelings and images about and reactions towards the spatial symbolism which surrounds that individual" (Ibid.: 34).

Like *realist* sociologists, who believe that value freedom is neither possible nor desirable for social inquiry, Harvey (2001: 55) himself starts from the proposition that scientific inquiry cannot proceed in an ethically neutral manner. He also uses Marx's *relational* language which means that a 'thing' cannot be understood or even talked about independently of the *relations* it has with other things. According to Harvey (©1974, 2001: 51-2):

> Through these relationships the *totality shapes the parts to preserve the whole*. Capitalism, for example, shapes activities and elements within itself to preserve itself as an ongoing system. But conversely, *the elements are also continually shaping the totality i*nto new configurations as conflicts and contradictions within the system are of necessity resolved.

As Harvey admits, Marx rarely used the term totality to refer to everything. Rather he usually focused on the 'social' totality of human society, and within this totality he distinguished

various structures. In order to describe his starting point in analyzing the city, Harvey (Ibid.: 52) summarizes what he understands about Marx's relational language:

> For Marx, the 'economic basis' of society comprises two structures: the forces of production (the actual activities of making and doing), and the social relations of production (the forms of social organization set up to facilitate making and doing). Marx thus distinguished between a technical division of labor and the social division of labor. In addition, there are various super-structural features: the structures of law, of politics, of knowledge and science, of ideology, and the like.

First of all, Harvey (©1978, 2001: 74) believes that Marxian theory is preeminently a *theory of crisis*. Marxian theory sees historical movement as founded in a deep and pervasive struggle between competing and opposing forces. Since Marxian theory is holistic and works with a particular sense of how the parts relate to the totality, it starts with the proposition that *everything relates to everything else in society,* and that a particular object of inquiry must necessarily internalize a relation of the totality of which it is a part. The focus of the inquiry is, then, on the *relations* of the epistemological object to the totality (Ibid.: 75).

Secondly, the dialectical aspect of Marxist thought focuses upon *contradiction, conflict* and *crisis*. For Harvey (Ibid.: 80), these various 'contradictions' give rise to periodic crises within the capitalist production system and he believes that these crises serve to 'rationalize' the system. In short, "c*apitalism struggles to create a physical landscape appropriate to its needs and purposes* (both in production and consumption) at one point in time, only to find that what it has created becomes antagonistic to its needs at a future point in time" (Ibid.: 76, *italic added).

Marx's analysis suggests that this *contradiction* creates a persistent tendency towards '*over-accumulation*', which is defined as a condition in which too much capital is produced relative to the opportunities to find profitable employment for that capital. Harvey (2001: 79-80) describes four sources of contradiction in the society which give rise to periodic crises in the capitalist production system. The first contradiction arises "within the capitalist class" because individual capitalists acting purely in their own self-interest in a contest of competitive profit-seeking, produce a result which is antagonistic to their own class interest. According to Harvey, the tendency towards *over-accumulation* is manifest in periodic crisis marked by falling profits, idle productive capacity, over-production of commodities, unemployment, idle money capital, and the like. Harvey (©1975, 2001: 237) also believes that Marx's theory of growth under capitalism places *accumulation of capital* at the center of things.

According to Harvey, the second major source of *contradiction* arises out of the antagonism "between capital and labor." The relative shares of profits and wages are defined through class struggle. When capital is omnipotent, competition between capitalists tends to drive the wage rate down to the point where capitalists destroy the capacity to realize the values they produce in the market by an excessive reduction in the purchasing power of labor. When labor is very strong, it can

hold down profits and check the rate of accumulation, which means a reduction in the rate of expansion of job opportunities, and with technological change the employment opportunities may even diminish.

Harvey (Ibid. 251) states that the third set of *contradictions* arises out of the antagonistic relation "between the capitalist production system and non- or pre-capitalist sectors," which may exist within capitalist economies (domestic sectors, peasant sectors, and so on) or be largely external to them (as in some Third-World countries or socialist countries). However, the interaction of the capitalist and non-capitalist mode of production within the sphere of circulation creates strong *interdependencies* (Ibid.). For Harvey this interdependency has resulted from the historic tendency of capitalism to destroy and absorb non-capitalist modes of production at the same time as it uses them to create fresh room for capital accumulation [globalization of capitalism].

Finally, Harvey adds the contradiction which inevitably arises between the dynamics of capital and the natural resource base as it is defined in capitalist terms. Harvey, too, quotes Marx (1973: 410), on the topic:

> Under capitalism, nature becomes for the first time simply an object for mankind, purely a matter of utility; it ceases to be recognized as a power in its own right; and the theoretical knowledge of its independent laws appear only as a stratagem designed to subdue it to human requirements, whether as an object of consumption or as the means of production. Pursuing this tendency, capital has pushed beyond national boundaries and prejudices, beyond the deification of nature and inherited self-sufficient satisfaction of existing needs confined within well defined bounds and [beyond] the reproduction of traditional ways of life. Capital is destructive of all this and permanently revolutionary, tearing down the obstacles that impede the development of productive forces, the expansion of need, the diversity of production and the exploitation and exchange of natural and intellectual forces.

Though Marx himself never proposed a theory of imperialism, according to Harvey (©1975, 2001: 257), he has in mind some sort of general theory of capital accumulation on an expanding and intensifying geographical scale. As Harvey (Ibid.) proposes;

> Capitalism can escape its own *contradiction* only through expanding. Expansion is simultaneously *intensification* (of social wants and needs, of population totals, and the like) and *geographical expansion*. Fresh room for accumulation must exist or be created if capitalism is to survive.

This proposition brings about the debate on the globalization of capitalism with a very extensive literature. The study of globalization in sociology revolves primarily around two main classes of phenomena. These are the emergence of a 'globalized economy' based on new systems of production, finance and consumption; and the idea of 'global culture' (Sklair, 1999: 146). The first is based on two different types of globalization researches called, respectively, 'the world-system' and 'the global capitalism' approaches. The second, in turn, is based on 'the global culture' and 'the global society' approaches.

In 1974, Wallerstein (1974, 1978, 1979, 1980) introduced the world-system model, and subsequently extensively developed the argument. Like the dependency theory, the world-system theory was linked to the Marxist tradition, initially incorporating Frank (1969) and Amin (1976: 359), for whom "class struggle takes place not within the context of the nation but within that of the world system." Other than these two thinkers, following the orientation of Fernand Braudel, who takes the 'long view' in understanding patterns of change, Wallerstein abandoned the dependency theory's two-tiered model of international stratification, and added a third level (Flanagan, 1993: 120). In addition to the core (economically dominant) and periphery (underdeveloped and poor) states, there is the intermediate semi-periphery. This tier is occupied either by states that have gained upward mobility during periods of international instability, or by states that are in decline from a former position of dominance. In this model, dominant states take advantage of the next lower tier or tiers and capitalism is the engine of globalization.

Second, the 'global capitalism' model locates the dominant global forces in the structures of an ever-more globalizing capitalism (Ross and Trachte, 1990; Sklair, 1995; Robinson 1996). Ross and Trachte (1990 quoted in Sklair, 1999: 157) explain the de-industrialization of some of the heartland (core) regions of capitalism and the transformations of what is called the Third World (periphery) in these terms, and argue that the globalization of the capitalist system is deeply connected to the capitalist crises of the 1970s and after. The new global corporate structures have the capacity to devastate national labor markets by transferring their operations to cheaper locations overseas. The transnational corporations no longer have anything to do with movements of labor or industrial capacity but rather with that of capital itself (Jameson, 2000: 55). Because of this shift in production after 1970s, Ross and Trachte (1990, 230) claim that "[w]e are only at the beginning of the global era."

Although there is evidence of globalization "as convergence in the physical appearance and managerial conventions of the great urban centers," as "Third World primate cities mimic the global cities of the industrial capitalist core" (Flanagan, 1993: 122) as the central locations for corporate headquarters, world financial institutions, and administrative and political elites; local cultural differences still matter. Anthony King (1990: 2) who places greater emphasis on the importance of 'cultural change' than some other contemporary urban sociologists, holds that the recognition that the flow of influence and change within the international network of cities is multi-directional. He (Ibid.) regards the city as a central construction in the *world system* and employs the metaphor that, historically, the world has increasingly become one large, interdependent city.

Thirdly, the 'global culture' approach focuses on the problems that homogenizing mass media based culture poses for national identities. The global culture theorists primarily tend to prioritize the cultural over the political and/or the economical. Secondly, there is a common interest

in the question of how individual and/or national identity can survive in the face of an emerging 'global culture'. The third distinctive feature of this model is that it problematizes the existence of any 'global culture' (see the discussion on tourism as a global culture and 'airports' as its global product in sub-section 2.4.4. and sub-section 2.4.5.), as a reality, a possibility or a fantasy (Sklair, 1999: 151).

A subset of the 'global culture' approach is characterized as 'globo-localism' (glocalism). The main research question in this approach is the autonomy of local cultures in the face of an advancing 'global culture' (Sklair, 1999: 154). Robertson, Appadurai, Albrow, Featherstone, Lash, Urry and many others argue within the tradition of cultural theory. Strongly opposing the widespread notion of the 'McDonaldization' of the planet, they insist that *cultural* globalization does not mean the world is becoming culturally homogeneous. Rather it involves a cultural 'glocalization' (Beck, 2000: 31). Like transformationalists, the theorists studying 'globo-localism' suggest that globalization is concerned with the intersection of presence (local) and absence (global) (Robertson, 1995: 26). Anthony King (1990) acknowledges the important contribution of the world-systems theory, but believes that it has neglected the question of 'cultural change'. Thus, he suggests that the global process of urbanization is not unidirectional in terms of its cultural product, that is, it is not a simple process of Westernization.

Historically, 'global society' theorists argue that the concept of a 'world society' or 'global society' has become a believable idea only in the modern age and, in particular science, technology, industry and universal values are increasingly creating a 20th century world that is different from any past age (Sklair, 1999: 154).

Sklair (1999: 157) proposes a more explicit model of the global system based on the concept of 'transnational practices', practices that originate with non-state actors or so called world citizens and cross state borders. The "transnational corporation' (TNC) is the most important institution for economic transnational practices; 'the transnational capitalist class' (TCC) for political transnational practices; and 'the culture-ideology of consumerism' for transnational cultural-ideological practices. The research agenda of this theory is concerned with how TNCs transnational capitalist classes and the culture ideology of consumerism operate to transform the world in terms of the global capitalist project. In the global system theory, the TCC acts as 'global ruling class' (Ibid.).

1.2.   Urban Politics and the Question of 'Government'

Dividing society into two or more conflicting groups in the urban context necessitates the study of *urban politics* with regard to the reasons and functions of state intervention though the

planning and provision of services (such as housing, roads and education) are clearly relevant for any analysis of the 'local state'.

Saunders (©1979, 1986: 149) determines four distinct theoretical perspectives on the question of the relationship between the state and capital in advanced capitalist societies: representational, managerial, instrumentalist, and structuralist. First, the *representational* perspective sees the state as responsive to political pressures from all sections of society and suggests that the functions of state policies consequently represent a range of diverse interests. According to Saunders (Ibid.: 150),

> [R]*epresentational* perspectives on the state share in common the view that the state is neutral in its functions and independent of any particular class interests. The state itself is seen as a set of political institutions standing outside civil society, and it is this position of externality and superiority which enables it to regulate and mediate the conflicts within civil society, by the use of force if necessary.

Derived from the agentic pluralist approach to the control of local state, *representational* theories treat political and state institutions as mainly inert recipients of pressures from interest groups. As *representational* theorists argue, "despite the existence of political inequalities, therefore, the state retains its neutrality with respect to any one group." According to Dahl (1963: 50-51);

> When an actor controls the state, he can enforce his decisions with the help of the state. […] The state is, then, a pawn of key importance in struggles over power, for the relatively great resources of the state and its exclusive claim to regulate severe physical coercion means that those who control the state inevitably enjoy great power.

Secondly, *managerial* theories see the functions of the state as operating in the (bureaucratically defined) national interest, but suggest that external political pressures play virtually no part in the formulation of public policy (Saunders, ©1979, 1986: 150). While the *instrumentalist* position has its origins in Marx, *managerial* perspectives are derived mainly from Weber, and in particular they reflect the two key principles in Weber's political sociology: that there is no necessary relationship between economic classes and politics, and that the mode of political domination in modern societies is increasingly and necessarily bureaucratic (Ibid.: 166).

Applied to the analysis of the local state, Weber's influence is most obvious in the work on 'urban managerialism'. According to Saunders (Ibid.: 167), as it is first developed in the work of Rex, Dennis and the earlier Pahl, the urban *managerialist* thesis held simply that inequalities in the urban system could be explained as the product of a 'socio-ecological system' in which inevitable spatial inequalities were reinforced or mediated by the actions or strategic urban gatekeepers. Parallel to this view, Pahl (1975: 201) already wrote:

> There are fundamental spatial constraints on access to scarce urban resources and facilities. Such constraints are generally expressed in time/cost distance. These reflect the distribution of power in society and are illustrated in by: bureaucratic rules and procedures; social gatekeepers who help to

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control and distribute urban resources. […] *Populations* limited in this access to scarce urban resources are the *dependent* variable; those controlling access, the *managers* of the system, would be the *independent* variable.

Pahl (Ibid.: 207) did see the managers as a crucial factor in any explanation. For him they are the controllers, be they planners or social workers, architects or education officers, estate agents or property developers, representing the market or the plan, private enterprise or the state, all impose their goals and values on the lower participants in the urban system.

In all of these definitions the emphasis is firmly on the *actions* of the managers rather than the constraints of the *structure*. The emphasis on the autonomy of the state - based on the free choices of the actors - should not be confused with the representational perspective (Saunders, ©1979, 1986: 170). The *managerialist* perspective is important, therefore, in that it provides an explicit theory of the autonomy of the central state, or of the local municipal government in advanced capitalism. For the *managerialists*, the state is an instrument controlled by officials, but the *goals* and *values* of these officials are thus crucial in determining policy outcomes (Ibid.: 15)

Third, *instrumentalist* theories hold that the state functions in the interests of the capitalist class or fractions thereof, and explain this bias with reference to the power exerted by this class over the decision-making process (Ibid.: 150). For Saunders (Ibid.: 15), the *instrumentalist* perspective, which is associated with various European Communist parties and their theories of state monopoly, was developed by Ralph Miliband. Two points need to be emphasized concerning Miliband's (1969: 96) analysis. The first is that he identifies the state as a set of political institutions distinct from civil society which can be and are taken over by the representatives of dominant economic classes, or by the political representatives of other classes who nevertheless remain prepared to rule on behalf of capital. The state, therefore, is a *means* of class domination, but as Saunders (Ibid. 161) argues there is no necessary and automatic relationship between class power and state power. The second point which follows directly from the first is that Miliband is hesitant about describing the state as an 'instrument' *of class domination* since he recognizes that it does enjoy some [relative] autonomy from the capitalist class and its constituent fractions. Thus Miliband (1977: 74) suggests, "While the state does act, in Marxist terms, *on behalf of* the 'ruling class', it does not for the most part acts *at its behest*." An *instrumentalist* perspective on the state thus characterizes writings in both the 'elitist' and 'Marxist' vein.

Finally, *structuralist* theories also accept a fundamental and necessary bias in state policies, but attribute this to the form and structural location of the state within the social formation, rather than to any influence or control exerted by dominant classes confronting the state (Ibid.: 150). The *structuralist* approach to the state is premised on the argument that classes, not individuals, constitute the scientific categories of political analysis (Ibid.: 180). The *structuralist* perspective derives its origins

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from Nicos Poulantzas' attempts to explain how the state in advanced capitalist societies necessarily performs a dual role, safeguarding the long-term interests of big monopoly capital on the one hand while buying off the working class through a reformist strategy on the other (Ibid.: 15). As Poulantzas (1976; Saunders, ©1979, 1986: 180-1) asserts, the capitalist state cannot be understood as a 'thing' set apart from classes, but can only be analyzed as the 'condensate' of the political relations between classes. Poulantzas (1976: 74) is highly critical of both the *instrumentalist* and *managerialist* perspectives, suggesting that the former leads to a view of the state "as a passive tool in the hands of class fraction, in which case the state is seen as having no autonomy whatsoever," while the latter errs in the opposite direction by seeing the state power as "incarnated in the power of the group that concretely represents this rationality/power (bureaucracy, elites)."

The structuralist approach has been developed in the context of urban administration by Manuel Castells, who suggests that the role of the state in regulating land use through planning or in providing collective urban facilities can only be explained by means of a theory of the state that recognizes both its relative autonomy from any one class and its necessary long-term function in supporting the profitability of monopoly capital (Saunders, ©1979, 1986: 15). There is general trend among the urban political economists, whose perspective is premised on *structuralist* principles urged to move toward an interpretation that pays more attention to local cultural variations, and to deliberate behaviors of group and individual actors. As Flanagan (1993: 98) asserts when human actors reenter the picture as deliberate agents of social change, it is at two levels. For these purposes society can be divided into *elites*, on one hand, and everyone else, on the *other*. Elites are agents of change by virtue of their strategic placement in position of power. With regard to elites, the most important current recognition is that they are not as unified in their interests as a simple division of society into two social classes would imply.

1.3. Beyond the Dichotomy of 'Structure versus Agent'

1.3.1. Urban Restructuring and 'Growth Machine' Theory

Theories of *restructuring* are relatively new, originating in the 1970s. These theories rest on the notion that fundamental crises struck the world capitalist economy around 1973 (the date of the first OPEC Oil Cartel). Fainstein (1990: 120) suggests that the fifteen years from 1975 to 1990 have been a period of extraordinary change in the world economic system, usually captured under the rubric *economic restructuring*. Restructuring is the system's attempt *to resolve the crises*. Part of that restructuring involves shifts in the geographical location of production, consumption, and residence that have profound implications for cities (Logan and Swanstrom, 1990: 7; 2005: 31). Economic restructuring, having multiple meanings, as a concept is hard to pin down. Nevertheless Bouregard

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(1989a), Logan and Swanstrom, (1990: 9; 2005: 32) identify three core themes that are common to most, if not all, of the literature:

1. *Historical rupture:* First is the idea that the world economy is undergoing a radical break with the past.
   Restructuring denotes "a *transition* from an old structure to a new one" (Fainstein and Fainstein, 1989).
2. *Priority of economic Forces:* Implicitly, the term views economic relations as more basic or deterministic than other relations (not political or social restructuring).
3. *Structure over agency:* The core term *structure*, contrasted with its theoretical antonym *agency*.

As has been observed since the beginning of the 1990s, fundamental economic restructuring at the global level has shifted from economic to urban restructuring. Any attempt to analyze urban politics and urban policies, without taking this shift into consideration, would ignore major components of present problems. When the focus is on the city, Smith and Feagin (1993, ©1987: 13) visualize five basic types of *urban restructuring* that are part of the global revolution that analysts since Marx have called the "new international division of labor." These are: i. Economic restructuring in cities; ii. State restructuring in cities; iii. Household restructuring (including migration) in cities; iv. Community (and community politics [or urban social movements]) restructuring in cities; v. Spatial restructuring in cities (Ibid.).

This has resulted in a shift from economic to urban restructuring at the global level; the local governments have been promoted as major actors of urban, social and economic change. According to Logan and Molotch (1987), urban politics is centered on the struggles of certain individuals and groups to realize their material interests in the city. These interest groups as "growth coalitions" that seek to mobilize powers of (local) government in order to structure an environment conducive to growth (Wood, 1999: 165). Cochrane (1999: 115) suggests that the notion of 'growth coalitions' or 'growth machines' permitted entry to the analysis of *local economic development policies*, which had previously been difficult to assess or analyze as political processes. In the process of 'urban restructuring', the notions of "growth machine," "growth coalition," and "urban regime" have been central in opening up debates about what local politics of growth might look like, and how it might be analyzed and understood (Ibid.: 122). In other words, the focus of 'growth machine' theories highlights the wider structural context within which politics operate.

The rise of the political economy approach in the United States can perhaps be dated from 1976, when Harvey Molotch published the article that begins the collection, "The City as a Growth Machine: Toward a Political Economy of Place." While Molotch was using the theory of political economy to explain urban growth, a number of other scholars were using political economy to explain urban population decline, urban redevelopment, the persistence of poverty, and racial inequality. What was new in Molotch's article was to generate a research agenda which emerged

from these studies and pinpointed the phenomenon of economic restructuring as the key to understanding other urban issues.

In their 'growth machine theory' Logan and Molotch (1987: 12, *italic added) "give primary attention to the *strategies, schemes and needs of *human agents and their *institutions at the local level." This agency centered localism accords causality to the interplay between capitalism, its historically situated places, and its culturally rooted populations (Jonas, and Wilson, 1999: 5). At the heart of growth coalition is the 'rentier' class - those centering around those developers, realtors, and banks who have an interest in the exchange of land and property (Logan and Molotch, 1987). Rentiers are supported by a number of auxiliary players including the institutions like the media, universities, utilities, professional sports franchises, chambers of commerce and the like (see the discussion on the relationship between the 'rentier class' and 'rentier culture' in Antalya in sub-section 6.1.1). This is the amalgam interested in diverse kinds of middle and upper income growth - that can increase the value of land and revenue streams for growth machine members (Jonas, and Wilson, 1999: 5-6).

Logan and Molotch (1987: 50) have adapted more or less the same principle of Giddens' theory of structuration to an analysis of coalition of urban elites who, working together comprise a *growth machine* dedicating to enhancing the profitability of the local market investors. According to Molotch (1976, http://nw-ar.com/face/molotch.html#1; 2005) in addition to the members mentioned above, the growth machine also consists of politicians, the management of local media, museums and theaters, organized labor, self employed professionals, retailers, and corporate capitalists. In their 'growth machine' thesis they emphasize the role of individuals and interest groups because they want to challenge the *structuralist* accounts. Like earlier urban *elite* theorists, they emphasize the power of the business community and argue that "the activism of entrepreneurs is, and always has been, a critical force in shaping the urban system" (Logan and Molotch, 1987: 52).

Modern *elite theory* has developed over the last century, but rigorous conceptions of elite and elitism date back at least as far as ancient Greece (Harding, 1998, ©1995: 35) as it is known from Plato's (1974) *The Republic*. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'elitism' as 'advocacy of or reliance on leadership or domination of a select group'. The distinction between leadership and domination implies important differences in the level of consent accorded to elites by the rest of society. Leadership suggests a willingness to follow whereas domination implies a simple inability to resist.

The first rigorous attempt applying the elite theory to urban studies was made by Hunter (1953) who used a reputational method in the analysis of Atlanta's power structure among the leaders in several fields. Molotch also admits that the 'growth machine' idea is US based and a child of C. Wright Mills' (1956) 'power elite' thesis and Floyd Hunter's (1953) documentation on Atlanta.

These two pioneers engendered the search for an elite around the country and across the disciplines (Molotch, 1999: 248).

The holding together of structure and agency was a key objective of the growth machine theorists, but they equally saw a need to distance themselves from certain structuralist accounts of urban politics (Logan and Molotch, 1987: 11). Jessop (1999: 143) argues that, while theoretically there was equal emphasis on urban actors as agents of change and as bearers of social relations, substantively the focus of the growth machine thesis has shifted to the former. As Molotch (1993: 31; Swanstrom, 1993; Stone, 1993; Jessop, 1999: 143) insists, "there is a plenty of human agency (firms, RDAs, municipalities, associations rather than citizens) in this version of political economy. Where there is a similarity across places it derives from shared institutional contexts and parallel patterns of volition, rather than iron-like determinisms of hidden hands or exogenous constraints [of structures].)"

Although growth elites are likely to be divided among themselves, they are united overall by their common interest in absolute growth and the enhanced profitability of properties. They are the "agents through which accumulation does its work at the local level" (Logan and Molotch, 1987: 12). Virtually every city now employs experts to attract investment (see the discussion on employment of outsider experts in Antalya during the process of urban restructuring in Chapter 6). Depending on circumstances and specified goals, elites choose from a range of potential *strategies* to enhance the competitiveness of their locality (Flanagan, 1993: 143). Perhaps the key ideological prop for the growth machine, especially in terms of sustaining support from the working-class majority, is the claim that "growth makes jobs" (Lewison, 1974 quoted in Molotch, 1976: 323; http://nw-ar.com/face/molotch.html#1 9 of 23). For Molotch (Ibid.: 4 of 23) the indirect interest of the urban elite is perhaps in the existence of *growth ideology* rather than growth itself. As he put it is that ideology which provides the rationale for the kind of *local governmental policies* most consistent with low business operating costs.

According to Molotch (1990: 176) cities pursued growth "not because they had to, but because those who controlled their politics used them for this purpose" - that is, used them as growth machines to benefit their own fortune building. Accordingly, growth machines promote city development in a fashion conductive to the goal of attracting investment and jobs. Repeating again, the 'growth machine' thesis is "as American as apple pie." We should therefore consider critically the international translation of the growth machine system. U.S. style urban entrepreneurialism is sweeping across the globe, under which there is a danger that the globalization of what is and irreducibly is a cultural approach to urban development which leads to an uncritical acceptance of its basic assumptions: local agencies now appear to accept urban competition as something inevitable

and necessary, and perhaps they fail to see its roots in a particular cultural setting (Jonas, and Wilson, 1999: 18).

Basically, Molotch's (1976) innovative article "The City as a Growth Machine" advanced two hypotheses, each of which representing a significant departure from mainstream thinking at that time (Logan, et al.1999: 74-75): "First, local politics in the United States revolves around land development and is dominated by a growth coalition. Second, the urban future is shaped by this coalition's molding of local policy."

In 1976, the growth machine model was believable but untested. Having been inspired by Molotch's 'growth machine' thesis most research on growth politics has utilized indicators of municipal policy rather than studying the character of local regimes (Logan, et al.1999: 75). The exceptional cases, where direct information on political actors is gathered, have several limitations: Researchers use simple indicators provided by a single local informant, they provide little information on the variation in these indicators or even of the predominant tendency, and they show no interest in explaining the sources of variations in regimes (Logan, et al.1999: 79). In order to overcome these limitations, the research in this study, is designed for utilizing several indicators of local politics which is provided by several local informants who are the representatives of specific groups varying in six dimensions (see Chapter 3).

Historically, mayors have been considered as the 'first citizen' of a city, and are therefore the personification of the complex stories that cities are based on (McNeil, 2008: 286). According to McNeil, speaking on behalf of cities is key for the political art of urban leaders around the world, and it may be suggested that the mayor links cities and external agents such as national governments or public and private investors (Ibid: 286-287). According to McNeil, this relationship is cemented by a performative relationship to mayoral governance, encapsulated in three interrelated roles. Many are born in the city they represent (and here representation has a double meaning) and will display an essential characteristic of its inhabitants (often accent, sense of humor, or inheritance of attributes of an idealized predecessor). Second, they will act as the animator of city space. Rather than pursuing an abstract notion of territory, mayors often strive for visibility in the everyday life of the city, especially during times of crisis. Finally, they tend to tell stories about the immediate past, present and future of their city during press conferences and public appearances, as well as shaping and responding to a public discourse regarding crime, fear of terrorism, the economic climate, and so on (McNeil, 2001; 2008: 287).

Logan and others (Logan et al., 1999: 79) believes that among the best of the research efforts [on growth politics] is a survey of economic development officials in 226 cities nationwide reported by Clingermayer and Feiock (1991) in which they included four questions to probe local politics. First (and closest to a direct indicator of existence of *growth machine*) they asked, "Is there an

overarching or elite organization in the city that leads development efforts or coordinates the activities of other community groups?" Second, on the assumption that civic and business organizations would support growth promotion, they asked "How active these organizations are in the city?" Third, attending to Molotch's (1976) emphasis on the importance of the local media as the partner in boosterism, they asked "How supportive were the local media of economic development efforts?" Finally, to measure the strength of the potential opposition, they asked "How active were neighborhood associations in the city?" All four indicators were shown to be significant predictors of the adoption of development tools, such as urban development action grants, industrial development bonds, and tax abatements (Logan, et al.1999: 79).

In the case of Antalya, in addition to these four questions for probing the indicators of local politics, it was also asked, "How does this overarching 'local elite' organization connect to global (ruling class) organizations?" This question is crucial within the process of global *restructuring* of space according to the needs of multinational corporations to know and act, local space becomes incidentally important, since "every organizational entity, no matter how wide its arena of action needs to be physically anchored somewhere." (Flanagan, 1993: 161).

1.3.2. Urban Restructuring and Theory of 'Structuration'

The most important figure in advancing the cause of agency and drawing sociologists' attention away from structural interpretations is Anthony Giddens, the formulator of the theory of *structuration*. Going beyond the polarization between structuralism and anti-structuralism existing in the theory of urban political economy, Giddens' 'theory of structuration' in which the intersection of structure and agent seems to be another useful theoretical tool to understand "what it is that makes each city *unique* in its response to global forces, and to understand how it is that some cities are able to resist general regional trends while others typify them" (Flanagan, 1993: 137). With regard to this fact, a unique process of urban restructuring in Antalya as its transformation into a 'city of culture' can be considered as a 'discursive moment of structuration' in Giddens' term. The concept of structuration which was coined by Giddens depends upon making distinctions between *structure* and *system*. He (© 1979, 1986: 64) defines this distinction as follows:

> … 'structure' refers to 'structural property' or more exactly, to 'structuring property', structuring properties providing the 'binding' of time and space in social systems. […] these properties can be understood as rules and resources, recursively implicated in the *reproduction* of social systems. Structures exist paradigmatically, as an absent set of differences, temporally 'present' only in their *instantiation,* in the *constituting moments of social systems.*

According to Giddens' theory of structuration, the basic domain of study of social sciences, is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time (Giddens, 1991, ©1984: 2). As Giddens (1989: 250-3) argues, by "starting with social structure" as the fixed component, and individuals as the adaptive components of the social order, sociology embarked on a path that for too long worked against the recognition that the social structure is actually reproduced by the action of individuals, just as the individual action is reinforced and informed by social structure. In short, Giddens appears to offer a conceptual bridge between social action and social structure, arguing that more attention should be paid to the former. This implies that attention should be turned from structuralist approaches at the global level toward the strategies at local level. These strategies are developed by agents, who, through their individual and collective choices are constituting society.

As for Giddens (©1984, 1991: 25), "structure is not to be equated with constraint but is always both constraining and enabling" the agent to make a difference. His structuration theory, to some extent, helps us to understand how structural transformation in society occurs. In Giddens' (Ibid.: 65) terms 'structural analysis' in the social sciences involves examining 'the structuration of social systems'. A social system is thus a 'structured totality', because *structures do not exist in time-space, except in the moments* of the constitution of social systems. The structuration of social systems, in other words give traces or instant moments of the social system which have always been constituted by the power elites who can be defined as the agents of change by virtue of their strategic placement in positions of power in a specific time and space. The 're-constitutive' aspect of his theory means that social structure is modified continuously by the action of the agents.

According to Giddens (1989: 281), "cities still constitute a special arena which mediate between the locality and wider, regional or global processes." In these mediating arenas, these urban elites or what I call 'mediating class' through their individual and collective choices inform and reconstitute the structure of society. For Giddens, 'action' is not a combination of 'acts' that are constituted only by a *discursive moment* of attention to the *durée* of lived-through experience. Nor can action be discussed in separation from the body [practical consciousness], its mediations with the surrounding world and the coherence of an acting self (Giddens, ©1984, 1991: 3). The notion of practical consciousness is fundamental to Giddens' structuration theory (Ibid.: 6). As he argues, there is no distinction between discursive and practical consciousness to be a rigid and impermeable one. Between discursive and practical consciousness there is no bar; there are only the differences of what can be said and what is characteristically simply done (Ibid.: 7). As Giddens (Ibid.: 25) explains in detail analyzing the structuration of social systems means:

> Crucial to the idea of structuration is the theorem of the duality of the structure […] The constitution of agents and structures are not two independently given sets of phenomena, a dualism,

but represent a duality. According to the notion of duality of structure, the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices (done by agents) they recursively organize.

As can be seen, in the quotation, in practices done by agents there is a degree of independence of individual choice from structural constraints. So, the concept of agency moves us away from global theory, toward an emphasis on localism and empiricism but at the same time it is true that local interests in place are being shaped by the changing ordering of international spatial relations. At this point, one can come to the conclusion that "everything inter-depends on everything else" (Flanagan, 1993: 156) or to the starting proposition of the Marxian theory which says "everything relates to everything else in the society" (Harvey, ©1978, 2001: 75).

In structuration theory the essential point is that human societies, or social systems, would plainly do not exist without a human agency. But for Giddens (1991, ©1984: 170-71), "it is not the case that actors create social systems: they reproduce or transform them, remaking what is already made in the continuity of *praxis*" - the unity of knowing and doing, the two human abilities. Needless to say, "agency refers to doing" (Ibid.: 10) but what is important than this argument is that "action depends upon the capability of the individual to 'make a difference' to a pre-existing state of affairs of a course of events. An agent ceases to be such if he or she loses the capability to 'make a difference', that is, to exercise some sort of power" (Ibid.: 14). As Giddens defines in the "Glossary of Terminology" to his book *The Constitution of Society: Outline of Theory of Structuration,* "structure exists only as memory traces, as organic basis of human knowledgeability, and instantiated in action" (Ibid.: 377).

As it is adapted to this study, in the case of Antalya, the 'transformation of Antalya into a city of culture' as a discursive moment of structuration by the instant reconstitution or by the modification of agents - 'Urban Élite', 'Mediating Class', 'Growth Machine' - through their individual and collective choices "allows the conditions governing the continuity or transformation of structures, and therefore the reproduction of systems." (Giddens, 1991, ©1984: 3). Nevertheless, as Giddens warns us "to 'have no choice' does not mean that action has been replaced by reaction" (Ibid.: 15).

1.3.3. Urban Restructuring and Bourdieu's Theory of 'Practice' in the Field(s)

Through his studies, Bourdieu, like Molotch and Giddens, had come to see the limitations of structuralism and begun formulating his own theory and methodology as a means of overcoming a series of dichotomies (individual vs. society, freedom vs. necessity, and so forth) which had, in his

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view, impeded the development of a scientific approach to human practice (Johnson, 1993: 3). Bourdieu (1990.: Ch. 1-2) subsumed these dichotomies[5] under the central epistemological dichotomy between 'subjectivism' and 'objectivism' or, as Bourdieu sometimes put it, between social phenomenology and social physics. In short, in Bourdieu's methodology, both 'subjective reality' and 'objective reality' differ from what he calls 'actual reality' and/or social reality - or 'reality' in *physical/perceived space, mental/conceived space*, *social/lived space* in Lefebvre's triads - searched by realist methodology in sociological research.

Bourdieu's (1998: 5) whole theory is based on his primary argument: that "the real is relational." According to Bourdieu (2001.: 97), to think in terms of a field is to *think relationally,* because for him, the statement claiming 'the real is relational', as borrowed from Hegel, means:

> what exist in the social world are relations—not interactions between agents or inter-subjective ties between individuals but objective relations which exist "independently of individual consciousness and will" as Marx said.

Having examined Bourdieu's method for grasping the 'social reality', Johnson (1993: 14) defines three levels of social reality which Bourdieu (2001: 104-105) also calls "the three necessary and internally connected moments: i. the *position* of the *field* within what Bourdieu calls the *field of power*; ii. the *structure* of the field; iii. the genesis or the producers' [agents'] *habitus.*

The *position* of any sub-*field* within the *general field of power* is the question of the boundaries of the sub-field which defines its relative autonomy within the field of power. According to Bourdieu (Ibid.: 100) "the limits of the field are situated at the point where the effects of the field cease" although he believes that "the boundaries of the field can only be determined by an empirical investigation." In analytical terms, Bourdieu (Ibid.: 97) defines *field* as a network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions. According to Bourdieu (Ibid.);

> These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their *occupants, agents or institutions*, by their present and potential situation (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of *species of power* (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.) (*italic* added)

Thus, it is true to say that the state of the *relations of force* between agents defines the *structure* of any relatively autonomous sub-field positioned within the general field of power. To Bourdieu (2005: 194), the force attached to an agent depends on its various 'strengths', sometimes called 'strategic market assets' or differential factors of success (or failure), which may provide it with a competitive advantage, that is to say, more precisely, on the *volume and structure of the capital* the agent

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5 Bourdieu's discussion of this dichotomy occurs in many different forms throughout his work. To compare, see *The Logic of Practice*, especially the introduction and chs. 1-2 (pp. 25-51).

possesses in its different species. In fact, the structure of a field understood as a space of objective relations between positions as defined by their rank in the distribution of competing powers or species of capital, is different from the more or less lasting networks through which it manifests itself (2001: 114). To Bourdieu (Ibid.: 101), the forces that are active in the field are those which define the specific capital. But for him, *a capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field*; rather it confers a power over the field, and over the materialized embodied instruments of production or reproduction whose distribution constitutes the very structure of the field.

Although Bourdieu (Ibid.: 108, 106) defines, the *field* as a system of relations, it is important to remember the critical point: "*social agents are not 'particles* that are mechanically pushed and pulled by external forces," like the "particles under the sway of forces of attraction of repulsion as in magnetic field." Rather, to Bourdieu (Ibid.: 108), social agents are *bearers of* [species of] *capitals*, and depending on their *trajectory* and on the position they occupy in the field by virtue of their endowment (volume and structure) in capital, they have a propensity toward the *preservation* of the distribution of capital or toward the *subversion* of this distribution.

In his essay, "The Forms of Capital," Bourdieu (1986: 241) defines *capital* as 'accumulated labor' (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated', embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e. exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor. For him (Ibid.: 241-2) capital, in its objectified or embodied forms, "takes time to accumulate and which, as a potential capacity to produce profits and to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form."

According to Bourdieu (Ibid.: 242), depending on the field in which it functions, capital'[6] can present itself in three fundamental forms: as *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the forms of property rights; as *cultural capital*, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of educational qualifications; and as *social capital*, made up of social obligations (connections), which is convertible, under certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of a title of nobility as *symbolic capital*. [7]

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[6] Elsewhere (*The Social Structures of the Economy*, 2005: 194) Bourdieu defines such different types and subtypes of the volume and structure of the capital the agent possesses: 1.financial [economic] capital (actual or potential); 2.cultural capital (not to be confused with 'human capital') a.technological capital; b.juridical capital; c.organizational capital (including the capital of information about the field); d.commercial capital; 3.social capital; 4.symbolic capital.

[7] "*Symbolic capital*, that is to say, capital—in whatever form—insofar as it is represented, i.e. , apprehended symbolically, in a relationship of knowledge or, more precisely, of misrecognition and recognition, presupposes the intervention of the habitus, as a socially constituted cognitive capacity." Bourdieu, P. (1986: 242); "The Forms of Capital" trans. Richard Nice, in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education,* (ed.) John G. Richardson, New York: Greenwood pp. 183-98. [Originally published as Bourdieu, P. (1983); *"Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital." in Soziale Ungleichheiten (Soziale Welt, Sonderheft 2)*, Reinhard Kreckel (ed.), Goettingen: Otto Schartz & Co.]

According to Bourdieu (1986: 243), the second major capital, i.e. '*cultural capital*' can exist in three forms: in the *embodied* state, [i.e. in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body]; in the *objectified* state, in the form of cultural goods [pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.]; and in the *institutionalized* state, [a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee].

Bourdieu (Ibid.: 244) states that most of the properties of *cultural capital* can be deduced from the fact that, in its fundamental state, it is linked to the body and presupposes embodiment. To him, the accumulation of *cultural capital* in the *embodied state*, i.e. , in the form of what is called culture, cultivation, *Bildung*, presupposes a process of embodiment, incorporation, which, insofar as it implies a labor of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor. This *embodied capital*, external wealth converted into an integral part of the person, into a *habitus*, cannot be transmitted instantaneously (unlike money, property rights, or even titles of nobility) by gift or bequest, purchase or exchange. Because, to Bourdieu (Ibid.: 245),

> the use or exploitation of *cultural capital* presents particular problems for the holders of economic or political capital, whether they be private patrons or, at the other extreme, entrepreneurs employing executives endowed with a specific cultural competence.

In Bourdieu's (1986: 246) conceptualization, *cultural capital* [8] in the *objectified state*, has a number of properties which are defined only in the relationship with *cultural capital* in its embodied form. The cultural capital *objectified* in material objects and media, such as writings, paintings, monuments, instruments, etc., is transmissible in its materiality. A collection of paintings, for example, can be transmitted just like economic capital.

Bourdieu (1986: 247) determines the *institutionalized state* of 'cultural capital' in the form of academic qualifications which is one way of neutralizing some of the properties it derives from the fact that, being embodied, it has the same biological limits as its bearer. With the academic qualification, a certificate of cultural competence which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture, social alchemy produces a form of *cultural capital* which has a relative autonomy vis-à-vis its bearer and even vis-à-vis the cultural capital he

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[8] "The cultural object, as a living social institution, is, simultaneously, a socially instituted material object and a particular class of habitus, to which it is addressed. The material object-for example, a work of art in its materiality-may be separated by space (e.g., a Dogon statue) or by time (e.g., a Simone Martini painting) from the habitus for which it was intended. This leads to one of the most fundamental biases of art history. Understanding the effect (not to be confused with the function) which the work tended ~ produce-for example, the form of belief it tended to induce-and which is the true basis of the conscious or unconscious choice of the means used (technique, colors, etc.), and therefore of the form itself, is possible only if one at least raises the question of the habitus on which it 'operated'." Bourdieu, P. (1986); "The Forms of Capital" trans. Richard Nice, in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education,* (ed.) John G. Richardson, New York: Greenwood pp. 183-98. [Originally published as Bourdieu, P. 1983); *"Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital." in Soziale Ungleichheiten (Soziale Welt, Sonderheft 2)*, Reinhard Kreckel (ed.), Goettingen: Otto Schartz & Co.] p. 246.

effectively possesses at a given moment in time (Ibid.: 248). Bourdieu's (2005: 95) explanations for the subtypes of *cultural capital* are as the followings:

> *Technological capital* is the portfolio of scientific resources (research potential) or technical resources (procedures, aptitudes, routines and unique and coherent know-how, capable of reducing expenditure in labor or capital or increasing its yield) that can be deployed in the design and manufacture of products.
> *Commercial capital* (sales power) relates to the mastery of distribution networks (warehousing and transport), and marketing and after-sales services.

Thirdly, Bourdieu (1986: 248-9) defines the *social capital* as the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition - or in other words, to membership in a group, which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. Since the *social capital* [9] is "the totality of resources (financial capital and also information etc.) activated through a more or less extended, more or less mobilizable network of relations which procures a competitive advantage by providing higher returns on investment" (Bourdieu, 2005: 194-5). The volume of the *social capital* [10] possessed by a given agent thus depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those with whom he is connected (Bourdieu, 1986: 249). Moreover, the possessors of an inherited *social capital*, symbolized by a great name, are able to transform all circumstantial relationships into lasting connections (Ibid.: 250).

In addition to these three major forms of capital, Bourdieu (2005: 195) defines the fourth one as the '*symbolic capital*' which "resides in the mastery of symbolic resources based on knowledge and recognition, such as 'goodwill investment', 'brand loyalty' for the firms as agent for instance. *Symbolic capital* as a power which functions in the structure of any field as a form of credit, it presupposes the trust or belief of those upon whom it bears because they are disposed to grant it credence.

Bourdieu (1990: 141) warns us not to confuse *symbolic capital* with Max Weber's concept of 'charisma' because according to Bourdieu, "if Weber, who understood perhaps better than anyone that the sociology of religion is part of the sociology of power, had not been trapped in the logic of

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[9] "This concept of social capital differs from the definitions which have subsequently been given in American Sociology and economics in that it takes into account not only the network of relations, characterized as regards its extent and viability, but also the volume of capital different species which it enables to be mobilized by proxy (and, at the same time various profits it can procure: promotion, participation in projects, opportunities for participation in important decisions, chances to make financial or other investments)."Bourdieu, Pierre, *The Social Structures of the Economy,* translated by Chris Turner, (Cambridge, Malden: Polity Press, 2005) p. 194-195.

[10] Bourdieu, Pierre. "The Forms of Capital" … P. 249. "Manners (bearing, pronunciation, etc.) may be included in social capital insofar as, through the mode of acquisition they point to, they indicate initial membership of a more or less prestigious group."

realist typologies." This leads Weber to see 'charisma' as a particular form of power rather than as a dimension of all power, that is, another name for the legitimacy, a product of recognition, misrecognition, the belief "by virtue of which, persons exercising authority are endowed with prestige."

Having clarified the concepts of *field* and *forms of capital* in Bourdieu's theory of the field, our new task is to understand the third central category which, according to Wacquant (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2001: 120), "constitutes a theoretical bridge between them by providing the mechanism that 'propels' definite agents, endowed with certain valences of capital, to take up this or that strategy, *subversion* or *conservation* – or, as one might add, indifference, exit from the game". Needless to say, a third central category - the notion of *habitus[11]* works as the conceptual linchpin by which the re-articulation of apparent economic notions of capital, market, interest, etc. into a model of action which Bourdieu (Ibid.) calls "a theory of practice as the product of a practical sense, of a socially constituted 'sense of the game'." First of all, in Bourdieu's (Ibid.: 212) own words, the concept of *habitus* enables us,

> … to escape the dichotomy between finalism [agent]—which defines the action as determined by the conscious reference to a deliberately set purpose and which consequently, conceives of all behavior as the product of a purely instrumental, if not indeed cynical, calculation—and mechanism [structure] which reduces action to a pure reaction to undifferentiated causes.

According to his theory of *field* and theory of *habitus* with the conception of social action, Bourdieu (Ibid.: 123) puts himself into frontal opposition to the Rational Action Theory (RAT) because for him RAT puts the mind of the scientist who conceptualizes practice in the place of the socially constituted practical sense of the agent. To Bourdieu,

> The actor, as it construes him or her, is nothing other than the imaginary projection of the knowing subject (*sujet connaissant*) into the acting subject (*suje agissant*), a sort of monster with the head of the thinker thinking his practice in reflexive and logical fashion mounted on the body of a man of action engaged in action. RAT recognizes nothing but the 'rational responses' to potential or actual opportunities of an agent who is both indeterminate and interchangeable. (Ibid.)

As Wacquant (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2001: 137) asserts, Bourdieu's theory which substitutes the constructed relation between *habitus* and *field* for the apparent relation between the 'actor' and the 'structure' is also a means of bringing time to the core of social analysis. To Bourdieu (Ibid.: 136) social agents are the *product of history*, of the history of the whole social *field* and of the

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[11]   Bourdieu (Ibid.: 121-2) believes that all those who used this old concept [of *habitus*] or similar ones before him, from Hegel's *ethos,* to Husserl's *Habitualität,* to Mauss's *hexis* were inspired (without always knowing it explicitly) by a theoretical intention akin to him which is to escape from under the philosophy of the subject without doing away with the agent, as well as from under philosophy of the structure but without forgetting to take into account the effects it wields upon and through the agent.

accumulated experiences of a path within the specific sub-field. Thus, "in the relation between *habitus* and *field*, history enters into a relation with itself" as it enters between "the agent and the social world" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2001: 128).

Thus, the proper object of social science is neither the individual, nor is it the groups as concrete sets of individuals sharing a similar location in social space, but the *relation between two realization of historical action*, in bodies and in things (Ibid.: 126). Accordingly, social reality exists in things and in minds, in fields and in habitus, outside and inside of agents (Ibid.: 127). For short, "*habitus* is socialized subjectivity" because "the human mind is *socially* bounded and socially structured" (Ibid.: 126). But, for Bourdieu, "*habitus* is not the fate that some people read into it." Rather, it is an "*open system dispositions* that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures. It is durable but not eternal" (Ibid.: 133).

As an acquired system of generative schemes, *habitus* makes possible the free production of all the thoughts, perceptions and actions inherent in the particular conditions of its production (Bourdieu, 1990: 55). For Bourdieu, because the *habitus* is an infinite capacity for generating products - thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions - whose limits are set by:

> the historically and socially situated conditions of its production, the conditioned and conditional freedom it provides is as remote from creation of unpredictable novelty as it from simple mechanical reproduction of the original conditioning. [..] [In this sense,] the *habitus*—embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history—is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product (Ibid.: 55-56).

Unlike scientific estimations, which are corrected after each experiment according to rigorous rules of calculation, the anticipations of the *habitus* - practical hypotheses based on past experience - give disproportionate weight to early experiences (Ibid.: 54). For this reason, Bourdieu (2005: 213) calls habitus 'a highly economical principle of action',

> which makes for an enormous saving in calculation (particularly in the calculation of costs of research and measurement) and also in time, which is a particularly rare resource when it comes to action. It is therefore particularly well suited to the ordinary conditions of existence which, either because of time pressure or an insufficiency of requisite knowledge, allow little scope for the conscious, calculated evaluation of the chances of profit.

In Bourdieu's concept, *habitus* is in no sense a mechanical principle of action or, more exactly, of reaction, it is not 'reflex' but a "*conditioned and limited spontaneity*" (2005: 212, *italic* added). It is that *autonomous principle* [*habitus*] which means that action is not simply an immediate reaction to a brute reality, but an 'intelligent' response to an actively selected aspect of the real: linked to a history fraught with a probable future, it is the inertia, the trace of their past *trajectory,* which agents

set against the immediate forces of the field, that means that their *strategies* cannot be deduced directly from either the immediate position or the immediate situation. Such *autonomous principle* of action produces a response which, without being entirely unpredictable, cannot be predicted on the basis of knowledge of the situation alone; rather, as Bourdieu defines:

> … a response to an aspect of reality which is distinguished by a selective and (in both senses of the term) partial—but not strictly 'subjective'—apprehension of certain stimuli, by an attention to a particular side of things of which it can be said without distinction, either that it [response] 'arouses **interest*' or that interest arouses it; an action which one can describe non-contradictorily as being both determined and spontaneous, since it is determined by *conventional, conditional* stimuli that exist as such only for an agent disposed to perceive them and capable of perceiving them (Ibid. **italic* added).

Having defined the *action* as a response arousing *interest* or aroused from *interest* generated by actor's *habitus* which has linked to his past *trajectory* and future oriented strategy set against the immediate forces of the field, now the new task is to define *strategy* and *trajectory* which are the key concepts in Bourdieu's theory of the field. *Trajectory*, as defined in 'Principles for a Sociology of Cultural Works', is the series of *positions*, successively occupied by the same agent in the successive states of any sub-field (Johnson, 1993: 18). The meaning of the *successive positions* can only be defined in the structure of a field. The trajectory is one way in which the relationship between agent and the field is objectified. However, it differs from traditional biography, rather concerns the objective positions successively occupied in the field.

Johnson summarizes *strategy* as a specific orientation of practice. As a product of the *habitus, strategy* is not based on conscious calculation but rather on results from unconscious disposition towards practice. It depends both on the *position* the agent occupies in the field, and on what Bourdieu calls the state of 'legitimate problematic' - the issues or questions over which confrontation takes place, which constitute the stakes of struggle in the field and which orient the search for solutions.

In Bourdieu's theory of the *field*, *taking a position* in the field means aiming at maximizing the composition of the agent's capital(s). In this sense, in each and every *field*, certain *interests* are at stake even if they are not recognized as such; a certain 'investment' is made even if it is not recognized as investment (Johnson, 1993: 8). In Bourdieu's (1998: 77) own words, "*interest* is to 'be there', to participate, to admit that the game is worth playing and that the stakes created in and through the playing are worth pursuing, it is to recognize the game and to recognize its stakes."

To Bourdieu, the notion of *interest* is opposed to that of disinterestedness, but also to that of indifference. In his theory of the field while entering in the *field* "one can be *interested* in a game (in the sense of not indifferent), while at the same time being disinterested. According to Bourdieu (Ibid.):

> [t]he indifferent person "does not see why they are playing," it is all the same to them; ... Such a person is someone who, not having the principles of vision and division necessary to make distinctions, finds everything the same, is neither moved nor affected. What the Stoics called ataraxia is the soul's indifference, tranquility, or detachment, which is not disinterestedness. *Illusio* is thus the opposite of ataraxia; it is the fact of being invested, of investing in the stakes existing in a certain game, through the effect of competition, and which only exist for people who, being caught up in that game and possessing the dispositions to recognize the stakes at play, are ready to die for the stakes which, conversely, are devoid of interest for those who are not tied to that game and which leave them indifferent.

In other words, "social games are games that are forgotten *qua* games, and the *illusio* is the enchanted relation to a game that is the product of a relation of ontological complicity between mental structures and the objective structures of the social space" (Ibid.). This is the reason why every social field - whether the scientific field, the artistic field, the bureaucratic field, or the political field - tends to require those entering it to have the relationship to the field which is what Bourdieu (Ibid.: 78) calls *illusio*. Thus, entering a field (the philosophical field, the scientific field, etc.) playing the game, requires possessing the *habitus* which predisposes one to enter that *field*, that game, and not another. In Bourdieu's works, the *habitus* is sometimes described as a 'feel for the game', a practical sense' (*sense pratique*) that inclines agents to act and react in specific situations in a manner that is not always calculated and that is not simply a question of conscious obedience to rules (Johnson, 1993: 5). As Bourdieu (1998: 80-81) defines having 'the feel for the game':

> ... is feeling the game under the skin; it is to master in a practical way the future of the game; is to have a sense of the history of the game. While the bad player is always off tempo, always too early or too late, the good player is the one who *anticipates*, who is ahead of the game.

For entering the game, one must also possess at least the minimum amount of knowledge, or skill or 'talent' to be accepted as a legitimate player. Entering the game, furthermore, means attempting to use that knowledge, or skill or 'talent' in the most advantageous way possible. In short, it means 'investing' one's (academic, cultural, symbolic) capital in such a way as to derive maximum benefit or 'profit' from participation. Under normal circumstances, no one enters a game to lose (Johnson 1993: 8).

Although he often uses the analogy of a 'game' to give a first intuitive grasp of what he understands by field, as he writes with caution, he compares a field to a game (*jeu*) because "unlike the latter, the *field* is not the product of a deliberate act of *creation*, and it follows rules or, better, regularities, that are not explicit and codified" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2001: 98). In Bourdieu's theory of *field*, the relationship between *position*s and *position-taking*s is mediated by the dispositions of the individual agents, their feel for the game - *habitus* (Johnson, 1993: 17). During the game "agents' *strategies* are a function of the convergence of *position* and *position-taking* mediated by *habitus*" (Ibid.).

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Conservative strategy of the successor and the subversive strategy of the challenger are two kinds of position-takings in the field which are caused by struggles in the same field. At each moment, the struggle in the field is determined by the state of the relations of force between players that defines the structure of the field. To Bourdieu (1993: 60), the history of the field arises from the struggle between the established figures and the young challengers. Strategies depend, first, on the particular configuration of powers that confers structure on the very field itself (Bourdieu, 2005: 200). For instance, two individuals endowed with and equivalent overall capital can differ, in their *position* as well as in their stances (*position-takings*), in that one holds a lot of economic capital and little cultural capital while the other has little economic capital and large cultural assets (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2001: 99). Bourdieu (Ibid.) continues:

> Players can play to increase or to conserve their capital […] in conformity with the tacit rules of the game and the prerequisites of the reproduction of the game and its stakes; but they can also get in to transform partially or completely, the immanent rules of the game. They can, for instance, change […] the exchange rate between various species of capital, through strategies aimed at discrediting the form of capital upon which the force of their opponents rests (e.g., economic capital) and valorize the species of capital they preferentially possess (e.g., juridical capital).

As a space of potential and active forces, the field is also a *field of struggles* aimed at preserving or transforming the configuration of these forces. Furthermore, the field as a structure of objective relations between positions of force supports and guides the strategies whereby the occupants of these positions seek, individually or collectively, to safeguard or improve their position and to impose the principle of hierarchization most favorable to their own products. In short, the strategies of agents depend on their position in the field, that is, in the distribution of the specific capital, and on the perception that they have of the field depending on the point of view they take *on* the field as a view taken from a point *in* the field (Ibid.: 101).

On one hand, in the field of struggle, dominant the *conservative agent* aims at preserving his position against the challengers. On the other hand, the *subversive agent* aims at differentiating the rules or the regularities of the game in the field. Generally speaking, hegemonic or dominant agents "have the capacity to set the tempo of transformation in the various areas of production, marketing, research, etc.," (2005: 201). Similarly, "the appearance of the new and effective agent modifies the structure of the field" (Ibid.: 203). Indeed, as Bourdieu (Ibid.: 204) determines, competition among agents in any sub-field within the general field of power;

> often takes the form of competition for power over state power—particularly over the power of regulation and property rights—and for the advantages provided by the various state interventions: preferential tariffs, trade licenses, research and development funds, public sector contracts, funding for job creation, innovation, modernization, exports, housing, etc.,

At this moment it is important to recognize, however, that Bourdieu's use of economic terminology does not imply any sort of economism or economic reductionism. In fact, Bourdieu sees the economic field *per se* as simply one field among others, without granting it primacy in the general theory of fields (Johnson, 1993: 8). As Wacquant (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2001: 117) states, beyond *interest* and *investment*, Bourdieu has borrowed from economic language several other concepts, such as, market, profit and capital which evoke the economic mode of reasoning. As a response to this statement, Bourdieu claims that the only thing he shares with economic orthodoxy are a number of words. For instance by investment Bourdieu (Ibid: 118) means;

> the propensity to act that is born of the relation between a field and a system of disposition adjusted to the game it proposes, a sense of the game and of its stakes that implies at once an *inclination* and an *ability* to play the game, both of which are socially and historically constituted rather than universally given.

1.4. Concluding Remarks

Since the major aim of this study is to explore the relation between cultural policies and global capitalism, and its impact on restructuring Antalya in social, spatial and cultural context, from theoretical framework, '*urban political economy approach'* which emerged in the 1970s still retains its role as a spring-board. Both *urban political economy* and its successor *world system* theories focus on the role of capitalism, the international economic order, the accumulation and concentration of wealth and power, the relations of social classes, and the role of state in administering a stable social order ultimately hospitable to economic interests.

Lefebvre and Harvey, two important figures among theorists of *urban political economy*, locate the question of space itself within the context of political economy of capitalism. Unlike Castells, they regard the scientific method as normative and reject the epistemological distinction between science and ideology. Both see space as crucial in maintaining an expansive capitalism, although the emphases of their analyses are rather different.

The first approach in this broad topic deals with how space has been used historically, especially for the location of economic activity and housing in an urban (space) system where consumption and reproduction of labor power take place in a specific mode of production. The second approach is to explain the rhythms and patterns of urban development and change from a theoretical perspective. This approach covers extensive literature from the traditional neoclassical economic perspective to a post-modern consumerist life-style that looks at spatial development as the result of *individual preferences* made *under constraints* [*structural transformation, restructuring, structuration*]. As it is employed in the literature of urban sociology and urban politics, the *urban political economy*

approach is based on the premise that the politics of cities must be understood as a complex interaction among institutions, actors, and resources of both the public and the private spheres.

As already described in the introductory chapter, one of the major tasks of this part of the dissertation is to understand how the urban elite or stake-holders act or what kind of individual actions or actor strategies they develop during the process of urban restructuring. Through the research to supplement this major question, it also asks how and under what conditions the agent(s) modify the structure [restructuring] during the discursive moment of structuration. In the final analysis, the effectiveness of local actors does seem to be an empirical question. But the question is whether and to what degree localities can deflect, manage or accommodate wider change or how the local actors make their choices within both the enabling and constraining structure. No matter what this transformation is called, be it 'restructuring' (see sub-section 1.3.1), 'structuration' (see sub-section 1.3.2), or 'transformation of forms of capital in relatively autonomous fields' (see sub-section 1.3.3).

Throughout the thesis the two terms 'transformation' and 'restructuring' will be used interchangeably since the term 'restructuring' in urban theories denotes a transition from an old structure to a new one. As already pointed out in sub-section 1.3.1., fundamental economic restructuring at the global level has shifted from economic to urban restructuring since the beginning of 1990s. Resulting from this shift, local governments have been promoted as major actors of urban, social and economic change. Therefore urban politics is centered on the struggles of certain individuals and groups to realize their material interests in the city. These interest groups, as "growth coalitions," seek to mobilize the powers of (local) government in order to restructure the city in a social and spatial context. The notion of 'growth coalitions' or 'growth machines' permitted entry to the analysis of *local economic development policies*. In other words, the focus of 'urban restructuring', 'growth machine' theories highlights the wider structural context within which politics operate.

As regards going beyond the polarization between structuralism and anti-structuralism in urban political economy theory, Giddens' 'theory of structuration' as the *intersection of structure and agent* also seems useful as a theoretical tool for understanding how it makes each city *unique* in its response to global forces, and how it is that some cities are able to resist general regional trends, while others typify them. A 'discursive moment' as the structuration of a social system by the instant reconstitution or by the modification of agents through their individual and collective choices, allows the conditions governing the continuity or transformation of structures, and therefore the reproduction of systems (Giddens, 1991 ©1984: 3).

Although Giddens' structuration theory does not deny the influence of structure in shaping experience and choice, it narrows the definition of structure but it does not tell us how and in what

conditions the agent(s) act(s) during the discursive moments of structuration of social system. Nevertheless, although a useful theoretical tool, structuration theory also has some limitations in terms of figuring out how this transformation occurs since the specific aim of the theory of structuration as it is defined by Giddens is to understand how society is constituted. In other words, the theory of structuration does not primarily focus on the city itself.

On one hand, though the notion of 'practical consciousness' is fundamental to Giddens' theory of structuration, it is not the same with the Rational Action Theory (RAT) which proposes a knowing and thinking subject while an individual is rationally responding to potential or actual opportunities. On the other hand, uncritical acceptance of the 'growth machine' thesis imparts an imperialistic vision of urban development of great rationality to the growth machine system. Since the agents comprising the growth machine do not always act in a rational manner, or practically conscious, Bourdieu's theory of transformation of *forms of capital* in a relatively autonomous field with his own concepts some of which are *habitus, field, position* and *position taking* of agents is also employed in this study instead of the Rational Action Theory (RAT) in order to understand the agents' *strategies* involved in the 'growth machine' (See Chapter 2.3.3.).

For the purposes of this dissertation, it makes sense to outline a unitary theory making use of the three distinct approaches mentioned above. A true understanding, of how the agents constituting the growth machine act to maximize the *forms of capital* they possess in the field is only possible through an analysis of their *habitus*, which may cause them to deviate from their *position* and *position-taking*s rather than always acting rationally, or exercising their practical consciousness, which is fundamental to the theory of structuration.

CHAPTER 2

'CITY OF CULTURE': A CONCEPTUAL FRAME

In this chapter, the concept of 'city of culture' is examined in the general literature on urban studies. As the term 'city of culture' has become the promise of glory for cities to represent themselves in a globally capitalizing world, branding a city as 'city of culture' has become one of the key strategies of urban restructuring process. The concept, 'city of culture' in the general literature on urban studies revolves around the issues about growth oriented development strategies of cities competing with other cities for financial and capital investment. With regard to this fact the concept 'city of culture' is examined within the issues about the urban development strategies in four different sub-fields: i. field of art and culture; ii. field(s) of urban –planning, -governance, -politics, -design; iii. field of economy; iv. field of tourism.

Parallel to the structure of the second chapter, the concept of 'city of culture' along with the concept of 'city culture' in the literature on urban studies in Turkey is examined in the fourth chapter. Furthermore, in the sixth, seventh, eighth, and the ninth chapters urban restructuring process is examined regarding the development strategies of the *growth machine* alliance for transforming Antalya into a 'city of culture' in four sub-fields mentioned above.

2.1.   The Concept of 'City of Culture' in the Field of Art and Culture

This section is devoted to the definition of the term 'city of culture' whilst scrutinizing the meaning of the term 'city culture', which was formerly known as 'urban culture' in urban sociology circles. As Gadamer (1998: 1) writes, although we would all know that culture is something supporting us, none of us would be so knowledgeable as to say what culture is. Culture, as a word and concept, is Roman in origin. The word "culture" derives from *colere*—to cultivate, to dwell, to take care, to tend and to preserve—and "it relates primarily to the intercourse of man with nature in the sense of cultivating and tending nature until it becomes fit for human *habituation*" (Arendt, 1963:

212). Regarding the connection of culture with nature, one can say that culture originally stems from agriculture.[12]

However, from the verb 'colere' culture does not only mean tilling the soil but also means 'taking care' of what properly belongs to them. Cicero first used the word culture in *cultura animi* to refer to matters of spirit and mind. He speaks of *excolere animum,* of cultivating the mind, and *cultura animi* in the same sense of 'cultured mind', as used today (Arendt, 1963: 212; Gadamer, 1998: 176).

Providing a single definition of 'culture' is a very thorny business indeed. Raymond Williams (1976: 80) has described four contemporary usages of the word. The first usage of culture means "a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development." This definition of culture first used by Cicero and later entirely discussed in the context of enlightenment process in which culture is something being acquired to be cultivated. Williams defines the second usage as "a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period a group." Here culture is the 'property' not of individuals but of groups or periods—or of ethnic groups, societies, sub-groups. Culture, in this sense is in the plural.

The third usage of 'culture' identified by Williams is "the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity." As Williams notes, this seems often now to be the most widespread use: culture is music, literature, painting and sculpture, theatre and film.[13]

The fourth conception of culture comes out of contemporary cultural studies. In this conception, culture is seen as "the signifying system through which necessarily a social order is communicated, reproduced experienced and explored" (Williams, [1981] 2005: 13; Jordan and Weedon, 1995: 8). Culture, in this sense, is not a separate sphere, but a dimension of all institutions—economic, social, and political. Culture is a set of material practices which constitute meanings, values and subjectivities. This conception of culture can be broadened as 'material culture' including everyday utensils as well.

In general, culture is a way of summarizing the ways in which groups distinguish themselves from other groups as prescribed above as in Williams' second definition. For this usage of term, Wallerstein (2002: 31-2) introduces two designations of culture. For the first, he often uses the term 'culture' to describe the collection of such traits, behavior, values, or of beliefs. This means that each 'group' has its specific 'culture'. According to Wallerstein, 'culture' is also used to signify not the

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[12] Parallel to this view, archeological research has shown that the first settled urban areas with a high density of population appeared at the end of the Neolithic Age in Mesopotamia, about 3500 BC; Egypt, 3000 BC; China and India, 3000-2500 BC where and when the state of technology and the social and natural conditions of labor enabled cultivators to produce more than they need to subsist (Mumford, 1961; McAdams, 1966; Lampard, 1965; cited as in Castells, 1972: 23).

[13] For Williams, it is the dominant view of culture found in a range of key cultural institutions, such as educational system, the media, the academies, publishing, galleries, and etc. It is important to note that this High Art conception of culture, though widely used, is being increasingly contested. The central effect of this struggle is that the concept 'culture' is being overbroadened to include popular culture and mass media, that is, mass produced cultural forms and practices such as the press, generic fiction, cinema, fashion, radio, television and video.

totality of the specificity of one group against another, but instead to oppose certain characteristics to other characteristics within the same group.

2.1.1. From the Concept of 'City Culture' to the Concept of 'City of Culture'

The discriminating feature of culture defined by Wallerstein can be traced back to its Greek definition that implies a kind of political judgment. Agreeing with Arendt (Ibid.: 213-4), if we mean by culture the mode of intercourse of man with the things of the world, then one may try to understand 'culture' in its earliest Greek expression—as distinguished from Greek art—by recalling a much quoted saying reported by Thucydides and attributed to Pericles, which reads approximately as follows: "we love beauty within the limits of political judgment, and we philosophize without the barbarian vice of effeminacy." In Arendt's understanding, the meaning of this phrase can be explained as follows. First, it is told distinctly that it is the *polis*, the realm of politics which sets limits to the love of wisdom and of beauty. Since it is known that the Greeks thought that it was the *polis* and 'politics' which distinguished them from the barbarians, she concludes that this difference was a 'cultural difference', "a difference in their mode of intercourse with cultural things, a different attitude toward beauty and wisdom, which could be loved only within the limits set by the institution of the *polis*"—very arguably the earliest and the simplest form of 'city culture'.

Once Sennett argued that the history of modern urbanism has been a process of 'wall building'. According to Sennett (1990: xii; Stevenson, 2003: 109), modern city spaces trivialize urban life and actually separate people from the experience of the outside world. At the root of this change, he thinks, is fear. An outcome of this fear is the desire to construct urban spaces that will protect city dwellers from the threat posed. Like Arendt, Sennett too considers the Greek *polis* as providing a model and a way of thinking within the limits of *polis* as a 'cultural form'.

As seen, conceiving urban as a cultural form, is not a novel issue. In the field of sociology, this conception calls to mind Toennies' (1955, 1940) distinction between the urban and the rural. What Toennies has in fact provided is not a dichotomy of rural and urban but a theory of social change. In his view, western European societies were in a process of transition from unions of *Gemeinschaft* (social organization based on the family and the guild system) to association of *Gesellschaft* (based on the division of labor and corporate capitalism) (Saunders, 1984: 84; Stevenson, 2003: 20-21). Louis Wirth (1938) and the human ecologists of the Chicago School (Park, Burgess, McKenzie, 1925; Park, 1936) have also dealt with the dualism of town and country from the points of objectively subjective experience of urban life.

Simmel's commitment to sociology is influential on 'urban culture' studies. Arguing with Simmel (1968: 13), one can also assume that a *central idea* can be perceived in every important

cultural epoch. Logistically, the question which Simmel asks "why culture has a history" is nearly the same question asking "why city has a history." In reality, urbanization has been closely linked to a series of historical processes, including modernization, industrialization, deindustrialization and capitalism. 'Urbanization' prompted a belief in the existence of an identifiable 'urban culture' and a specifically urban way of life or sensibility on which Louis Wirth (1938) wrote his famous article "Urbanism as a Way of Life."

In contrast to the conception of city as a 'cultural form', some writers emphasized the notion of ideology because for them "the urban system cannot be specified as a cultural unit," for as Castells critique of Wirth's (1938) demonstrated "there is no 'urban culture' as such" (Castells, [©1972] 2002: 34). Castells (Ibid: 42) considers that 'urban culture', as it is presented, is neither a concept nor a theory. Still, Castells (Ibid: 22) keeps the distinction between 'spatial form' and 'cultural content' defines terms *urban* and *city* separately. For him, *urban* would designate a particular form of the occupation of space by a population, namely the urban centre resulting from a high concentration and relatively high density, with, as its predictable correlate, greater functional and social differentiation. The *city* is not therefore a locus of production but of administration and domination, bound up with the social primacy of the political-administrative apparatus (Ibid: 24).

In his early writings though for Castells (1972), "urban culture" is a myth, he then argues that cities have been throughout history, and in our time, the sources of *cultural creativity*, technological innovation, material progress, and political democratization (Castells, 1999, 2002: 367). But at the same time, with the emergence of the global economy and of global communication Castells (Ibid: 368) asks if "we are heading toward the disappearance of cities as a cultural form at the very moment we enter a predominantly urban/metropolitan world." Answering this question as one of the major debates of this dissertation is not easy because in the era of inter-urban competition, cities are reinvented as a 'cultural form' to be represented in the global market as 'city of culture', 'cultural city' or in European context as 'European Capital of Culture' (ECoC).

The celebrated urban historian, Lewis Mumford writes in the Introduction to his book *The Cultures of Cities* (1938: 3) that "the city is the point of maximum concentration for the power and culture of a community." In his understanding, since cities are a product of time, "in the city, time becomes visible: buildings and monuments and public ways, more open than the written record" (Ibid.: 4). In Mumford's conceptualization, the 'culture(s) of city' mean for example, the 'defensive culture' of cities surrounded by the city walls in the Middle Ages, and at the same time the 'housing and neighboring culture' around the church at the city center or the 'guild culture' as a craft organization. Similarly, following the industrial revolution, the use of metal construction have changed the culture of architecture in cities with new spaces of railway stations and of factories beside the changing transportation culture between cities thanks to the steam engine and railways.

According to Mumford, for instance, the role of hygiene also occupies a commanding place in modern architecture of the 20th century as an important part of the primary culture of the cities (Mumford, 1938: 421).

2.1.2. The Nexus between Culture and Politics

As mentioned before, the relation between 'culture' and 'politics' is as old as Pericles' phrase which expresses a political judgment or taste about the beauty within the limit of *polis*. Unwaveringly Arendt (1963: 223) claims that "culture and politics, belong together because it is not knowledge or truth which is at stake, but rather judgment and decision." Bianchini (1993: 9-10) who specifically studied on the nexus between culture and politics in the European context, argues that the emergence of cultural strategies related to the rise of the post-1968 urban mass oppositional movements as the urban spectacles. Similar to Arendt's proposition, Bianchini argues that "it was impossible to define the boundaries or priorities between the two [culture and politics]."

In accordance with this claim, Jordan and Weedon (1995: 11) assert that "power is at the center of cultural politics" because for them argue "cultural politics is the struggle to fix meanings in the interest of particular groups" (Ibid: 543). Derived from their argument, one can suggest that cultural urban politics is the struggle to fix meanings in space in the interest of particular groups.

The use of *cultural policy* as a response to the socially traumatic consequences of *economic restructuring* has been interpreted either pessimistically as what Harvey calls ([1989] 1990) 'carnival mask' used by local and national politicians to conceal growing social inequality, polarization and conflict within cities, or optimistically as a 'social glue' for integrating new immigrants, encouraging social cohesion and shaping new civic identities. Local decision makers also exploited the potential of 'cultural policy' to modernize and diversify the economic base of cities (Bianchini, 1993: 14). Prestigious arts festivals, major sports competitions and other high-profile cultural events were organized by urban policy-makers to support strategies of 'internationalization' and to enhance the cosmopolitan image and appeal of their cities (Ibid: 15). *Cultural policies* became more important also as instruments for direct interventions in expanding economic sectors such as tourism, sports, recreation, the arts and the media.

Since the beginning of the 1980s, in European countries, many city decision-makers have employed cultural policies as a valuable tool and paid attention to other "cultural industries" including fashion and design, in an attempt to compensate for jobs lost in traditional industrial sectors (Ibid.: 2).

Having seen the nexus between global capitalism, local-political-economic development and collective symbolic and cultural capital of the cities; Booth and Boyle (1993: 22) state that cultural

[economic] policies conceive of culture in the language of economics. Frith (1991: 140) identifies three types of cultural policies: i. an *industrial cultural policy* which focuses on the local production of cultural goods to be consumed nationally or exported, electronic goods and the mass media; ii. a *tourist cultural policy* which focuses on "those cultural goods which can only be consumed locally - the consumers are the 'imports', coming in to experience each city's unique 'aura'"; iii. a *cosmetic cultural policy*, in which culture is a sort of "urban make-up, to be invested in because it helps a place seem attractive not just to tourists but to visitors who might decide to stay - investors are looking to locate new industries and new sorts of white collar employees".

In a conference on 'Global and Local' held in Tate Modern in London, David Harvey begins his presentation with the assertion that "culture has become a commodity of some sort is undeniable" (Harvey, 2001b; 2001: 394). Throughout his presentation Harvey's effort is to show the nexus between capitalist globalization, local political-economic developments and evolution of cultural meanings and aesthetic values. In order to reveal such nexus, he begins with the definition of the terms, 'rent' and 'monopoly rent' with reference to Marx.:

> All rent is based on the monopoly power of private owners of certain portions of the globe. Monopoly rent arises because social actors can realize an enhanced income-stream over an extended time by virtue of their exclusive control over some directly or indirectly tradable item which is in some crucial respects unique and non-replicable (Harvey, 2001b; 2001: 395).

Harvey (2001b; 2001: 395) defines two situations in which the category of *monopoly rent* comes to the fore. The first arises because social actors control some special quality resource, commodity or location which in relation to a certain kind of activity enables them to extract *monopoly rent*s from those desiring to use it. In the realm of production, referring to Marx (1967, vol. 3: 775), Harvey gives the example of vineyard producing wine of extraordinary quality that can be sold at a monopoly price. For Harvey, in the second case, "the land or resource is directly traded upon as when vineyards or prime real-estate sites are sold to multinational capitalists and financiers for speculative purposes" (Ibid.). In this case, scarcity can be created by withholding the land or resource from current uses and speculating on future values. *Monopoly rent* of this sort can be extended to ownership of works of art which can be and increasingly are, bought and sold as investment. It is the uniqueness of Picasso's work for instance or the uniqueness of the site in Antalya forms the basis for monopoly price. As he puts the two forms of *monopoly rent* often intersect.

Harvey (2001b; 2001: 396) specifies that two contradictions are intrinsic to the category of *monopoly rent*. First, while uniqueness and particularity are crucial to the definition of 'special qualities'; the requirement of tradability means that no item can be so unique or so special as to be entirely outside of the monetary calculus. In his understanding, the Picasso has to have a money-

value as does the Manet, the aboriginal art, the archeological artifacts, the historic buildings, the ancient monuments, the Buddhist temples, and the experience of rafting down the Colorado, being in Istanbul or on top of Mount Everest. Secondly, many items may not even be easy to trade upon directly. The contradiction here is that the more easily marketable such items become the less unique and special they appear. More generally, to the degree that such items or events are easily marketable (and subject to replication by forgeries, fakes, imitations or simulacra), the less they provide a basis for *monopoly rent* (2001b; 2001: 396).

Thus the concept of "city of culture" seems one of the best concepts to describe a city competing with other cities to attract international capital to be invested for the items provided as the basis of more *monopoly rent*. According to Stevenson (2003: 111) there can be defined two ways for maximizing a city's profile in the international marketplace through cultural policies: 'Europeanization or cultural planning' approach and 'Americanization or festival market place'.

On the one hand, the origins of *cultural planning* or *Europeanization* lie in an uneasy blending of social democratic principles of access and equity underpinned by an anthropological definition of culture, and neo-liberalism that endorses, in particular, treating the arts and cultural activities as industries. The result is a hybrid model as the Third Way Urbanism (see sub-section 2.2.2) that fosters using culture in conjunction with a range of social and economic policies as a tool for animating the urban landscape, reviving local economies, nurturing community cultural identity, and fostering social equity (Stevenson, 2003: 112).

Cultural planning or, to use Bianchini and Schwengel's (1991) term, *Europeanization*, although drawing on many of the same discourses and also often involving some manipulation of the built environment, pivots on the nurturing of local cultures and seeks to incorporate the expressive arts broadly defined cultural activities into the reimaging process. (Stevenson, 2003: 104)

As a consequence, in part, of its underlying anthropological definition of culture, the scope of *cultural planning* is vast with its exponent asserting the legitimacy of all forms of cultural activity, including the popular and commercial. Arguing from this definition, *cultural planning* should articulate with such urban issues as the design of the built environment, housing policies, retailing, policing and a range of economic activities and initiatives (Bianchini et al. 1988; Bianchini 1991: 27; Mercer 1991a). In this context, *cultural planning* is specifically being presented as a new way of approaching urban planning. In fact cultural planning is concerned with both the design and the governance of the city.

On the other hand, the *festival marketplace* or *Americanization* blueprint for urban redevelopment which was pioneered originally in the United States in the 1950s by the American property developer James Rouse, primarily involves:

[T]he wholesale transformation of redundant former port/industrial land. *Festival marketplaces* have a number of key features, such as the use of integrative postmodern architecture. They also support a range of fairly predictable activities, including leisure, special events and shopping. Most also have an aquarium, a convention center, four and five star hotel accommodation, theaters, restaurants and even a sports stadium. In particular, for their sameness (anywhere could be everywhere) the fostering of middle-class consumption and leisure activities and for being presented as solutions to a range of social and economic problems they have not been able to ameliorate (Stevenson, 2003: 111; *italic* added).

For Stevenson, *festival marketplace*s are urban spectacles both in their architectural form and in the nature of the activities that take place. In his understanding, *festival marketplace* developments, initially, were also reactions against the modernist urban renewal of the 1960s. So, a totally different architectural aesthetic or so called postmodern architecture was adopted. This is the one described by Harvey ([1989] 1990: 91) as "architecture of spectacle with its sense of surface glitter and transitory participatory pleasure, of display and ephemerality, of jouissance, an eclectic mix of styles, historical quotation, ornamentation and the diversification of surfaces." The essence of *festival marketplace* is its contrived packaging of time and place as it is also the key feature of postmodern urbanism (see subsection 2.2.4). Often the result is the construction of simulated urban landscape that is devoid of both content and context.[14]

The essential paradox of these *Americanized* cities is that in the quest to create difference, a sense of place and a destination attractive to tourists and potential investors, the result is frequently the manufacture of the sameness, substitution and simulation or as Christine Boyer (1992: 96) puts it, "the 'recursive' and 'serial' 'mass production' of identical city places across space." In result, *festival marketplaces* all look alike, feel the same, have the same architectural codes, play with the same contrived notions of place and localness, and offer the same suite of attractions and facilities (Stevenson, 2003: 102).

Today though the term, 'festival marketplace', has a different meaning as described above, it was first used by Bakhtin[15] to present the culture of folk humor in the Middle Ages and the

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[14] Like the 'synthetic urbanity' which Michael Sorkin ([1992] 1999: 217) attributes to Disneyland, the built spaces of the *festival marketplace* resonate with an 'urbanism of universal equivalence'. According to Sorkin, the organization and scale of Disney World and Disneyland is precisely that of "garden city expostulated by Ebenezer Howard in his 1902 screed *Garden Cities for Tomorrow*" (Ibid.: 212). Sorkin asserts that the garden city is the physical paradigm that presages Disney space, the park in the theme park. Sorkin (1999: 222-223) narrates his own experience of visiting Disneyland as follows: "To get from the airport to Disney World, a car is required. Indeed, the only way to arrive at Disney World is by road. This obliges a key ritual of the corridor: the modulation of the means of movement. […] Visitors are welcomed by the mouse. Mickey—hairless, sexless, and harmless—is a summary: as Disney once put it "Mickey is a *clean* mouse." […] The mechanical mouse, product of the animator's assembly line, also confirms a key switch: at Disney, nature is appearance, machine is reality."

[15] According to Bakhtin (1984: 5, *underline* added), the manifestations of this folk culture can be divided into three distinct forms:

    i. *Ritual Spectacles:* carnival pageants, comic shows of the *marketplace;
    ii. *Comic verbal compositions:* parodies both oral and written;
    iii. *Various genres of billingsgate:* curses, oaths, popular blazons.

Renaissance. In contrast to its contemporary meaning as urban redevelopment tool, carnival festivities in the marketplace and the comic spectacles and the ritual connected with them had an important place in the life of medieval man. As Bakhtin (Ibid: 7-8) emphasizes, in these carnival festivities in the marketplace, there was no distinction between actors and spectators. In other words, carnivals belong to the borderline between art and life. *Carnival*[16] is not only a spectacle seen by the people: they live in it, and everyone participates because its very idea embraces all the people.

Especially in the Middle Ages, *festival marketplace* had comprised a field in which neither feudal nor economic relations were effective. But today, festivals have turned into the activities being organized and supported by state, local governance, capitalist entrepreneurs and even by the artists who themselves attend not only as a performer but as small entrepreneurs in the festivals. The spectators no longer participate actively in the festivals; rather they are the onlookers if and only if they have tickets paid for the spectacle.

2.1.3.   From the Concept of 'Culture Industry' to the Concept of 'Creative Industry'

The term 'culture industry', was first introduced in Adorno's and Horkheimer's work, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1997, [©1947]). In their understanding, culture arises spontaneously from the masses as the contemporary form of popular art. As Adorno foresaw in the fifties, "ever since these cultural forms first began to earn a living for their creators as commodities [not only as a work of art] in the market place they had already possessed something of this quality" (Adorno, 1975: 12).

Indeed, especially for Eagleton (2005: 24), culture had traditionally signified almost the opposite of capitalism. As he stresses, right before the commodification of cultural products, "culture was about the values rather than prices, the moral rather than the material, the high minded rather than the ordinary," by the 1960s and 70s, however, "culture was also coming to mean film, image, fashion, lifestyle, marketing, advertising, the communications media" (Ibid: 25).

In order to enhance the vibrancy of cultural industries, urban creativity becomes a key issue in Western political circles, with policy-makers. In its everyday usage, creativity refers to all manners of imaginative and innovative practices. As such, the term 'creative industries' is often used as a shorthand to describe the convergence between the arts sector and the media and information industries, with the creative industries commonly taken to include advertising, architecture, art and

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[16] Bakhtin (1984: 15, 255) stresses a temporary suspension of all hierarchic distinctions and barriers among men and of certain norms of prohibitions of usual life during *carnival* organized *in their own way*. Edwards (2002: 27) who wrote much on Bakhtin's concept of 'carnival' argues that "the culture of *festival marketplace* undoes the hierarchies and distinctions reinforced by official authorities and establishes an equality among individuals, even if only temporarily." In the "Prologue" to *Rabelais and His World,* Holquist (1984: Xviii) asserts that Bakhtin's carnival, surely as "the most productive concept is not an impediment to revolutionary change, it is revolution itself." Because of this unique feature, Holquist warns not to confuse carnival with mere holiday or, least of all, with self serving festivals fostered by governments, secular or theocratic.

antiques, film-making, designer fashion, software, music, the performing arts, and television and radio (Hubbard, 2006: 209).

Creative City

Bianchini and Landry ([1995] 1998: 17) describe 'creativity' as "a way of getting rid of rigid preconceptions and of opening ourselves to complex phenomena which cannot always be dealt with in a strictly logical manner." In their understanding, it is also a way of discovering previously unseen possibilities. For them to become a 'creative city' there is a need of "removing obstacles to creativity":

> Cities are largely run by public officials who must be accountable to electorates. This slows down the pace of response to problems, which tends to be faster in private enterprises. The second reason why bureaucracies block creativity is their responsibility for keeping the urban machine running. This usually involves complex rules and regulations such as planning permissions, licenses, by laws and traffic restrictions (Bianchini and Landry, [1995] 1998: 25).

Landry (2006: 61) ironically asserts that "everyone is now in the creativity game" though he, together with Bianchini ([1995] 1998), first used the term 'creative city'. He believes that creativity has become a mantra of our age endowed almost exclusively with positive virtues. Landry reports that twenty British cities at the last count call themselves creative.[17]

Florida (2002) offers the ways for cities for acquiring competitive advantage in a global economy, and is a significant influence on 'creative city' policy. In his view, regions and cities develop advantage based on their ability to create new business ideas and commercial products. For Florida, such innovation depends upon the concentration of highly educated, knowledge-rich and inevitably mobile workers within a given locale. Here, he (2002b: 7; 2005: 151; 2006: 72) emphasizes the social-cultural dimensions of city life, suggesting that the "creative class does not just cluster where the jobs are […] they cluster in places that are centers of creativity and also where they like to live."

In Florida's conception *creative capital* begins with people, those he calls the *creative class*. The distinguishing characteristic of the *creative class* is that it members engage in work whose function is to *create meaningful new forms*. The 'super-creative core' of this new class includes scientists and engineers, university professors, poets and novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, designers, and architects, as well as the leadership of thought within modern society: non-fiction writers, editors,

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[17] Landry (2006: 61) make a list of those creative cities and network of them: From creative Manchester to […] Creative London. And in the world, Toronto with its Culture Plan for Creative City; Vancouver and the Creative City Task Force, or London, in the USA there is Creative Cincinnati […] in Australia […] Brisbane Creative City strategy, there is creative Auckland […] and Osaka set up a Graduate School for Creative Cities in 2003, and launched a Japanese Creative Cities Network in 2005. Even the somewhat lumbering UNESCO through its Global Alliance for Cultural Diversity launched its Creative Cities Network in 2004 anointing Edinburgh as the first for its literary creativity.

cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts, other opinion makers. Florida describes the 'creative class' as follows:

> Members of this super-creative core produce new forms or designs that are readily transferable and broadly useful—such as designing a product that can be widely made, sold and used, coming up with a theorem or strategy that can be applied in many cases, or composing music that can be performed again and again. Beyond this core group, the Creative Class also includes creative professionals who work in a wide range of knowledge-intensive industries such as high-tech sectors, financial services, and health-care professions and business management (Florida, 2005: 34).

According to Florida (2005: 34) creative people are not moving to these places for traditional reasons. The physical attractions that most cities focus on building—sports, stadiums, freeways, urban malls and tourism-and-entertainment districts that resemble theme parks—are irrelevant, insufficient, or actually unattractive to many Creative Class people. What they look for in communities are abundant high quality experiences, and openness to diversity of all kinds, and above all else the opportunity to validate their identities as creative people (Ibid: 35-36). Florida (2005: 37; 2006: 72) asserts that the key to understanding the 'new [economic] geography of creativity' and its effect on economic outcomes lies in the 3T's of economic development: technology, talent, and tolerance.

On the one hand, Caesar Graña (1964) already noted the historical distinction between the bohemian and the bourgeois. David Brooks (2000), on the other hand, suggested that the traditional distinction between the bourgeois and bohemia has given way to a new blending he calls the bohemian-bourgeois—*bobos* as he put. Decades ago, while Graña drew a distinction between the bohemian and the bourgeois, he noted that bohemians exist in a world *outside* the traditional Protestant ethic of capitalism, prefer more libertine lifestyles, and favor enjoyment and self-actualization over work. While Brooks recognizes the rise of the new lifestyle of the *bobos*, he neglects the underlying economic shifts that made it possible. Because of the shift in economy/economic restructuring the increasing importance of creativity, innovation, and knowledge in the economy opens up the social space where more eccentric, alternative and bohemian types of people can be integrated into core economic and social institutions (Florida, 2005: 116). Capitalism—or more accurately, new forms of capitalist enterprise or in Sennettian[18]

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[18] In *The Culture of the New Capitalism* (2006), Sennett's effort is to describe the 'culture ' in its anthropological sense of "a certain kind of human being" who "can prosper in unstable, fragmentary social conditions" of the new capitalism. As Sennett (2006: 3-4) argues, this ideal man or woman of the new capitalism has to address three challenges. The first concerns *time*: how to manage short term relationships and oneself, while migrating form one task to task, job to job, place to place. The second concerns *talent*: how to develop new skills, how to mine potential abilities, as reality's demand shift. For him, "talent is also matter of culture" because *talent* is the ability of human being to develop new skills in his life narrative. For Sennett, the third challenge follows from this. It concerns *surrender*; that is how to let go of the past because today, in the era of flexible capitalist production no one owns their place in her organization. Employees can be held to three-or six-month contracts, often renewed over the course of the years; the employer can thereby avoid paying them benefits like health care or pensions (Sennett, 2006: 49).

(2006) terms "the culture of the new capitalism"—extending their reach in ways that integrate formerly marginalized individuals and social groups into the value creation process. Still, creative or *talented* or *expressive specialists,* people or *people concerned with culture* or *bobos* whoever they are "capitalism really doesn't care who it exploits" (Eagleton, 2005: 19). Rather, "capitalism needs a human being who has never yet existed" (Ibid: 28).

Hoyman and Faricy (2008), in their article, using data from 276 American metropolitan statistical areas, empirically test the 'creative class theory' as compared to the human and social capital models of economic growth. Their results demonstrate that the creative class is not related to growth, whereas "human capital" predicts economic growth and development and "social capital" predicts average wage but not job growth (Ibid.: 1). In addition to testing aggregate social capital, they make a finer distinction between "bridging" and "bonding" social capital. Their findings confirm that the more exclusive social capital, "bonding," has negative effects on job growth. They also cannot say from their tests that "bridging" capital or organizations known for building out-group trust can produce growth (Ibid.: 20).

Nonetheless, 'new growth theory' proposes that there are limitless opportunities for the creative economy to produce an unpredictable number of new products, services and types of enterprise (Evans and Foord 2006: 157). For Evans and Foord, in many senses, new growth theory which implicitly underpins much of the current claims for the 'creative economy' suggests a win-win scenario for small cities. Parallel to this view, since the beginning of the 1980s in Europe and later since the beginning of 2000s in Turkey, cities have been placed at the centre of government policy with core objectives of promoting creative and innovative economies and promoting what Evans and Foord (2006: 151) call "urban cultural renaissance."

During the 1990s and in the 2000s as well, the prime catalyst for the identification and promotion of creative industries and wider knowledge industries has been their 'growth performance and potential'. As a general trend, 'urban growth' is measured by the job and wealth created in creative industry compared to other industrial sector. In a recent article, Evans (2009: 1026) assumes particular sector percentages and art form in the creative industry sector which possibly feature in growth oriented urban cultural economic policies (Table 2.1).

As seen the 'old' arts and *cultural* industries are now subsumed into, or are a subset of, the *creative* industries (Work Foundation, 2007; Evans (2009: 1008)—a reversal of the relationship which traditionally located the arts at the core, supplying cultural commodities and then non-cultural spheres, such as tourism, advertising and design services. But as Pratt (2008: 35) argues, a creative city cannot be founded like a cathedral in the desert: it needs to be linked to and be part of an existing cultural environment. For him, the complex interdependencies among cities should be taken into consideration, without reducing this relation into simple to exploitation of one another.

Over 80 cities/city-regions[19] produced some explicit policy or strategic plans in the creative city/industries field (a total of 235 cases)—whether headlined as such, or as part of wider knowledge economy or sectoral strategies—within 35 nation-states across all major continents. Cities therefore dominate in policy and strategy intervention, and whilst national policy and programs are evident, these are generic, not location-specific.

On the contrary, in a paper titled "Global Alliance for Cultural Diversity" published by UNESCO, Division For Arts and Cultural Enterprise (2006: 58) these cities are described as 'fertile grounds' and places on the cutting edge of creativity. In the aforementioned paper, it is understood that reports that the governance of so called 'creative cities' received a great attention in the discourse of UNESCO:

> The Creative Cities Network facilitates local capacity building that encourages diversity of cultural products in domestic and international markets, employment generation and social and economic development. The Creative Cities Network connects creative cities so that they can share experiences, know-how, and training in business skills in technology (UNESCO, 2006: 58).

As observed, local "creative clusters" develop within these cities and city regions, and are tightly connected to the international creative industry. According to Landry (2006: 61), in all of these cities called 'creative', "most of the strategies and plans are in fact concerned with strengthening the arts and cultural fabric, such as support for the arts and artists and the institutional infrastructure to match." The question "Why did the popularity of creativity come about?" is worth asking because as Landry too admits overuse, hype and the tendency for cities to adopt the term without thinking through its real consequence could mean that the notion becomes hollowed out, chewed up and thrown out when the next big slogan comes along (Ibid: 63). From

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[19] **Cities and regions**—Western Europe: Flanders (Belgium); Copenhagen, Jutland-Ringkobing, Viborg (Denmark); Helsinki, Turku (Finland); Paris, Lyon (France); Berlin, Leipzig, Munich, Potsdam and Babelsburg, Brandenburg, Hamburg, Stuttgart and North Rhine-Westphalia/Rhine-Rhur (Germany); Dublin (Ireland); Florence, Milan and Lombardy (Italy); Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam, Tilburg, Utrecht (Netherlands); Oslo (Norway); Lisbon, Porto (Portugal); Barcelona, Bilbao and Catalonia (Spain); Stockholm, Trollhattan and Nordic/NORDEN region (Sweden); Zurich (Switzerland); Birmingham, Bolton, Bristol, Glasgow, Huddersfield, London, Manchester, Nottingham, Sheffi eld, Shetland, NE and NW England/Merseyside (UK). Eastern Europe: Mostar (Bosnia); Bucharest (Bulgaria); Budapest, Pecs (Hungary); Liepaja, Riga (Latvia); Vilnius (Lithuania); Izba (Poland); St Petersburg (Russia); Belgrade, Novi Sad, Uzice (Serbia); Zilina (Slovakia); **Istanbul (Turkey);** Ljubljana (Slovenia). North and South America: Austin, Boston, Blue Ridge, Chicago, Denver, Detroit, Los Angeles, Maine Memphis, Minnesota, Montana, New Jersey, New Oklahoma, New York, Orleans, Paducah, Philadelphia, Portland, Providence, Salem, San Diego, San Francisco, Seattle, Silicon Valley, Washington DC (USA); Montreal, Toronto, Quebec, Vancouver (Canada); Rio, São Paolo (Brazil); Caribbean (CARICOM). Africa: Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg (South Africa); Zanzibar. Australasia: Auckland, Christchurch, Wellington (New Zealand); Brisbane, Gold Coast, Melbourne, Sydney and New South Wales (Australia); South-east-Asia: Singapore; Digital corridors (Malaysia); Hong Kong, Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Hangzhou, Shenzen (China); Bangalore, Rajastan and Indian Ocean (India).

In a web page (www.pwcglobal.com/extweb/pwcpublications.nsf/, PWC, 2005) literature was abstracted and archived using a framework to analyze the key policy rationales, the scale/area of coverage (city, region, country, site), leadership—for example, city mayor—creative economy sectors and the policy and resource interventions and mechanisms proposed.

the late 1980s onwards, due the changes in several fields of 'urban' as a general field of power, 'being creative' thus seemed like the answer to every problem in cities. Agreeing with Landry, it is important to note that the 'creative city' notion is an ongoing process "a journey of *becoming, not a fixed state of affairs" (Ibid. *italic added).

The creative industries represent one of the most important areas of the twenty-first century's global economy. Often referred to as the 'creative economy', the 'creative industries' represent a set of interlocking, knowledge intensive industry sectors focusing on the creation and exploitation of intellectual property which is what the 'creative artist' posses (DCMS, 2001 cited in Henry, 2007: 1).

Schumpeter's distinction between 'entrepreneur' and 'inventor' can provide further illumination on the difference between the 'creative entrepreneur' and 'creative artist'. For Schumpeter (1991: 413), 'the inventor produces ideas' while it is the entrepreneur who 'gets things done'. Schumpeter makes clear that it is the entrepreneur, rather than the inventor, who perceives the opportunity, namely the possibilities for making profit, and is the catalyst in the utilization of scientific discovery and invention toward this end (de Bruin, 2007: 94).

2.1.4. The Geography of Film Industry in the Creative Economy: From Hollywood Studio System to Runaway Production

The works of Allen Scott (Scott, 1988; Scott and Storper, 1992) opened up a new avenue of Marxist urban studies. In his later works, Scott (1998; 2000; 2004; 2005; 2007) deals with the growth and development of cities through cultural industries. Throughout his book *The Cultural Economy of Cities,* Scott (2000) sought to sketch an economic geography of cultural production in modern capitalism and argued that "the production of culture today is irrevocably bound up with the logic of commodification" (Scott, 2000: 204).

In the era of inter-urban competition, Scott (2000: 206) believes that the local-global relationship that characterize the cultural economy today are frequently—but not necessarily always—mediated by large firms, many of them being represented in practice by powerful and highly capitalized multinational corporations. For instance, the dominant presence of American films, television shows, or popular music on world markets does not end because they posses some irresistible inner mystery that non-American firms find impossible to replicate. Indeed, for Scott, it is not a mystery but "an outcome of the commercial know-how and energetic world-wide marketing strategies of American corporations" (Ibid: 210)

Obviously, in the first half of the twentieth century, the world of film-making and distribution was dominated by the Hollywood 'studio system' (Epstein, 2005: 4; de Bruin, 2007: 88). According to Schatz (2008: 14), to understand the state of 'studio system'[20] in contemporary Hollywood, there is a need to trace its earlier development, along with the complex evolution of the studio themselves and their singular product, the feature-length motion picture. The organization of this system corresponded to the standard Fordist, more localized, assembly-line mass production model. Today, however, 'vertical disintegration' has led to a global, project based, movie-by-movie subcontracting approach in keeping with the move from mass production to flexible specialization (Christopherson and Storper, 1986, 1989: 107).

For Schatz (2008: 19) the 1970s manifest the rise of the New Hollywood because of the fall of the studio system. According to Schatz (2008: 26) in a five-year span from 1990 to 1995, the New Hollywood rapidly transformed into Conglomerate Hollywood (see Table 2.2). According to Schatz (2008: 29), the domestic US market since the early 1990s has become increasingly split between these *major studio releases* on the one hand and *low-budget independent films* on the other. Thus by the early 2000s Hollywood was generating three fairly distinct classes of feature film via three different types of producer (Schatz, 2008: 31). The dominant products were 'big budget blockbusters' and high-cost star vehicles handled by six major studio producer-distributors. The second class of Hollywood features included art films, specialty films, and other niche-market fare handled by the conglomerates' indie subsidiaries, with the parent company providing the capacity to 'go wide' in the event of a break out hit (MPA, 2006: 12). The third class of film included genre and specialty films handled by independent producer-distributors with release campaigns of only a few dozen (or possibly a few hundred) screens in select urban markets.

Following Storper and Harrison (1991), Coe and Jones describe film production system in terms of structure, governance and territoriality. In basic terms, with regard to the Figure 2.1, the *structure* of the film production system is simple, and can be split into six sequential phases, namely finance, pre-production, production, post-production, distribution, and exhibition. For Coe and Johns (2004: 192-3), the range of inter- and intra- organizational network relationships shown in

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[20] Schatz (2008: 13-42), in his article "The Studio System and Conglomerate Hollywood" traces the earlier development of Hollywood studio system: "During the classical era, from the 1920s trough the 1940s, the 'studio system' referred both to factory-based mode of film production and also, crucially, to the vertical integration of production, distribution, and exhibition. […] During the Depression and World War II, two national crises induced the government to sanction (or at least tolerate) the studios' monopolistic control of the film industry. Studio management was a classic top-down affair, with the primary power emanating from the home office in New York, which controlled distribution and exhibition. […] The war boom peaked in 1946, the studios' best year ever in terms of revenues and profits, put by 1947-8 the industry was in a veritable free fall due to a succession of devastating blows. By the mid-1950s all of the studios had weathered the postwar storm. In 1955-6 the major studios finally acquiesced, as they began reissuing older films for syndication. By 1960 the center of television production in the US had shifted from New York to Hollywood and the studios were turning out far more hours of TV series programming than future films. […] During the late 1960s Hollywood began generating an art cinema of its own. […] In the course of 1960s, five of the seven Hollywood studios changed ownership in a merger-and-acquisition wave unlike any since the formation of the studio system a half century earlier.

Figure 2.1, constitutes the *governance* of the production system. Although today the premier agglomeration of such companies and labor is in Los Angeles, the flexible nature of the production system does offer opportunities to locations that can attract a considerable volume of production activity. This process is shifting the *territoriality* of the production system towards a more dispersed pattern.

Running parallel to the charting of "Hollywood's new map" and the accelerating global outreach and mobility of the US film industry is the rising tide of new clusters of creative and cultural industries across the globe and specialized industrial districts (Scott, 2004; Bassett et al., 2002). Commencing in the 1980s, fostering the creative industries as part of national strategies for structural redirection toward a new knowledge or better to say a new information economy became increasingly common (de Bruni, 2007: 88). The enhanced scope for the decentralization of the film industry offered by the global economy also involves heightened competition between the various globally dispersed production centers (Ibid: 89).

Economic runaways from Hollywood over the last couple of decades have fanned out to locations in many different countries, but have hitherto come to rest predominantly in Canada and, more particularly, in the three cities of Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver (Elmer and Gasher, 2005). Of the three, Vancouver[21] has been by far the greatest beneficiary of runaway production and, as our discussion proceeds, we shall look intently at the status and future trajectory of its film-production complex (Scott and Pope, 2007: 1365).

Goldsmith and O'Regan (2005) have observed that there has recently been a large-scale expansion across the globe in the number of sound stages available for rental, and of so-called 'studio complexes' which offer basic studio facilities together with a complicated critical back-up services and facilities such as workshops, equipment-supply services, cycloramas, water tanks, editing rooms, and so on. Beside the North American cities, among the more familiar of these are new studio complexes in Australia, New Zealand, Mexico, the Czech Republic, Romania, and South Africa (Scott and Pope, 2007: 1378).

In the search for cheap labor, just as semiconductor assembly jobs shifted from Silicon Valley over the 1960s and 1970s in widening waves of spatial decentralization, so it is very arguable that a similar process may well be making its historical and geographical appearance in the motion-picture industry (Henderson and Scott, 1987). Furthermore, just as automobiles, DVDs, and the whole line of various conglomerates' products are made in Asia, so too are American films. Hollywood has a long history of Asian labor exploitation, particularly in animation (Lent, 2008: 280). Hollywood's use of Asia as a production center operates on a number of levels: the

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[21] Even though Vancouver's connections with Hollywood go back to the 1960s and before, the city's emergence as a major production center really began only some time in the mid to late 1980s (Scott and Pope, 2007: 1372).

outsourcing of the work itself, location shooting (runaway productions), and co-productions (Ibid.: 281). Location shooting in Asia is favored by Hollywood because of the exoticism and variety of the continent, but especially for the relative inexpensiveness of the outsourcing of studio space, post-production facilities, technical talent, and location hire. It is a simple matter of economics: cheaper labor and weaker or non-exist unions (Donald, 2005: 141).

Scott and Pope (2007: 1365) suggest that the decentralization of film-shooting activities away from Hollywood actually assumes two main substantive forms, which can be designated *creative* runaways and *economic* runaways,[22] though, in practice, the two cannot always be unambiguously distinguished from one another. Runaway production for creative purposes involves shooting on location at far-flung sites in the search for scenic and artistic effects deemed essential for the achievement of specific aesthetic goals. Creative runaways have always been a feature of the Hollywood production system, and there is a proliferation of film commissions run by local governments all over the world whose main objective is to entice specific creative projects into their jurisdictions.

According to Newman center-periphery model (Wallerstein, 1974; Miller et al., 2005; Newman, 2008: 296) can be used as a framework of analysis for the relationship between Hollywood and non-Hollywood industries (Figure 2.2). The relationship between Hollywood and non-Hollywood industries take place on a number of levels, as shown in Figure 2.2, with the local industries gaining in recognition and power as an increasing number of variables flow between the Hollywood center and the periphery.

For Newman as the local industry develops and becomes more skilled and experienced, it may become possible for it to attract internationally mobile productions looking for unique scenery and cost savings (Ibid.: 297). This may lead to closer relationship between Hollywood and the local industry, with financial capital flowing back to Hollywood. Finally, films themselves from the local industry, may flow back into the Hollywood market. A final component of the model is government(s) in relation to the non-Hollywood domestic industry, who may intervene to restrict or enhance the flows between Hollywood and the local non-Hollywood domestic industry.

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[22] In the case of economic runaways, Scott and Pope (2007: 1366), explain the decentralization of film-shooting activities from Hollywood in terms of three specific factors. First, and most obviously, it is a reflection of the high labor costs in Hollywood compared with a number of alternative locations. Second, it entails for the most part packages of tasks whose transactional relationships to the rest of the production system are sufficiently weak and/or manageable as to allow them to become spatially disarticulated with relative ease. Third, the existence of generous subsidies and tax allowances for film-shooting activities in a number of receiving countries is a powerful additional incentive to decentralize. To these factors they also add the possible subsidiary effect of an undersupply of studio space in Hollywood in the 1990s. Needless to say, the amount of runaway film-shooting activity that can be accommodated in any receiving area is intimately dependent on the quality of local facilities and the available supply of labor, and so these features of the actual and potential destinations of outsourced jobs must be taken into account as well.

Although the model used in the figure above is a two-level center-periphery model, it is evident that there is a semi-periphery in operation in some areas of the world, or alternative centers where a local cinema has regional prominence and dominance (such as South Korea, China and India). In the contemporary cinema industry, Hollywood continues to be centered in a geographical location but the label carries more weight as a *mode* or *form* of production as production locations increasingly are situated at a considerable distance from the geographic centre of Hollywood and the US. (Newman, 2008: 298).

2.2. Fields of Urban Planning, Urban Governance, Urban Politics and Urban Design

This section examines the concept of 'city of culture' in the general literature on urban studies in further four sub-fields namely the field of urban planning; the field of urban politics; the field of urban governance; the field of urban design.

In the field of urban planning the shift from urban planning approach for the long term expectation toward the strategic urban project approach for the short term effectiveness is reviewed. In the field of urban politics, the shift from social progressive urbanism toward neo-liberal urbanism is examined while scrutinizing the shift from urban management toward urban entrepreneurialism in the field of urban governance with reference to the concepts of competitive city and entrepreneurial city. In the field of urban design, the shift from modern toward post-modern urbanism is superficially examined without tracing back the theories on modernity and post-modernity in depth.

2.2.1. Field of Urban Planning: From Planning to Strategic Projects

The culture of planning as it has evolved in the past is rooted in philosophical and social transformation, the intellectual change in the Western thought, known better as the 'Enlightenment'. For Healey (2006: 9), the key resources of systemic planning are scientific knowledge and instrumental rationality. Systematic planning offered a 'transformative' mechanism with which one is able to change and maintain a new or more efficient, effective order to the *management* of urban regions and to economic *management* generally (Ibid: 9-10).

According to Healey (2006: 10) three planning traditions[23] can be identified in the history. First, the tradition of *economic planning* arose in part from a general critique of industrial capitalism.

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[23] First, in the tradition of *economic planning*, planning and the management of urban region are discussed with regard to the management of economies which can be either socialist, Keynesian, or neo-liberal, etc. Whereas the economic planning tradition has been dominated by economists and political philosophers, the second tradition of planning, *physical development planning* was shaped for many years by urban planners, architects, engineers, by utopian dreams of other dominant figures in the society. For the first time the land-use zoning was introduced to prevent society from the industrial pollution. Urban master plans, layout plans for 'greenfield' other divisions in the city have been used since the 19th century. Thirdly, the science of policy analysis as the origin of the *policy analysis and planning* is of American origin and grew out of a search for

The *physical development planning* as the second tradition of planning was shaped by urban planners, architects, engineers and utopian designers. The third tradition, the *policy analysis and planning,* grew out of search for public administration.

According to Sandercock (2000: 423) in the field of urban planning, within the modernist paradigm, there have been successions of competing theories over the past fifty years. In the following chronological order, each new theory[24] contains subtle epistemological break with the Enlightenment tradition in which modernist planning has been embedded: a. the rational comprehensive model; b. the advocacy planning model; c. the radical political economy model; d. the equity planning model; e. the social learning and communicative action models; f. the radical planning model (Sandercock, 2000: 423-432).

Since the early 1980s the 'the transformative power' of planning has been challenged by the model of pluralistic approaches in urban policy. A 'bottom-up' view of how policies were made is now to be contrasted with the 'top-down' formal exercises in policy making and planning. In addition, planning has substantially changed from a rigid land-use document to a flexible negotiating tool under the guidance of a 'strategic plan' (Teitz, 1996, 1997; Castells, 2002: 380)

The word 'strategy' originated within a military context. But in terms of planning 'strategy' was first used by the private sector in the 1950s. In the early 1970s, government leaders in the USA became increasingly interested in *strategic planning[25]* as a result of wrenching changes—oil crisis,

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ways of making public administration more efficient and effective. On the European continent, administration was formally governed by legal rules, developed from Napoleonic code, which gave authority to administrative action. (Healey, 2006: 10-23).

[24] First, for two full decades after the Second World War *the rational comprehensive model,* shaped by and exported from the University of Chicago planning program dominated the field of urban planning (Sandercock, 2000: 428). Theorists from Simon (bounded rationality) to Lindblom (incremental decision making) to Etzioni (mixed scanning) have shared a faith in 'instrumental rationality' (Simon, 1976; Lindblom, 1956; Etzioni, 1978). Second, the idea of *advocacy planning* emerged in the mid-1960s in the US and was that those who had previously been unrepresented would now be represented (Sandercock, 2000: 429). Under this model some planners would now explicitly think about and represent 'the poor' in the planning process—without, however, actually giving them a voice in that process. Sandercock asserts that with the publication of Harvey's (1973) *Social Justice and the City* and Castells' (1976) *The Urban Question* the story of planning began to be rewritten. In contrast to the belief in the emancipatory power of planning, Castells identified three functions of planning: as an instrument of rationalization and legitimization; as an instrument of negotiation and mediation of different demands of the various fractions of capital; and as a regulator of the pressures and protest of the dominated classes. Third, in *the radical political economy model,* as Castells (1978: 88; Sandercock, 2000: 431) argues, "the planner can [only] become the revealer of *contradictions*, and by this an agent of social *innovation*." Fourth, *in the equity planning model*, planners are those who consciously seek to redistribute power, resources or participation away from local elites and toward poor and working-class city residents. Yet the planner is still at the center of the story, the key actor. Fifth, *the social learning and communicative model* proposes a solution to the emerging conflict between expert/processed knowledge and personal/experiential knowledge. According to Sandercock (2000: 432), what is radical about this approach is its epistemological shift away from the monopoly of expertise and insight by professionals to an acknowledgement of the value of local or experiential knowledge. In this model, planning is about talking, argument, shaping attention. But the primary actor and source of attention is still the formally educated planner working through the state. Finally, in *the radical planning model* there is a dramatic shift from the proceeding five models of planning. In these other models, the professional planner, by definition, works through the state, even if, as equity planner, for example, her goal is to achieve some kind of redistribution of resources on behalf of the poor. It is the *on behalf of* that is the problem for the radical planner.

[25] Referring to many authors Albrecht (2004: 746) lists major characteristics of *strategic planning,* in the following excerpt:

    i. It has to take critical view of the environment;

demographic shifts, changing values, volatile economy, etc. (Albrecht, 2004: 746). As mentioned in the sub-section 1.3.1, the theories of *restructuring* were originated in the 1970s following the energy crisis struck the world capitalist economy.

Albrecht (2004: 743) argues that in the 1960s and 1970s *strategic spatial planning* in a number of Western countries evolved towards a system of comprehensive planning at different administrative levels. As he claims "in the 1980s we witnessed a retreat from strategic planning" since then the focus of urban planning practices has been on the [strategic urban] projects.

To sum up, *strategic spatial planning* can be described as selective rather than comprehensive; focusing on priorities of spatial, economic and sectoral issues; dynamic and flexible; linked to bridge public and private; balancing between long-term visioning and short-term priorities; emphasizing both process and product as participatory and inclusive. However, instead of the 'top-down' formal exercises in policy making and planning by central government, *strategic projects* as the new concern of the local municipal governments with the partnership of private sector, are situated within a broader context; have strategic rather than immediate impact; serve as a catalyst; provides a platform for communication and negotiation.

In a more critical interpretation, *strategic projects*—no matter what they are called, be it 'civic jingoism', 'local boosterism', 'flagship projects', 'urban spectacle', 'hallmark events' or 'place promotion'—are typically represented in terms of efforts made by local elites "to refashion collective emotion and consciousness within cities in order to legitimate political projects that function primarily in their interest" (Boyle, 1999: 55). Boyle defines such projects as Urban Propaganda Project (UPPs). The UPPs are used as instruments of social control relates to the way 'growth machines' appropriate local sources of civic pride as part of their own legitimization which in turn creates what Molotch (1976: 314-15) refers to as revamped "community we feeling."

However, as the UPPs were generally developed by the partnership of the local municipal governments and private sectors, they in turn annihilate the autonomy—*independency* of the managers as controllers, planners or social workers, architects or education officers, estate agents or property developers in Pahl's words. Thus, the planners of the future increasingly losing their autonomy or independency come up with the risk of being more entrepreneurial to survive. Far

ii. It has to study the external trends, forces and resources available;

iii. It has to identify and gather major stake-holders (public and private);

iv. It has to allow for a broad (multilevel governance) and diverse (public, economic, civil society) involvement during the planning process;

v. It has to develop a realistic long-term vision or perspective and strategies at different levels taking into account the power structures, uncertainties and competing values;

vi. It has to design plan-making structures and develop contents, images and decision framework for influencing and managing spatial change;

vii. It has to be about building new ideas and building agreements;

viii. It has to focus on decisions, actions, results and implementation and incorporates monitoring feedback and revision.

from being critical of this situation, Albrechts (2000: 35) proposes eight significant characteristics or qualities with which 'future planners' need to be armed with. According to Albrechts (2000: 35-37), referring to major planning theorists (Friedman, 1993; Healey and Piccinato, 1995), the future planner must be a more pro-active, collaborative, integrative, international, political, normative, innovative, and entrepreneurial.

2.2.2. Field of Urban Politics: From Social Progressive Urban Politics to Neoliberal Urban Politics or a Third Way as the Cocktail of the Two

In the field of urban politics, Keil (2000: 259) differentiates three pathways in a landscape of "possible urban worlds". For Keil, these three pathways are 'social progressive', 'neoliberal' and 'Third Way' urbanism. He believes that these three fields are potentially overlapping and sometimes interdependent in their discursive construction in the political arena.

According to Keil (2000: 262) the dynamics of 'social progressive urbanism' has moved into the realm of civil society organizing and unofficial politics. Among the tangible features of the social progressive urban project are the emergence of what Harvey (1998) calls "living wage and other new labor-movement strategies" that are decidedly local and urban. Other areas in which the progressive project has succeeded in claiming a piece of urban discourse are environmental-justice, citizenship struggles, progressive identity, movements, community economic development, the reconciliation of urban and suburban politics as well as advocacy for the homeless and against poverty.

'Social Progressive Urban Government' is generally defined as 'Social Democratic Government' in urban context (Table 2.3.). Giddens (1998: 8-9) who has also constructed a coherent definition of the Third Way (Table 2.5) defines 'old-style' social democracy as follows:

> Old-style social democracy saw free market capitalism as producing many of the problematic effects Marx diagnosed, but believed these can be muted or overcome by state intervention in the marketplace. The state has the obligation to provide public goods that markets cannot deliver, or can do so only in a fractured way. A strong government presence in the economy and other sectors of the society too, is normal and desirable, since public power, in a democratic society, represents the collective will.

Second, 'neoliberal urban politics' (Table 2.4) is characterized by a combination of two kinds of politics: the neoliberal economic agenda of deregulation, deficit cutting and downsizing of urban government and the application of series policing measures for social control (Keil, 1997; 2000: 260). Harvey who explored the essence of neoliberalism in his book, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (2005: 20), states that neoliberal doctrine was deeply opposed to state interventionist theories, such as those of John Maynard Keynes, which rose to prominence in the 1930s in response to the Great Depression. Regarding this fact, the neoliberals were even more fiercely opposed to

theories of centralized state planning (Ibid: 21). Parallel to the shift in planning culture from comprehensive planning by central government toward the strategic urban planning if not toward the UPPs (see Section 2.3.1) "there has everywhere been an emphatic turn towards neoliberalism in political-economic practices and thinking since the end of the 1970s" (Ibid: 2).

Although neoliberal politics proposes the liberation of individual entrepreneurial freedoms it is often combined with the most conservative social policies politically possible: they are often anti-immigrant and always anti-marginal (Keil, 2000: 260; Harvey, 2006: 27). Because of this contradiction in neoliberalism, Harvey thinks that the neo-liberal state is profoundly anti-democratic, even as it frequently seeks to disguise this fact. With regard to this fact, Keil asserts that being both destructive of existing local economies and conservative of traditional hierarchical, patriarchal, and exploitative structures, neoliberal governors imagine a city with commercialized and malled street life, suburbanized inner cities, lean urban government, home ownership over rental housing, low residential property taxes, private instead of collective consumption, law and order, invisible poverty and homelessness, controlled public spaces, and managed segregation on various scales.

In the neoliberal view, "preferred form of governance is that of the 'public-private partnership' in which state and key business interests collaborate closely together to coordinate their activities around the aim of enhancing capital accumulation" (Harvey, 2006: 27). In neoliberal state, Harvey argues (2005: 65), competition between —individuals, firms, and territorial entities (cities, regions, nations, regional groupings)—is held to be primary virtue. Instead of the concept of competitive city for creative purposes especially to attract the global capital, de Roo (2007) introduces a new concept of "complementary city" by which he suggests a collaboration of agencies in specific fields of two cities for reversing the money flow from periphery to center. With this concept de Roo proposes a model of planning for cities at the peripheries which shall complement the global projects developed by cities in higher rank order within the hierarchy of world cities that leave a margin for themselves too.

Moreover, the commodification of sexuality, culture, history, heritage; of nature as spectacle or as rest cure; the extraction of monopoly rents from originality, authenticity, and uniqueness (of works of art, for example)—these all amount to putting a price on things that were never actually produced as commodities (Harvey, 2002; 2005: 166). Above all, Harvey (2005: 19) argues that neoliberalism should not be understood as a bundle of characteristics, but as "a political project, a process of neoliberalization to reestablish the conditions for capital accumulation and to restore the power of economic elites."

In Keil's (2000: 262) understanding, the Third Way Politics is slightly different from the two others discussed above. It is both product of independent, social-democratic, liberal and moderate

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environmental urban politics and a contested terrain located in a field of tension between neoliberal and progressive projects. Most prominently, ecological modernization (sustainability and smart growth), entrepreneurialism, cultural modernization, and modest feminist politics are its hallmarks. Urban design is often seen as a means through which to devise social solutions (Lehrer, Milgrom, 1996 cited in Keil, 2000: 262). Although the Third Way is not as conservative as neoliberal project on social issues, the difference is that the Third Way will accept social difference and integrate it into the vision of social engineering through urban design (Ibid.: 263).

As a concept the 'Third Way' was originally described by the American Democrats as a 'new progressivism' (Democratic Leadership Council/DLC, 1996 cited in Giddens, 2000: 2). In April 1999, at the height of the Kosovo conflict, a public dialogue on the Third Way politics was held in Washington (The White House, 25 April 1999 cited in Giddens, 2000: 4). Bill Clinton, Tony Blair, Gerhard Shröder, Wim Kok—prime minister of the Netherlands at that time—and Massimo D'Alema, the Italian prime minister attended. During the meeting D'Alema expressed the following:

> The Third Way suggests that it is possible to combine social solidarity with a dynamic economy, and this is a goal contemporary social democrats should strive for. To pursue it, we will need a 'less national government, less central government, but greater governance over local processes' as well as opening out in the direction of the global community. Economic development will require lifelong learning and adaptation to new knowledge. 'Culture is the most important form of social inclusion, *we should invest in culture*' (Giddens, 2000: 5 *italic* added).

As mentioned in the Introduction, when Tony Blair came to power in 1997 the cultural industries became the central concern of the U.K. policy with consultants and academics were invited by many European cities for export advice on culture as the vehicle of economic development. It is also stated above that the shift from 'cultural' to 'creative' industry discourse in the U.K. in those times was associated with Blair's Third Way (O'Connor, 2004: 41).

In his book *The Third Way* (1998: 15), Giddens insisted that rather than being beyond left and right, Third Way is part of the left, a renewal of social democracy. According to Giddens (2000: 32), Third Way politics "is not a continuation of neoliberalism, but an alternative political philosophy to it." Paralleling this view Keil is also hopeful that there is the possibility of negotiated universalism, of democratization, of social justice, and of urban ecology (Ibid: 264).

2.2.3. Field of Urban Governance: From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism,

The shift to *entrepreneurialism* in urban governance gave its first signal during a colloquium about 'urban government' held at Orleans in 1985 (Harvey, ©1989m, 2001: 346). The colloquium which brought together academics, businessmen, and policymakers from eight large cities in seven advanced countries indicated a strong consensus on the following argument:

urban governments *had to be* much more *innovative* and *entrepreneurial*, willing to explore all kinds of avenues through which to alleviate their distressed condition and thereby secure a better future for their populations (Bouinot, 1987 cited in Harvey, Ibid. *italic* added).

For Hubbard and Hall (1998: 1) this shift in urban politics heralded the emergence of 'entrepreneurial cities':

> This orientation of urban government is characterized by a shift from the local provision of welfare and services to more outward-orientated policies designed to foster encourage local growth and economic development. Furthermore, these policies are supported and financed by diverse array of *new agencies* and *institutions*, as public agencies struggle to promote economic growth at the local level on their own terms. Such co-operation with the private sector has been local government imbued with characteristics once distinctive to businesses—risk taking, inventiveness, promotion and profit motivation—leading many commentators to refer to the emergence of *entrepreneurial* cities (Mollenkopf, 1983; Judd and Ready, 1986; Harvey 1989m cited in Hubbard and Hall, 1998: 2, *italic* added).

Beginning with the influential work of the geographer David Harvey (1989), a number of scholars have coined the phrases the 'entrepreneurial city', 'urban entrepreneurialism' and/or entrepreneurial city politics (Hubbard, 1996; Hall and Hubbard, 1996; Hubbard and Hall, 1998; Wood, 1998; Short and Kim, 1999; Jessop, 1997, 1998; Jessop and Sum, 2000; Chapin, 2002; Ward, 2003; Cochrane, 2007). For Dannestam (2008: 355), urban entrepreneurialism refers to the introduction of growth-oriented policies and new organizational modes within local governments. The term 'entrepreneurial', although not always explicitly discussed, is used to denote a situation where the activities of city governments are influenced by the private sector (Hall and Hubbard, 1996: 153; Jessop, 1998: 83).

In his seminal article, "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation of Governance in the Late Capitalism," Harvey ([©1989b], 2001: 354) argues that the new *entrepreneurialism* in the 1980s typically rests on a public private partnership focusing on investment and economic development with speculative construction of place rather than amelioration of conditions within a particular territory as its immediate political and economic goal. Harvey ([2001]; 2001: 402-3) argues that *urban entrepreneurialism* has become important both nationally and internationally in recent decades. By this he means that pattern of behavior within urban governance that mixes together state powers (local, metropolitan, regional, national or supranational) and wide array of organizational forms in civil society (chambers of commerce, unions, churches, educational and research institutions, community groups, NGOs, and the like) and private interests (corporate or individual) to form coalitions to promote or manage urban/regional development of some sort or other. The role of this urban entrepreneurialism in relation to the neo-liberal form of globalization is also important with regard to local-global relations and the so called space-place dialectics.

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One of the most commonly used definitions of the *entrepreneurial city* is that given by Bob Jessop and Ngai-Ling Sum (2000: 2289). For them, the first condition a local government has to meet in order to qualify as an entrepreneurial city is that it "pursues innovative strategies intended to maintain or enhance its economic competitiveness vis-à-vis other cities and economic spaces." Second criterion is that "these strategies must be active and explicit." And the third criterion is that "the promoters of entrepreneurial cities adopt an entrepreneurial discourse, narrate their cities as entrepreneurial and market them as entrepreneurial." The last criterion in the definition is important, since it emphasizes that questions of ideology, as well as the power of discourse, are a central part of entrepreneurial practices.

As mentioned before (see sub-section 1.2) *managerialist* theories,[26] take the functions of the state as operating in the bureaucratically defined national interest. Pahl (Ibid.: 207) "did see the managers as a crucial factor in any explanation" as the *independent* controllers, planners or social workers, architects or education officers, estate agents or property developers, representing the market or the plan, private enterprise or the state, all impose their goals and values on the *dependent* lower participants in the urban system. However, as the partnership of the local municipal governments and private sectors in local governance, the autonomy or the *independency* of the managers as controllers, planners or social workers, architects or education officers in turn has the risk of being annihilated.

According to Hubbard and Hall (1998: 4) there can be defined two basic characteristics of *urban entrepreneurialism*; first, a political prioritization of pro-growth local economic development and, secondly, an associated organizational and institutional shift from urban government to urban governance (see also 1.3.2). Because of its growth-oriented characteristic, Hubbard and Hall describe *entrepreneurialism* as "distinctive political culture" representing a relatively novel combination of 'boosterist strategies' and policies designed to 'promote growth'. Consequently, "this new form of city governance," reliant on co-operation with the private sector and the speculative mobilization of local resources to promote growth, "has certainly ushered in a new way of thinking and writing about city politics" (Hubbard and Hall, 1998: 12).

Jessop (1998: 93) who studies on *entrepreneurial cities* identifies four major economic development strategies for cities. Jessop calls the first strategy as "the search for growth via local-regional-national linkages." For him, this is an increasingly common strategy for cities and regions to pursue some form of 'structured complementarity' by building favorable linkages to wider economy.

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[26] Urban *managerialist* thesis held that fundamental spatial constraints on access to scarce urban resources and facilities reflect the distribution of power in society and are illustrated in by: bureaucratic rules and procedures; social gatekeepers who help to control and distribute urban resources. According to Pahl (1975: 201) *populations* limited in this access to scarce urban resources are the *dependent* variable, and those controlling access, the *managers* of the system, would be the *independent* variable.

This is typically reflected discursively in attempts "to position places centrally on 'stages' of various scales: regional, national, international, global" (Hall and Hubbard, 1996: 163-4). Jessop names the second economic development strategy for cities as "the search for growth via transnational local alliances" through which communications and infrastructural linkages with Europe have been improved to facilitate a certain bypassing of the national state and corresponding need for complementary mode of insertion within a national accumulation strategy (Ibid: 93).

For Jessop (1998: 94) "the search for growth via the resource procurement model" is the third economic development strategy for cities as a response to a lack of land for property development schemes. In addition to the traditional source of 'procurable assets' in the central state, local authorities can now access European Union Funds, especially Structural Funds. The fourth and the last economic development strategy for cities, Jessop (1998: 95) defines, is "place marketing via local regulatory undercutting and international beauty contests."

As a contribution to urban political economy approach, cultural political economy (CPE) has been developed recently by 'the Lancaster School'—a growing research cluster at Lancaster University driven by Bob Jessop and Ngai-Ling Sum. In a series of books and articles, CPE is elaborated upon as a way to study contemporary capitalist restructuring and societal transformation (Sayer, 2001; Jessop and Sum, 2001; Jessop, 2004, 2007, 2008, ch. 10; Jessop et al., 2008; Sum, 2004, 2006; Jessop and Oosterlynck, 2008; Fairclough et al., 2004; Moulaert et al., 2007; Gonza´lez, 2006; Ribera-Fumaz, 2005; Dannestam, 2008).

From a CPE perspective, it is interesting that the development of new discourses at the national and regional levels reinforces the logic of urban entrepreneurialism. The new discourses tell us that the performance of cities is not only crucial for their own development, but also for economic success in a regional as well as national perspective (Dannestam, 2008: 361). The entrepreneurial city or region has been constructed through the intersection of diverse economic, political and socio-cultural narratives which seek to give meaning to current problems by construing them in terms of past failures and future possibilities (Jessop, 1998: 91; Dannestam, 2008: 363).

As Harvey ([©1989b] 2001: 358) puts, *urban entrepreneurialism* implies some level of *inter-urban competition*. Indeed, to the degree that inter-urban competition becomes more potent, it will almost certainly operate as an 'external coercive power' over individual cities to bring them closer into line with the discipline and logic of capitalist development. But the worst of the worst is that "most local governments have the feeling they have no option, given the coercive laws of competition" (Albrechts, 2000: 37).

In their survey of trends in a wide range of European cities, Parkinson and Harding (1995: 66) foresaw that "the years to 2000 [is] an age of entrepreneurial cities." This trend continues a

general movement over the last two decades towards greater entrepreneurialism, more intense inter-urban competition and the conscious promotion of place-specific development strategies.

2.2.4. Field of Urban Design: From Modern to Postmodern Urbanism

Although the term 'postmodern' was first applied to architecture by Joseph Hudnut in the title of a 1945 article, its popularization began by Charles Jencks[27] around 1975. The post-modernity debate, the question of whether we live in post-modern times, became, during the 1980s, the most central field for contemporary theoretical development. Postmodern architecture claims to be a rejection of uniformity of modern practice, which was held responsible for creation of a bland uniform style of building characterized by high rise flats, shopping centers and standardized plans. (Savage and Warde, 2005: 73).

In one of the most notable accounts, *Learning from Las Vegas,* Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour (1977) argued that architects had to learn from vernacular traditions, and abandon the pretensions of uniform modernist style. In this sense post-modern architecture is to celebrate multivalence (many meanings), over univalence (one meaning), and to promote a fresh aesthetic borrowing from different architectural styles and various historical periods, therefore postmodernist architects consciously reacted against modernist uniformity and functionality. (Savage and Warde, 2005: 74)

In the field of architecture and urban design, Harvey ([1989a] 1990: 66) also takes postmodernism broadly to signify a break with the modernist idea that planning and development should focus on large-scale, metropolitan-wide, technologically rational and efficient urban *plans*, backed by absolutely no-frills architecture (the austere 'functionalist' surfaces of 'international style' modernism). From a very functionalist point of view, Harvey considers the modernist space as something to be shaped for social purposes and therefore always subservient to the construction of social project. Consequently, he appreciates the postmodernist space as something independent and autonomous, to be shaped according to the aesthetic aims and principles which have nothing necessarily to do with any overarching social objective, timeless and disinterested beauty as an objective in itself.

It is useful to consider the meaning of such shift in architectural and urban design for variety of reasons. For Jencks (1984), postmodern architecture has its roots in significant technological shifts. First, contemporary communications have collapsed the 'usual space and time boundaries', producing both a new internationalism and strong internal differentiations within cities

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[27] Jencks (1984: 9) dates the symbolic end of modernist architecture and the passage to the post-modern as 3:32 pm on July 15th, 1972, when the Pruitt-Igoe housing development (a version of Le Corbusier's "machine for modern living") was dynamited as an unlivable environment for the low-income people it housed.

and societies based on place, function and social interest. Resulted from these shifts, dispersed, decentralized, and deconcentrated urban forms are now much more technologically feasible than they once were (Harvey, [1989] 1990: 76). Harvey puts the second technological shift, as 'flexible mass production' which resulted from the new technologies (particularly computer modeling) dissolving the need to conjoin mass production with mass repetition, and permitted to of 'almost personalized products' expressive of a great variety of styles. As a consequence, producers have, begun to explore the realms of differentiated tastes and aesthetic preferences in ways that were not so possible and necessary under a Fordist regime of standardized accumulation through mass production (Harvey, 1990: 263). In so doing, Harvey argues, they have re-emphasized a powerful aspect of capital accumulation: the production and consumption of what Bourdieu (1977; 1984; see also Section 2.3.3) calls *symbolic capital*. Regarding this fact, Harvey (1990: 268) asserts that there is strong evidence that post-modernity is nothing more than the cultural clothing of flexible accumulation.

Combining Marxist political economy with post-structuralist ideas about the instability of meaning, Harvey has offered some stimulating and influential interpretations of the new urban forms emerging in the post-Fordist or post-industrial city. In his famous book *The Condition of Postmodernity* ([1989] 1990: 91) Harvey employs an interpretation of the relationship between culture and economy. For him, the depthlessness of the contemporary city, with its emphasis on surfaces and signs, is evidentially a means by which capitalism has sought to both attract and distract, transforming spaces of production into spaces of postmodern play and capricious consumption. He also argues that the condition of post-modernity can best be seen as related to 'time-space compression'[28] in contemporary capitalism which accelerates the turnover of invested capital while channeling people to consume more.

'Postmodern urbanism' as a challenge to 'modern urbanism', which started with the 'culture of planning' (see Chapter 3.3.1.) during the Enlightenment, a 'project of modernity' (Habermas, 1983) emerged and grew dominant primarily in Western countries. Modernity project, in its essence, sought to discover what is universal and eternal through the scientific method and human creativity in order to dominate natural forces and thereby liberate people from the irrational and arbitrary ways of religion, superstition, and our own human nature (Harvey, [1989] 1990: 12-13; Ellin, 1996: 105).

Ellin (1996: 133) defines postmodern urbanism by reviving and assessing the major themes. For Ellin, these overlapping themes include contextualism, historicism, the search for urbanity,

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[28] Time-space compression is a term used to describe processes that seem to accelerate the experience of time and reduce the significance of distance during a given historical moment which refers to a "processes that [...] revolutionize the objective qualities of space and time" (Harvey, [1989] 1990: 240).

regionalism, anti-universalism, pluralism, collage, self-referentiality, reflexivity, preoccupation with image/décor/scenography, superficiality, depthlessness, ephemerality, fragmentation, populism, apoliticism, commercialism, loss of faith, and irony. In contrast to the primary motto of modern urbanism which says 'Form follows function', the critique of postmodern urbanism revolves around four slogans: 'Form Follows fiction', 'Form Follows Fear', 'Form Follows Finesse', and 'Form Follows Finance' (Ellin, 1996: 134)."

In postmodern cities, the logics of previous urbanism have evaporated; and, in the absence a single new imperative, multiple (ir)rationalities clamor to fill the vacuum. For Dear (1999; 2005: 65-66), post-modern cities in empirical terms, find their expressions in the following urban dynamics:

1. *World City:* The emergence of a relatively few centers of command and control in a globalizing economy;

2. *Dual City:* An increasing social polarization, i.e., the increasing gap between rich and poor; between nations; between powerful and powerless; between different ethnic, racial and religious groupings; and between genders;

3. *Hybrid City:* The ubiquity of fragmentation both in material and cognitive life, including the collapse of conventional communities, and the rise of new cultural categories and spaces, including, especially cultural hybrids; and

4. *Cybercity:* The challenges of the information age, especially the seemingly ubiquitous capacity for connectivity to supplant the constraints of place.

As seen, there is a clear correlation between Ellin's critique of postmodern urbanism revolving around four slogans and Dear's categorization of postmodern cities: *World City* as the outcome of urbanism following the motto 'form follows finance'; *Dual City,* 'form follows fear'; *Hybrid City,* 'form follows finesse'; and *Cybercity,*[29] 'form follows fiction'.

Hunnigan (1998) coined the concept of 'fantasy city'[30] by which he means a city, offering a pleasure and profit. For Hunnigan (1998: 3) 'fantasy city' is bounded and defined by six central features: *theme-o-centric, branded, operating day and night, modular, solipsistic,* and *postmodern.*

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[29] Many writers have used the 'theme park' metaphor to describe the emergence of such variegated city spaces as *cybercity*. For instance Michael Sorkin (1992), described theme parks as places of *simulation* without end, characterized by a spatiality plus technological and physical surveillance and control. Disneyland is the archetype, described by Sorkin (1992: 227) as a place of 'Taylorized fun', the 'Holy See of Creative Geography'.

As for Baudrillard (1997: 222; 1999: 12), Disneyland is a perfect model of all the entangled orders of simulacra. According to Baudrillard (1999:1), the simulacrum is never what hides the truth—it is truth that hides the fact that there is none. He defines it as a play of illusions and phantasms. What attracts the crowds the most is without a doubt the social microcosm, the religious, miniaturized pleasure of real America. In his own words: "The imaginary of Disneyland is neither true nor false, it is a deterrence machine set up in order to rejuvenate the fiction of the real in opposite camp. This world wants to be childish in order to make us believe that the adults are elsewhere, in the 'real' world, and to conceal the fact that true childishness is everywhere—that is that the adults themselves who come here to act the child in order to foster illusions as to their real childishness" (Baudrillard, 1999: 13).

[30] According to Hunnigan (1998: 3-4), first, Fantasy cities are *theme-o-centric*, by which he means that everything from individual entertainment venues to the image of the city itself conforms a scripted theme, normally drawn from sports,

A contemporary scholar John Urry who wrote especially on consumption of spaces and sociology of tourism, identifies three senses of the meaning of *post* in postmodern within the context of architecture: *after* the modern; *return* to the premodern; and *anti* the modern (Urry, 2005: 204).[31]

2.3.   Field of Economy: From Local to Global Economy

In this section, the concept of 'city of culture' is reviewed in the general literature on global capitalism. While doing this, how 'culture' is highlighted for the representation of cities in the global market is scrutinized because branding a city as a 'city of culture' has become one of the major strategies employed in increasing the rank of city in the hierarchy of world cities.   Needless   to say, the world economy has shaped the life of cities for centuries but at the same time major cities have been shaping the world economy. Major changes in the technical and spatial organization of the economy at local, national and global levels have fed the demand for the kinds of services and centralized control operations likely to be concentrated in major cities. Here such constructs as 'world city' (Friedman, and Wolff, 1982; Hall, 1966), 'global cities' (King, 1990), 'global city function' (Sassen, 1991), 'regional centers' (Thrift, 1986), 'global city-regions' (Scott, 2001) are useful for defining the cities both commanding and attracting the global capital. For the case of Antalya, urban restructuring strategies in the field of economy are examined in the ninth chapter.

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history or popular entertainment. Second, not only is 'fantasy city' themed but it is also aggressively *branded*. Urban entertainment destinations (UEDs) are not financed and marketed exclusively on the basis of their ability to deliver a high degree of consumer satisfaction and fun but also on their potential for selling licensed merchandise on site. Sometimes branded identities derive from the success of a location-based entertainment project, but in other instances they represent the imposition of pre-existing consumer and show business brand on leisure sites in the expectation of creating profitable synergy. A third feature of 'fantasy city' is that it operates *day and night*. In marked contrast to the traditional suburban shopping mall which shuts down by nine or ten o'clock at night, the developers of Urban Entertainment Centers (UECs) actively encourage after-dark activities which range from themed night clubs to late night entertainment 'destinations' in tourist areas. Fourth, 'fantasy city' is *modular*, mixing and matching an increasingly standard array of components in various configurations (Ibid: 4). Hunnigan states that an UED project will contain one or more themed restaurants (e.g. the Hard Rock café, Planet Hollywood, the Rainforest Café) a megaplex cinema, a theater and book megastores, and some form of interactive, high-tech arcade complete with virtual reality games and ride simulators. Fifth, Hunnigan calls 'fantasy city' *solipsistic*; i.e. isolated from surrounding neighborhoods physically, economically and culturally. Finally, 'fantasy city' is *postmodern* inasmuch as it is constructed around technologies of simulation, virtual reality and the thrill of the spectacle. Without a doubt, here a major inspiration has been the Disney model, not just because it has been widely imitated but also because a number of the Disney 'imaginers' (designers) have migrated to other entertainment and real estate companies.

[31] Urry asserts that *after* the modern is the same with 'consumerist postmodernism'. This takes its cue from Venturi's (1972; Jencks, 1977; Frampton, 1988) famous book *Learning From Las Vegas*. In this sense of the meaning, Urry (2005: 205) defines postmodern architecture as follows: "Art and life are fused or pastiched in the playful and shameless borrowing of ornamental style. Previous elements of high culture are mass produced, and no longer signify anything particular. This is an architecture of surfaces and appearances, of playfulness and pastiche." For Urry, in the second sense of the term, patrician postmodernism involves a *return* to the pre-modern. Here what is celebrated is the classical form, the architecture of an elite and aristocrats. This reconstructed classicism springs from individuals who believe they have distinct powers of insight, who will be able to return to the aura of the fine buildings. The third variant of postmodern architecture is *against* the modern. It has much in common with Frampton's (1988) concept of 'critical regionalism'. Space in vernacular postmodernism is localized, specific, context-dependent, and particularistic—by contrast with modernist space which is absolute, generalized, and independent of context.

The 1980s have seen a major paradigm shift in urban studies. The study of urbanization and the city has, like other phenomena, been directly linked to the developments in the world-economy, the term 'global' becoming as a common in book titles (on the global shift, global restructuring, global factory) as in the financial sections of newspaper (King, ©1990, 1991: 3).

Lash and Urry (1994) point out that the global economy is 'disordered' and 'de-centered', comprising a series of 'flows' of tourists, migrants, ideas, money, information, and so on. As a result of globalization, deindustrialization and economic restructuring, a growing number cities and region are being forced to look to consumption, entertainment and finance activities in order to compete with other cities for the capital investment needed to facilitate their economic and spatial survival.

Moreover, as capitalism globalizes, the cultural political economies (CPE) of cities become, if anything, yet more pronounced (Scott, 2000: 7). While the cultural economies of many cities today consist of dense, complex, and locationally convergent groups of producers, they are also typically embedded in far-flung global networks of transactions (Amin and Thrift, 1992; Scott, 1996; Scott, 2000: 13).

2.3.1.   World City, Global City, Global City Region

The urban impact of globalization has been observed in various urban sites around the world, yet a limited number of large cities, so called 'world cities' or 'global cities', namely London, New York and Tokyo and to a lesser degree, Los Angeles and Paris, have received a large portion of the academic scrutiny (Kim, 2008: 123-4). According to Kim, a conceptual distinction could be made between 'global cities' and 'world cities', and yet, as noted by Short (2004: 2), "the distinction is loose."

World City

Peter Hall who first coined the term 'world city' in 1966, develops two major arguments about the global cities. According to his first argument, high-level global cities can be distinguished by a high degree of concentration of four particular clusters of advanced services:

    i. *Command* and *control functions* (government, international agencies, headquarters of major
        private corporations);
    ii. *Financial and business services* (ranging from commercial services such as accountancy, law, and
        advertising to public relations, management consultancy, and architecture, civil
        engineering, fashion and interior design);
    iii. *Tourism* of both the leisure and business varieties;
    iv. *Cultural and creative industries*, including the live performing arts, museum and galleries, and the
        print and electronic media (Hall, 2001: 61-62)

According to Hall's (2001: 72; Bawerstock et al, 1999) second argument, there is more than one route to 'world city' status, and cities are discovering that fact for themselves. As shown in the Table 2. 6, the lower levels of world city-ness, in the 'fuzzy zone' below the *Alpha* and *Beta* centers may be crucially important in policy terms, because "it allows a city to make its own bid for occupation of some crucial niche market," as when Glasgow became European City of Culture in 1990 or city of Architecture in 1999, or when Bilbao suddenly launched itself on to the world's consciousness with Guggenheim Museum, or when a city like Seoul or Sydney attracts the Olympic Games.

Heralded by John Friedman's seminal works on the world city hypothesis (Friedman and Wolf, 1982; Friedman, 1986, 1995), many have attempted to draw a global hierarchy of cities indicative (Figure 2.3), or at least suggestive, of individual cities' influence in the current world economy (Knox and Taylor, 1995; Short et al., 1996; Smith and Timberlake, 2002). Despite much appreciation of Friedmann's contribution to the theoretical development in urban studies, there has been a growing criticism of his classification of world cities, called a 'world city hierarchy' (Friedmann, 1986: 86) and 'spatial articulation of 30 world cities' (Table, 2.7) because of the lack of empirical data.

World cities now are the control centers of the globalized economy. Similar to Friedman's conceptualization of 'world city hierarchy', Hannerz (2000), Thrift (1986) and King ([©1990] 1991) consider that some of these cities may appear to be more world cities than others because of their economic and cultural roles. Within a rank order, world cities can be identified in three categories (Thrift, 1986: 61; King, [©1990] 1991: 15):

- First, are the *truly international centers* (New York, London, Paris, Zurich) containing many head offices, branch offices, and regional headquarters of large corporations and representative offices of many banks.

- Second are the *zonal centers* (Singapore, Hong Kong, and Los Angeles) serving as important links in the international financial system but responsible for particular geographic zones rather than world-scale business.

- Finally, the *regional centers* (Sydney, Dallas, Chicago, Miami, and San Francisco) host to corporate headquarters and foreign financial outlets but not essential links in the international financial system.

However, it is clear that the mere fact of 'size' alone is not sufficient to give 'world-city' status to any given city. For King, a variety of other factors are much more important, not least the strength of the economy to which the city belongs, its *location* in relation to zones of growth or *stagnation* in the international economy, its *attraction* as a potential base point for international capital (for banks, multinational headquarters, and producer services), its *stability,* and especially its historic

and cultural *connections* to other world cities both in the semi-periphery and the core (King, 1990, 1991: 74). For these reasons, King regards Sydney, Singapore, and Hong Kong as world cities.

In contrast to King's view, Stren (2001: 197) believes that the 'size' of cities is the most important dynamic element in the narrative of urbanization in developing countries beside the urbanization rate. Dogan and Kasarda (1988: 12 cited in Stren, 2001: 197) put it "[t]he world is becoming more and more a world of giant cities, and these cities are increasingly located in less-developed countries." Rather than 'giant cities', the term 'megacities' or *global city-regions* in Scott's words commonly defined as cities with a total population of 10 million or more. The growing importance of these cities is remarkable because in 1950 only one city, New York, had a population of 10 million or more, it is now in the highest level of Alpha centers according to Loughborough inventory (Table 2.6). By 1975, there were five: New York, Tokyo, Shangai, Mexico City, Sao Paulo. In 1995, ten of the fourteen megacities were located in the less developed regions (United Nations, 1997: 19 cited in Stren, 2001: 197-8).

Though it is very complex, the social agglomeration in world cities can be specified in four *transnational categories* (Hannerz, 2000: 129-131; Hubbard, 2006: 241; Scott, 2000). The first of these categories is the people of '*transnational business*'. People in this class are those of management, banking and finance, legal services, accounting, technical consulting, telecommunications and computing, international transportation research, and higher education. Hannerz asserts that this transnational managerial category includes highly educated, highly professionally skilled, and highly mobile individuals. Sklair (1999: 157) calls these people 'the transnational capitalist class' (TCC) for political transnational practices; who generally are the managers of the 'transnational corporations' (TNC). Similarly, from the perspective of the dominant narrative of the economy, Sassen (1996: 189) admits that there has been growing recognition of the formation of international professional class workers and of highly internationalized environments due to the presence of foreign firms and personnel, the formation of global markets in arts, and the international circulation of high culture.

According to Hannerz (2000: 130), the second *transnational category* in the world cities is made up of various Third World populations with growing number of *migrants* from such places as Philippines, Bangladesh, and elsewhere. As a third category, Hannerz (Ibid.: 131) identifies, a considerably smaller number of people who yet tend to maintain a rather high profile in the world cities are the *people concerned with culture* in a narrower sense specialized in expressive activities—such as; fashion, design, photography, film-making, writing, music, cuisine—whom Florida (2002; 2005) calls *creative class*.

The fourth category consists of *tourists* who are always present in considerable numbers (Hannerz, 2000: 131). But then not all tourists are big spenders. There are even those visitors to the world cities who come there and linger mostly for the diffuse pleasure of being in the right place

rather than for the specific occupational purposes of managers or expressive specialists, so forming a kind of hybrid category between tourists and low income service sector migrants, in a temporary state of voluntary relative poverty (Hannerz, 2000: 132).

The people in these four categories are also presumably actively engaged in the transnational flow of culture by their very mobility. Their numbers have grown because of recent changes in the technology and economy of transportation in the age of jet plane (Hannerz, 2000: 131). Hannerz defines two major 'organizational frames' each have its own principle which animates 'cultural flow' within it (Ibid: 132). The first which he termed the *market* where people relate to each other in the cultural flow as buyer and seller, and meaning and meaningful form have been commoditized. The second is *form-of-life* where cultural flow occurs simply between fellow human beings in their mingling with one another, in a free and reciprocal flow. With regard to this fact Hannerz (2000: 135) understands world cities to be *cultural market-places* where *expressive specialists* present in large numbers. The *expressive specialists* feel themselves as the sources of creativity and know enough that they are in the world cities to produce new culture. It is also argued that the notion of being or becoming a 'global city' has added one more dimension to the existing debates on successful, desirable urban governance (Jessop, 1998; Keil 1998; Kim, 2008: 131).

Global City-Regions

The *regional centers* or in Scott's (2001: 1) words the *city regions* which are "the new regionalism stands in opposition to the view of the world as a borderless space of flows that is sometimes set forth in discussions of the future course of international development." For Scott *et al.* (2001: 11), there are more than three hundred *city-regions* around the world with populations greater than one million.

The concept of *global city-regions* can be traced back to the 'world cities' idea of Hall (1966) and Friedman and Wolff (1982), and to the 'global cities' idea of Sassen (1991). Scott *et al.* (2001: 11-12) on the other hand, think that global city-regions have emerged of late years as a new and critically important kind of geographic and institutional phenomenon on the world stage. In many cases, such *city-regions* developed as the principal concentrations of advanced economic activity in their national economies (Ibid: 23). These scholars suggest that *global city-regions* in developing countries "represent the best and the worst of the development process" (Ibid: 26). In their conceptualization, they are places where highly productive and innovative economies are often in evidence, but they also are the places where the multi-faceted market failures, historical imbalances, and brutal power relations of the development process are painfully in evidence.

However, for Sassen (2001: 80) the concept of *global city-region* is not clear to her though Scott *et al.* specify the boundary question both in its territorial sense and in terms its organization and spread. What Sassen understands from the concept of *global city-region* is that competition and competitiveness, is much stronger in the *global city-region* construct. Ward and Jonas (2004: 2135), in their article "Competitive city-regionalism as a politics of space: a critical reinterpretation of the new regionalism" assert that competitive-city regionalism is best understood as an ongoing struggle for control of space rather than a new emergent form of capitalist territorial competition and development. For certain cities, those located broadly in the same economic region (if not the same country), it can be economically advantageous to develop collaborative arrangements—networks, alliances, resources, etc—with each other (Begg, 2001; Gordon, 1999; Porter, 2001; Scott and Storper, 2003; Ward and Jonas, 2004: 2122). This enables the more fortunate *city-regions* to specialize around clusters of economic activity, exploit comparative advantages, and outcompete cities located in other economic regions, especially those places which are seen to lack the requisite advantages and institutional capacities, or that, in the words of Amin and Thrift (1994), are not 'institutionally thick' (Ward and Jonas, 2004: 2123).

Global Cities

A major trend in the *global cities* literature is its focus on connections and hierarchical relations between major cities. As a general term, *global cities* have been conceptualized as sites for the ever more complex, intensified global networks of businesses, markets, (non)governmental organizations and migrants to develop—the "central places where the work of globalization gets done" (Sassen, 2002: 8). Kim (2008: 126) argues that it is still open to debate whether or not 'global cities' represent "a new type of city" (Sassen, 1991: 4; Sassen 2005 [©1991]: 84) in the age of globalization or their emergence marks "a qualitatively new phase in urban development" (Taylor, 2004: 27).

Sassen (2005 [©1991]: 83) who specifically wrote on 'global city function' suggests that "beginning in the 1960s, the organization of economic activity entered a period of pronounced transformation" through the dismantling of once-powerful industrial centers in the USA and in the UK, and more recently in Japan, followed by the accelerated industrialization of the Third world countries with the rapid internationalization of the financial industry into worldwide network of transactions. Following this process, the need for nodal points to coordinate global economic activities contributes to the emergence of world cities (Sassen, 1996: 25-26).

Sassen (2005 [©1991]: 84) also suggests that the combination of spatial dispersal and global integration has created a new strategic role for major cities. In her understanding, these cities, beyond their long history as centers for international trade and banking, now function in four new

ways: first, as highly concentrated command points in the organization of world economy; second as key locations for finance and for specialized service firms, which have replaced manufacturing as the leading economic sectors; third, as sites of production, including the production of innovations produced; and fourth, as markets for the products and innovations produced.

As she argues, these changes in the functioning of cities have had a massive impact upon both international economic activity and urban form: Cities concentrated control over vast resources, while finance and specialized service industries have restructured the urban social and economic order. Regarding this fact, Sassen puts 'global city' as "a new type of city." For her, leading examples are New York, London, and Tokyo. Sassen further claims that these three cities have undergone massive and parallel changes in their economic base spatial organization, and social structure.[32]

What is missing from all these accounts about the 'world city' and 'global city' concepts mentioned above is their historical perspective. King ([1990] 1991: 36) considers that between 1500 and 1700, the ten largest cities were all in Europe. According to King, in the mid-Sixteenth century such cities as Paris, Naples, Venice, Lyon, Granada, Seville, Milan, Lisbon, London, Antwerp reflected the importance of the modern European-, Mediterranean- and emerging Iberian-based world economy. By 1700, the ten largest cities or only colonial empires (London, Paris, Lisbon, Amsterdam, Rome, and Madrid) as well as Italian centers of the earlier Mediterranean era (Naples, Venice, Milan, and Palermo) were the major cities. With respect to King's historical review, between 1750 and 1850, regions drawn into capitalist world-economy; though major urban centers include

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[32] In order to understand why these three major cities with different histories, culture and even politics, have undergone parallel economic, social and spatial changes, we need to examine transformations in the world economy. Sassen (Ibid: 65) has four theses that help us to understand how these three major cities appeared as global cities in the world economy today. Her first thesis is that the territorial dispersal of current economic activity creates a need for expanded central control and management. Due to the territorial decentralization of economic activities with increased subcontracts in newly industrializing countries, Sassen asserts that top level control and management of the industry has become concentrated in a few leading financial centers, notably, New York, London, and Tokyo.

Sassen's second major theme concerns the impact of this type of economic growth on the economic order within these cities. For Sassen, global cities are, however, not only "nodal points for the coordination of processes" (Friedman, 1986); but also "particular sites of production." Sassen (2005 [©1991]: 86) describes the second theme in two categories: i. the production of specialized services needed by complex organizations for running a spatially dispersed network of factories, offices and service outlets; ii. the production of financial innovations and the making of markets, both central to the internationalization and expansion of the financial industry. In her understanding, the 'things' out of certain kinds of work, a global city makes are services and financial goods. Such services are usually seen as a type of output derived from high-level technical knowledge.

Sassen's third thesis concerns the consequences of these developments for the national urban system in each of these countries and for the relationship of the global city to its nation-state. While a few major cities are the sites of production for the new global control capability, a large number of other major cities have lost their role as leading export centers for industrial manufacturing, as a result of the decentralization of this form of production. The great majority of the world cities have been port cities since the medieval times.

Sassen's fourth and final thesis concerns the impact of these new forms of and conditions for growth on the social order of the global city (Ibid: 87). The new structure of economic activity has brought about changes in the organization of work, reflected in a shift in the job supply and polarization in the income distribution and occupational distribution of workers. For Sassen two other developments in global cities have also contributed to economic polarization (Ibid: 88). One is the vast supply of low-wage jobs required by high-income gentrification in both its residential and commercial settings. Second development is the downgrading of the manufacturing sector.

Russia (Moscow), Turkey (Constantinople), Egypt (Cairo), India (Patna, Bombay), and China (Peking, Canton, Hangchow, Yedo and Soochow).

King also asserts that the strength of present world cities of core countries, as measured by their place in the city-size hierarchy was already evident by 1875, and clearly established by 1900 when the ten largest cities in the world in the order of magnitude were: London, New York, Paris, Berlin, Chicago, Philadelphia, Tokyo, Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Manchester. Here, however, Britain's imperial role becomes clearly evident (Ibid: 37).

By the end of the seventeenth century, London was the largest city in Europe, its economic foundations being based largely on trade rather than industry (King, ©1990, 1991: 73). The banking, financing and, and shipping offices of the City of London were a direct outcome of this trade. The center of the world's commercial gravity gradually moved from Venice, Florence, and Genoa to Bruge and Antwerp and before the end of eighteenth century, London and Amsterdam were competing for the role of leading finance center. (Ibid: 74)

2.3.2. The Representation of City in the Global Market

Undoubtedly, the naming of cities, the mapping of cities, the written and spoken descriptions of cities all constitute acts of urban representation (Short, 1999: 38). In order to attract the global capital, cities have been admiring to be represented in the global market as 'world city', 'global city', 'city of culture', etc. As Flusty and Dear (1999: 27) stress, most world cities have instantly identifiable signatures; think of the boulevards of Paris, the skyscrapers of New York, or the churches of Rome. These are some examples of the built environment about which Guy Debord (1983: no. 34) once wrote the following: "The spectacle is capital accumulated to such a degree that it becomes an image."

For Boyer (1999: 186), too, "the city's image became the spectacle itself" but for her there were other spectacles of simulation as well. Boyer calls "an image of the city set up within the space of the city" as the "art of the double" because such simulations brought city streets into picture galleries, while the panorama enclosed its spectators, regulated their pleasures, and focused their gaze.

Shields (1996: 229), who wrote mainly on Lefebvre's concept of 'representation of space' defines the term 'representation' as follows:

> Representations are treacherous metaphors, summarizing the complexity of the city in an elegant model. The city presented in planning documents is reified social process. In 'reification' we forget our own hand in producing in representation, becoming alienated or estranged from our own production, and treat representations as natural objects. A plan is a frozen image of wandering footsteps and interactions which becomes preferred to physical interaction.

In the notes he gathered over the 1930s for his uncompleted *Passagenwerk* on the nineteenth century European city, Walter Benjamin pioneered the focus on 'individual footsteps'. In the shopping arcade, an early form of covered pedestrian mall, Benjamin defined by their spatial activities the prostitutes, *flâneurs* or street prowlers, onlookers who savor the view and sandwichmen wearing advertising placards who are so immersed in commercial exchange they became like commodities themselves (Shields, 1996: 230). In Benjamin's (1999: 10) own words, the "ambiguity" peculiar to the modern social relations and products of that epoch is that "such an image is the prostitute—*seller and sold in one.*"

In view of that, a city becomes like a commodity itself when it is represented to the buyers within various representations to be immersed in commercial exchange through its promotion with the chic name of *city of culture.* As Benjamin argued, under modernity nostalgic representation produces corpses while melancholic representation produces souvenirs. Benjamin (1999) characterizes the souvenir as an "objectification of the moment of death." When thinking like Benjamin, one can assert that all kinds of souvenirs as the little images, little representations of the city itself in which seller and sold in one, like the little prostitutes remind the city to the buyer-visitor for either nostalgic or melancholic purposes.

Today, in the world of hypermobile capital and global competition between cities for both fixed investment and articulating capital, *world cities* no longer have a monopoly of command and control functions, industrial cities in the developed world have to compete with places around the world, and all cities compete for the benefits of postindustrial economy. Haider (1992) uses the term *place wars* to describe such competition. In this new era of *place wars*, since "space is turned into place through acts of discursive representation" (Short, 1999: 38)—or in Lefebvrean language different 'space[s]' is [are] produced in different places in the web of time and space as a result of actor's *action to make difference* (see Section 2.1).

However, today "urban representation and urban boosterism [go] hand in hand" (Short, 1999: 40). According to Short, urban boosterism has two distinct discourses. The first is the *positive portrayal of a city*; the city is presented in a flattering light to attract investors, promote "development," and influence local politics. Since every bright light casts a shadow, Short defines the second discourse as the *identification of the shadow*—the dark side that has to be contained, controlled, or ignored. In the second discourse of urban boosterism there are a number of themes. The first is the apportionment of blame. The need for describing a problem as a cause of crime, urban decline in the inner city, booster campaigns were fundamentally driven by the 'growth machine' and were concerned with gaining positive recognition for their city. They also blame the immigrants or other negative features in the city (Short, 1999: 41).

Short defines two interconnected responses to discursive representation (Ibid: 43). First, there has been a shift in some countries of urban governance from *managerialism* to *entrepreneurialism*, as city governments get involved in the competition for scarce and mobile capital (see Chapter 3.2). Second, there is the *reimagining of the city*, as cities seek to represent themselves positively in the new geographies, created and imagined, of late capitalism. According to Short (1999: 43-52), there emerge four themes in the re-imagining of cities which reflect the new geographies of late capitalism: a. *world cities and wannabe world cities*; b. *look no more factories*; c. *the city for business*; d. *capitalizing culture*.

World Cities and Wannabe World Cities

All three dominant world cities—London, New York, and Tokyo—have been facing competition from what Short (1999: 43) refers to as "wannabe" world cities. Short (1999: 44) writes the following on *wannabe world cities*:

> *Wannabe world cities* are concerned with ensuring the most effective international image. It is essential to have all the attributes of a world city; these include an international airport, signature buildings of big name architects (e.g., Michael Graves, Frank O. Gehry, Rem Koolhas), impressive buildings (like the tallest buildings in the world, or buildings in unique form), and cultural complexes such as art galleries and symphony halls. "Combining these two elements is a useful strategy:" hiring a famous architect to design a cultural complex as in the most recently constructed Gehry's Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao or one of the oldest yet still impressive, Jorn Utzon's Opera House in Sydney (Short, 1999: 44-45).

Look No More Factories

To be seen as industrial is to be associated with the old polluted, the out-of-date. The process of urban (re)presentation has been described for a range of cities in a variety of ways: reconstructing the image of industrial city (Short et al. 1993), revisioning a place (Holcomb, 1993), city make-overs (Holcomb, 1994), selling the industrial town (Barke and Harrop, 1994).

Cities[33] following this trend have all been (re)presented in a more attractive package that emphasizes the new rather than the old, the fashionable postmodern rather than the merely modern, the postindustrial rather than the industrial, consumption rather than production, spectacle and fun rather than pollution and work (Short, 1999: 45-6).

But above all, industrial cities have a culture with an emphasis on manual work, a collective sense of meaning and significance tied to the city's industrial and manufacturing base (Short, 1999: 46-7).

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[33] Manchester in the UK, Pittsburgh and Milwaukee in the USA, and Wollongong in Australia. Another example is the Ruhr Region in Germany where the repackaging of an old industrial landscape has helped to spark off major cultural developments (Gnad, 2000 cited in Power and Scott, 2004: 9).

The City for Business

Short (1999: 47) considers that the hypermobility of capital, and the intense and growing competition between cities for both fixed capital investment and a piece of the circulating capital of tourists, conventions, and global and national spectacles have all reinforced the age-old basic booster message that this city is the city to do 'good business'. Short also asserts that "there is a reservoir of images used and reused in these boostering messages" that invoke the themes of progress, culture, nature, and business, a world of hard work but with ample opportunity for play, hard-working people and dynamic industries but friendly atmosphere and relaxed life style, good infrastructure but low taxes, government that helps but does not interfere (Ibid.: 48).

Elsewhere, Short and Kim (1998: 65) together make a list of "major repertoires in city advertisements" with the relevant images in the aforementioned reservoir (Table 2.8). Short (1999: 49) also emphasizes that city advertising and advertising in general, has been dominated in recent years by the company slogan, the verbal equivalent of the logo, immediately identifiable, memorable and punchy. Many of the advertisements go hand-in-hand with the city branding which is evaluated below (see the sub-section 3.4.2.1).

Capitalizing Culture

Certainly, in cities where the strategies of cultural political economy (CPE) is applauded; art shows and galleries, opera halls, museums, festivals, and symphony halls are a vital part in the reimagining of cities. According to Short (1999: 51) these cities intimate 'world city' status through which they wish for attracting and retaining executive classes and skilled workers of the high-tech industries of the present and the future. The cultural attributes are also a source of revenue in their own right. Needless to repeat Short's argument, "culture is now big business" because it has been "culture, in theaters and art-galleries and so on, that brings thousands of visitors to New York every year" since the beginning of the twentieth century (Lewis, 1922 cited in Short, 1999: 38).

2.3.3.   Representation of Collective Cultural Capital and Collective Symbolic Capital

Borrowing Bourdieu's concept of 'symbolic capital', Harvey (2001b; 2001: 405) introduces the concept of 'collective symbolic capital' by which he means 'special marks of distinction' that attach to some place which have significant drawing power upon the flows of capital. In his conceptualization, the power of *collective symbolic capital*, of *special marks of distinction* that attach to some place like London, Cairo, Barcelona, Istanbul, Milan, San Francisco or wherever, to gain access to whatever that is supposedly unique to such places, which have a significant drawing power upon the

flows of capital more generally. For such places attracting global capital, he gives the examples of Paris, Athens, New York and Rome having great economic advantages relative to, say, Baltimore, Liverpool, Essen, Lille and Glasgow. According to Harvey, the problem for these latter places is to raise their part of *symbolic capital* and to increase their *marks of distinction* to better ground their claims to the uniqueness that yields *monopoly rent*.

Arguing along with Harvey (2001b; 2001: 409), if *monopoly rent* is always an object of capitalist desire, then the means of gaining it through interventions in the field of culture, history, heritage, aesthetics and meanings must necessarily be of great importance for capitalist of any sort. In addition, it can be suggested that the use of culture as an attractive tool to a location is particularly important because it is believed that people belonging to the upper socio-economic groups in society seem to value cultural values and to spend more than other segments of the society.

Urban cultural capital includes more than just traditional elements of so called high culture. Popular culture in a variety of forms which often includes spectacles, festivals, and sports is also important. There is also the 'culture of leisure'; cities now represent themselves as fun places, as safe places, places where the good life is increasingly defined as not only lucrative employment but a plenty of time for leisure.

At global level in this new era of inter-urban competition, beside the *collective cultural capital* Harvey emphasizes the importance of *collective symbolic capital, marks of distinction* and *monopoly rents* which a city possesses. Like Harvey, Miles (2007: 77) thinks that a city requires both *symbolic capital* and money capital to gain a place in the list of world-class cities. For him, *symbolic capital* [of cities] accumulates to blue-chip art institutions, signature architecture, loft living spaces, fashionable shops and designer bars. Miles and Miles (2004: 45) investigate the role of cultural consumption in the *symbolic economies* [34] of cities. In their understanding what is clear from culturally based economies is that the relation between economy and culture is not one of the base and superstructure as in the Marxist model, but a mutual and dynamic one, so that what shapes a city is itself shaped by the arena in which it acts (Ibid.: 55). For them, the concept of a *symbolic economy* trades on such culturally led development, but can be understood, too, through an extension of Thorsten Veblen's concept of *symbolic exchange*[35] (Ibid.:55-6).

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[34] Zukin (1995: 7) who specifically wrote much on the nexus between culture and capital explains that cities have always had symbolic economies in that elites have manipulated symbolic languages to mirror a predetermined image of a city. She separates the 'symbolic economy' of dominant representations of a city from the 'political economy' of material conditions of groups in society; then she puts the concept of *symbolic economy* and defines as "the look and feel of cities [which] reflect decisions about what—and who—should be visible and what should not, concepts of order and disorder, and on uses of aesthetic power" (Zukin, 1995: 7).

[35] In *The Theory of the Leisure Class* ([1899] 1970), Veblen studied emerging patterns of consumption in North America in the late Nineteenth century using but going beyond a Marxist framework to evolve an idea of conspicuous consumption as

However, for Marx, economy was the base and culture was the superstructure of a society's organization. In Marxian theory, changes in culture followed changes in economic conditions. Again Miles (2007: 109) argues that "a separation of base and superstructure is questioned now" when barriers not only between art forms but also between the arts and fashion, mass media and consumption are dissolved, it is unhelpful to separate the cultural from the economic. With regard to this fact, one can also suggest that culture re-presents and reconstructs the economy while the economy reconstructs and represents culture dialectically, just as the subject or agent is conditioned by her or his environment while acting on it.

2.3.4. Marketing City via City Branding

Cities are marketing, selling, promoting and advertising themselves to create and change their image with the intended goal of attracting business, tourists, residents, and capital as well. Despite the remarkable similarities among the images projected by cities selling or marketing a particular geographical locality as a 'great place to live', as well as a 'great place to do business' has emerged as "a central part of the contemporary process of inter-urban competition for global capital" (Bradley and Hall, 2006: 77). In this competition place attributes and local cultural identities are often used in the form of 'cultural capital' to project an alluring image to potential residents, investors and visitors (Ashworth and Woogd, 1990; Kearns and Philio, 1993; Kenny, 1995; Bradley and Hall, 2006: 77).

Today, most of the city governors and the mayors as well seem to believe that brand names are important in urban marketing. The marketing industry makes a clear distinction between *marketing* and mere *selling* (Holcomb, 1999: 55).[36] In *marketing,* the product is custom made to suit the consumer's needs and preferences. *Selling* on the other hand is persuading the customer to buy your product.

Many studies on *marketing* the city note an increased attention to the quality of life matters, including healthier, greener environment and cultural recreational facilities (Burgess, 1982 cited in Short and Kim, 1998: 63). A list of 'major repertoires in city advertisements' (see Figure 2.6) based on the research in the USA about the 34 cities' advertisements from the magazines demonstrates

the purchase of goods of low-use value but high symbolic value, which establish an individual's social status by means other than class.

[36] When *selling* the city the commodity being promoted through place-marketing and city-reimaging campaigns is not just the city and the physical spaces of the city *per se* but the city's symbolic spaces as well. Selling and defining place is a complex transaction which requires the sale of what the city means, how it feels and what it looks like—both the tangible and intangible attributes of particular urban spaces. These qualities must be identified and packaged, not just to potential investors and visitors, but also to local residents and communities of interest (Holcomb 1993; Stevenson 1999b cited in Stevenson, 2003: 98). While *marketing* the city "the emphasis upon tourism, the production and consumption of spectacles, the promotion of ephemeral events within a given locale, bear all the signs of being favored remedies for ailing urban economies" (Harvey, ©1989a, 2001: 363).

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how cities are promoted (1998: 65). This study reveals that quality of life has become an important element in the more recent phase of advertising activities. Ward (1994: 54) coins the term 'cultural promotion' to describe cities' appeals to the quality of life. Wilson (1995: 648 cited in Jessop, 1998: 95) considers *place marketing* as the most common form of economic development strategy which often takes the form of reimaging or reinventing the city by emphasizing the uniqueness of local traditions, local heritage, local ethnic or cultural differences, etc. in a sanitized marketable way. The most desirable target group for such place marketing is highly mobile international capital. What is clearly evident in *marketing* cities is that "contemporary forms of place promotion are not simply attempts to advertise the city" (Hubbard, 2006: 87). Rather the intention is to *reinvent* or *rewrite* the city, weaving myths which are designed to position the city within global flows of urban images and *representational* practices.

While emphasizing the crucial distinction between 'selling the city' and 'marketing the city' Hall (1998: 29) stresses out the relationship of place promotion to urbanization. As cities have become increasingly *entrepreneurial*, they have become increasingly shaped by the necessity to project a positive image of themselves. *Marketing* cities has become a process synonymous with and fundamental to the urban geography of *entrepreneurial* cities. In the same way, Short and Kim (1998: 55) position the phenomena of urban marketing in the context of the changing space economy of contemporary capitalism, the resultant crisis of urban representation and the transformation in urban governance towards entrepreneurialism.

In an era where city governors have become more entrepreneurial and business-minded in their outlook, it is perhaps not surprising that the concepts and language of marketing have infiltrated the realm of urban politics. One element of this is that city governors and promoters often speak of a distinctive urban *brand*. A *brand* can be defined as 'a mixture of tangible and intangible attributes, symbolized in a trademark, which, if properly managed, creates influence and generates value' (Clifton and Maughan, 2000: xvi). Marketers suggest that the brand is more important than the product that is being sold, and believe that communicating the core values of the brand is the key to generating customer loyalty and brand recognition (Hubbard, 2006: 86-87).

2.3.5. Branding City as European Capital of Culture (ECOC)

> *"It is time for our [the Culture Ministers'] voice to be heard as loud as that of the technocrats. Culture, art and creativity are not less important than technology, commerce and the economy."*
>
> Greek Minister of Culture, Melina Mercouri (1983)

This statement, often emphatically reported in another example of the "mythologization" of Europe, in accounts of how the European City of Culture (ECOC) was born (Sassatelli, 2008: 235).

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The concept of the ECOC—which was launched on June, 13, 1985 by the Council of Ministers on the initiative of the Greek Minister of Culture, Melina Mercouri—is a city designated by the European Union for a period of one year during which it is given a chance to showcase its cultural life and cultural development.

Sassatelli (2008: 225), who considers the role of European Union (EU) cultural policy within the process of Europeanization, emphasizes the development of EU competence on cultural matters in general and the flagship program, ECOCs in particular. The Treaty on the European Union (TEU) (signed in Maastricht in 1992, amended in Amsterdam in 1997), states: 'The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore' (TEU, Art. 151, 1 cited in Sassatelli, 2008). EU competence in cultural matter is now legitimated, but it is also limited to co-ordination, integration and support initiatives.

The European City of Culture has in fact been easily integrated in the framework programs. Still, Sassatelli argues, this policy is explicitly informed by a far-reaching narrative of European cultural identity, claiming that cultural policy is there to protect and the same time foster it. The document which established Culture 2000 reads as follows:

> Culture has an important intrinsic value to all people in Europe, is an essential element of European integration and contributes to the affirmation and vitality of the European model of society […] Culture is both an economic factor and a factor in social integration and citizenship […] (Decision 508/2000/EC)

According to Sassatelli (2008: 232), in particular in the first period of EU cultural action, culture in the first sense was identified with national culture, following in this a common configuration that sees culture as a way of life connected to 'thick' identities, characterized internally by unity, and based externally on the reciprocal diversity of the various 'cultures'. According to the relevant Commission Communication:

> "The sense of being part of European culture is one of the prerequisites for that solidarity which is vital if the advent of the large market, and the considerable changes it will bring about in living conditions within the Community, is to secure the popular support it needs" (CEC 1987: 1).

As Sassatelli (2008: 234-235) argues the ECOC can be considered a representative example of EU cultural policy for a number of aspects. The ECOC program has in fact undergone several reforms, having being an intergovernmental action for 20 years and then become an action of European Commission's DGX from 2005. Its very name has been alternating between 'European City of Culture' and 'European Capital of Culture', the latter being the one favored at the moment.[37]

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[37] After the first round of one city per Member State (1985-1996), participation was opened to European cities outside the EU and criteria for selection were set (Decision of 12/11/92 of the European Council of Ministers). Another main

In Sassatelli's conceptualization, at the level of implementation, European Cities of Culture have been very different in scale and scope, objectives and means. This has been readily phrased by the EU as perfectly incarnating the *unity in diversity* of Europe. Indeed the official mission of the EU is, not surprisingly, "to highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures and the features they share, as well as to promote greater mutual understanding between European citizens."

What is seen through the implementation of the ECOC program "is not only a map of the European cultural space taking shape, but also how that implies a re-conceptualization of the cities involved and their culture as European" (Sassatelli, 2008: 237). For Sassatelli, in the European cultural space, it is the attitude towards *diversity* that makes it European, not finding a common cultural content. In a way, Sassatelli seems to be right in her argument that the adjective 'European' qualifies 'city' and not 'culture' because of the very name of the program—the ECOC program.

In 1999 for the coming millennium European Parliament and the Council (European Council, 2007a) has decide to allow non-member country to participate in the action. Istanbul was nominated as ECOC and it was selected as the ECOC of the 2010 although Turkey is not a member of EU. The ECOC application has to be drawn up in accordance with the criteria specified in Decision 1419/1999/EC. The application must state how the applicant city intends to (European Council, 2007b, *italic added*):

- Highlight artistic movements and styles *shared by Europeans* which it has inspired or to which it has made a significant contribution;

- Promote events involving *people* active in culture *from other European cities* and leading to lasting cultural cooperation;

- Support and develop creative work;

- Ensure the *mobilization and participation* of as many citizens as possible and guarantee that this participation will continue after the event;

- Encourage visits by *citizens of the European Union* and to reach as wide an audience as possible;

- Promote *dialogue* between *European cultures* and those from other parts of the world;

- Enhance the *historic heritage*, urban architecture and quality of life in the city.

According to Sassatelli, this cautious balancing of European and local is representative of EU cultural policy in general. In her finding, this is evident both diachronically and synchronically. Synchronically, within each city's European relocation is seen in the next section for the 2000

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revision was introduced, following the TEU new legal framework, in 1999: from 2005 the programme becomes an action of DGX within the Culture programme (Decision 1419/1999/EC; now replaced by Decision 1622/2006/EC). The procedures for candidature and selection are redefined, and the sequential nomination among EU countries reintroduced. In the new scheme along with a city from a Member state a city from a 'third European country' can be nominated each year. Moreover, a city from one of the enlargement countries is to be nominated in parallel starting in 2009 (Decision 649/2005/EC).

edition. Diachronically, in the resulting map of Europe, it is delineated by the sequence of ECOC through the years. This map shows an initial series of cities bearers of the ideal expressions of European 'high culture'—Athens, Florence, Berlin, Paris[38] and Amsterdam were the first five. [39]. The ECOC program then gradually shifted, in parallel to wider development in local cultural policies to a rhetoric of culture-led urban regeneration, progressively extending the concept of culture underlying the program and making of the European framework the springboard for advancement within 'a certain imaginary, symbolic hierarchy between the locales in Europe' (Heikkinen 2000: 212). After the designation of Glasgow as the ECOC in 1990, agreeing with Sassatelli (2008: 236), one can suggest that through participation in the ECOC program, cities prove not so much to be European, but that they are *becoming* European, thereby also contributing to the definition of the term and of the process.

2.4.   Field of Tourism

In this subsection general theoretical approaches in the field of tourism are examined with regard to the concept of 'city of culture'. A theoretical approach to tourism is relatively new in the field of sociology, given same journals and chapters in the books in the 1960s. Costa and Martinotti (2003: 53) summarize the theoretical and empirical investigations in the field of sociology of tourism under four major theoretical categories: i. Critical theory; ii. Relational theory; iii. Theory of sustainable tourism; iv. Theory of city-users and hypertourists; v. Collaborative Theory. In the general literature on urban studies, the British case is important because *mass tourism* as a modern social phenomenon first appeared the Britain and following the deterioration of the English sea side resort in the mid of the 1960s, mass tourism became internationalized in Europe. The Turkish case of 'tourism studies' in the fifth chapter and the Antalya case in the eighth chapter are examined.

Critical Theory

The authors who are cited as *critical theorists* in the sociology of tourism are more or less nostalgic for a critique that tourism is a 'pseudo-event' or tourists are banal consumer of spaces without any seriousness or depth. Among them, Boorstin (1964), Adler (1989a; 1989b) and Augé (1992; 1997 cited in Costa and Martinotti, 2003: 53) explicitly regret 'the lost art of travelling', in their view,

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[38] Benjamin (1997: 155-176) calls Paris the 'capital' of the nineteenth century.

[39] The full list of ECOCs is as follows: Athens 1985; Florence 1986; Amsterdam 1987; Berlin 1988; Paris 1989; Glasgow 1990; Dublin 1991; Madrid 1992; Antwerp 1993; Lisbon 1994; Luxembourg 1995; Copenhagen 1996 (first round). Thessaloniki 1997; Stockholm 1998; Weimar 1999; for 2000 (special edition): Bergen, Bologna, Brussels, Krakow, Helsinki, Prague, Reykjavik, Santiago de Compostela; Porto and Rotterdam 2001; Bruges and Salamanca 2002; Graz 2003; Genoa and Lille 2004 (end of intergovernmental programme). Cork 2005; Patras 2006; Luxembourg and Sibiu 2007; Liverpool and Stavanger 2008; Linz and Vilnius 2009; Essen, Pecs and Istanbul 2010.

replaced by illusions of tourist spaces that are kitsch and unreal. Partly anticipating Baudrillard (1988), Boorstin's (1964) analysis of the 'pseudo-event' is one of the main contributions to *critical theory.*

In the very beginning of the twentieth century Sigfried Kracauer, who as an architect and "one of the true followers of Simmel" (Vidler, 1991: 41) wrote about travel and hotels. Similar to *critical theorists,* Kracauer (1995: 65) claims that "the goal of modern travel is not its destination but rather a new place as such, what people seek is less the particular being of a landscape than the foreignness of its face."

Even though *critical theory* is important while elaborating the members of intellectualized middle class, "engaged in differentiating themselves from 'mass tourists' through the construction and presentation of an ideal self, that of intelligent travelers who differentiate themselves through the exhibition of refined and expensive cultural taste" (Munt, 1994). It is claimed that "critical theorists have not had any practical impact on the regulation of the negative environmental and social-equity effects of mass tourism" (Costa and Martinotti, 2003: 55).

Relational Theory

The most significant challenge to Boorstin's position mentioned above is developed by MacCannell (1976; 1989), who is specifically concerned with the 'inauthenticity' and superficiality of modern life (Urry, 1990: 8). For MacCannell, all tourists embody a quest for 'authenticity' in opposition to those *critical theories* which emphasize the ephemeral aspects and hetero-directed behavior of mass tourists. The so called *relational theory* is constructed on the difference between the everydayness at home and 'authenticity' in other time and place.

For Urry, the quest for authenticity is a modern version of the universal human concern with the sacred. Urry himself agrees with MacCannell that the tourist is a kind of contemporary pilgrim, seeking authenticity in *other* times and *other* places away from that person's everyday life. Similarly, De Clercq (2007: 31) defines travelling as escaping the domestic sphere, departing from established routines and practices in daily life and accordingly giving sense to our daily life. For De Clercq, what is essential to travelling is the 'experience of the difference' which he describes as the search for 'authentic' and 'sublime' in *other* places. Mantecón and Huete (2008: 361) take 'authenticity' as a property, which objects in reality may or may not possess, something which refers to their credibility and originality. The decision to define an object as authentic is very closely linked to its process of construction because we consider that Disneyland is as real and as tangible but not as authentic as Egypt's pyramids.

John Urry, in his book *The Tourist Gaze* (1990), examines the change and development in tourist gaze especially within in different societies.[40] In his understanding, there is no universal tourism experience which is true for all tourists at all times. Rather the gaze in an historical period is constructed in 'relationship' to its opposite, to non-tourist forms of social experience and consciousness (Urry, 1990: 1-2).

Under the name of *relational theory,* Costa and Martinotti (2003: 56) regrouped two theories developed during the 1970s and 1980s: the theory of 'ritual inversion' and the theory of 'staged authenticity'. *Relational theorists* had in common the idea that 'experiencing difference' is the central issue of tourism sociology. In their understanding, the theory of 'ritual inversion' is expressed through the overturn of habits: idleness versus work, nude body versus covered body, effervescence versus routine, sacred nature versus pollution, tanned skin versus pale skin, etc. With regard to 'ritual inversion' approach, Urry (1990: 11) suggests that a search for authenticity is not the true basis for the organization of tourism. Rather, one key feature would seem to be that there is difference between one's normal place of residence/work and the object of the tourist gaze. In a sense, tourism results from a basic binary division between the ordinary/everyday and the extraordinary. As Costa and Martinotti (2003: 57) suggest "the tourist industry satisfies such motivation of seeking authenticity with the organization of spaces characterized by 'staged authenticity'." For Cohen (1988; 1995) not all tourists seek authenticity but comply with the staged authenticity.

Theory of Sustainable Tourism and Regulation Theory

The concept of 'sustainable tourism' emphasizes community-based planning which connects the de-commodification of mass tourism to specific targets of ecologically motivated tourism (Costa and Martinotti, 2003: 59). According to Costa and Martinotti (2003: 59), sustainable tourism emerges in relation to the following developments:

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[40] Although Urry (1990: 2-3; [1995] 1996: 132-33) has insisted on the historical and sociological variation in tourist gaze, he describes some minimal characteristics of the social practices of tourism in the following excerpt:

1. Tourism is a leisure activity which presupposes its opposite namely regulated and organized work;
2. Tourist relationships arise from a movement of people to, and their stay in, various destinations;
3. The journey and stay are to, and in, sites which are outside the normal places of residence and work;
4. The places gazed upon are for purposes which are not directly connected with paid work and normally they offer some distinctive contrast with work;
5. A substantial proportion of the population of the modern societies engages in such tourist practices;
6. Places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is an anticipation, especially through daydreaming and fantasy, or intense pleasures;
7. The tourist gaze is directed to features of landscape and townscape which separate them off from everyday experience;
8. The gaze is constructed through signs, and tourism involves the collection of signs;
9. An array of tourist professionals develops, who attempt to reproduce ever-new objects of the tourist gaze. These objects are located in a complex and changing hierarchy.

- with the diffusion of environmental and ecological topics induced by 'verdi'[41] (ecologist) movement;

- as a consequence of inquiries into the environmental impact of tourism at the local level and on consequent management techniques;

- in relation to the diffusion of codes of ethics developed by international organizations like the United Nations and UNESCO.

Sustainability becomes a key theme of global tourism development. One of the most comprehensive policy-aimed documents regarding sustainable tourism is the European Charter for Sustainable Tourism in Protected Areas (Europarc Federation, 2002). Based on definite principles[42] the Charter aims to set standards and provide guidelines which park authorities, local businesses and tourism operators can use to create sustainable tourism.

Above all, *sustainable tourism* is the first *regulation theory* after mass tourism because it is characterized not just by a voluntary ethical commitment but also by coded rules within the legal regulations of national states applied at municipal and regional planning levels (Costa and Martinotti, 2003: 60). According to Fainstein et al. (2003: 241) *regulation theory* permits a non-deterministic form of structural analysis. In other words, *regulation theory* builds in agency while accepting a given regime of accumulation structures and systems. In advanced capitalist societies there can be defined two main hegemonic structures in the last century Fordism/Keynesianism and neo-Fordism/neo-liberalism The main features of the two hegemonic structures are set out in Table 2.9 (Shaw and Williams, ([2004] 2007: 32).

Regulation theory also gives us a powerful methodological tool for comparative analysis of phenomena such as 'urban tourism' (see sub-section 3.5.4). The typology identifies four types of regulation or regulatory frameworks that structure relations in the field of tourism (Fainstein et al. 2003: 6-10, 242):

i. Regulation of *visitors* to protect the city;
ii. Regulation of *city* for the benefit of visitors and the tourism industry;
iii. Regulation of *labor markets* for the benefit of capital, labor and place;
iv. Regulation of the *industry* for the benefit of place, consumers, and labor.

The regulatory frameworks generally imposed by the state thus accelerate the *restructuring* process in cities where the various kinds of assets in various forms of capital can easily be

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[41] The Italian Greens (i Verdi), founded in Florence in 1984 from local groups of anti-nuclear, ecology, citizen and religious activists, decided two years later to present party backed Green Lists for local, regional, provincial, and national elections (Merchant, 1992: 168)

[42] Wallace and Russell (2004: 240) define the ten principles of sustainable tourism as follows: 1. Managing a range of impacts; 2. Contributing to conservation; 3. Preserving natural resources; 4. Supporting the local economy; 5. Involving the local community; 6. Developing appropriate quality tourism; 7. Welcoming new markets; 8. Creating new forms of employment; 9. Encouraging environmentally friendly behavior; 10. Providing a role model for other sectors.

transformed into economic capital (see Table 2.10, The State and the Regulation of Tourism). The case studies in an edition, *Cities and Visitors* (Fainstein et al., 2003), depict the emergence of 'urban tourism' regimes, the process by which they are supported and legitimated, and the shift from mass tourism to hypertourism and post-tourism (Fainstein et al. 2003: 242). Their case studies also demonstrate that "local actors do not act autonomously; local accumulation of regimes incorporates state policy, local players may be attached to global interests, and global forces structure and constrain local activities" (Ibid: 246). At the same time, place competition motivates local actors to draw upon local resources—history and culture but also demography and politics—to fashion place-specific and even progressive responses.

As Shaw and Williams ([2004] 2007: 28) emphasize, what is generally omitted in tourism studies is first, most tourism services are produced for markets and second, even when they are non-commodified, they are produced in societies that are capitalist. In *The End of Organized Capitalism* (1987) Lash and Urry argue that capitalism moved through a series of historical states: liberal, organized and disorganized. As shown in Table 2.11, each of them appears to be associated with a particular dominant configuration of travel and tourism.

Theory of City Users and Hypertourists

The theory of *city users* and *hypertourists* is one of the few sociological theories of 'urban tourism' (see also sub-section 3.4.1.2). For Costa and Martinotti (2003: 62), this theory provides information on the historic roots of the scientific attention towards *urban tourism* which has lately acquired a strategic function in the policies for local development. *Urban tourism* generally coincides with the strategy of urban cultural-political economy. For Costa (1995; Costa and Martinotti, 2003: 61) *hypertourists* are *city users* or vacationing visitors who come for short periods, crowding multifunctional cities like Venice in certain periods of the year but also visiting artificial places defined as 'amusement factories' or 'fantasy cities' like Disneyland or Las Vegas (Hannigan, 1998; also see Sub-Section 2.3.4).

This theory has developed in relation to the disembedding process, analyzed by Giddens (1990), and the advent of a mix within the service economy, which is represented by the productive use of such media of visual culture as cinema, cartoon, TV, etc. in order to create tourist attraction (Martinotti, 1993; Costa, 1995; Costa and Martinotti, 2003: 60). In Giddens' (1991a: 209) terms, one of the key features of modernity is that social relations are disembedded from local context of action. Urry ([1995] 1996: 143) explains 'disembedding' as the 'lifting out' of social relations from local involvements and their subsequent 'recombination' across larger spans of time and space. Such disembedding depends upon 'trust' which arises from the development of expert or professional knowledge which gives people faith in the forms of transport conveying them through time-space.

In the field of tourism, mobility depends upon the development of such trust in professional experts who have developed systems of mass travel, transport, and accommodation which minimizes the risk involved.

Collaboration Theory

Costa and Martinotti (2003: 67) define 'collaboration theory' as a kind of *regulation theory* of tourism, a 'new' perspective or a 'new' version of 'sustainable local development'. First of all, this theory avoids the snobbish repudiation of *mass tourism* and favors a post-Fordist hospitality industry. The term 'collaboration' is a "process of joint decision-making among [relatively] autonomous, key stakeholders of an inter-organizational community tourism" (Ibid.).

In the same way, for Franklin (2004: 279), tourism cannot be reduced only to social activity because it is relationally linked to a wide variety of objects, machines, systems, texts, non-humans, bureaucracies, times and the like, without which it would not happen and could not have become what it is. As an ordering it organizes a complex meshed collaboration of humans and non-humans and creates ordering effects. Since *tourism is an ordering* itself, Franklin believes that tourism is always on the move, ordering new places but also by enrolling new objects and by becoming subject to other orderings. For Franklin, tourism as 'open ended and unbounded' ordering, can only bound other orderings say it for instance sport tourism, urban design and urban governance, and produce new tourism orderings which may be 'adrenalin tourism' or whatever it newly orders.

2.4.1. From Mass Tourism to Niche Tourism

Instead of the restrictive model of *industrialized mass tourism* which packages fantasies and sells them, today more diversified patterns of tourism allowing a more scope for individual discovery are the new concerns of the tourism studies. For Urry (1990: 111-112), in particular, there is scope for a more critical tourism in tourist sites beside industrialized mass tourism. But, *mass tourism*, in all its forms, still produces a rationalization of provision through division into standard components which can be operated in the same way as, say, fast food with its strict portion control and homogenization of the product. In other words, travel too, is McDonaldized. In his popular book *The McDonaldization of Society,* Ritzer saw the standardization of food as an extension of the production line in a period of globalization which rests on four qualities: efficiency in use of resources; calculability of costs and margins; predictability of the product; and control, in the case of food automated technologies (Ritzer, 2000: 12-14). Ritzer also mentions the package tourism as cases of a formal rationalization of leisure; his image of the coach tour with its limited stops for

photography may be outdated, though such tours are not extinct, but the wider point that tourism is controlled like many other mass market industries remains valid (Ibid.: 25-26).

As mentioned in the second chapter, Lefebvre (1996: 59) asserts that in the first half of the twentieth century, all this seemingly non-productive expense of tourism industry is rationally planned with the greatest care. Lefebvre (1996: 58) also stressed the production of space on the basis of a *difference* internal to the capitalist mode of production which is supplied by the current *transformation* of the perimeter of the Mediterranean into a leisure-oriented space for mass tourism of industrialized Europe.

In the late 1980s, some of the tourist sites formulated the strategy, as rejecting the mass market tourism encouraged by national promotions based on advertising sun, sea, sand (3S), and drink, which led to the industrialization of tourism in coastal resorts (Dodd, 1999: 57-8; Miles and Miles, 2004: 80). Package tourists, in any case, spend little money in the places they visit, while business tourists and those seeking cultural experiences on short city breaks are likely to be more affluent and more adventurous in consumption. Instead of subordinating itself, then, to *mass tourism* the cities sought to *niche* market itself, as a cultural destination. To this end, since the 1990s some of the tourist sites have been represented themselves through place promotions based on advertising education, entertainment, and environment (3E).

2.4.1.1. Industrialized Mass Tourism

In his work, *The Tourist Gaze* (1990), Urry examines the development of the first example of *mass tourism*, which occurred amongst the industrial working class in Britain as an exceptionally novel form of social activity. For Urry (1990: 16) the growth of such tourism represents a democratization of travel because travel had always been socially selective. Urry also asserts that the growth of a more organized and routinized pattern of work led to attempts to develop a corresponding rationalization of leisure (Cunnigham, 1980: 147; Urry, 1990: 19).

First of all, the growth of *mass tourism* (Table 2.12) was the improvement of the means of transportation in the second half of the nineteenth century when railways allowed families from the British working and lower middle classes to take annual holidays at seaside resorts (Urry, 1990: 21; Miles and Miles, 2004: 67). However, Urry warns us not to overemphasize the role of the railways because in the mid of the 19th century, the railway companies found the seasonal nature of the holiday not too profitable.

According to Urry (1990: 26), in the context of democratization of travel, the main developments affecting the tourist gaze in Britain in the inter-war period were the growth of car ownership; the widespread use of coach transport; the considerable growth of air transport; the

development of new organizations like Touring Clubs (see Brunner, 1945; Lickorish and Kershaw, 1975; Ward and Hardy, 1986). Despite the beach was viewed as a site for medical treatment in the mid-nineteenth century, toward the mid-twentieth century this medicalized beach was replaced by a pleasure beach. Seaside holidays were still the predominant form of holiday in Britain up to the Second World War and had expanded faster than other type of holiday in the inter-war period (see Walvin, 1978: 116-18). The English seaside resort went into decline in the mid-1960s, at a moment when mass tourism, at least in Europe, became internationalized (Urry, 1990: 47). Moreover, by the Second World War in Europe there was widespread acceptance of the view that going on holiday is good for one since it was the basis of personal replenishment. Holidays had become almost a 'marker of citizenship', a 'right to pleasure' (Urry, 1990: 27).

A 'package holiday', the major form of the *mass tourism*, can be defined as a combination of many components of a vacation such as transportation, accommodation, sightseeing and meals which are sold to the consumers at a single price. A package holidays as a form of bundling within the tourism industry is a common strategy whereby transportation and lodging are combined (Rewtrakunphaiboon and Oppewal, 2008: 128).

Since the end of 1980s there has been great agreement among the scholars and also among the chief executives of the international corporations that "travel and tourism is the world's largest industry" (Beniface and Fowler, [1993] 1996: 2). Steele (2007: 106) asserts that both travel and tourism are not just the largest industries in today's world, they are also the two of largest growth industries, and according to the WTO results, having increased incredibly by more than 9% annually for the last 16 years in a row. It is true that travel and tourism is the largest industry[43] in the world, constituting 11.7 per cent of world GDP, 8 per cent of world export earnings, and 8 per cent of employment in the globe informed by Sheller and Urry in 2004 (2004: 3). Yet, almost no country, is a significant sender or receiver of visitors. The WTO reports that during the past decade alone international tourist arrivals have doubled throughout the world, predicting the same again in the next five years.

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[43] ICOMOS reports that the worldwide international tourist arrivals in the year 1991 as 450 million and in the year 2000, the figure was expected to rise to 650 million. Internationally there are almost 700 million legal passenger arrivals each year as compared with 25 million in 1950 with a predicted 1 billion by 2010 (ICOMOS, 1993: 1).
In a newly published article, Das and DiRienzo (2009: 470) update the international tourism receipts of tourism industry as an increasingly important source of economic growth and development in the world economy totaled $622.7 billion in 2004 as compared to $2.1 billion in 1950. During the World Economic Forum [WEF, 2007] it is also reported that the travel and tourism sector accounted for 8.2% of total employment worldwide and 10.3% of world GDP in 2006.

2.4.1.2. Niche Tourism

Currently, much of tourism research has turned its attention to "destination competitiveness" or "tourism competitiveness" (Das and DiRienzo, 2009: 470). Specifically, the tourism industry has transitioned from "one-size-fits-all" *mass tourism* to what Cracolicia, Nijkampb, and Rietveld (2006) called the "new age of tourism," or *niche tourism* as a general term which is a customized approach designed to address the specific attitudes and needs of tourists. This new kind of tourism involves 'niche markets' that emphasize their uniqueness in regard to cultural and ethnic heritage and natural resources (Hall, 2002; Hoffman, 2003; Hughes, 2003). Cracolicia, Nijkampb, and Rietveld (2006: 16) state that "it is currently 'en vogue' to escape from the home environment and to relax by finding new, unusual and remote places to visit." The demand for exclusive destinations has resulted in increased global competition for tourists, or tourism competitiveness (Hoffman 2003).

Cities seek out niche markets among which one such market has recently attained prominence is gay tourism (Holcomb, 1999: 63). With the rise of new forms of tourism (or postmodern tourism, see Table 2.13), a number of authors identified a number of key tourism types for the niche markets (Urry, 1990; Sharpley, 1994; Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Williams, 1998; Shaw and Williams, 2002; [2004] 2007: 117): Heritage/cultural tourism; Ecotourism; Adventure tourism; Visiting theme parks/mega-shopping malls

Since the 'niche travelers' come in small numbers, they spend a healthy sum of money, and they leave, they are, as a group, therefore highly desirable as visitors to the often fragile contexts of World Heritage Sites. To satisfy niche travelers, however, will require not only the patient work of the conservationist but also the experience of the tourism expert to provide the quality service that niche travelers require (ICOMOs, 1993: 3).

Cultural Tourism

> When Herodotus came here, he was a tourist. He didn't know anything about ancient Egypt. He was met by the tour guides that you meet today, they will tell you anything to please you. They told him stories that never happened.
>
> (Zahi Hawas, Undersecretary of State for the Giza monuments cited in Vanderburgh and Heynen, 2007: 2)

'Cultural tourism' and 'heritage tourism' are the two key types of new forms of tourism, i.e. of *niche tourism* in cities where the strategy of cultural political economy aims at capitalizing city's

cultural assets. As an exemplar to cultural tourism, it is clear that the 'Barcelona model' of restructuring is historically contingent through the preservation of cultural heritage as a key strategy of the 'new' tourism policies. Barcelona has become a post-Fordist tourist city (see Table 3.5.6, Fordist vs. Post-Fordist Production in Tourism) made up of local residents and visitors who use city services and amenities, both public and private (Martinotti, 1993 cited in Garcia, M., and Claver, 2003: 120) which may also be counted as an example to the theory of 'city users' or 'hypertourist' examined in sub-section 2.4.

Cultural tourism based on short city-breaks in locations such as Paris, Rome, Florence, Barcelona, Vienna, Prague, Budapest, or New York provides a new kind of educated tourism for the middle classes. Though the meaning of *cultural tourism* has changed over the last two centuries it can be described as follows:

> From 1750-1850, cultural tourism referred to the practice of travelling around Europe to study the fine arts. The sons of aristocrats would do a grand tour in the company of tutors, and they would return home a 'cultured' person. In the subsequent century, cultural tourism was adopted by merchants who traveled in order to develop 'class'. And finally, in the present era of jet plane mass-travel, 'cultural tourism' has become a popular phrase that has been abused (ICOMOS, 1993: 2).

At its worst, *cultural tourism* has taken on a deceiving meaning standing for all that is good and constructive in tourism, involving music, the festivals, the arts and ethnic exchange. In the same *Hand Book* mentioned above, it is claimed that cultural tourism distinguishes itself from destructive *mass tourism* which sells the charm of beaches and the satisfaction of the desires of the body (ICOMOS, 1993: 3). *Cultural tourism* also known as *niche tourism* is defined more functionally. First, *cultural tourism* is small, well-managed, educational and frequently up-market tourism. It offers a special kind of visit for a person with a special kind of interest. It is not wide-ranging, mass tourism but tourism dedicated to presenting or explaining some cultural idea. Secondly, 'cultural tourists' or niche travelers themselves are a particular kind of people:

> They tend to be environmentally conscious, politically open-minded and appreciative of differences They probably travel frequently, are highly educated and bring a sharp intellectual and friendly energy to their encounters with foreign cultures. They do not buy souvenirs but prefer handicrafts and learning about or seeing how they are made. They do not mind modest means of transportation if it is taking them to some remarkable place, and they do not mind a small, local hotel as long as it is clean. They also do not mind spending money as long as they get value in return. They are refined customers with a love of excellence, a taste for the authentic, and they do not tolerate mediocrity (Ibid.).

Thirdly, some destinations for cultural tourists have a direct link with the history that lends them international fame (Ibid.). Still, Athens, along with Rome, Venice and Istanbul, has been a classic destination for niche travelers. [44]

Heritage Tourism and World Heritage Sites

International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) defines World Heritage Sites as "the planet's outstanding attractions, the greatest monuments from the past" (ICOMOS, 1993: 1). The World Heritage List results from a global treaty that seeks to identify, recognize and protect places that are of 'outstanding universal value'. There are two main categories here: man-made sites and natural sites. The man-made sites are often referred to as cultural sites, or historic sites, ruins, or intact structures still in use today or adapted for a new use.

The prime and overriding purpose of a World Heritage Site is to conserve the values for which it has been recognized and placed on the World Heritage List (Ibid.: 25). The World Heritage Convention therefore requires that nations submit a management plan for sites being nominated. Such plans should include consideration of the proper level of visitor access and tourism at the site.[45] As part of this effort, it is important that governments properly identify World Heritage Sites within the national planning process, on land-use plans and single them out for their importance to all mankind.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) seeks to encourage the identification, protection and preservation of cultural and natural heritage around the world considered to be of outstanding value of humanity. The World Heritage Convention, whose

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[44] Other places have a more tenuous link—the Acropolis has little relationship to the contemporary religious or social structure of modern Greece. Egypt has been attracting niche travelers to its archeological wonders. The terra cotta soldiers of Xian have been attracting this same bread of voyager to China. Everywhere the opportunities for developing cultural tourism are expanding, and World Heritage Sites offer particularly fertile ground (ICOMOS, 1993: 3).

[45] On signing the Convention, each country pledges to conserve the cultural and natural sites within its borders that are recognized by the Convention as being of exceptional and universal value. In return, the international community helps to protect these treasures. To define these significant sites the Convention has established the World Heritage List. The cultural and natural properties proposed to the list must meet specific criteria defined by the World Heritage Committee. The first eight sites were inscribed on the list in 1978. In 1993 there were 358 sites listed in 82 countries: 260 cultural sites, 84 natural sites and 14 mixed cultural and natural sites (ICOMOS, 1993: 5). There are three categories of World Heritage definitions:

> *Monuments:* architectural works, work of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

> *Groups of buildings:* groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

> *Sites:* works of man or the combined works of nature and of man, and areas including archeological sites which are out of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view (ICOMOS, 1993: 9 4; Feilden and Jokilehto, 1993: 13).

full title is "The Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage," was adopted by UNESCO in 1972.[46]

The 'management' of urban historic sites is perhaps the most complex of all sites. They are living organisms, often densely populated, with deteriorating infrastructures and enormous developmental pressures. The management of these sites is often fragmented among various local and national government agencies that control the many aspects that allow these cities to function: public services, zoning, public improvements, utilities, demolition and construction permits, land use, etc (ICOMOS, 1993: 22). ICOMOS proposes that the only adequate methodology for managing tourism and preservation in historic towns and urban areas is "through the planning process" which is supposed to assure cooperation and coordination among all involved agencies.

From one point of view, a World Heritage Site is a center of business. It generates cash at the site (admissions, book, souvenirs and food) and stimulates spending in the surrounding area. The site's existence has an economic potential to be put it in the service of the monument itself and the nation as a whole (ICOMOS, 1993: 35). Even though World Heritage Sites are by definition celebrated locations that command attention and draw visitors, it is still important that administrators work to project a public image for the site and target a market for publicity efforts (Ibid: 39).

Ecotourism

Eco-tourism essentially means "non-mass tourism that uses natural aspects of the landscape as its main selling point" (Graburn, 1995: 162). Ecotourism can also be seen as a form of nostalgia because "the market for eco-tourism stems from an 'imperialist nostalgia' by people from developed countries that desire to flee modernity and 'return to nature'" (Rosaldo, 1989; Wallace and Russell, 2004: 236). Despite the difficulties in defining ecotourism, it is clear that ecotourists are a relatively new and rapidly growing group in global travel (Duffy, 2004: 33). Ecotourists are known as being

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[46] In 1993, the Convention had 145 countries that are party to it (ICOMOS, 1993: 5; Feilden and Jokilehto, 1993: 5). As of April 2009, The World Heritage List includes 878 properties forming part of the cultural and natural heritage which the World Heritage Committee considers as having outstanding value (http://whc.unesco.org/en/list, 26.03.2009). As of April 2009, 186 States Parties have ratified the World Heritage Convention. Turkey is one of parties with her seven cultural and two mixed properties identified as World Heritage:

- Göreme National Park and the Rock Sites of Cappadoccia—Mixed/M
- Great Mosque and Hospital of Divriği—Cultural/C)
- Historic Areas of Istanbul—C
- Hattusha: The Hittite Capital—C
- Nemrut Mountain—C
- Hierapolis-Pamukkale—M
- Xanthos-Letoon—C
- City of Safranbolu—C
- Archeological Site of Troy—C

especially interested in visiting rare natural environments, yet in reducing the impact of their holiday-making, so that it might be expected that reefs, landscapes, and wildlife would constitute a major motivating draw for them (Duffy, 2004: 34).

Most of the ecotourists behave in an environmentally conscious way and in many they perceive it as their contribution to conservation of the place (Duffy, 2004: 37). First of all, eco-cultural tourism follows the "ten principles for sustainable tourism" (see sub-section 2.4) which underlay the rationale behind the European Charter for Sustainable Tourism in Protected Areas. Duffy also believes that ecotourism and ecotourists transform local environments into global places to play. Though ecotourists may feel themselves conceptualize and perform their holiday choices in a more flexible way, Duffy asserts that they can only consume and perform their tourism through a predefined range of options produced by the ecotourism industry (Ibid.: 41)

As the union of *cultural tourism* and *ecotourism*, Wallace and Russel (2004) introduce 'eco-cultural tourism' as a concept in which ecological and cultural aspects of a landscape are combined to create a site for tourists. It is proposed as a way for communities with otherwise marginal cultural or ecological resources to develop. Sustainability and participation are both crucial for the long term future of this form of tourism. According to Wallace and Russell, eco-cultural tourism is the outcome of the alliance of open-air museums with the ecological movement.

In addition to *cultural tourism, heritage tourism* and *ecotourism*, 'sports tourism' can be considered as *niche tourism* as well. *Sport tourism* includes travel and participation in or attendance at a predetermined sports activity. The sports activity can also include competition and travel for recreation, entertainment, business, education and/or socializing (Turco, et al, 2002: 3; Bale, 2001). *Sports tourism* can serve as a supplemental, secondary, or peripheral attraction within host communities.

Urban Tourism

The term *urban tourism* simply denotes tourism, namely, in urban areas (Law, 2002: 4). Fainstein and Judd (1999: 5) identify the three elements of urban tourism: the tourist, the tourism industry, and cities. In their theorizing the urban tourism industry not only promotes the regular flow of tourists to a place, but also promotes the establishment of fairs, conventions, and business settlements. Nevertheless, "urban tourism is an unpredictable economy" because "the three elements of urban tourism—the tourist, the tourism industry, and cities—interact to produce a complex ecological system. Unsurprisingly, the tastes and desires of tourists are changeable; just like car buyers they will yearn for next year's model even before it appears" (Fainstein and Judd, 1999: 5; Degen, 2004: 135).

What distinguishes 'urban tourism' from 'traditional tourism' is the way in which what is an offer has been packaged and marketed (Table 2.14). Thus there is a shift from being centers of production to the centers of consumption in cities. Here, leisure enjoyment, spectacle and pleasure are produced, packaged, marketed and consumed. (Stevenson, 2003: 100).

Conferences, exhibitions, expos and the like are activities that are often regarded as one of the staples of city tourism. Conferences and exhibitions are perceived to constitute a strong growth sector in which the visitor spends an above average amount and which operate for most of the year (Law, 2002: 98).[47] In many cases, conference and convention sites are purposely selected by virtue of their sporting facilities, such as golf or tennis centers, and recognized sports events that will entertain visiting delegates after their business is complete (Turco, 2002: 3-4). People who seek for therapy, especially for surgical operations in famous hospitals can also be categorized as urban tourist.

2.4.2. Impacts of Tourism on Urban Form

Unquestionably, tourism has a significant impact on urban form. The spatial organization of tourist-destination cities differs from the older industrial cities that have specialized historically in producer services, distribution, and manufactured goods (Fainstein and Gladstone, 1999: 23). According to Mullins (1991; 2003: 128), '*tourism urbanization*' is not identical to and does not necessarily arise from '*urban tourism*'—defined as the process by which tourism becomes a major urban industry, but one that is subordinate to other industries. In contrast to industrial urbanization, tourism urbanization is defined by Mullins as follows:

> [T]ourism urbanization is part of an emergent, globally oriented, postindustrial age whereby cities and towns are built or developed exclusively for tourists, meaning that their economies, politics, residential life, and built environments are different. Where 'industrial urbanization', for example, was accompanied by an infrastructure of production, such as factories, canals, and railways, 'tourism urbanization' is supported by an infrastructure of consumption made up of theme parks, casinos, hotels, convention centers, condominiums, golf courses, and so forth (Mullins, 2003: 128).

Page (1995; cited in Law 2002:4-5) recognized the variety of place types and presented urban typologies as follows:

- Capital cities (e.g. London, Paris and New York) and cultural capitals (e.g. Rome);
- Metropolitan centers and walled historic cities (e.g. Canterbury and York);
- Large historic cities (e.g. Oxford, Cambridge and Vienna);

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[47] According to Law (2002) *urban tourists* (or *hypertourists* mentioned in sub-section 2.4) as the visitors to cities can be classified in various ways. Traditionally the prime visitor markets for 'urban tourism' have been thought to be: i. Business travelers; ii. Conference and exhibition delegates; iii. Short-break holiday-makers; iv. Day trippers; v. Visitors to friend and relatives; vi. Long holiday-makers on a tour, stopping off for a short visit; vii. (for some port cities) the cruise ship market; viii. Long holiday-makers using the city as a gateway to the surrounding region (Law, 2002: 55).

- Inner city areas (e.g. Manchester);
- Revitalized waterfront areas (e.g. London Docklands and Sydney's Darling Harbour);
- Industrial cities (e.g. Bradford);
- Purpose built integrated resorts;
- Tourist entertainment complexes (e.g. Disneyland and Las Vegas);
- Specialized tourist service centers (e.g. spas and pilgrimage destination areas);
- Cultural art cities (e.g. Florence)

While the typology mentioned above points to the tourism differences between different types of urban centers, the justification for the classification is not always clear. How do cultural capitals (e.g. Rome) differ from cultural art cities (e.g. Florence)? How can Oxford and Vienna be put in the same category? (Law, 2002: 5). Here, Law's questions are appropriate because nothing differs if the purpose is to attract thousands of extra tourists to bring in the additional income and encourage further rounds of investment. In 'tourism urbanization', tourism has been a central component of the economic, social, and cultural shift that has left its imprint on the world system of cities. Fainstein and Judd, (1999: 262) define three basic types of tourist sites:

- Resort cities are places created expressly for consumption by visitors;

- Tourist-historic cities lay claim to a historic and cultural identity that tourists can experience;

- Converted cities have built an infrastructure for the purpose of attracting visitors. Typically sites of production, such as manufacturing and port facilities, are either adapted to a new uses or replaced, and a standard menu of new facilities is constructed specifically for tourists.

'Urban tourism' is most clearly identified by consumption spaces; geographic areas specially built, redeveloped, or repackaged to attract tourists and residents engaging in recreational and leisure activities (Hannigan, 1998). Still, 'tourism urbanization' and 'urban tourism' have, together, produced a new socio-spatial system for organizing consumption (Mullins, 2003: 128).

Borrowing from Smith (1980: 46) Shaw and Williams (1994: 169), and Judd (1999: 39) use the concept of the 'tourist bubble' which is like a theme park, in that it provides "entertainment and excitement, with reassuringly clean and attractive surroundings." According to Judd, the standardized venues of the tourist bubble seem mass-produced, almost as if they are made in a tourism infrastructure factory that is common to all resort cities.

Compared to tourists seeking outdoor recreation, urban visitors or *hypertourists* are disproportionately drawn by cultural, historical, architectural, and ethnic attractions. Cultural tourists consume not only art, opera performed in historical settings but also gourmet food and locally produced crafts. Typically well educated, affluent, and broadly travelled, they generally represent a highly desirable type of upscale visitor (Holcomb, 1999: 63-64).

Undoubtedly, tourism, because of its fragmented nature, is one of the most difficult industries to plan. Both the public and the private sectors consists of many components, not all of which recognize that they are or could be part of tourism (Law, 2002: 52). In the past and often today it has been the planning department which has attempted to research the tourism sector and develop strategies. From the rapid growth of the 'modern city' to recent 'urban restructuring', the production and consumption of spaces associated with pleasure and leisure has been a key feature of urban life.

2.4.3. Tourist(s): (A) Global Actor(s) of Tourism

"Tourists are vulgar, vulgar, vulgar."

(Henry James[48], cited in Pierce and Moscardo, 1986: 21)

"The tourist is an unenviable figure: ugly, inauthentic, desperately out of sync. Despite innumerable jokes and nearly universal disdain, armies of such figures nonetheless 'consume' cities and sites at a seemingly accelerating pace."

(Vanderburgh and Heynen, 2007: 7)

The World Tourism Organization (WTO, 1995b: 2) definition of tourist is "someone who moves away from home on a temporary short-term basis for at least 24 hours," whether travelling in their own country (domestic tourism) or going to another country (international tourism). Excluded from WTO definition are students and workers migrating temporarily. Tourists can also be classified by the primary aim of their travel into four types, namely, business, pleasure, visiting friends and relatives, and other personal reasons like health tourism (Law, 2002: 2). Urry (2007: 23) also categorizes different kinds of visual gaze for different purposes:

   i. Education: as with the 18th century European Grand Tour and with many current study tour programs;

   ii. Health: as with tourism designed to 'restore' the individual to healthy functioning often through staying in particular sites of bodily restoration;

   iii. Group solidarity: as with Japanese or Taiwanese tourism (see Shields, 1991);

   iv. Heritage and memory: as with the indigenous histories, museums, recreated festivals, dances and so on;

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[48] Henry James, a British author, one of the key figures of the 19th century literary realism.

v. Notion (belief, impression, conception): as with increasingly profitable and autonomous notion of *Scotland-the Brand* (McCrone and others, 1995);

In *The Tourist Gaze* (1990), what is crucial in Urry's definition of 'tourism' as a social phenomenon is its 'modern subject', the 'tourist', who had been constituted with the outcomes of modernization process—such as transportation, communication, regularization of the days of leisure, and promotion of travels to distant resorts, and so on. Above all, for Urry, to be a tourist is one of the characteristics of the 'modern' experience (Ibid: 4). However, arguing tourist as a 'modern subject'[49] is not to suggest that there was no organized travel in premodern societies.

Elsewhere Urry ([1995] 1996: 141) himself defines the modern subject as "a subject on the move." Central to the idea of modernity is that of movement that modern societies have brought about striking changes in the nature and experience of motion or travel. According to Urry, tourism always involves corporeal movement and forms of pleasure. For Urry referring to travel as *corporeal* travel[50] is to emphasize that tourists moving from place to place comprise lumpy, fragile, aged, gendered, racialized bodies. The bodies as such encounter other bodies, objects and physical world multi-sensuously (Urry, 2007: 23).

However, travelling was not only a form of escape from the values of 'home' or the 'domestic sphere'; it also maintained these values and re-valued them in between the confrontation with the unfamiliar and back home (De Clercq, 2007: 32). On the one hand, there is a big effort to make the tourist place extra-ordinary and exciting in order to attract enough people and make the place economically profitable. On the other hand, thanks to the 'tourism industry' the place is made safe and comfortable enough to make the tourist feel at home (see Picture 2.1) Paradoxically enough, 'at home' is one of the strongest themes in modern tourism (Ibid: 33). In the following quotation De Clercq explains how this 'being at home' or 'going without leaving' happens in contemporary tourism:

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[49] In the following excerpt, Urry (1990: 4-5) describes the social and historical variations in tourist gaze: "In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries pilgrimages had become a widespread phenomenon By the fifteenth century there were organized tours from Venice to the Holy Land […] The Grand Tour had become firmly established by the end of the seventeenth century for sons of the aristocracy and the gentry, and by the late eighteenth century for the sons of the professional middle class. Over this period, between 1600 and 1800, treaties on travel shifted from a scholastic emphasis on touring as an opportunity for discourse, to travel as eye witness observation. […] Toward the nineteenth century the character of the tour itself was shifted from the earlier 'classical Grand Tour' of the eighteenth century based on the emotionally neutral observation and recording of galleries, museums and high cultural artifacts, to the nineteenth-century 'romantic Grand Tour' which saw the emergence of 'scenic tourism' and much more private passionate experience of beauty and sublime. […] The eighteenth century had also seen the development of a considerable tourist infrastructure in the form of spa towns throughout much of Europe (Thomson, 1981: 11-12).

[50] The etymological meaning of 'travel' goes back to the old English word *travail*, which is strongly related to French word, *travail* (Boorstin cited in De Clercq, 2007: 31). In the original sense, travelling is synonymous to 'work', 'trouble', or 'torment'. This meaning is derived from the Latin *tripalium*: a three staked instrument of torture. Despite the word 'travel' refers to the heroic concept of travelling in ancient times and to the difficulties of travelling, at the beginning of the 21st century, travelling itself has become an ordinary experience and is part of daily routine.

Tourism domesticates the travelling space, the space between departure and return. Everything imaginable is done to avoid giving the tourist the feeling that he/she has really left his/her home. The familiar shop, hotel and restaurant chains offer the same product, the same bedroom and the same facilities all over the world. They give the tourist the reassuring feeling that the strange world in which he/she moves is familiar, controllable and understandable (De Clercq, 2007: 33).

Compared to Urry's concept of 'modern tourist', Feifer (1985) discusses the concept of the 'post tourist', or in Urry's understanding 'post-(mass)-tourist', and she highlights three features of the term. The first is that the post-tourist does not have to leave his or her house in order to see many of the typical objects of the tourist gaze. By watching TV and video all sorts of places can be gazed upon, compared, contextualized, and gazed upon again.

Second, the post-tourist is aware of change and delights in the multitude of choice. According to Feifer (1985: 269) "now s/he wants to behold something sacred; now something informative, to broaden him, now something beautiful, to lift him and make him finer; and now something just different, because he is bored." The post-tourist is freed from the constraints of 'high culture', on the one hand, and the untrammeled pursuit of the 'pleasure principle', on the other.

Third, the post-tourists know that they are a tourist and that tourism is a game, or rather a whole series of games with multiple texts and no single, authentic tourist experience. The post-tourist knows that s/he is not a time-traveler when going somewhere historic; not an instant noble savage when staying on a tropical beach; not an invisible observer when visiting a native compound (Feifer, 1985: 271). Resolutely 'realistic', s/he cannot evade his/her condition of outsider.

In contrast to the belief in the instrumental rationalism of modernity where the emphases are upon an orderly totality, the search for control, and an increasing and irreversible knowledge of the natural and social laws possessed by the scientists or intellectuals as 'legislator' experts who minimize risk and generate trust for the mass of the population, postmodernity proclaims the end of certainty. Regarding this fact, in the field of tourism, the crucial question for Urry ([1995] 1996: 146) is as follows: "How does this shift relate to the previous discussion of modernity and mobility?" Or better to say: How does this shift produce changes in the nature of [post] modern subjectivity? As an answer to this question, Urry emphasizes the shift from the didactic legislation instructing visitors where to look, what to look for, and when to look toward the encouraging visitors to look with interest on an enormous diversity of artifacts, cultures and systems of meaning. Urry ([1995] 1996: 150) then concludes that "travel and tourism thus transform [both] the modern and postmodern subject" because for him "tourism is nowhere and yet everywhere."

2.4.4. Airport(s): A Global Product(s) of Global Culture of Tourism

In his essay "Delayed," Horwitz (2007: 88) addresses the airport terminal as a transfer point in the massive management of mobile populations. He defines airspace as a complexly crafted network of air traffic systems, airways, flight paths and built environments that together form a path from check-in and take-off, to flight, landing and baggage claim. Airspace is a zone of strict enforcement where international regulations define rules of sovereignty and degrees of control in horizontal and vertical layers (Pascoe, 2001: 9-10; cited as in Horwitz, 2007: 89). Even an airport can be portrayed as a 'global product', in tourism terms, "presenting a single product to global audience is seriously 'hot potato'" (Beniface and Fowler, [1993] 1996: 143). Airports as a commodity serve the world (Ibid.: 144). Like 'the global village' of course such a 'global culture' does not exist in the sense of being confined to one area or one group of people with a particular historical or ethnic background (Beniface and Fowler, [1993] 1996: 154). Nevertheless, as with an archeologically defined 'culture', a 'global culture' of a particular spatial background may well be related to the 'airports' a global product of mankind.

Tourism after all has its own distinctive way of behaving, and it produces characteristic results. People also tend to behave in a touristic sort of way, different from their domestic lives; as tourists, they inhabit and use characteristic artifacts. Beniface and Fowler ([1993] 1996: 155) introduce a concept of 'pattern of tourist behavior' by which they mean a definable "culture of tourists in global context." For them, here lies a clue to an understanding of this global phenomenon of our time, not as the tourist industry but as the 'tourism culture'.

Equally, Fainstein and Judd (Fainstein and Judd, 1999: 268) believe that tourism in certain respects, creates a supranational culture by forging connections among people from different milieus, and it thus contributes to the formation of global culture. Indeed tourists are now subject to the most intrusive regulation; places to play increasingly mimic airports, using many of the same kinds of monitoring, surveillance, and regulation techniques of what is increasingly called the 'frisk society'. (Urry, 2004: 213).

Concluding Remarks

The Greek *polis,* the earliest city development, lies behind walls, providing a model and a way of thinking within its limits as a 'cultural form'. Urban sociology, from the perspective of the growth of ancient cities to modern times with culture as a major aspect can illuminate the way in which the city affects our production and consumption of culture today: art, music, literature,

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architecture, film, etc. It may also help us to understand not only the effect of the urban environment on the production of culture, but also, how culture has influenced the city.

In the *field of art and culture*, with regard to Arendt's argument that "culture and politics belong together," one can also suggest that cultural urban politics is the struggle to fix meanings in space in the interest of particular groups. Frith (1991: 140) identifies three types of cultural policy: *industrial cultural policy; tourist cultural policy; cosmetic cultural policy*. Cultural policies are observable mainly in two ways to maximize a city's profile in the international marketplace: the 'Europeanization or cultural planning' approach or the 'Americanization or festival market place' approach.

Creative industries have swallowed the 'old' arts and *cultural* industries, reversing the relationship in which arts were traditionally at the core, supplying cultural commodities and then non-cultural spheres, such as tourism, advertising and design services. The shift from culture industry to creative industry has resulted in the emergence of new concepts like creative class, creative city, creative capital, and so on. Bianchini and Landry (1995: 12), the co-creators of "*creative city*," believe that the inter-urban competition game has increased the strategic importance of universities, research centers or cultural industries. According to them ([1995] 1998: 17), being a 'creative city' requires the removal of any existing bureaucratic obstacles to creativity, since it is a must for what is essentially the marketing of a city or country.

The 3T's for the economic development of so called creative cities, technology, talent, and tolerance explain the 'new [economic] geography of creativity' and its effect on economic outcomes. Similarly, while describing the 'culture' of the new capitalism, Sennett defines the 'ideal man', who encounters the three challenges of the time: *time*: managing short term relationships and oneself, while migrating from one task to another task, from one job to another job, and from one place to another; *talent*: developing new skills; *surrender*, letting go of the past because today, in the era of flexible capitalist production, no one owns their place.

In the first half of the twentieth century, the world of film-making and distribution was dominated by the Hollywood 'studio system'. According to Schatz (2008: 29), the domestic US market since the early 1990s has become increasingly split between these *major studio releases* on the one hand and *low-budget independent films* on the other. Running parallel to the charting of "Hollywood's new map" and the accelerating global outreach and mobility of the US film industry is the rising tide of new clusters of creative and cultural industries across the globe and specialized industrial districts (Scott, 2004; Bassett et al., 2002). According to Scott and Pope (2007: 1365), the decentralization of film-shooting activities away from Hollywood actually assumes two main substantive forms, which can be designated as *creative* runaways and *economic* runaways though, in practice, the two are not always mutually exclusive.

In the *field of urban planning*, the culture of planning as it has evolved in the past is rooted in philosophical and social transformation, the intellectual change in the Western thought, known better as the 'Enlightenment'. Since the early 1980s, the 'the transformative power' of planning has been challenged by the model of pluralistic approaches in urban policy. Instead of the 'top-down' formal exercises in policy making and planning by central government, *strategic projects* as the new concern of the local municipal governments with the partnership of private sector, are situated within a broader context; have strategic rather than immediate impact; serve as a catalyst; and provide a platform for communication and negotiation. Thus, the planners of the future increasingly losing their autonomy have to take more risk and be more entrepreneurial to survive.

In the *field of urban politics*, Keil (2000: 259) differentiates three pathways in a landscape of "possible urban worlds". For Keil, these three pathways are 'social progressive', 'neoliberal' and 'Third Way' urbanism. He believes that these three fields are potentially overlapping and sometimes interdependent in their discursive construction in the political arena.

When Tony Blair came to power in 1997, the cultural industries became the central concern of the U.K. policy with consultants and academics invited by many European cities for export advice on culture as the vehicle of economic development. Also, the shift from 'cultural' to 'creative' industry discourse in the U.K. in those times was associated with Blair's Third Way.

One of two major cultural policies to maximize a city's profile in the international marketplace is *Cultural Planning* or *Europeanization,* which is defined as a blend of social democratic principles and neo-liberalism (Stevenson, 2003: 111). By definition, *Cultural Planning* or *Europeanization* having a program compatible with Third Way politics, often ends with nominating a given city as the 'European Capital of Culture' (see Section 3.4.2.1). The *festival marketplace* or *Americanization* is the second way when competing with other cities to attract international capital to be invested for the items provided as the basis of more *monopoly rent. Festival marketplace*s are urban spectacles both in their architectural form and in the nature of the activities that take place.

The *managerial* approach in the *field of urban governance* so typical of the 1960s, has steadily given way to initiatory and *entrepreneurial* forms of action in the 1970s and 1980s. In the late 1980s, a general consensus emerged throughout the advanced capitalist world cities will be better off taking an *entrepreneurial* stance to economic development (Harvey, [©1989b], 2001: 347). From a CPE perspective, it is interesting that the development of new discourses at the national and regional levels reinforces the logic of *urban entrepreneurialism*. The entrepreneurial city or region has been constructed through the intersection of diverse economic, political and socio-cultural narratives

In the *field of urban design*, post-modernity is nothing more than the cultural clothing of flexible accumulation. A contemporary scholar John Urry who wrote especially on consumption of spaces and sociology of tourism, identifies three senses of the meaning of *post* in postmodern within

the context of architecture: *after* the modern; *return* to the premodern; and *anti* the modern (Urry, 2005: 204). Urry asserts that *after* the modern is the same with 'consumerist postmodernism'. Ellin (1996: 133) defines postmodern urbanism by reviving and assessing the major themes such as contextualism, historicism, regionalism, anti-universalism, etc. In contrast to the primary motto of modern urbanism which says 'Form follows function', the critique of postmodern urbanism revolves around four slogans: 'Form Follows fiction', 'Form Follows Fear', 'Form Follows Finesse', and 'Form Follows Finance' (Ellin, 1996: 134).

Since 1980, we have seen a major paradigm shift in urban studies in the field of economy. The study of urbanization and the city has been directly linked to the developments in the world-economy, and the term 'global' has become a common term. King ([©1990] 1991: 15) classifies world cities into three categories: First, *truly international centers* (New York, London, Paris, Zurich); second, *zonal centers* (Singapore, Hong Kong, and Los Angeles); and finally, *regional centers* (Sydney, Dallas, Chicago, Miami, and San Francisco).

The *regional center* or in Scott's (2001: 1) words, the *city region,* which is "the new regionalism, stands in opposition to the view of the world as a borderless space of flows that is sometimes set forth in discussions of the future course of international development." For Scott *et al.* (2001: 11), there are more than three hundred *city-regions* around the world with populations greater than one million.

While promoting a city with a *brand,* the city becomes like a commodity itself when it is represented to the buyers within various representations to be immersed in commercial exchange through its promotion with the chic name, *city of culture.* This new era is one of *place wars*, since "space is turned into place through acts of discursive representation." According to Short (1999: 43-52), four themes emerge in the re-imagining of cities which reflect the new geographies of late capitalism: a. *world cities and wannabe world cities*; b. *look no more factories*; c. *the city for business*; d. *capitalizing culture.*

In the *field of tourism* the shift from *mass tourism* toward *niche tourism*, which opened up a new study area in tourism research, has turned its attention to "destination competitiveness" or "tourism competitiveness" Instead of "one-size-fits-all" *mass tourism,* now the new concern of tourism studies is "uniqueness in regard to cultural and ethnic heritage and natural resources" *niche tourism.* The result of such internationalization is that different countries, or different places within a country, come to specialize in providing particular kinds of objects to be gazed upon. However, in any discussion of "culture of tourism" or "culture of tourists", mention must be made of the UK, where mass tourism was experienced for the first time, and taking vacations was acknowledged as social right. Following the contamination of Britain's shores after 1960, the UK was the first country to

internationalize mass tourism. Therefore, even though tourism and tourist culture is not a national culture, it would be fair to say that it started in British culture.

The growth of the tourism industry also reshapes more widely patterns of urbanization, of infrastructure development (roads, airports, ports), of agriculture and food importation, of cultural production and performance, with implications for almost every economic sector (Sheller and Urry, 2004: 4).

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN

With regard to the major assumption of the thesis, as already stated in the Introduction, the major task of this study is to understand what is behind the process of restructuring Antalya into a city of culture. Accordingly, the study is designed to explore the essential relations behind the social phenomena of restructuring Antalya into a city of culture. For this reason, the research design of this study can be named mostly as an *exploratory* research design.[51] Exploratory research design generally, asks "what" questions with the hope of finding non-observable relations, underlying structures, transformation of structures, dynamic mechanisms and network of what is happening in the observable world.

In *exploratory* research, the *inductive* approach is generally used but at the same time it starts with a problem regarding the empirical world, or with even a chaotic concept expecting to clarify the problem by examining the empirical world in a flexible way. The flexibility of the exploratory procedure does not mean that there is no direction to the inquiry; it simply means that "the focus is originally broad but becomes progressively sharpened as the inquiry proceeds" (Blumer, 1969: 40; Wallace and Wolf, 1986: 215).

As already mentioned in the introductory chapter, though the research begins with an *inductive* approach as the feeling about the rhythm of Antalya's everydayness, I simultaneously began to analyze the arrhythmia of the city with the concept of 'urban restructuring'. Consequently, in this *exploratory* study design to reveal the essential relations behind the observable process of restructuring Antalya into a city of culture, the approach to the inquiry is neither merely *inductive,* since the discovery of regularities in the world of appearances cannot itself imply the necessity of certain underlying essences, nor *deductive* since there are no *a priori* covering laws or trans-historical generalizations from which essential relations can be deduced. Rather, the *exploratory* research "is a *retroductive* approach" (Saunders, 1981: 17) to the inquiry which, I believe, helps to understand any social phenomena in depth as a '*process*' instead of an instantaneous un-concealment of certain social

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[51] While a *descriptive* research design begins with "what" [is happening] questions that are generally used to 'describe' specific culture of a community or a neighborhood in society, an *explanatory* research design uses the questions beginning with "why" and "how" in order to 'explain' a particular phenomena with the principle of causality, the crucial character of *exploratory* research design is to 'explore' what is behind the observable social phenomena.

phenomena as a snap-shot picture. This so called *retroductive* approach in *exploratory* study design actually necessitates something like Marx's dialectical methodology, also known as *realist methodology*.[52]

The *realist methodology* in social science is generally seen in the theories of contemporary Marxist thinkers who indeed strive to go beyond the dichotomy of structure versus agent. As employed in this study, major theories based on the *realist* methodology are namely the theory of 'structuration' by Giddens; the theory of 'growth machine' by Logan and Molotch; the [relational] "theory of practice" by Bourdieu. In realist studies, causal relationships can be established in relation to human behavior, but such causality tends to be limited in time and space not to the universal laws.

3.1.   Basic Concepts Employed

No matter what this "transformation of Antalya into a city of culture" is called, be it 'restructuring' (see Chapter 2.3.1), 'structuration' (see Chapter 2.3.2), or 'transformation of forms of capital in relatively autonomous fields' (see Chapter 2.3.3), the concepts such as 'urban transformation', 'urban restructuring' and 'structuration' have been interchangeably used in this study. One of the basic concepts, 'urban restructuring', employed in this study is examined in Chapter 2. In the second chapter, an attempt is made to outline a unitary theory for going beyond

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[52] Referring to the web page "sociology central" (www.sociology.org.uk) run by Chris Livesey, from an ontological, epistemological, methodological and methodical perspectives, a *realist* sociology can be summarized as follows:

Ontologically, a *realist* researcher believes that the social and natural worlds are different, but it is possible that the basic principles involved in the study of each are similar. In contrast to the *positivist* researchers who advocate that the self-consciousness of human beings is not a significant factor in our ability to understand the social world, *interpretivist* researchers believe that human consciousness is highly significant to create and recreate their social existence. Yet, for *realist* sociologists human consciousness is only a significant factor when people act collectively (not individually) to change the social world. In other words, through collective social action it is possible to produce structural change. According to the *transformational model of social activity* which is developed by *realist* social scientists, individual behavior is determined by the nature of structural relationships in society but at the same time only collective social action can alter the structure of these relationships (Bhaskar, 1989; Collier, 1994; Joseph and Kennedy, 2000). Realist thinkers like Roy Bhaskar (1989: 124), one of the forerunners of critical Marxist realism, also reject the idealist determinism of social world. As for Sayer (1992: 5), another critical *realist* thinker, "there is no social world independent of individual consciousness." The social world has an objective existence over and above individual consciousness but we experience it as something real.

Epistemologically, empirical evidence is desirable in *realist* studies but not in itself sufficient. It can be asserted that a *realist* study opposes to mere empirical and to mere idealist approaches in social sciences (Ozan, 2001: 11). For the *realist* researchers, the task of science is to uncover the non-observable mechanisms in the society. Scientific knowledge can be produced by 'understanding' the (non-empirical) relationships that underpin the observable social world. Thus, the main objective of realism is to go beyond the simple description of causal relationships to discover how such relationships are initially created.

Methodologically, *realist* studies begin with Marx's renowned assumption that "the social world has to be understood in its totality." Though it is technically possible to measure and quantify human behaviour, this is not necessarily desirable, nor is an end in itself. Although personal objectivity is important for realist sociologists, among them it is also believed that value freedom is neither possible nor desirable (Sayer, 1992: 83). This is because it is impossible to act without the influence of values and to pretend otherwise is either self-deceit or simply support for the existing status quo in society.

Methodically, in *realist* studies, the development of theoretical knowledge about how the social world is constructed is emphasized. Empirical data may aid this process, but it is not an end in itself. Generally, *realist* studies use the main qualitative data gathering methods like observation of any type, focused group or single in-depth interviews in order to develop theoretical models of the underlying structures and processes in society.

the polarization between structuralism and anti-structuralism existing in the 'urban political economy' approach for a better understanding of the process of 'urban restructuring' by making use of the three distinct above-mentioned approaches. Throughout the study, the terms, indicating the agents either as individual or institutional level like actors, urban stakeholders, urban elites constituting the 'growth machine' were used more or less in the same meaning.

Hence, in the case of Antalya, it is suggested that understanding the relations among the stakeholders for the coalition of the *growth machine* (Logan and Molotch, 1987) for *urban restructuring* (Smith and Feagin, 1993, ©1987; Fainstein 1990; Fainstein and Fainstein, 1989; Logan and Swanstrom, 1990)*,* and understanding the theory of practice of the actors to maximize the *forms of capital* they possess in the field are both only possible through an analysis of their *habitus*, which may sometimes cause them to deviate from their *position* and *position-taking*s (Bourdieu, 1986; 1990) rather than always acting rationally, or exercising their practical consciousness, which is fundamental to the theory of structuration (Giddens, 1991, ©1984; 1993) in cities where a special arena mediates between the locality and wider, regional or global processes (Giddens, 1989).

Such concepts as 'culture', 'cultural industry', creative industry', 'city culture', 'city of culture' already explained in the third Chapter are those concepts forming the backbone of this study. In the third Chapter, the concept, the 'city of culture' is examined in four sub-*field*(s) *à la* Bourdieuan terms. Resembling 'the art of *ebru*' mentioned in the introductory chapter, the *field* of art and culture, the *field* of urban-planning, -politics, -governance, -design, the *field* of economy, and the *field* of tourism within the general *field* of power may interpenetrate one another. The same agent may often play the game in all the *fields,* or sometimes any change in the rules of the game in one of the *field*s may change those of another game in a different *field*. In other words, any change in the structure of any field as the outcome of an agent's play may even change the structure of the other *field*s.

First, in the *field* of 'art and culture' via the process of urban restructuring, it is assumed that in Antalya the consciousness of city dwellers about the term 'city culture' has also been restructured with the introduction of a new term 'city of culture' as if a novel concept entered the local agenda. Additionally, in academic circles, the concept like 'cultural industry' in the *field* of art and culture has now been pronounced as 'creative industry' through which, it is believed that cities become 'creative cities'.

Secondly, in the *field* of urban-planning, -politics, -governance, -design, restructuring process seems to reveal itself in many forms. First, a shift from urban planning to Strategic Urban Projects (SUP) becomes visible in Antalya as in all other cities for 'local boosterism' and 'place promotion' as 'flagship projects' or 'hallmark events'. Second, in the *field* of 'urban politics', the shift from social progressive urban politics to neo-liberal urban politics and generally third way as a cocktail of the

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two, a global trend since the 1980s, enveloped Antalya in the harmonious works of the municipal administration and the central government from 2004 to 2009.

Needless to say, the quote from an interview with Menderes Türel, the Mayor of Antalya Greater Municipality, mentioned in the Introduction, gives the first signal of the shift from managerialism to entrepreneurialism in the *field* of 'urban governance'. Finally, in the *field* of 'urban design', the debates on the construction of a theme park like Disneyland beside the internationalization of festival organizations like AGOFF, and construction of such hotels as simulacra like the Kremlin Palace and the Titanic Hotel make public the shift from modern urbanism to a postmodern one in Antalya.

Thirdly, in the *field* of 'economy', being a 'world city' is as much about the role that the city plays in the globalization of culture as it is about the global economy (King, 1993: 84). Such constructs as 'world city' (Friedman, and Wolff, 1982; Hall, 1966), 'global cities' (King, 1990), 'global city function' (Sassen, 1991), 'regional centers' (Thrift 1986), 'city-regions' (Scott 2001) are useful for defining the cities both commanding and attracting global capital. As capitalism globalizes, the cultural political economy (CPE) of cities becomes more "articulated" (Scott, 2000), with some key strategies like 'city branding' and nominating cities as the ECOC for representing cities in the global market.

Fourth, in the *field* of tourism, the restructuring strategies of the constituents of the growth machine from mass tourism to niche tourism, in other words, from traditional tourism to urban tourism are on the agenda of cities.

As mentioned earlier, this thesis, due to the nature of the fluid relations among the four fields - art and culture, urban-planning, -politics, -governance, -design, economy, and tourism - tries to 'understand' the observable social phenomenon 'urban restructuring' in the totality of the social world in Antalya. Hence, with regard to this main objective, this thesis necessitates a study of concepts in the intersecting fields of urban sociology, urban politics, urban political economy, sociology of art and culture, sociology of tourism and leisure studies.

3.2.   Methodology and Methods of the Study

Neither a positivist nor an interpretive methodology was employed in this study. Rather, a *realist methodology* which aims at discovering empirical evidence and understanding the relationships that underpin the observable social world was employed. The main objective of realism is to go beyond the simple description of causal relationships and to uncover the non-observable social mechanism. Ultimately derived from the dialectical approach in Hegel and Marx, *realist methodology* is preeminently a way for analyzing the interconnections of phenomena, of grasping facts not as

isolated, rigid and external data but as part of an all embracing process, yet arguably resting on key principles (Saunders, 1981, 14). The first is that no single aspect of reality can be analyzed independently of the totality of social relations and determinations of which it forms an integral part. The second key principle is that the material world exists prior to our conceptions of it, and that the way in which this world appears to us may conceal or distort its essential character. Throughout the study from the beginning to the end, beside the theoretical tools primarily based on 'urban political economy', I employed *realist methodology* since I believe too, that "real is relational," a phrase coined by Bourdieu (1998: 5) with Marx's relational language.

This study has been shaped by theoretical studies and also by empirical study for the inquiry. The theoretical tools employed in this study have entirely been examined in Chapters 2 and 3. As Bailey (1994: 34) writes, by 'method' we simply mean the research technique or tool used to gather data, by 'methodology' we mean the philosophy of the research process. For him, this includes "the assumptions and values that serve as the rationale for research and the standards or criteria the researcher uses for interpreting data and reaching conclusions."

To carry out the research empirically and to collect data, various tools and techniques of *qualitative research methods* have been employed in this study:

1. directly observing people at the natural pace and observing particular events (participant or non-participant observation of the events like AGOFF, Aydın Doğan Foundation Caricature Competition),

2. shooting photography[53]

3. interviewing people (28 representatives of six different specific groups listed below),

4. interviewing six academics in the Faculty of Fine Arts at Akdeniz University listed below

5. listening to conversations and listening to radio and television (not systematically but selectively the news about the study subject)

6. reading national and local newspapers and journals (not systematically but selectively)

7. securing life history accounts (memoirs of Antalyalites, namely Burhanettin Onat, Hüseyin Çimrin),

8. consulting municipal and governmental publications and statistics (DIE/State Institute of Statistics, Statistics provided by the Governor of Antalya)

9. consulting institutional publications of local Unions and Chambers (like *Portakal, Adalia, Vizyon)*[54]

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[53]During the observation studies I often shot the pictures of the events in which I participated. Thanks to my friend Handan Dayı, who is an instructor in the Department of Photography in the Faculty of Fine Arts at Akdeniz University, I have hundreds of photos recently taken from various perspectives of Antalya.

[54] Institutional Publications of Local Unions and Chambers in Antalya: *Vizyon* published by ATSO/Antalya Chamber of Commerce and Industry; *Portakal* published by AKSAV/Antalya Foundation of Art and Culture; *Adalia* published by AKMED/Suna & İnan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilization–Vehbi Koç Foundation; *Resort* published by AKTOB/Mediterranean Association of Touristic Hoteliers in Turkey, etc.

For the purposes of this study, though various kinds of newspaper reports about Antalya have been collected, three popular newspapers were especially chosen and selectively scanned for news about Antalya with regard to the process of urban restructuring in the four *fields* mentioned above: Hürriyet, Radikal and Milliyet as a surrogate for the popular media in general. Scanning news in the selected newspapers cannot be defined as a 'content analysis', which is another qualitative research method in the social sciences. Rather the purpose of reading news and articles by columnists is to understand the urban restructuring in Antalya. Besides, some of the local newspapers in Antalya have also been used especially during the weeks of AGOFF in the years from 2004 to 2009. Local magazines and journals published by local unions, foundations and chambers were also important sources in which the personal views of the urban elite in Antalya were published.

In this study, to collect data, observation with a critical distance was used as a qualitative method technique. Although "observation most commonly involves sight or visual data collection," it also included data collection "via the other senses, such as hearing, touch or smell" (Bailey, 1994: 242) or getting a sense of the atmosphere and living in the milieu, as it was also included in this study.

Although the city wide sample for observational studies - as it is conducted with one observer in this study - requires a much longer time period than either a survey or experiment, it has advantages because some things could only be observed as they occur. Examples for this could be being a participant observer of the Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival, which takes place on ten days a year; or being an employee for 17 months at the Faculty of Fine Arts of Akdeniz University and at the same time attending and observing numerous relevant social, cultural events in Antalya as a member of Akdeniz University faculty in Antalya.

The case study, which was conducted in Antalya for this piece of the dissertation, took place in a natural setting, involved a variety of ways of participant observation in most cases, and had almost no structure imposed upon the setting except the duration of observation by the observer, often supported by taking notes about the observation as a participant.

The crucial part of the field research consists of interviews with appointments having semi-structured in-depth formats, but unstructured spontaneous interviews were also employed when observing some events as a participant. For instance, as one of the lucky participants of the 43rd (2006), the 44th (2007), and the 45th (2008) Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival, I also conducted supplementary unstructured interviews with some of the participants and some of the staff of the events beside my first hand observation. As Esterberg (2002: 89) defines:

> *unstructured interviews* are the least structured of all. Unlike structured interviews, which tend to be preplanned and may be tape-recorded, unstructured interviews are often conducted in a field setting, in conjunction with an observational study. They tend to be more spontaneous and free-flowing,

with topics arising from the situation or behavior at hand. The interviewer typically does not have a set of questions prepared in advance. Instead, questions arise more naturally.

Semi-structured in-depth interviews with the representatives of the various interest groups helped to explore the topic more openly and to allow interviewees to express their opinions and ideas in their own words. As Michael Quinn Patton (1990) reminds, we can not observe everything we might want to know. During interviews, although the researcher typically began with some basic ideas about what the interview will cover, the interviewee's responses shaped the order and structure of the interview. For Esterberg (2002: 87), semi-structured interviews allow a much freer exchange between interviewer and interviewee and each interview is tailored to the research participant. Since the research questions do not indicate a homogeneous social class, or a neighborhood, or a definite single institution, Interview Questions (see Appendix B) were formulated with nine major headings. Under the major headings some flexible sub-questions were also directed spontaneously to the interviewee during the interview with respect to their *position* (in the name of the institution, firm, NGO, or party they represent) and *position taking* (a more individual strategic action generated by his/her *habitus,* a socialized subjectivity) in the *field* they actively play.

3.3. The Nature of the Research Universe and Sampling

In a study design, the biggest problems of constructing an adequate sampling frame arise in large scale samples or in state-, county-, or citywide studies as it is so in this study. As Bailey (1994: 84) asserts, a sample cannot be more accurate than the sampling frame from which it is drawn. In order to explore the social but simultaneously economic relations behind the process of urban restructuring in Antalya, there is a need for categorizing specific interest groups in Antalya which presumably comprise a 'coalition' or in Molotch's words, the 'growth machine', as the engine of this restructuring process which can be represented either by individuals or by institutions, and can also be defined as the sampling frame. Because of the heterogeneity of the six different interest groups, in the beginning of the field research, the research universe seemed to cover the whole population in Antalya. In order to answer the research questions formulated above, the existence of a 'growth coalition' was taken for granted based on the major assumption of the thesis.

In this study, a 'non-probable purposive dimensional sampling' was employed to specify the 'sampling unit' which is drawn from 'sampling frame' within the 'unit of analysis' - Antalya as a city. In 'non-probable purposive dimensional sampling' the idea is to specify all dimensions or all interest in the population and then to make sure that every combination of these dimensions is represented by at least one case (Bailey, 1994: 93). In this study, one major dimension can be defined, such as

specific groups having an interest in this restructuring process. Accordingly, all of the sub-dimensions of the specific groups were chosen according to their interest from the restructuring process, and to the degree of their impact on production of urban space and urban culture. The representatives of specific interest groups can be analyzed in six dimensions:

1. the representatives of cultural, educational and academic institutions (museums, theaters, universities, etc.,)

2. the representatives of capitalist investors (both local, national and transnational investors);

3. the representatives of local government (Governor and Mayors,);

4. the representatives of NGOs in Antalya and in other cities in Turkey (Chambers of Commerce, Architects, Engineers, and Associations, Foundations, etc.);

5. the representative(s) of the central government (Minister of Culture and Tourism);

6. and the representatives of artists and intellectuals in Antalya (Antalyalite Intelligentsia)

3.4. Data Collection

Due to the nature of the *realist* methodology used in this *explorative* research study, for the purpose of the thesis primary, firsthand and *qualitative* data were collected through the tools and techniques listed above.

Before entering the field, in June 2006, a pilot survey was conducted among four representatives of some key institutions. One of them was the director of the Serik Vocational School which was founded "to educate specialists needed by the film industry and specifically to help develop this sector in Antalya" (http://www.akdeniz.edu.tr). Another representative was the chair of Department of Painting and at the same time the Deputy Secretary of the Dean of the Faculty of Fine Arts at Akdeniz University. The third informant was an official as the representative of the Antalya Provincial Cultural Directorate of the Ministry of Culture and the fourth one was an employee in AKSAV (Antalya Foundation of Art and Culture) a foundation of AGM (Antalya Greater Municipality) responsible for the organization of AGOFF. Four pilot surveys were performed with a questionnaire including open ended questions. The pilot study was conducted with the questionnaire forms instead of making in-depth interviews which probably could have taken for hours. Having evaluated the responses of four questionnaire forms some questions were omitted and at the same time some were added but the questions for the field study of primary and qualitative data collection were formed as semi-structured in-depth interview questions with the headlines of major themes (see Appendix A):

1. Personal Identification (education, occupation, age, etc.)

2. Institutional Identification (field, sector, function, effectiveness, strategy, etc.)

3. About Antalya (interviewee's own observations and experiences about population, migration, economy, culture, etc in Antalya)

4. About the 'culture(s) of city Antalya' (urban culture, city dwelling, citizenship, etc.)

5. Urban space in Antalya (squares, streets, buildings, monuments, etc.)

6. Tourism

7. Globalization

8. Personal opinions (new ideas for restructuring Antalya)

9. Personal information (holiday preference, questions about family members, questions about playing instrument, reading book, watching a film, auditing a concert, etc., questions searching for some clues about their *Habitus*)

Following the pilot survey, a systematic field study using semi-structured in-depth interviews and participant observations started with a group interview on June 20, 2006. The last in-depth interview became possible on October 13, 2008. The time, the place and the duration of every interview were determined by the respondents themselves if and only if the conditions were convenient for them.

Since it is difficult to supervise all interviewers adequately and to pay attention to such detail as follow-ups and finding respondents, I agree with Bailey in that "it is better to have fewer but more careful interviews" conducted by the researcher. Obviously, the correct sample size is dependent upon the nature of the population and the purpose of the study. In order to answer the research questions formulated above, it was planned that the research would be carried out with some 30 representatives of specific interest groups categorized in six dimensions who would take part in the urban governance for restructuring Antalya into a city of culture.

Before the interviews I introduced myself and gave a short description of the study in daily language. I also briefly informed the respondents about the purpose of the study and asked about the time they could spend for the interview in order to re-arrange the questions according to the length of time. Each interview lasted approximately one and half hours though some were more than two hours, and three of them (Municipality of Kepez District, ATSO-Antalya Trade and Industry Chamber, Aydın Doğan Foundation Caricature Competition Founding Member) were about 30 minutes.

For the selection of the interviewees I used my own judgment, according to the principle of the 'non-probable purposive dimensional sampling' in which at least one interviewee must be represented from each dimension and the respondents must best meet the purpose of the study. The interviews were conducted on an institutional basis; but for some key institutions like the Antalya Greater Municipality (AGM) and AKSAV (Antalya Foundation of Art and Culture), the interviews were applied on a temporal basis. That is to say, not only the current representatives of these institutions but also the former representatives in the years between 1999 and 2004 were interviewed. As already mentioned in the introduction, to discover the changes in urban politics in

two distinct periods of the Antalya Metropolitan Municipality, in other words to get a better understanding of such urban restructuring, interviews with some key institutions were doubled with the representative of the former period. For instance, the interview with the representative of the Antalya Provincial Cultural Directorate of the Ministry of Culture is doubled with the representative of the previous period. I also interviewed the current chair as the representative of the Chamber of Architects in Antalya (TMMOB, Chamber of Architects Antalya Branch (MOAŞ) and with the former chair as well.

The appointments for the semi-structured in-depth interviews became possible whenever the respondents consented. In the beginning, despite the research having been planned with 30 interviews, some of them were not possible. In the final countdown, 26 interviews were applied on an institutional basis and two interviews on an individual basis. Among them, five of the respondents were the representatives of cultural, educational and academic institutions like museums, theaters, universities, etc. In the second interest group, six representatives of the capitalist investors (both national and transnational) were interviewed. In total three respondents were the representatives of the local municipal government. When the interviews were applied two were mayors in the current period of 2004-2009, one was the mayor in the previous period of 1999-2004. Thirteen (13) interviews were held with representatives of NGOs in Antalya (chambers of commerce, architects, engineers, and associations, etc.). Three of the respondents were the representatives of some major directorates of the central government. There were three respondents who were interviewed on an individual basis from the dimension of the artists (Antalyalite Intelligentsia). From this dimension one of the respondents whom I interviewed on an individual basis was also a representative of one of the NGOs in Antalya. Similarly, two representatives of the NGOs are at the same time the representatives of the capitalist investors. During the participant observations six unstructured spontaneous interviews were also conducted.

All 28 semi-structured in-depth interviews with the representatives of six interest groups became possible after several attempts to get an appointment via my pre-existing contacts in Antalya, in other words via my own 'formal' and 'informal' *'social capital'* in Bourdieuan terms. In Bourdieu's (1986: 248-9) own words, *social capital* is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition - or in other words, to membership in a group - which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. This definition is actually the 'formal' *social capital* which differs from 'informal' *social capital* introduced by Wacquant (1998) as any network of relationship based on interpersonal relationship and support such as family, kinship ties, neighborhood, common geographic origin, and friendship.

All of the respondents specifically allowed me to use their names in the thesis but due to my ethical understanding for a scientific purpose, I reported them anonymously as 'Respondent Number' like R1, R2, etc., throughout the thesis. In a separate table, the names and the short descriptions of the institutions they represent, the *field* they take place, their *position* in the field and their *position taking*, some clues about their *habitus* with some information about the *forms of capital* they possess is summarized (see Appendix C). During the interviews none of the respondents asked me not to record the conversation. For this reason I owe them much, otherwise it would have been impossible to take notes all of their talks full of invaluable information. The interviews conducted earlier than December 20, 2006 were recorded on an analogous tape-recorder apparatus, and the subsequent interviews after this date were recorded on a digital voice-recorder. All of the interviews were conducted in the respondents' own offices, except for two.

Since the respondents were working in key places in the power network in Antalya, interviews were often interrupted by their secretaries' emergency calls and by unexpected but important visitors. However, they were kind enough to continue the interview after the interruptions.

Beside in-depth single interviews, small group interviews which could be called 'focus group study' were also used at the very beginning of the field study. This focus group was relatively homogenous with regard to the participants' occupation and work place. Both are academic and independent artists performing and exhibiting their works of art in Antalya and in other cities in Turkey and Europe as well. During the group interview, colleagues not only gave their own opinions about the topic but also drew out their own network in order for me to access the key figures/agents who should have probably been involved in the process of transformation of Antalya into a city of culture. One of the major research methods in this study based on my pre-existing contacts (friends, colleagues, elites, friends of elites, family connections), helped me in accessing the representatives of specific groups mentioned above, was recognized among the social scientists with the concept of "friendship as a method" (Tillman-Healy, 2006: 285).

In *Friendship Matters,* William K. Rawlins (2006: 274) defined a close friend as "somebody to talk to, to depend on and rely on for help, support, and caring, and to have fun and enjoy doing things with." According to Tillmann-Healy (Ibid.: 278), first, researching with the practices of friendship means that although traditional forms of data gathering (participant observation, systematic note taking, informal and formal interviewing) have been employed, the primary procedures are those to build and sustain friendship: conversation, everyday involvement, compassion, giving, and vulnerability. Second, friendship as method demands a natural pace of friendship. The tempo here is that anthropologists, who typically stay a year or more in fieldwork communities. In this context, it was my fortune working as a Research Assistant in the Faculty of

Fine Arts at Akdeniz University for nearly one and a half years. Third, 'friendship as method' situates our research in the natural contexts of friendship (Ibid.: 279). For instance, the focus group interview including colleagues from various departments of the Faculty of Fine Arts at Akdeniz University was conducted during a brunch in the home of my dear friend, Assistant Professor Yüksel Şahin, to whom I owe much. This Focus Group study was conducted "with an ethic of friendship, a stance of hope, caring justice, even love" (Ibid.). By the way, let me thank again to my friends for their invaluable assistance.

3.5.   Qualitative Analysis of the Data

All the data gathered for the purpose of this *exploratory study* was obtained through various tools and techniques of *qualitative research method* based on *realist methodology*. With regard to this fact, the primary qualitative data - except the secondary statistical data obtained from the publication of governors' directorates and/or municipalities and/or local unions and chambers, etc. - necessitated a qualitative analysis to explore the relations behind the observable urban restructuring process in Antalya.

Having completed the data collection in October 2008, I accelerated their transcription by listening to all the interviews several times. Though it was time consuming, I transcribed all of the interviews recorded by analogous tape-recorder. Due to the technology being used, these recordings were low in sound quality. Thus I listened and listened again while typing simultaneously transcribing them by rewinding and playing. In total, I transcribed 20 of the single in-depth interviews which I believed to be crucial for this study and the focus group interview. To save time, 8 interviews recorded in high quality on a digital voice-recorder, were transcribed by a professional typist. In the end, when the interviews were printed out, more than 1,000 pages of single-spaced text of primary raw data were obtained.

The analysis of the qualitative raw data began with reading and re-reading all the texts of talks during the interviews. For the preliminary analysis the responses were separated into themes that were coded according to research questions. In the course of data analysis I did not use any qualitative analysis software program, since I believe the quality of an analysis depends on 'understanding' the data. As the word implies 'understanding' is a very subjective act that is impossible without the influence of values. Repeating again, for realist sociologists, value freedom is neither possible nor desirable (Sayer, 1992: 83). Themes of the Preliminary Qualitative Analyses are as follows:

1. Individual and Institutional Information
2. General Information about Antalya
3. Antalya's Symbol (Representation of Antalya)

4. Information in the Field Of Art And Culture (about culture of the city, the transformation of Antalya into a City of Culture, the Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival, the City Museum)
5. Globalization and Antalya
6. Local Governance and Municipality
7. Urban Space
8. Tourism
9. NGO's and resistant against growth ideology
10. Supplementary Headline(s)

In order to reveal the social mechanisms behind the observable urban restructuring process in Antalya, I had to review the written texts of the interviews, all of which had been collected within a time span of nearly two and half years. This phase of the study took hours, days and months as I had to repeatedly read the coded texts and interpret them in light of the theoretical tools and concepts specifically used for the study. After that, I selected the crucial thematic responses of the interviewees amongst the coded series of talks which best meet the purpose of the study.

3.6. The Difficulties of the Study

There were areas where I encountered some difficulties and obstacles throughout the study. The first one was during the literature review. The second difficulty was during the selection of the respondents but what is important than this was the hindrance of the secretaries. The third difficulty was during the field work. For the first difficulty, I can say that there was no sociological study on Antalya relevant to the topic being studied. As mentioned in the fourth chapter, studies on Antalya were mainly concerned with demonstrating and advertising Antalya, or memoirs of intellectuals living in Antalya, and scientific studies generally focused on the social and economic impact of tourism on Antalya (see Sub-section 4.2.).

The second difficulty that I experienced during the selection and the access to the respondents was the most troublesome stage to overcome. Due to the nature of the study, the interviews were conducted with respondents who could also be defined as urban elites. Elites are people who occupy, by heritage, merit or circumstances, a key place in power networks both online and offline. Often associated with power, privilege and position, the elite might not be easily accessible. Thus, "the interview with the elite presents an additional challenge" as I discovered in this study (Undheim, 2006: 14). For instance, two representatives from the sample dimension of local municipal government did not answer my request for an appointment for the interview in spite of several attempts to access them through different channels. One of them was the *Konyaaltı Belediyesi* (the Municipality of the Konyaaltı District). Whenever I called the Municipality of Konyaaltı District to get an appointment from the Mayor himself, the secretaries with whom I

spoke told me kindly that in principle the Mayor was thought positively about the interview but they could not give an appointment for the interview due to mayor's work schedule

The second was the Antalya Metropolitan Municipality. I telephoned the Antalya Metropolitan Municipality many times to get an appointment from the Mayor for the 2004- 2009 term because the mayor Menderes Türel was the most important spokesman of such an urban restructuring process in Antalya. However, none my attempts got beyond the secretaries though I e-mailed an electronic copy of my thesis proposal which was formerly used as a report offered to the Social Science Institute of METU within the framework of Scientific Research Project (BAP). In order to access Mayor Türel, I even used an unusual method also recommended by some scholars known as "borrowing power from the powerful to access elites" (Undheim, 2006: 31) to no avail. Generally, getting an appointment became easier when I mentioned some people powerful in their eyes or friends of theirs whom I planned to interview.

In the end, in this study, to give voice the Mayor of the Antalya Metropolitan Municipality - since he had been the leading agent of restructuring Antalya into a city of culture - between the years 2004 and 2009, I consulted municipal and governmental publications and also institutional publications of local unions and chambers in which the Mayor Menderes Türel and other mayors of the smaller districts in Antalya frequently declared their opinions, beside newspaper reports and news in local journals and magazines.

Third, the difficulties during the field work included both the tiring travels from Ankara to Antalya and the rush to get to an interview appointment on time from one end of Antalya to another one. As befits the name, I could not permit the 'urban elite' to wait. Throughout the field research, I traveled to Antalya not for each interview but for four or sometimes six in-depth single interviews with an appointment. I generally stayed there two or three nights and mostly completed two or three interviews during that time. However, during the festival weeks of the AGOFF, I stayed in Antalya for a week each in 2004, 2006, 2007 and 2008. Though my purpose was to be an observing participant and having small scale spontaneous unstructured interviews with the staff and the tourists as well, my family and I also went for holidays in Antalya in the summer to two different holiday villages. One of the resort in which we stayed in June 2006 was constructed in the modern sense by the central government, within the scope of the Güney Antalya Turizm Gelişim Projesi (South Antalya Tourism Development Project, GATGP) in Kızılağaç near Manavgat. The second resort, where we stayed in August 2009, was constructed in the postmodern sense by a capitalist investor group in Kundu near Aksu. In total, for the inquiry, I went to Antalya more than 20 times during the systematic field research period between June 2006 and December 2008, except for my weekly round trips in the period between January 2003 and June 2004 during which I worked at Akdeniz University in Antalya.

CHAPTER 4

THE TURKISH FRAME

Parallel to the conceptual framework of the third chapter where the concept of 'city of culture' is examined in the general literature on urban studies specifically in four sub-fields— of art and culture, in the subfields of urban-planning, -politics, -governance and -design, in the subfield of economy, and in the subfield of tourism—in this chapter, this concept is examined in the literature on Turkish urban studies. Since the literature on Turkish urban studies about Antalya generally deals with the tourism developmental policies, the literature on Turkish tourism studies is also reviewed for the purposes of this thesis.

4.1.   Field of Culture

4.1.1.   The Concept of 'City Culture' and 'City of Culture' in Social Studies in Turkey

In the literature on Turkish urban studies, there is almost neither a work on the concept of 'city of culture' nor on the 'culture' of a specific city. Still, Kıray's works *Ereğli: A Coastal Town Before the Heavy Industry* (1964), *İzmir: a City that Could Not Get Organized* ([©1968] 1998) and two conference proceedings *Ankara in Time I* (2000) and *Ankara in Time II* (2001) are noteworthy as they touch upon the 'culture' of a particular city.

As is prescribed in the introductory first Chapter, the major concern of this piece of dissertation is to reveal the relation between cultural policies and global capitalism and this connection's impact on the urban restructuring process in Antalya. In truth, there are lots of books, booklets and magazines on Antalya; yet, there is a limited number of works relevant to the specific topic of this dissertation. On the one hand, research on Antalya is mainly concerned with demonstrating and advertising Antalya for attracting tourists in the forms of tourist guide. On the other hand, the intellectuals of Antalya have written their memoirs on Antalya (for example Va'nu, 1944; Erten, 1961; Onat, 2000; Çimrin, 2002; 2007). There are also very limited numbers of scholarly works on Antalya. One being about the impact of tourism on the family and kinship relation in the rural section of the province (Bal, 1995) and some others are on 'population and

demographic analysis (for example Akova, 1997; Erel, 1985; Güçlü, 1996). The rest is mostly the statistical survey research results prepared by the Governor of the Province and Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü (the State Institute of the Statistics, DİE, 1998; 1997; 1996). These studies are of the importance for demonstrating the population growth due to the migration and urbanization in Antalya.

In addition, thanks to the publication *Antalya Bibliyografyası* [*Antalya Bibliography,* 2008] by the Antalya City Museum Project, we became aware of almost all the literature on Antalya. At first glance, the *Antalya Bibliography* is full of archeological studies specifically focusing on the civilizations in Hellenistic and Roman periods in the Antalya region (for example Abbasoğlu, 2001; Çevik, 2005). The second cluster of scientific studies includes the literature on agriculture, flora and fauna in the region (for example Akova, 1994; Karaman, 2002; Karadeniz, 2003; Alçıtepe, 2004). The third cluster includes Master's Theses and PhD Dissertations mainly concerned with tourism and its impacts on Antalya (for example Altun, 2005; Davutyan, 2007; Emir, 2007; Güngören, 2001). However, none of the works on Antalya listed above, has conceptualized Antalya the way it is done in this study. The only work examining the concept of 'city culture' in Antalya is Güçlü-Özen's work, *Kentlileşme ve Göç Sürecinde Antalya'da Kent Kültürü ve Kentlilik Bilinci* (*the City Culture in Antalya and the Awareness of Being a Citizen During the Process of Becoming a City-Dweller and Migration*, 2002) beside empirically testing the awareness of people about being a city-dweller living in three municipal districts, namely Muratpaşa, Konyaaltı and Kepez.[55]

The book, *Sanatçı Tanıklığı: Kent, Yaşam, Kültür—Artists on the City: City, Life, Culture* (1996), compiling the texts of conferences expresses the artists' views about the 'culture of a specific city' where they have grown up and/or have been living in. In his presentation Metin Demirtaş, a poet from Antalya and author of the poems 'Görüşme Yeri' [the Meeting Place] and 'Bizim de dağlarımız vardır Che Guevara' [We, too, have mountains, Che Guevara], proves how a poet can contribute to

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[55] Generally the native Antalyalites live in the first of these districts, where urban space is the most expensive by square meter. Native Antalyalites and migrants working in the public sector as officials reside in Konyaaltı, the second municipal district, where the price of urban space is relatively high. The migrants generally live in the gecekondus in the third district, Kepez, where the urban space is the cheapest by square meter (Güçlü-Özen, 2002: 21-22).

the environment of a city, [Antalya] [56] (Cengizkan, 1996: 391). In his presentation, Demirtaş declares that all branches of art have been respectfully accepted by the residents of the Antalya province who are famous for their sympathy and openness for art except when the functioning of the democratic governmental system was interrupted in 1980. Within the same framework, two inscriptions bearing poems by Baki Süha Ediboğlu and Hamit Macit Selekler (two poets from the 1940s) have been mounted on the upper part of the Kadınyarı Bridge. With this initiative, which he himself names a "transfer of bringing of poetry down from books to the streets, parks, roads."

Among the works in urban studies in Turkey, Yardımcı's book, *Kentsel Değişim ve Festivalizm: Küreselleşen Istanbul'da Bienal* (*Urban Change and Festivalizm: Biennal in Globalizing İstanbul*, 2005) is striking. Though Yardımcı's effort is somehow similar to the present thesis that is to reveal the nexus between cultural strategies of urban elite and global capitalism, in her work she has limited her study within framework of marketing İstanbul via 'the İstanbul Biennal'.

4.1.2. Cultural Policies and Five-Year Development Plans in Turkey

In Turkey, cultural policies have been one of the key issues since the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. For a better understanding of the cultural policies in Turkey and their close relation to development strageies at national and regional level, similar to Keleş's periodization for the urban political strategies between the years 1923 and 2013, a new periodization can be suggested for cultural policies. The unplanned period between 1923 and 1963 can be examined in three distinct periods namely, i. Nationalistic cultural policy (1923-1938), ii. Humanistic cultural policy (1938-1946), iii. Technological developmental cultural policy (1946-1963). The planned period between 1963 and 2013 can be examined with respect to the cultural polices occupied in Five Year Plans.

[56] Yağmurdan sonra sokaklar güzeldir	Streets are beautiful after the rain
Birazdan çıkar giderim	I'll go out in a bit
Ellili yıllarda sırtımda okul tulumu	In the fifties, wearing my school uniform
Simit sattığım sokaklara.	To those streets where I sold *simit
O sokaklar kaldı mı ki	But, where are those streets
Ya o begonvilli eski Antalya evleri!	What about those old Antalya houses with begonvillaes!
Sokaklar içinde en sevdiğim bir tanesi vardı.	There was once my favorite among those streets
Adı gibi kokulu ve güzel	Fragrant and beautiful like its name
Liseli sevgililerin gizli buluşma yeri	Meeting place for high school sweethearts
Portakal Çiçeği'ydi	Called 'Orange Blossom'
Değişti	It has changed
Abdülrezzak sokağı oldu şimdi.	Now called Abdülrezzak Street
Metin Demirtaş	Metin Demirtaş
	*ring shaped bread covered with seasame seeds

1923-1938 (Nationalistic cultural policy): During this period, compatible with the Republican idea, the notion of creating a classless egalitarian society forms the main framework for cultural policies (Öndin, 2003: 55). As discussed in the subsection 1.2, this period can be explained by the *instrumentalist* theory of state monopoly. The *instrumentalist* theories hold that the state as a set of political institutions distinct from civil society which can be and are taken over by the representatives of dominant economic classes, or by the political representatives of other classes.

The cultural policy of the early republican period was imposing a unified, single culture influenced by Ziya Gökalp[58] the first figure in Turkey in the field of sociology. The major effort of this period was not only creating an identity of the new republic but creating the new subjects of the new republic as well. All these efforts manifest themself in the cultural policies of the early years of the Turkish Republic. Katoğlu (2009: 31) defines the worldview [*zeitgeist*][59] of the 1923 as "holding the highest level of works that the human mind, intellect and creativity have reached throughout history." In those years, artists, architects, engineers and scientists from abroad were invited to Turkey to consult for creating a modern nation state with its modern, literate, urbanized and cultured citizens. Toprak (1999: 69) explains the main function of cultural policies of the period:

> Since the founding years of the Republic, art has not been seen as just an aesthetic issue, but as a tool for promoting the modernizing revolutions to the public. Art speaks to the eye and to the ear. The emphasis on art is, therefore, related to its great potential to influence individuals in a country where literacy rates are low.

1938-1946 (Humanistic cultural policy): Compared to a more monolithic, self-enclosed concept basing to cultural policy of the previous period, during the İnönü period, "conception of culture is more open to the West" (Seçkin, 2009: 126). Modernization and integration with the West speed up in this period. In order to bring the public and the artists together the Country Tours were

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[57] For the unplanned period, when examining the years between 1922 and 1950, Koçak (2001) proposes two distinct periods. The first covers the years from 1923 to 1938 and he defines this period as the 'dissolution' period; and he defines the second period between the years 1939-1950 as the 'restoration' or the 'humanist culture' period because its emphasis on the values of universal culture. In this regard, for Koçak, "the cultural policies embraced between 1923-1938 and 1938-50 were both a founding structural element of the system briefly referred to as 'Kemalism' [Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of Turkish Republic] and also its moral indicators" (ibid.: 370). Ada (2009: 97), on the other hand, thinks that when interpreting 1923-1950 intstitutional classification is more meaningful rather than chronological.

[58] In 1917 Gökalp and his companions, Necmettin Sadık and Mehmet Emin began to write on the journal of *İçtamiyat,* especially about the concept 'organic society' which was originally developed by Durkheim (Bora, *et al.,* 2001). After the foundation of Turkish Republic; Mustafa Kemal, who was the political leader of the nation-state model of Turkey on the way modernization process, had often mentioned about Ziya Gökalp as the "father of his idea" (İlyasoğlu, 2001).

[59] In the light of the 1923 worldview, having observed many examples around the world, Katoğlu suggests that the founders of the nation state "had aptly discerned that modernization necessitates a comprehensive development encompassing all aspects of life." Hence, they begin with training those subjects as citizens, educating them as the professionals in the future. For instance in 1924 education had become a compulsory public service and the new Ministry of Education became responsible for this service. People's Houses were founded in 1932, a unique structure aimed at infusing cultural vitality into the society by popularizing modern ideas and values (Katoğlu, 2009: 43).

organized between 1938 and 1943. For instance, during this period İsmet İnönü, the president had visited Antalya twice. The Village Institutes were established in 1940 for training the primary school teachers. The aim was to educate the rural population, constituting the majority in Turkey at that time, to make citizen out of them, and to lead the people as they embrace a new lifestyle (Katoğlu, 2009: 40). During this period the arts are given prominence in public life.

1946-1963 (Technological developmental cultural policy): When Demokrat Parti (the Democratic Party, DP) came to power in 1946, following liberal-right policies, closed down the People's House and Village Institutes. For Ada (2009: 97), these two institutions were seen by the DP "as instruments of the opposite party" in the society despite they preserve other three institutions "as institutions of the republic" namely the Law of Unification of Education (1924), Türk Tarih Kurumu (the Turkish Historical Society, TTK, 1931), Türk Dil Kurumu (the Turkish Language Institute, TDK, 1932). In the very beginning of this period the Law on art institutions and universities passed.[60]

Planned Period

Since the beginning of the FYDPs in 1963, cultural policies have been important tool for developmental strategies. But a short sub-period should be noticed after the 1960 *coup d'état* which is defined by Ada (2009: 97) as a period of 'soft politics' or 'non politics'. According to Ada, during this short period since communism were perceived as a widespread political threat and was even more so exaggerated and exploited cultural policy is defined with reference to the Central Asiatic origins of the Turks and to Islam. Seçkin (2009: 128) thinks that the remarkable feature of this short period is "the increasing emphasis on the conservation and development of national culture and on reviving of Atatürk's principle in cultural policies." In an article, "The Political Economy of Cultural Policies," Seçkin examines the cultural policies in FYDPs[61] though these documents primarily prepared for economic growth-oriented goals.

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[60] The National Library founded in Ankara in 1946. The establishment of technical universities in this period is note worthy: Karadeniz Technical University (Trabzon) and Ege University (İzmir) in 1955, Middle East Technical University (Ankara) in 1956, and Atatürk University (Erzurum) in 1957. During this period the concern of the cultural policy is to educate the technocrats (engineers, architects, etc.) working for the newly established industrial organizations or for what Rivkin, (1964) and Göymen (1976) calls "industrial insemination" in the distant places of Anatolia (see sub-section 4.2).

[61] Based on Seçkin (2009: 128-131) analyses, the cultural policies in nine FYDPs between 1963 and 2013 are summarized below:

The First FYDP, 1963-1967 (social progressive): Though there is no separate section for cultural policy in the first plan, there are some cultural policies scattered throughout the paragraphs on education, research, human resources and employment (Ibid.: 128). Emphasis was on development through education and there were the targets of introducing Western and Turkish arts and promoting theatre to wider audiences. During this period a more equal distribution of arts and culture products across Turkey was the major concern of the cultural policy so one can assert that culture were seen as a social service to be offered for collective consumption and as completely independent of the field of economy.

The Second FYDP, 1968-1972 (valuing culture): A more detailed strategy is defined in this plan with an emphasis on three issues (Ibid.). First, the role of culture to improve the living standards is highlighted with an emphasis on creativity. Second, there is declared aim for opening Turkish culture to the world and to bring the arts and cultures of

The cultural policy in the First FYDP (1963-1967) is social progressive in its nature and the emphasis was on development through education. During this period, it should not be forgotten that the first Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival greeted the public in 1964. In the Second FYDP (1968-1972) 'culture' is defined something valuable as creative performance or product. This plan also aims to open Turkish culture to the world and to bring the arts and cultures of other countries to Turkey. This issue seems pragmatic when considering the tourism development policies with regard to the establishments of the Turizm Bankası (TURBAN) in 1955, the Ministry of Tourism and Information in 1963 and the Association of Turkish Travel Agencies, (TÜRSAB) in 1972 in order to promote Turkey in new markets as a new tourism destination (see subsection 4.3.2).

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other countries to Turkey.Third, the plan stresses "the need to support the development of artistic and cultural activities" with an understanding of social and cultural blend of modern western and traditional Turkish or Anatolian in a broader context. The establishment of the Ministry of Culture after the Memorandum of 12 March 1971 is the most important institutional organization of culture of this period (Ibid.).

The Third FYDP, 1973-1977: For the first time, a separate section is devoted to culture in a plan. The highlights of the five years include: development in fine arts, educating emerging artists, reorganization of the state archives, historic excavations and archeological works, establishment of the folklore institute and the Turkish classical music conservatory, and steps taken in copyright issues. During this period the Ministry's name and its responsibilities changed several times (initially the 'Ministry of Culture', it then became the 'Undersecreteriat of Culture' under the Prime Minister, and is now the 'Ministry of Culture and Tourism') (Ada, 2009.: 98).

The Fourth FYDP, 1979-1983: This plan treats development as a whole with its economic, social, cultural and political aspects. To this end, local administrations are invited to support the central administration and to engage more with cultural activities. Following the military intervention in September 1980, the Ministry of Culture lost its independent status and downgraded to the level of of secretariat under the Ministry of Tourism. As examined in sub-section 4.2 below during this period Municipalities became one of the important actors in the process of improving infrastructures of cities. The First National Council was organized in 1982.

The Fifth FYDP, 1985-1989 (emphasis on national culture and popularization of cultural works): The preservation and reinforcement of national and moral values are the most important goals of this planning period. According to Seçkin, goals of the plan include popularizing the works of culture and making them part of daily life; developing an incentive system for the restoration and conservation of privately owned historic works; research on Turkish music; advancing an popularizing literature, painting, theatre, and moving image. In this sense the fifth FYDP offers more depth and breadth than the other plans by including extensive projects on cultural heritage and education for strengthening the demand for culture and arts.

The sixth FYDP, 1990-1994 covers culture in a separate section. National culture stands out as the fundamental policy in development, modernization and opening up the world. The main emphasis was on research and development activities and collaboration with cultural institution. To this end, the maximum utilization of mass communication is encouraged. The set goals include: popularizing reading habits; including national and international classics in public librariee; incentive systems for films and screenplays; and fostering collaboration with local administrations for advancing plastic arts.

The Seventh FYDP, 1996-2000 is not as detailed as the sixth plan in terms of cultural policies. In this Plan the need for coherence in economic, cultural and political areas is particularly stressed. The issue of intellectual property rights is covered in a separate section of the Plan, where it is proposed to legalize the use of punitive measures against the violation of property rights as well as to introduce teaching on property rights as a subject in universities.

The Eighth FYDP 2001-2005: The cultural policy is covered in a separate albeit brief section. The policy is again centered around the concept of national culture defined as the sum of the common values of the Turkish nation'. By assessing the weight given to the concept of national culture, we can see that the main preoccupation of the architects of the Plan is the question of social cohesion. Prominence is also given to projects aimed at developing relationship with other Turkic States. Especially stressed is the fact that terrorism disrupts the cultural structure. Furthermore, it is also emphasized that Turkish cultural values should be preserved and transmitted to the coming generations.

The Ninth FYDP 2007-2013: Culture is discussed as a sub-section to 'Civil Issues'. The development of culture and reinforcing of social dialogue is mentioned. Cultural policies are handled as part of the EU integration process but no concrete proposals is involved. The necessity of spreading cultural activities across the entire country is rstated. The importance of collaboration between NGOs and local administration beside the collaboration between the public and private sectors is also discussed in this plan as the necessity for reinforcing the sense of belonging within the society.

Regulations on cultural heritage and early privatization begin with the Third FYDP (1973-1977). For instance, in 1973, the 'Antiquities Law' 1741 was passed though its essence is the same with the Law 5805 in force from 1951.[62] The 'Antiquities Law' 1710 (in force from 1973) has reintroduced some fundamental concepts and definitions about the issues including historical environment, architectural works, museums and collections, antiquities (Katoğlu, 2009: 53). According to Katoğlu, the law's true significance lies in its policies on characteristic urban textures, architectural works, and sites of natural value, in particular natural heritage sites with a focus on holistic conservation.[63] During this period, in the field of art and culture, another important development in Turkey was the İstanbul Festival and the launching of İstanbul Kültür Sanat Vakfı (the İstanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts, IKSV) as the initiative of private foundation (whose chairman was the founder of the pharmaceutical group Eczacıbaşı) in 1973. For Ada (2009: 98) what is important here is the first example of the private sector taking on board cultural policy by organizing non-profit events.

In the Fourth FYDP (1979-1983) the major aim of the cultural policies was to eliminate the geographical inequalities in the cultural field and to grant the underdeveloped regions a larger share in the national income and thus in the production and consumption of culture and arts (Seçkin, 2009: 129). The Fifth FYDP's (1985-1989) cultural policy emphasizes on national culture and popularization of cultural works beside preservation and restoration of historic works (see also sub-section 5.3. about the restoration project of Kaleiçi neighborhood started in 1979, awarded by Golden Apple in 1984). Popularization of the 'moving image' as one of the cultural policy emphasized in the Fifth FYDP coincides with the establishment of the AKSAV in 1985. The cultural policies included in the Sixth FYDP (1990-1994) stress on research and development activities and collaboration with cultural institution. A significant outcome of this plan period is the decision to establish Manuscript Pathology and Restoration Research Center.

The cultural policies outlined in the Seventh FYDP (1996-2000) aim at creating a democratic society and giving individuals greater freedom. Both the Sixth and the Seventh Plans share the appreciation of cultural richness as the principal factor of the development thrust. In the Eight FYDP (2001-2005) cultural policies revolve around the definition of culture as 'the sum of the common *values* of the Turkish nation'. As understood from a study prepared by TÜBA, the term 'value' used here is a very term easily transformable to the term 'value' used in the field of

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[62] According to the Law 5805, in 1951, the aims of the Higher Council of Immovable Antiquities and Monuments are as follows: "To determine the principles and relevant programs to be followed in the conservation, maintenance/repair, restoration of architectural and historic monuments that need conservation, to monitor and and inspect these activities, to provide scientific judgements on all matters and disputes entrusted upon us or detected through our own means and investigations concerning monuments" (Clause 1; cited in Katoğlu, 2009: 53).

[63] Here it should be noted that the "The Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage," was adopted by UNESCO in 1972.

economics. An academic study prepared by Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi (TÜBA), "Türkiye'de Kültür Sektörü: Yeni Bir Yapılanma İçin Stratejik Yaklaşımlar" (Culture Industry in Turkey: Strategic Approaches for a New Restructuring), aims at preparing a base for valuing the 'cultural heritage' in Turkey as 'cultural sector' (Özdoğan, 2002: 1).

In the Ninth FYDP (2007-2013) a significant touch is on the cultural policies as a part of the EU integration process. Under the heading of 'Civil Issues' 'culture' is defined as the basis of social dialogue. The plan also gives importance to the collaboration between the public and private sector, NGOs and local administrations as well. Such alliance as the government model has also included universities with emerging techno-parks or techno-polises in Turkey since the beginning of the 1990s. Nalbantoğlu (2009:) criticizes such corporatist mentality of the universities which take part in growth oriented alliances like private sectors especially in the field of engineering.

Since the early republican period, culture had been seen as a tool in order for the new people of the Turkish Republic to internalize the values of the revolution from above and of modern life style as well untill the beginning of the 1990s. In contrast to the major ideology of unified culture imposed by the republican elite, now in the second millennium, ironically, the new concern of the policy makers is benefiting from the highlighted distinctive fragments of local culture which essentially makes cities unique in its response to global forces for the sake of urban growth annexed to global capitalism (Varlı-Görk, 2007: 1249). With regard to this fact, one can also assert that an attempt at establishing a 'City Museum' in Antalya (following the others in Turkey established in the last decade), as the very institution serving to highlight the distinctive culture(s) peculiar to Antalya is the reflection of cultural policies involved in the Eight and the Ninth FYDPs.

4.2. Field of Urban: Urban Sociology, Urban Politics, Urban Governance and Urbanization in Urban Studies in Turkey

Though the literature on Turkish urban studies is rich, one can still define certain problems. According to Şengül (2003: 153), one of the main weaknesses is that most studies are issue-oriented, concentrating on such specific problems as squatter housing (Şenyapılı, 1982; Karpat, 1976), lack of strong urban administration (Heper, 1989; Keleş, 1988), land speculation (Öncü, 1988; Buğra, 1998), lack of social and technical infrastructures, and urban poverty' (Erder, 1997), as well problems of participation and clientelism in local politics (Özbudun, 1976; Ayata, 1994). Şengül (2003: 154) also asserts that the main theoretical reference points of these studies are the perspective of Chicago School and the Weberian perspective. For Şengül, following the pioneering works of Mübeccel Kıray (see Kıray, 1964; 1972; 1982), a well known representative of this school in Turkey, the Chicago School tradition has been dominant in most of the community-oriented studies. These

studies further draw on conception of 'housing classes' especially in the analysis of squatter housing and also in the analysis of urban institutions such as local governments (Keleş, 1988; Heper, 1989).

With reference to the daily-life of newly rising bourgeoisie in the early Republican period in Ankara, Nalbantoğlu's (1984; 2000: 287-300) work on the culture of the rising 'middle class' as city-dwellers is followed by new studies on the nexus between social class, housing, culture and neighborhood. Among them Ayata and Güneş-Ayata's book *Housing and Neighborhood and Urban Culture* (1996) examining the nature of social relations, life-styles, and cultural characteristics of residential areas in Ankara is worth mentioning. Within the same context, works of Güvenç (1998; 1999; Güvenç and Işık, 1996; 1997) study status-income based spatial segregation among the migrants in five cities—İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Bursa, and Gaziantep. These studies demonstrate a relational representation of cities in which urban space is analyzed with respect to origin and income of its inhabitants. Though his works were criticized because of the chaotic nature of his findings he proved that there existed an unsharp organization behind the spatial structure of the cities.

In Şengül's (2003: 154) understanding a second but the more important problem in the literature on Turkish urbanization is "a lack of concern with providing a long-term perspective on and evaluation of the trajectory of urbanization in Turkey." In his study, attempting at periodization of the Turkish urban experience in Turkey, Şengül contributes a long-term perspective for urban studies from a political-economic viewpoint. He then argues that there can be identified three distinct periods and also three layers of urbanization: i. Urbanization of the state: 1923-50; ii. Urbanization of labor power: 1950-80; iii. Urbanization of capital: 1980-onwards.

In Şengül's (2003: 156) identification, the first period of urbanization, led by the state in the process of nation-state formation, created a layer that interacted with the layer of socio-spatial relations and structures that was inherited from the Ottoman period. The main conflict here was between the Ottoman layer and the layer created by the Republican elite, whose primary effort was to make the citizens of the new Republic forget all the traces of the Ottoman period in social, spatial and cultural dimensions. Şengül's main argument here is that the study of the territorial politics of Turkey between 1923 and 1950, including those at the urban level, needs to take place within the context of nation-state formation of what he calls the territorialization and "urbanization of the nation-state."

Sargın (2004) examines abovementioned conflict in terms of "ever-changing qualities of collective memory and its spatiotemporal reminders under the political pressure" of what he calls Turkey's 'Modernity Project' and its political history. While the state was an urbanizing factor its major effort was to impose a 'unitary culture' of the modern Turkish Republic in territorial context. Despite a broad range of views and political frameworks that have been used to discuss the history

of Turkey's 'Modernity Project'[64] in Turkish urban studies, the central argument is focused on two distinct positions: First, it is believed that the mode of Turkish Renaissance has revolved around the binary oppositions of 'modern versus traditional' and 'secular versus religious'; and, second, the evolving identity for a nation-state has included both the patriarchal, authoritarian and the democratic, pluralist fashions simultaneously (Bozdoğan and Kasaba, 1997; Tekeli, 2001; Sargın, 2004: 659). Therefore, the Turkish Modernity Project since the 1920s has represented conflicting political strategies in order to establish a new political and cultural cult.

According to Şengül, the impacts of these territorial strategies for establishing a 'modern' nation state are observable in three key areas of the spatial policy of this period: the transfer of the capital to Ankara, and the creation of a set of regional administrative centers; locating state economic enterprises; and the creation of a transportation network. Şengül summarizes the administrative structure of the Republican period as follows:

> During the Ottoman period, only İstanbul had a structured local administration. A similar administrative structure was set up in Ankara in the early years of the Republic, but there were no similar units in any other localities. The provincial governor was the principal agent of the political centre in the cities. In 1930, the first comprehensive municipal law was introduced to allow for the establishment of municipal administrations in those localities with populations over 2000 (Şengül, 2003: 157).

In addition to the establishment of the municipal administrations,[65] the preparation and implementation of development plans were defined as compulsory duties of the municipalities having populations over 2,000 by the municipal law of 1930 (Şengül, 2003: 157; Keleş and Payne, 1984). In the early years of the Turkish Republic, planning activity concentrated mainly on Ankara and a few other cities which had suffered extensive damage during the war. Beginning with the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, and especially the *étatist* period after 1930, brought

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[64] Within the context of 'Modernity Project', Tekeli (1998:1) examines the urban development in Turkey in five periods: 1. The "lethargic modernity" period from thr second half of the 19th century when the Ottoman Empire latched onto global capitalism until the founding of the Turkish Republic; 2. The period when a new institutional and legal framework was attempted to regulate urban development during efforts to implement the "radical modernity" project in which the speed of urbanization was low during the period from the founding of the Republic until the end of World War II when the single party regime was in place; 3. The "populist modernity" period from World War II until 1960; 4. The period from the 1960s to the 1980s during the "planned economy" while rapid urban development was taking place. This was when' for the first time, urban planning was institutionalized as a discipline in and of itself; 5. With the "beginning of the erosion of modernity" after 1980, urbanization slowed down and Turkey started to feel the effects of the globalization phenomenon.

[65] For instance, the Antalya Municipality had been established long before 1930 with the Vilayet Nizamnamesi (Provincial Regulation) in 1864 leading to a spread of local administrations in provincial level (Güçlü 1997: 48). Güçlü also cites that in 1868, the Mayor of Antalya Municipality was Muhasebeci (Bookkeeper) Abdullah Efendi (Tortop, 1986: 68; TBMM, 1938: 77 cited in Güçlü, 1997: 48). In addition, in 1928, the Antalya Municiplaity is reported to have a ten bed health center, a slaughterhouse, 45 stores, ten acres of land, a sprinkler, a motor pump, a wheeled water pupm, 11 firemen, 24 janitors, and 15 officers. (*Belediyelerimiz: 1925, 26, 27, 28 Senelerine Ait Hesap Hülasaları* 1930: 300, 330 cited as in Güçlü, 1997: 48). Following the founding of the Republic, the Municipality held the key role in the city and announced in the Yeni Turkiye newspaper dated May 10, 1928 its intention to procure new equipment to supplement existing ones. (*Yeni Türkiye,* 10 May 1928; Güçlü, 1997: 48).

with a considerable activity in the field of planning. In the case of 'development planning', the obligatory preparation of plans for localities with populations over 2,000 was dropped, yet still compulsory only for localities with populations over 20,000 (Şengül, 2003: 158). In fact, the preparation of plans did not take place in all the localities with populations over 20,000, and even when a plan existed, implementation remained limited due to the lack of financial and technical resources. At the end of the 1950s, for instance, only 58.5 percent of municipalities had prepared development plans, and the implementation of these plans was quite rare (Keleş and Payne, 1984; Şengül, 2003: 158). Toward the end of the Second World War, municipalities failed to fulfill even their obligatory functions due to the lack of finances and personnel.[66] During this period, most of the municipalities were in debt and difficulty even in paying the salaries of their staff (Tekeli, 1992; Şengül, 2003: 158).

Şengül (2003: 158-59) calls the postwar period between 1950-1980 'urbanization of labor power' because of the rapid migration of the surplus labor due to the modernization of the agricultural sector in the rural areas and accordingly the urbanization of the influx of peasants forming large labor pools in the cities. Following the agriculture-oriented accumulation strategies of the 1950s, import-substitution industrialization came to the fore in the early 1960s. Finally, the post-1980 period witnessed the emergence of another layer characterized by the 'urbanization of capital' which had been an ongoing process throughout the preceding rounds of urbanization, now becoming an overwhelming characteristic of the constitution of urban space (Şengül, 2003: 155).

During this period, Municipalities became one of the important actors in the process of improving infrastructures of cities. To this end various laws were enacted during the military period following the military intervention that paralyzed political system in September 1980 and also after the restoration of democracy in 1983 which strengthened the financial structure of the municipalities. At the same time, an important transformation in local governments manifests itself as "a more entrepreneurial model compared with the practices of period" (Şengül, 1993).

4.2.1. Regional Development Policies in Five Year Development Plans (FYDPs)

Paralleling the three periods of urban development in Turkey already defined by Şengül, Keleş ([©1984] 2008: 405-421) examines the urban politics in two major and eleven minor periods

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[66] In another newspaper article cited by Güçlü, a decline was seen in Municipality services during the first half of the 20th century. (*İleri,* 17 December 1950 as cited in Güçlü, 1997: 48). In this article it is stated that, "the city [Antalya] was not maintained well and was dangerous with its electricity system still unchanged since it had first been built. The 27,000 people living there were having difficulties.".

in a time span between 1923 and 2013 in Turkey. As it is summarized below[67] the planned period as the outcome of modernization beginning in 1960 brings with the accumulation of capital in urban

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centers even though it is unequal. Once the cities had become central to capital accumulation, and urban rents had become an important source of capital accumulation, private capital also began to invest in the built environment (Şengül, 2003: 164). Shopping malls, five-star hotels and business centers began to invade the horizons of the large cities at an unprecedented pace (Keyder and Öncü, 1994).

For the first time, the issue, 'balanced development on national level' was mentioned in the Third Five Year Development Plan (FYDP), and the problem of solving the outcomes of regional inequalities took place in the Fourth Five Year Plan. Yet, 'sustainability' of natural and cultural assets as a concept was freshly proposed in the Seventh FYDP. While the Fifth, the Sixth and the Seventh Five Year Plans adopted the balanced development among the regions, it was underlined that local scale municipal projects would be supported in the Eight FYDP (2001-2005). Following this emphasis on locality, the coming Ninth FYDP (2007-2013) assumes the facilitating contribution of inter-urban and inter-regional competitions to the overall development process. In addition, since

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It was proposed that the regional centers in underdeveloped areas be supported through service investments as well as productive investments and that the second tier centers' deficiencies in the equipment facilities be minimized.

f. *The Sixth 5 Year Plan Period (1990-1994):* In this period, the main goal was determined as a more balanced development among regions. A new ranking system was developed in order to strike a balance among settlements, decrease the flow of population and industry heading for the major cities and regulate the internal migration. This ranking structure suggested was: 1. Sub-major city centers; 2. Medium sized centers; 3. Cities considered underdeveloped centers; and 4. Rural settlements considered as centers. The plan aimed to spread industry more evenly among the regions. Probably the most important aspect of this plan was the fact that the regional policies of the European Union were taken into account as the policies were being determined and implemented. Thus, the preparations of a government opting to integrate with the European Community become apparent.

g. *The Seventh Five Year Plan Period (1996-2000):* This plan, despite the positive developments achieved in the previous plan period, was developed based on the idea that the differences among regions continued to cause problems. By taking into account that internal migration was taking place too rapidly to allow for healthy urbanization, the utilization of local resources and increased support for residential building and husbandry to decrease unemployment was proposed. The main principles adopted in this period were the reduction of the difference in level of development among regions, the planning of 'residential centers' to ensure a balanced growth, prioritizing regional growth centers to be determined, and policies which focused on sustainable and balanced development which protected the natural and cultural.

h. *The Eighth Five Year Plan Period (2001-2005):* In this plan, regional planning projects were restated and described in detail by using various indicators of the persistence of regional imbalances. In the implementation of regional development policies, the principles adopted are sustainability, integration, the achievement of a balance between social and economic development, the improvement of quality of life, and active participation. This plan, which mentions compliance with EU policies, highlights the need for the renewal of the Residence Center Ranking Research and for the initiation of development plan efforts at the city level. The eighth plan exhibited a preference for the channeling of migration not towards the major cities [like Antalya] but towards regional centers with development potential, strong commercial and social ties with its hinterland and the potential to lead in terms of income and employment. Moreover, the plan stated that SMEs and *projects developed by city administrations and municipalities* would be supported.

i. *The Ninth Five Year Plan Period (2007-2013):* The most detailed findings, assessments and policies of the ninth plan about the residential problems concern the achievement of regional development. It can not be ignored that this rising interest was partly due to the fact that regional development and the diminishment of regional differences has been on the EU agenda for a long time. According to the observations made in this plan, globalization has mobilized local dynamics, thereby creating new conditions and opportunities. *Cities and regions have evolved into units of competition:* and through the adoption of suitable strategies, they are in a position to contribute much to the development process. The principle, "the completion of regional development strategies and plans in cooperation with development agencies and the provision of adequate funding" was also added to the plan.

the sixth FYDP prepared by the political power is opting for becoming integrated with the EU, regional development policies have been determined with regard to the EU regional policies. The agreement to the EU policies and the structural adjustment laws and regulations were emphasized for the first time in the Eight FYDP.

Since the early Republican period, the 'regional policies' in Turkey have not only been affected by the internal socio-economic developments but at the same time by the experiences of the European countries and the changes in regional development paradigms. However, Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı (DPT or State Planning Organization, SPO) which is directly responsible for the regional development was founded in the beginning of the 1960s. Since then much has been increasingly attached on reducing the regional diversities in the country. With regard to this fact, Göymen (2005: 35-42) examines the regional development policies and its application in Turkey in five periods. Göymen calls the first period the *Étatist* Period (1923-1959) during which economic development is supported and executed by the State. During this period the major strategy of the regional policy was creation of the national economy and new society under a new political and administrative system, dispersing the population into various regions of the country, establishing industry in Central Anatolia and interior part of Aegean Region, and developing a railway system connecting various places in the country (Eraydın, 2001). During the *Étatist* period, for the security measures the central government also attempted to apply "industrial insemination" in the distant places of Anatolia (Rivkin, 1964; Göymen, 1976).

For Göymen (2005: 37-38), during the second period (1960-1972) the emphasis was on 'Planning and Regional Development'. Since 1960 Turkey has executed five year planning aiming at reducing regional inequalities and providing social and economic balance (*Ulusal Program, National Program,* 2001). In the first five year planning period, the effective use of national resources was especially emphasized. For a more balanced economic development, in the 1960s, in the Eastern Marmara, Antalya, Çukurova and Zonguldak regions regional developmental plan have been executed. In these regions the "leading sectors" were different from each other. For instance, the construction of the Antalya Cotton Textile Factory of Sümerbank began in 1955. The factory went into production in 1961 and was closed in 2003. In Zonguldak and the Eastern Marmara Region, industry; in Antalya, tourism; in Çukurova, agriculture was more developed sectors.

The Second Five Year Developmental Plan attached more importance to the view which the regional development cannot be prepared independent of the national physical plan. The major aim of this kind of planning was to integrate spatial issues with the national economic objectives. Göymen (2005: 39) defines the third period (1973-1977) as the 'City Based Planning': With the Third FYDP regional policy and development lost its importance. Rather, emphasis was on defining of natural resources of the provinces and supporting the most advantageous sectors in those

provinces. For him (Ibid.: 39-40) the fourth period of planning (1978-1994) bears in mind with the 'Approval of the Neo-Liberal Policies'. In the beginning of this long period, Turkey has witnessed an economic and politic crisis. After the military intervention in 1980, the new government of the following election has initiated neo-liberal policies affecting the regional policies and regional developments. Accordingly, this led to competition among regions.

In Göymen's (Ibid.: 42) periodization the fifth FYDP period after 1995, aimed at 'Structural Transformations' to cease regional inequalities. Despite the major principle of the Seventh FYDP (1996-2000) was to support a more coherent and sustainable, a more balanced regional development including economic, social, political and cultural dimensions of planning, competition among regions started in this period.

4.2.2.   Regional Development Agencies and the EU Policy Framework

In their newly published article, Lagendijk, Kayasü and Yaşar (2009: 386) argue that while suffering from stark levels of regional inequalities, until recently Turkey's political economic system had not invested in a systematic approach to alleviate regional inequalities. For them, although the issue of regional disparity has always been addressed in the state development plans, the initiatives taken could not make up for the strong forces of agglomeration which underpinned the growth of core regions such as Istanbul or Ankara. They also assert that the Turkish state has not made an attempt to establish systematic forms of regional governance before the EU candidacy, there have been several stand-alone initiatives of regional support. One example has been the launching of the Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi (or South-eastern Anatolia Project, GAP) in 1989. In their understanding, although GAP's role corresponds to that of a Regional Development Agency (RDA), namely fostering regional development, in organizational and financial terms it is a full administrative arm of the central state. For Lagendijk *et al.* (2009: 386) the first initiatives towards the establishment of RDAs in Turkey emerged in the early 1990s.[68] Several definitions of RDAs are as follows:

> RDAs can be characterized as semi-autonomous organizations which, in a multifunctional and integrated manner, support economic development primarily through 'soft' policy means, such as the provision of advice to small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) inducing networking and learning (Halkier et al., 1998).

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[68] With an example, Lagendijk *et al.* (2009: 386) define these developments as follows: "These developments generally stemmed from local initiatives taken by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), notably in the business sector. An exemplary NGO in the field is the Aegean Regional Development Foundation (EGEV, 1993). EGEV was established in 1992 by the provincial governor, municipality, chambers, industrialists and business organizations. The basic purpose of the organization is improving the economic development of the Aegean Region through nurturing the region's endogenous potential. A key objective has been to attract local and foreign investors in cooperation and partnership with the other developmental organizations in the region."

From a more strategic point of view, RDAs are generally expected to bridge the gap between regional economic policy and other fields of policy that impact upon regional development, building on their capacity to collectivize local interests (McMaster, 2006; Syrett and Silva, 2001).

Through being territorially embedded, while at a (at least perceived) distance from state authorities, RDAs are generally better able to approach and involve local businesses and organizations. Hence, RDAs can develop a degree of operational freedom and credibility that regional departments of government may lack (Danson and Whittam, 1999).

RDAs are also seen as the key vehicles to draw in major streams of funding (notably from the EU) and coordinate their spending, and to respond more in general to development in national and international policy frameworks (Lagendijk *et al.*, 2009: 384).

As mentioned before, stabilization and the structural adjustment policies since the Eight Five Year Planning Period (2001-2005) resulted in the radically changing regional policy with the intensification of the collaboration between Turkey and the EU, fostered by the prospect of full accession. Since 2001 Turkey has fully committed itself to conforming its governance structures and procedures to those of the EU (structural) policy framework, including regional policy (Bilen, 2005). Needless to say, "the principal of completion of development strategies and plannings of all regions collaborating with development agencies and the provision of financial aids" determined in the ninth Five Year Plan means that "the state has to facilitate the development of structures of regional governance across the country, in line with the principles of good governance adopted by the EU" (Lagendijk *et al,.* 2009: 388). In a more structural sense, the EU is now forcing the Turkish state to somehow overlay an historically evolved vertically and sectorally organized planning and policy system with a more horizontal, territorially oriented structure (Loewendahl-Ertugal, 2005). From the perspective of cities, the EU has emerged as a new political playing field, which opens new ways for changing local and regional governance, offers resources and advice in dealing with changes in the economic and social realm in a proactive and strategic manner, and provides possibilities to influence policy-making alongside the sometimes narrow confines of national political procedures (Hamedinger, *et al.* 2008: 2670). Consequently, cities are involved in EU funding programs, are influenced by key policy initiatives and strategies, are increasingly taking the chance to co-operate with other cities in newly established networks and are more and more embarking on EU-level urban lobbying (as through the establishment of Brussels offices) (Ibid.).

The notion of a 'European turn of cities', developed and discussed in a variety of articles and books (for example, Goldsmith and Clausen, 1997; John, 2001; Le Galès, 2002), refers to these new constellations. Carrying the analysis a step further, 'Europeanization' studies have increasingly shed light on the place of cities in the emerging EU polity and the effects, mechanisms and processes of the EU–city relationship, as they become visible in the EU's impact on cities—'Europe in the cities'—and the presence of urban interests at the EU level of decision-making—'cities in

Europe' (Bache and Marshall, 2004; Marshall, 2003a and 2003b). From this perspective, the 'European turn' of cities can be seen specifically in the context of the EU system of multilevel governance as one distinct aspect of the Europeanization of domestic systems in EU member-states (Hamedinger, *et al.* 2008: 2670).

Bache and Marshall (2004: 5–6 cited in Hamedinger, *et al.* 2008: 2671) define 'Europeanization' as "the redirection or reshaping of politics in the domestic arena in ways that reflect the policies, practices and preferences of EU level actors/institutions." According to Hamedinger, Bartik, and Wolffhardt (2008: 2672), for analyzing the impacts of EU policies and programs on domestic governance structures, this institutionalist approach is certainly appropriate, as it;

> (1) focuses on *changes in governance* processes (and not only on changes in governmental organizations);
>
> (2) takes into account the *role of policy actors*, their norms, values and day to-day routines in shaping governance structures;
>
> (3) refers to the importance of existing political cultures, which are deeply *rooted in the history* of the national, regional or local states, in determining development paths; and,
>
> (4) helps us to understand the complex *interplay between actors and structures* in processes of governance change (Hamedinger, *et al.* 2008: 2672; *italic added*).

Hence, to accommodate the European agenda, the state, in agreement with the EU, introduced a new division of regions at the NUTS-II level[69] (Figure 4.1). In the so-called Law on the Establishment, Coordination and Tasks of Development Agencies, RDAs are defined as semi-departmental agencies established by the central government, with strategic and general operational

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[69] "The Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics (NUTS) is a geocode standard for referencing the subdivisions of countries for statistical purposes. The standard is developed and regulated by the European Union, and thus only covers the member states of the EU in detail. For each EU member country, a hierarchy of three NUTS levels is established by Eurostat; the subdivisions in some levels do not necessarily correspond to administrative divisions within the country. […] A second or third subdivision level is referred to with another number each. Each numbering starts with 1, as 0 is used for the upper level. In case the subdivision has more than nine entities, capital letters are used to continue the numbering. *A similar statistical system is defined for the candidate countries and members of the European Free Trade Association*, but they are not technically part of NUTS governed by the regulations." Accessed on 10.10.2009 at
 (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nomenclature_of_Territorial_Units_for_Statistics)

The NUTS Regulation lays down the following minimum and maximum thresholds for the average size of the NUTS regions:

Level	Minimum	Maximum
NUTS 1	3 million	7 million
NUTS 2	800 000	3 million
NUTS 3	150 000	800 000"

(http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/ramon/nuts/basicnuts_regions_en.html, accessed on 10.10.2009)

"The present NUTS nomenclature valid from 1 January 2008 subdivides the economic territory of the European Union into 97 regions at NUTS 1 level, 271 regions at NUTS 2 level and 1303 regions at NUTS 3 level." http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/ramon/nuts/mainchar_regions_en.html

functions (Turkish Government, 2006). In their analysis of the aforementioned Law, Lagendijk, Kayasü and Yaşar (2009: 388) reveal the followings:

> The law does not prescribe to what extent RDAs should be engaged in, for instance, the preparation of regional development strategies and regional plans. In the current law, the DPT is identified as the organization responsible for the coordination of RDAs, and for the allocation of external funds. In other words, in a formal sense, RDAs are not granted the tasks of preparing regional development strategies, project coordination or financial allocation. The only defined task is that of supporting the projects under regional plans implemented by other organizations, which, however, are not clearly specified. Nor does the legislation provide a basis for the way RDAs can provide direct support to SMEs and nurture collaboration among firms and other organizations. Because of the lack of strategic capacity and resources endowed to RDAs, this framework does not offer the opportunity for a more proactive role of RDAs as part of the adoption of EU regional policy guidelines.

With regard to definitions of the RDAs above, one can assert that Antalya Kültür Sanat ve Turizm Vakfı (the Antalya Culture Art and Tourism Foundation, AKSAV) which had organized Antalya Altın Portakal Film Festivali (the Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival, AGOFF) from 1985 to 1995 can be granted as an earlier formation of RDAs in Antalya. This foundation was replaced by Antalya Altın Portakal Kültür ve Sanat Vakfı (the Antalya Golden Orange Culture and Art Foundation, AKSAV) on January 15, 1995 with the participation of 51 founding members, many businessman and all municipalities [of the small districts beside the Greater Antalya Municipality] led by the Greater Antalya Municipality.[70] But long before these examples for RDAs, as it is defined in the booklet *South Antalya Tourism Development Project* prepared by the Ministry of Tourism and Information, for the first time in Turkey, a Local Authority was formed in Antalya to coordinate the activities of investors for Güney Antalya Turizm Gelişim Projesi (or the South Antalya Tourism Development Project, GATGP), which was initiated right after its ratification by the Ministry of Re-Construction and Resettlement on June 7, 1972 (Ministry of Tourism and Information, 1981: 9; *Antalya İli V. 5 Yıllık Kalkınma Programı,* 1986).

In a broadcast panel discussion on TV (Haber Turk, *Bilgi Odası,* 05.02.2008*)*, Kadir Topbaş, the Mayor of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (from the political party Justice and Development Party, AKP), expressed that "urban elites, and governmental elites, do their best to attract the global capital to the region" Cities, better to say 'local units' with their popular names, no longer see themselves as a constituting part of the nation-state; rather, they see themselves as local arena developing UPPs (see sub-section 2.2.1) in order to attract the globally circulating capital into their

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[70] In the same sense, organizations like Antalya Tanıtma Vakfı (Antalya Advertisement Foundation, ATAV), Akdeniz Turizm ve Otelciler Birliği (Mediterrenean Association of Touristic Hoteliers in Turkey, AKTOB), Antalya Sanayici ve İşadamları Derneği (Antalya Associations of Industrialists and Businessmen, ANSIAD) established in Antalya can be acknowledged as RDAs aiming to foster the socio-economic and cultural development of the region. As seen, the potential role of RDAs as a catalyst of regional development and business growth in response to local needs and opportunities is realized by the local stakeholders in Antalya as well.

local units. The most dramatical outcome of this alteration is the change in the comprehension of local government that they formerly had recognized themselves as the provider of the services for collective consumption now have been sensitive to the demands of the capital as they are becoming more growth-oriented institutions. According to Şengül (1999: 12), such shift in the local government emerges as a three partite model. For him the members of this new combination are the local government, local capital [or capital active in local level], and the NGOs. The term 'local government' cannot cover the meaning of this new constitution. Instead, a new term, 'local governance' has been commonly used in Turkey since the beginning of the 1990s. In short, with the concept of 'governance', what is mentioned at the first hand is a 'process' determined by the interaction among the actors involving in horizontal networks rather than hierarchical structures. Such shift from local government toward governance in Turkey has accelerated by the 2000s with an observable shift from urban managerialism toward urban entrepreneurialism as it reveals itself from the speech of the mayors like one of Antalya.

4.3. Field of Tourism

The literature on Turkish tourism studies generally deals with the issues about tourism management, tourism economy, and tourism development policies. Still, there is very limited number of study in Turkish literature on tourism socilogy. Avcıkurt's work *Turizm Sosyolojisi* (2007, *Tourism Sociology*) is one of them which take tourism as a sociological phenomenon and deals with social tendencies in terms of tourist-local population relations and different cultures. While emphasizing general tourism sociology literature, Avcıkurt has provided few examples about the case of tourism in Turkey in this work of his. Another theoretical work entitled *Turizm Sosyolojisi* (1978, *Tourism Sociology*) was carried out by Şevki Güler. Directly concerned with tourism sociology and Antalya, Bal's (1995) work is worth mentioning in that it explains tourist-local population relations (encounter of tourist-native) with empirical data.

Tataroglu's (2006) recent PhD dissertation in sociology entitled "Conceptual Analysis Of Tourism: The Case of Marmaris Town in Turkey" evaluates tourism as the integrity of social, cultural and material interventions relevant to the construction, production and consumption of difference on the basis of the relationships of global and local processes. A work important in terms of the spatial sanctions of tourism is one by Altun (2005), which investigated the tourism factor in Antalya as a tourism city where mass tourism is predominant, influencing the architect's decision making and problem solving processes during the design of lodging facilities while confronted with the reality that recreational lodging facilities change over time and are rapidly consumed. In the field of planning, a PhD Thesis examines the role of local and global networking, institutionalization and

institutional thickness of tourism firms and clusters in order to explain their contribution to tourism development in Antalya case (Erkuş, 2008). As seen, the tourism phenomenon is frequently covered in academic circles in various disciplines ranging from the obvious tourism management, economics, architecture, planning to urban politics.

4.3.1. The Development of the Tourism Industry in Turkey

The tourism industry could be defined as a "heavy industry" requiring infrastructure investments like water, electricity, communication; superstructure investments like hotels, restaurants and amusement facilities; and other complementary investments like food, beverage and sports spaces and systems (Çakır, 1999: 10). The content, common goal and the indivisibility of the investments mentioned above, also renders the tourism industry an integrated industry. Moreover, as the main product marketed in tourism is service, it is also a service industry. As it brings together different cultures by nature, it is also considered a cultural industry (Ibid.: 13). The investments, usually made by central or regional public institutions, are infrastructure investments geared towards basic services like water, electricity, sewage and telecommunication and infrastructure investments like roads, ports, bridges and airports. The main purpose in making these investments is to directly improve the tourism industry (Yarcan, 1994:1-2; Çakır, 1999: 72).

The development of the tourism industry in Turkey can be examined under two headings: *the pre-planned period* (1923-1963) ve and *the planned period* extending from 1963 until today. *The Planned period* could be divided into three: the *social progressive period* between 1963 and 1983, when the government established the conditions under which tourism could develop and was in the lead; *the liberal period* between 1983 and 2002; and *the neoliberal period* after 2002.

4.3.2. Tourism Policies and Regional Development in Turkey

4.3.2.1. The Pre-planned Period

Turkey first witnessed a tourism phenomenon whose framework had been established by law in 1934, when the act numbered 2450 pertaining to The Ministry of Economic Organization and its Duties announced that "The Turkish Office" would be responsible for tourism activities. The first serious step regarding tourism policy was taken with the "Tourism Industry Support Act", dated 22 May 1953 and numbered 6086. Afterwards, The Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry, Press and Broadcasting and Tourist Department published a report called the *4th Report and Recommendations*

presented to the Tourism Advisory Board in 1955.[71] During this period all these attempts to establish tourism industry in Turkey can be explained by the 'regulation theory' (discussed in the subsection 2.4) compatible with the Fordist regime of the time. Furthermore, during this unplanned period in Turkey, most of the public investments were made in areas outside of major cities (İstanbul, and Ankara). Economic development was supported and executed by state through applying 'industrial insemination' in the distant places of Anatolia.

Following World War II, European countries tried to decrease the impact of the war by forming loan granting institutions to finance tourism endeavors to rejuvenate the tourism industry. As mentioned in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, this period, is the transformation of the perimeter of the Mediterranean into a leisure-oriented space for industrialized Europe. Switzerland, France, Italy and Greece led this organization and became a model for Turkey as they did for other European countries. On 23 June 1955, The Turkish Tourism Bank (TURBAN)[72] was founded to provide loans to help finance the building of the necessary facilities to jumpstart the Turkish tourism industry (*TURBAN*, 1990: 39). TURBAN's purpose was explained in the Cabinet's resolution numbered 4/5413 as follows:

> To carry out the necessary promotion to develop domestic and international tourism in the country, to found travel offices and agencies, organize trips, and for this purpose, to mobilize transportation vehicles, foster relationships with related tourism bodies, build touristic facilities and to finance the establishments working and to work on operating them under the Banking Law provisions.

4.3.2.2. The Planned Period

Social Progressive Development Period

Prior to the Planned Period, development in the tourism sector was limited, but was always on the government agenda. Even though "The Tourism Industry Support Act" was enacted on 22 May 1953, and included such incentives as tax reductions for local and international investors,

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[71] In 1955, in the report called the *4ᵗʰ Report and Recommendations presented to the Tourism Advisory Board,* The Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry, Press and Broadcasting and Tourist Department classified the efforts made to develop tourism in Turkey under four headingsgs: (T.C. Başvekalet, 1955: 9-22)

   i. The elimination of Tourism obstacles like the eggreements for the Passports and visas, and customs
   ii. Measures to be taken to establish the tourism industry and spread tourism activities; The Tourism Incentive/ Support?? Measures
   iii. Tourism training and education, tourism vocational education;
   iv. Other works like Hotel Surveys; Promotional activities about Turkey at our external representations; Statistical reports on tourism; Opening Tourism Offices.

[72] TURBAN, was restructured under the Act numbered 7470, dated 4 May 1960, and commenced operations on 8 February 1962 under the name Turkish Republic Tourism Bank Inc. It continued its operations, which mostly involved establishing tourism lodging facilities and with the Higher Planning Council Resolution numbered 88/9 on 27 September 1988 also served tourism establishments administration outside banking. (*TURBAN*, 1990: 39)

tourism did not become a sector emphasized in all development and yearly plans until 1963, when a planned economic model was adopted (ATID, 2006: 5; DPT, 2007:6). During the first half of the Planned Period between 1963 and 1983 the *social progressive development policies* were directing the development plans in Turkey since it was as a period in which the government "established the circumstances for and led the development of tourism" (DPT, 2007: 9).

Though the tourism policies implemented between 1963 and 1980 can be defined as mixed economy policies, due to the lack of private funds required to establish the tourism industry at the beginning of the 1960s, a statist policy underscored by a modern planning approach is seen. The most important indicators of the tourism policies implemented after 1963, when the "Five Year Development Plans" went into effect, are the tourism infrastructure investments made by İmar Iskan Bakanlığı (the Reconstruction and Settlement Ministry) and the opening of tourism lodging facilities by the Tourism Bank (TURBAN) under the Culture and Tourism Ministry and the operation of these by TURBAN.

At first, the central administration resolved in favor of investments in and the development of not only the tourism industry, but in all industry sectors under the leadership of the private sector. To this end, the administration founded and developed state economic enterprises (SEEs) to lead the private industry, which had been exhibiting a lack of enthusiasm until then in terms of capital and private entrepreneurialism. During the development of SEEs, first the Marmara and Aegean regions, then the Central and Eastern Anatolian regions were targeted for proliferation. The administration continues to found SEEs after the 1950s as well. However, it is clear that the problem of imbalanced growth among regions in Turkey remained and the achievements of the development plans implemented since 1963 were inadequate.

In 1959, the government of Turkey requested assistance from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP, Special Fund) in carrying out a pre-investment survey of the Antalya Region as a basis for a plan of balanced economic development (see subsection 8.1). In 1963, four years later than the report prepared by the FAO and the UNDP in carrying out a pre-investment survey of the Antalya Region as a basis for a plan of more balanced economic development, Turkey started to execute the first of the five year plannings. In the same year, to put central government's policy on tourism development in Turkey, The Ministry of Tourism and Information was founded. The main goal of the tourism policy during the period between 1963 and 1983 was "contributing to the balance of payments via tourism income, increasing income from foreign currency, creating new employment areas and providing the Turkish citizens with recreational opportunities" in an approach parallel to social state policies (DPT, 2007: 7). Organizations, legal and financial arrangements and special projects were among the tools used to achieve these goals. The Ministry of Tourism is the period's most important organizational

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institution. Another administrative tool is the Tourism Bank, founded in 1955 to support investments through loans, projects and technical support. Furthermore, in 1972, The Association of Turkish Travel Agencies (TÜRSAB) was founded and started working as an effective administrative tool. The government's leading role in the tourism sector and its legal and financial tools can be summarized as follows: (DPT, 2007: 7):

- "The Tourism Facility Qualifications Regulations" enacted in 1965 which provided a certification system;
- The option of loans through a Cabinet Resolution for "Prioritized Tourism Regions";
- The loan program instigated in 1972 to develop bed and breakfast type home lodging;
- The legal arrangements made in 1973 regarding making the import of necessary printing materials intended for publishing materials as a crucial part of tourism promotion.

Olalı (1982: 42-49) emphasized the connection between tourism policies and urban and regional development strategies.[73] In the *Ninth Development Plan 2007-2013, Tourism Specialization Commission Report* prepared by the State Planning Organization (DPT, 2007: 9) it is mentioned that the State's attention and support is essential in plans and projects to be developed due to the tourism sector being a multi-faceted and dynamic service sector. It takes a long time to see the return-on-investment for tourism investments, which are high capital requiring and sensitive to political, social natural and economic happenstances. Therefore, all of the central and local governments in the world support them. In this report, the tourism policies and practices between 1970 and 1990 have been summarized as follows:

> The Turkish tourism sector, which was led through government support between 1970 and 1982, has since then been deemed a sector that carries special significance. This sector has taken full advantage of the incentives made available to it through the "Tourism Support Act", the "Resolution to Support Investments, Foreign Currency Earning Services and Enterprises", "The Foreign Capital Act", the "Conservation of the Value of Turkish Money" numbered 32, and the "Institutional Tax and Value added Tax Act". (DPT, 2007: 9).

Liberal Period

"The Tourism Support Act" [74] numbered 2634, which went into effect in 1982, is defined as "one of the most important legal and financial tools which allowed the channeling of investments

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[73] Olalı (1982: 56-62) identified ten headings under which he classified the factors involved in the Turkish tourism policy from 1963 until the beginning of the 1980s, in a country with a planned mixed economic system, the goal being development: 1.Plans and tourism plans; 2.Flexibility; 3.Economical; 4.Environmental awarenss; 5.Balance between supply and demans; 6.Coordination; 7.Network; 8.Consistency; Tourism policy should be considered a state policy; 9.The Human factor and quality of services; 10.Authority and contol.

[74] The measures taken to encourage investors within the framework of the Tourism Support Law numbered 2634 and dated 12 March 1982, which aimed to develop tourism in Turkey, have been given below: (İlkin and Dinçer, 1991: 44-45):

    i.   Govenrment land and real estate, most of which is on the coasts, is leased to investors for 49 years.;

    ii.   The Development Bank can provide long term, low interest loans covering up to 60% of the total investment. The Bank also provides letters of guarantee regarding locating funds from abroad;

to prioritized tourism development areas and ensured the effective use of scarce resources". This act marked the beginning of a more liberal period in Turkey (DPT, 2007: 7). The same report defines the Tourism Ministry, which is assigned the basic planning and coordination function, as an institution simplifying processes regarding the allocation of government land, developing new tourism types and protecting consumer rights.

The tourism movements before the 1980s took place within the framework of the 1953 Tourism Industry Support Act numbered 6086, The Tourism Support Framework Resolution, the Travel Agencies and Association of Tourism Agencies Act numbered 1618, and the 1954 Foreign Investment Support Act numbered 6224 (İlkin ve Dinçer, 1991: 44). Olalı ve Timur (1986: 128) agree that the Economic Stability Measures taken after 1980 helped structure the economy according to free market rules, and were the product of a brand new economic and philosophic approach. Olalı ve Timur hold that, "While a liberal economic context was being shaped in the Turkish economy, the doctrines and political views on foreign investment dominant prior to 1980 were replaced with objective thought and a rational economic understanding". They also consider foreign capital as a necessary resource for Turkey, with its deficiencies in terms of technology and capital. Within this context, Yabancı Sermaye Başkanlığı (the Foreign Investment Directorate) was defined as the only authority and the Foreign Investment Framework Resolution numbered 8/168 was put into effect in addition to the Act numbered 6224. However, despite the developments in foreign investment, as mentioned by Olalı ve Timur, "the level of interest displayed by foreign investors did not suffice." Foreign investors preferred to come to Turkey to run businesses, not to invest. The percentage of the tourism sector in total foreign investments entering Turkey until the end of 1984 was about 4.7% (DPT, 1985: 82 cited in Olalı, Timur, 1986: 129).

The FYDPs, which guided the development from 1963 onwards; parallel to the change in, the goals, priorities, tools and the public-private balance, the tourism activities were less government led and involved more private sector, NGO and combinations. İlkin and Dinçer (1991: 44) still hold

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iii.   Low interest Turkish bank loans with low Cetnral Bank rediscount interest rates can be used.

iv.   Touristic facilities can make use of the opportunities available to export dealers;

v.   Touristic establishments with certification can take advantage of the lowest rates for water, gas, and electrivity. They have priority in telex, telephone and fax installment;

vi.   New investments are granted 5 years of exemption of real estate taxes;

vii.   Tourism establishments are allowed to employ 20% of their total staff as foreign nationals;

viii.   Tourism investments are exempt from corporate taxation up to the total cost of investment;

ix.   Customs tax is not paid for importing machinery, equipment and other materials exceeding the cost of fixed investment. A 25% incentive premium is paid for machinery parts and equipment purchased from surrounding markets

x.   Tourism investments are exempt from building and construction tax and their value added tax is postponed;

xi.   A resource utilization at 59% of the equity capital is paid to investors for their expenses incurred for lodging facilities, yacht boatyards, marina and yacht fleets is paid as a premium

xii.   Their ınfrastructure services are prioritized;

xiii.   They can make use of tax and fee exemptions for investment loans.

that, in the period between 1963 and 1980; developments pertaining to the number of tourists visiting, tourism revenues and the per capita spending did not meet the goals set in the plans. The agencies which took their place within the new combinations in the tourism sector are the following organizations:

- The Association of Turkish Travel Agencies, TÜRSAB[75]
- Turkish Hotels Federation, TUROFED[76]
- The Association of the Tourist Hotelkeepers and Hotel Managers, TÜROB[77]
- Tourism Development Foundation, TUGEV[78]
- Turkish Tourism Investors Association, TYD[79]

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[75] Türkiye Seyahat Acentaları Birliği (TÜRSAB), The Association of Turkish Travel Agencies is a professional organization having the status of legal person, established by Law concerning Travel Agencies and the Association in 1972. In accordance with the Law No. 1618 travel agencies can be established upon the issue of an operation licence by the Ministry of Tourism and are obliged to become a member of TURSAB in order to be able to conduct travel agency business. The Regulation Pertaining to Travel Agencies prepared in accordance with the Law 1618 specifies the exclusive services of travel agencies in detail under the subheadings: Organizing Tours, Transfer, Reservation, Information, Organizing Congresses and Conferences, Renting Out Individual Vehicles for Tour Purposes, Selling Tickets for Transport Vehicles, Selling the Products of Travel Agencies. There are, at present 5184 travel agencies including branch offices all over Turkey. http://www.tursab.org.tr/content/english/home, 06.12.2009

[76] Türkiye Otelciler Federasyonu (TÜROFED) The Turkish Hotels Federation, founded in 2005, 85% of the total bed capacity in the sector with its 1996 facilities and bed capacity of 438 thousand. (Kavukçuoğlu, B. http://www.turizmgazetesi.com/articles/article.aspx?id=49996, 06.12.2009)

12 regional associations under TUROFED are as follows (http://www.turofed.org.tr, 06.12.2009):
AKTOB-Akdeniz Turistik Otelciler Ve İşletmeciler Birliği, (the Mediterranean Touristic Hoteliers Association)
ALTİD-Alanya Turistik İşletmeciler Derneği (Alanya Touristic Hoteliers Associations, 2002)
ATİD-Anadolu Turizm İşletmecileri Derneği (Anatolian Touristic Hoteliers Association, 1984)
BODER-Bodrum Turistik Otelciler İşletmeciler ve Yatırımcılar Derneği (Bodrum Hotel Association)
ÇUKTOB-Çukurova Turistik Otelciler Birliği (Çukurova Touristic Hoteliers Associations, 2008)
ETİK-Ege Turistik İşletmeciler Derneği (Agean Touristic Hoteliers Association, 1984)
FETOB-Fethiye Turistik Otelciler ve İşletmeciler Birliği (Fethiye Hoteliers Associations, 1996)
GETOB-Güney Ege Turistik Otelciler ve İşletmeciler Birliği (South Agean Hoteliers Association, 1987)
GÜMTOB-Güney Marmara Otelciler ve İşletmeciler Derneği (South Marmara Hoteliers Association, 1984)
KAPTİD-Kapadokya Otelciler ve İşletmeciler Derneği (Cappadocia Hoteliers Association, 1988)
KODER-Kuşadası Otelciler ve İşletmeciler Birliği (Kuşadası Hoteliers Association,)

[77] TUROB was founded under the title of Marmara Region Tourist Hotelkeepers Association (TOD) in 1971. This Association which had been showing activities until the year 1983 now continues to work as the Association of the Tourist Hotelkeepers and Hotel Managers (TUROB) at present upon the change of the Associations Law. The founding purpose of the association is to perform scientific and practical studies on the subject, problems and their solutions relating to tourism, to make contribution to such comprehensive studies, to enable the tourism and the tourist establishments to be improved in compliance with the needs of tourism in this direction, and also to provide and maintain necessary directly or indirectly relationship and coordination of association with the relevant offices, organisations, corporations, companies and persons among members and to represent its members both inside and outside the sector properly. http://www.turob.org/eng, 05.12.2009

[78] The Tourism Development Foundation, TÜGEV, founded in the mid-1980's, has made important contributios to tourism ranging from tourism training to research and the establishment of a database. TÜGEV is to provide material and immaterial support in advertising Turkey's Tourism values in and out of the country and, in the direction of Turkey's national objectives and benefits and within the limits of tourism plan which will be applied by the government in developing Turkish Tourism, Tourism Culture, Tourism Economy, Tourism Industry and Tourism Business.

[79] Turizm Yatırımcıları Derneği (Turkish Tourism Investors Association, TYD) established in 1988 by the principal tourism investors in Turkey. Turkish Tourism Investors Association (TYD) is a private non-governmental initiative whose main objectives are: to bring together entrepreneurs investing in the tourism sector and provde assistance in their present problems and future plans; to announce the importance of tourism investments to the public; to increase market share of Turkish tourism in World tourism. http://www.ttyd.org.tr, 06.12.2009

İncekara (2001: 28) believes that the only way to increase the role of tourism within the regional development strategies as a sector is to mobilize the local population to be productive, entrepreneurial and active. İncekara holds that without such people and their efforts, the touristic demand will not be met in its full potential unless integrated into a project so that it can produce added value as in the example of cultural and historical heritage staying hidden due to lack of efforts to utilize it. For the product offered in this sector is predominantly a combination of services. Still, it would not be a scientific suggestion to claim that a region could develop solely through tourism.

According to İncekara (2001: 29), for any demand potential in underdeveloped regions of Turkey to be presented to consumers or tourists in the market, a multi-dimensional activity is necessary from transportation to lodging and from entertainment to shopping. Also stated by İncekara is the fact that in order for an existing potential to be transformed into a potential value, possibly with economic contributions, it is necessary for a touristic product to be produced, including detailed project plans and job descriptions. İncekara (2001: 29-30) recommends that the central government, local administrations and the private sector work within pre-determined function descriptions to achieve success in the organization of this. İncekara's three partite model can be described as 'urban governance' with the alliance of local government and private sector but vertically linked to the central government.

Neoliberal Period

According to the State Planning organization's (DPT) report, the tourism sector in Turkey can be examined under two distinct periods from 1991 onwards. (2007: 8-9):

a) The period between 1991 and 1997: Developments pertaining to the decrease in prices with the First Gulf War caused tourism enterprises to accept as a whole the pricing level in competing countries. the other important development in this period that the domestic tourism of insignificant levels until 1990 became a worthy market and was accepted by tourism enterprises.

b) The period 1998: The concept of business in the Turkish tourism sector changed in terms of the sensitivity shown to environmental issues and the steering of investments. At first, companies only active in the construction sector (such as MNG and WOW) entered tourism as investors, while this tendency has decreased over the past few years. Another characteristic of this period after 1998 is that the tourism sector no longer expected everything to be handed to them from the government. However, the lack of proper identification of the role distribution between the government and private sector has a negative effect on the efficiency of the sector.

The emphasis placed on "supporting the projects that city administrations and municipalities may undertake" in the Eighth Five Year Development Plan (2001-2005) and the principle "the completion of development plans and strategies for all regions in cooperation with development agencies and the provision of adequate funding", as stated in the Ninth Development

Plan (2007-2013) affirming competition among cities and regions were the harbingers of the *neoliberal period* after the 2004 municipal elections.

In the *Ninth Development Plan 2007-2013, Tourism Specialization Commission Report* (2007: 27) prepared by the State Planning Organization (DPT) three main policies are defined for the tourism sector for this ninth period:

1. The contribution of the tourism sector to decreasing the imbalance among regions in terms of revenues and level of development;
2. The orientation of the sectoral development in tourism being in favor of high quality, which should not be forsaken for quantity based goals;
3. Ensuring the creation of enough demand so that Turkish tourism can take the greatest share possible from the international tourism market.

The *Ninth Development Plan (2007-2013), Tourism Specialization Commission Report,* which the Ministry of Tourism Undersecretary Ahmet Tıktık considers a "strategy document"[80]*,* signals the restructuring from management to entrepreneurialism in the field of tourism. This report also states that one of the most key issues in the tourism sector is the process of compliance to the European Union:

> *European Union considers tourism as essential for the establishment of an identity for Europe,* and therefore supports SMEs through structural and regional funds. In this period, when we are in the process of becoming a full member, we need education and coordination for the necessary arrangements and structuring towards compliance with the EU. The success of legal harmony depends on the active participation of the central government, local administrations and NGOs. On the other hand, the financial support programs that the EU provides especially for Mediterranean countries must be followed carefully and the development of local scale projects, as well, should be prioritized. (DPT, 2007: 48).

As understood from the abovementioned report, Turkey has committed itself to confirming its tourism policies and strategies to those of the EU structural policy framework. The Notion of 'European turn' is at stage in the field of tourism in Turkey now. According to estimations by the World Tourism Organization, in a period when the growth rate of the European market as a region will slow down, the Mediterranean market, which also includes Turkey, will have the same experience. However, it is also mentioned that the growth rate in the Turkish and Eastern Mediterranean market will increase. (DPT, 2007: 49). The Tourism Specialization Commission, with the belief that it will expedite the EU harmonization process, takes this assumption as data and states in the Ninth FYDP (2007-2013) that, "Ensuring peace in the Middle East and security in the

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[80] The Tourism Ministry Undersecretary Ahmet Tıktık lists the ministry's priorities mentioned in the preface of The *Ninth Development Plan (2007-2013), Tourism Specialization Commission Report,* (DPT, 2007: v):
- Identifying the development potential of Turkey;
- The resolute continuation and completion of the EU integration process ;
- The suggestion of solutions for possible problems of the EU negotiation process;
- Planning to establish the basis for plans and programs that the membership process requires like the National Development Plan and the Pre-Accession Economic Program.

Eastern Mediterranean will result in the Turkish tourism industry, along with that in three other Mediterranean countries (Spain, France and Italy) constituting at least 80% of the European tourism market."

About 85% of the tourists coming to Turkey are from European countries. The tourists visiting from France, Italy and Span mostly prefer cultural tourism while the remaining European countries opt for our country because of Sun-sea-sand. (DPT, 2007: 38). With regard to this fact, the DPT claims that it is crucial to; "continue work on increasing our market share in European countries with sustainable tourism products, focusing on the East Asia Pacific region, and especially China, regarding its rapidly growing tourism, and increasing our market share in Middle Easters countries, particularly Iran". As the central government's tourism policy, this report ultimately suggests that "standing by the governance principle in the presentation and marketing as well as the process of maximizing tourism revenues should be the fundamental target".

In the same report, the prioritized audience in Turkish tourism is defined as consumers who are; middle- high level income, well-educated, who care about price and quality, young-middle aged people and people over 65, who are experienced travelers, desiring a different vacation experience. (DPT, 2007: 38). In order to reach the goals of 35 million tourists and 30 billion USD tourism revenues by 2013, and 42 million tourists ve 66,8 billion USD tourism revenues by 2023, amendments were made to the 2634 numbered Tourism Support Act, putting into effect the 4957 numbered "Turizmi Teşvik Kanunu'nda Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun (Tourism Support Act Amendment Act)" in 2003. This law is mainly concerned with a land development model, a modern land allocation model, destination oriented planning and management systems (DPT, 2007: 40-41):

> *The Land Development Model* involves the implementation of projects which comprise many tourism activities together, integrate with foreign chains and brands, increase the creativity of the private sector, and ease the burden of the state;
>
> *The Modern Land Allocation Model* is an allocation system which promotes investment projects that can take place at once and within a defined field.
>
> *Destination Oriented Planning and Management* refers to the collaboration of the private sector and the state with a new planning, project based and management approach, lessening the burden on the state.

4.3.3. Tourist(s) in Turkey with Numbers

At least there were pilgrimages and travelers in Turkey before the establishment of tourism industry. While the number of tourists visiting Turkey was "48,460 for the first nine months of 1954," when statistics were first gathered (T.C. Başvekalet, 1955: 94); the number aproached 1 million in 1972. The figure in 1984 was over 2 million, over 4 million in 1988, and over 5 million in 1990 (İlkin and Dinçer, 1991: 15). Apparently, the number of tourists visiting Turkey has been

increasing in recent years (see Table 4.1). Regardless of the recent increase, the number of tourists coming to Turkey is very low when compared to other European countries on the Mediterranean Sea. Most tourists coming to Turkey are from European countries. While European tourist movements focus on neighboring countries, the share of countries bordering Turkey is smaller (Ibid.: 16).

Taking into account the increase in the number of tourist coming to Turkey, it is a fact that the development of the tourism industry in Turkey gained impetus after 1980. The 'TURBAN Travel Agency',[81] which was established on January 1, 1978 as per the 1045 numbered Class 'A' Ministry of Tourism Travel Agency Temporary Business Certificate, had as its founding goal, "directing international mass tourism to Turkey, acting as a model in this operation, taking risks in the face of the domestic private travel agencies' inexperience and bringing new markets to Turkey". TURBAN undoubtedly played a significant role in the increase of tourists visiting Turkey in the early 1980s (*TURBAN*, 1990: 46).

In general, international competition increased in the 80s and 90s, with the 90s especially being a time when world tourism continues its stable growth, but the competition got intensified. (DPT, 2007: 1). According to the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) data, tourism revenues is estimated to reach a total of 2 trillion USD by 2023. A glance at the new trends in countries with developed tourism, as a sector which has become one of the determining subsectors of the GNP, reveals that; vacationers' preferences have moved from the three 'S's (sun-sea-sand) (3S), to the three 'E's (entertainment-education-environment) (3E). However, recreation, entertainment and vacationing still dominate the world tourism sector. World Tourism Organization (WTO) data shows that in the world tourism market, the 3S type of tourism, also known as *traditional tourism* prevails. Regardless, world tourism has diversified when compared to the past. (İncekara, 2001: 113). The number of international tourists visiting Turkey, as one of the rising destinations, was 9,713,000 in 1997; 9,753,000 in 1998; 7,500,000 in 1999; and 10,400,000 in 2000. İncekara (2001: 114) says that the 29% decrease in 1999 can be explained by the earthquake on August 17th in Yalova.

According to a Ministry of Tourism study, 25% of foreigners prefer to come to Turkey to travel for reasonable prices, 19% come to get to know Turkish people, 15% to do cheap shopping, 6% to do business, 3% to stay at modern lodging facilities, 2% to taste Turkish cuisine and 9% for

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[81] From its founding until 1990, TURBAN played a leading role in bringing to life the Turkish tourism sector. The Ministry of Tourism prepared and published a work entitled *TURBAN: 35 Years in Turkish Tourism* (1990: 46), in which the TURBAN Travel Agency was defined as follows: "The TURBAN Travel Agency, with its headquarters in İstanbul, has become the largest agencies in Turkey with the work it has carried out in incoming tourism. The primary operation field of the Ankara Branch has been Congress tourism especially after 1984. The Izmir Branch, founded in 1979, got its Travel Agency title in 1983 and served the Aegean Region through incoming tourism services. The Antalya Branch, which commenced operations in 1987, offers its services at its office in Antalya Kaleici, which brought the Golden Apple Award, also known as the Oscars of tourism, to TURBAN Inc. after being restored and transformed into a marina and entertainment center for touristic purposes."

other reasons. (Turizm Bakanlığı, 2001 cited in İncekara, 2001: 114). According to another study, (Table 4.2) the reasons for which tourists choose to come to Turkey correspond with those of tourists visiting other countries the world. (Erdoğan, 1995: 35 cited as in İncekara, 2001: 114-15). As can be seen in the table, vacationing, recreation and entertainment related tourism is the primary goal for Turkey-bound tourists.

The TÜRSAB R&D division, in their article entitled 'The developments in the international visitor profile' prepared in March, 2009 by analyzing the 'International visitor Exit Questionnaire' by the Turkish Statistics Institution (TÜİK) claims that the tourist profile of those visiting Turkey in the past two years has been changing. (http://www.tursab.org.tr). The article mentions that the most striking outcome of the questionnaire was in the type of lodging preferred. The article says that demand for hotels, motels and B&B type lodging has dropped by 15% in the last three years, while the number of those staying with friends, family and in their own homes has increased. According to TURSAB's article, this decrease is sharper in the last three years when foreigners acquired the most real estate. Furthermore, it says that this can be interpreted as the increased tendency of real estate owning foreigners in Turkey to rent their houses to other foreigners, or offering them to friends and family for vacationing.

As of 2005, Turkey's tourism revenues have amounted to about 18 billion USD. (Table 4.3). The top 10 tourist sending countries in order are Germany, the Russia Federation, England, Bulgaria, The Netherlands, Iran, France, Greece, Belgium and Austria. As of 2004, Turkey is number 13 in the list of countries receiving the largest number of tourists in the world with a market share of 2.5%, and comes in 8th among the ten countries with the most tourism revenues.[82]

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[82] The development of Turkish tourism between 1980 and 2005 is as shown below (DPT, 2007: 12):

  a) The number of foreigners coming to Turkey increased 17,6 fold by 2005 and became 21,122,798 compared to 1,228,000 in 1980.
  b) The tourism revenues which stood at 400 million USD in 1980 increased 45 times and reached 18 billion USD in 2005.
  c) The share of tourism revenues in the GNP of Turkey used to be 0.7% in 1980; a figure which increased to 5,5% in 2005.
  d) The share of tourism revenues within the total export, which was 13.8% in 1980, increased to 24.5% in 2005.

CHAPTER 5

ANTALYA: A BRIEF HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

In this chapter, the incorporation of Antalya into the world-economy has been discussed in relation to Mediterranean Region and the globe from a more historical viewpoint. To this end, this chapter is devoted to exploring the historical geography of the Antalya Region from the first settlement in Karain Cave until the foundation of the Turkish Republic. While determining the fundamental markers of Antalya's urban development process throughout history, it is important to take into account the leaps, disruptions and transitions resulting from these factors at various points.

5.1.   A Short Historical Review of Antalya until 1923

From the First Settlement in Karain Cave to the Seljukian Period

Antalya is a 20,591 km² city in the Mediterranean region of Turkey, neighboring the cities of Muğla, Burdur, Isparta, Konya, Karaman, İçel and the Mediterranean Sea. The Antalya Region, named Pamphylia in ancient times, was a broad plain breaking the rugged configuration of the southern coast of Asia Minor (Foss, 1996: Chapter IV, 1).

Antalya was an area of settlement as far back as prehistoric times (*Life-Style in Antalya, Complete Guide,* 1990: 33; *Antalya Kıyı Yerleşmeleri,* 1996: 10), first inhabited 50 thousand years ago. Proof of this was uncovered in the Karain Cave situated near Yağcıköy, 27 km north-west of Antalya (Kıvran, 1992: 26; Çimrin, 2002: 43, 107; Onat, 2

Antalya, the capital of Mediterranean Pamphylia, was founded and restored by Attalus II., the King of Pergamum, who gave his own name to the city first called Attaleia, Adalia, Adalya and finally Antalya in 159-138 B.C. (Durukan, 1988: 27; Sakaoğlu, 1996: 96; Çimrin, 2002: 47; Çimrin, 2007:34-35; Onat, 2000: 103; Bektaş et al., 1980: 58; Foss, 1996: Chapter IV, 4; Erdem, 2001-2002: 163; *Antalya Kıyı Yerleşmeleri,* 1996: 19).

According to Çimrin (2002: 47, 56), by way of testament, the control of the city Antalya, or Attaleia, was passed onto the Roman Empire in 133 B.C., but the true reign of Romans on the region commenced in 79 BC. Attaleia, which became the greatest city of the district and the major naval base of the Byzantine Mediterranean, continued to flourish within its ancient walls, though the other cities fell into oblivion (Foss, 1996: Chapter IV, 4).

In the Hellenistic era the city was surrounded by two lines of walls and it is believed that the first chain of the walls was constructed during the Kingdom of Pergamum (Çimrin, 2002: 73; Foss, 1996: Chapter IV, 5). Later the walls were restored and reinforced during the Byzantine period by a second chain of walls or moat on the sea side (Ibid.: 74; Foss, Ibid.).

Roman Period

The Roman Emperor Hadrian was to visit the city in 130 A.D., so the three arched marble gate (Picture 5.1) located to the east of the Antalya ramparts on the avenue to the park was built in honor of his visit (Çimrin, 2002: 78; Çimrin, 2007: 35; *Antalya Kültür Envanteri,* 2003: 31; Bektaş et al., 1980: 63; Pace, 1916 and Bosch, 1947 quoted in Foss, 1996: 5). It is thought that there was once a second storey which has since disappeared without a trace and those statues of the emperor and his family was kept there (Çimrin, 2002: 73, 78). This fact is of particular important since the Roman Emperor visited this city in person.

According to Foss (1996: 5), the uninterrupted importance of Attaleia has entailed a constant renewal that has left relatively few monuments of the past, while dense habituation within the walls has precluded excavation. When the Roman Empire was divided into two in 395 AD, Istanbul became the capital of the Byzantine Empire and the region came under Byzantine rule (Çimrin, 2002: 56). According to Erdem (2001-2002: 164), in this period Antalya gained a strategic importance due to its geographical location between the capital city İstanbul and the south-east part of the whole Mediterranean region. As Erdem (Ibid.) suggests, this strategic importance of the region made Antalya gain administrative importance for all time. According to Çimrin (2002: 56), in the beginning of the fourth century, the growth of the Christian community in Antalya made it one of the major Christian cities of the time. According to Foss (1996: Chapter IV, 8) Attaleia was naturally one of the dominant commercial centers of the Byzantine Empire; beside the capital Constantinople, only the Trebizond could compare. Thus, during the Roman period as well as Byzantine period, Attaleia was an important city from administrative, religious, commercial, and remunerative perspectives.

In Antalya region, the most magnificent and enchanting building from the Roman period is the Aspendos Theatre. The Aspendos Theatre is unique not because it is the only ancient theater in

the world that has been conserved in its original form for almost two thousand years but also it has still been used for cultural activities. As Çimrin (2002: 149) also writes this building is an exemplary model for imagining the ruins of other ancient theater. The Aspendos Theatre (Pictures 6.18; 6.19; 6.20) is believed to have been built between 131 A.D. and 161 A.D. by architect Zenon who was the winner of the competition for creating the most beautiful and useful building for Aspendos city (Ibid.: 152). The aforementioned competition was announced by Theodoros, King of Aspendos city under the reign of Roman Empire, Marcus Aurelius (Ibid.: 149).

According to Tankut (2007: 6), after the sixth century, political power and social order disintegrated in the Byzantine Empire. Because of these two changes, threats existed both externally and internally, and as a result, the 'Polis' disappeared in favor of the 'Castron'. The 'Polis' had a fortress and an outer city as in the Acropolis and the Lower City complex. Eventually the Lower City vanished altogether. Regarding this evolution, Tankut believes that the Byzantine town was more Greek than Roman.[83]

The fourth crusade between 1200 and 1204 and the emergence of the Latin Empire had catastrophic effects on the city life in Byzantine Anatolia. Meanwhile in the East, the Seljuk Sultanate had consolidated its power. During this period, in physical terms the Byzantine State begun to decentralize. Eventually, parts of the empire became autonomous not as City States but as mere fortresses (Ibid.: 9-10).

Seljukian State (1207- 1300) and Hamidoğulları Principality (1300-1391) in Antalya

With the decentralization, the Byzantine State lost its imperial meaning. Tankut asserts that Seljuk rule was able to bring a unique regional outlook to Anatolia (Ibid.: 11). In her understanding, unlike in the Byzantine case, the decentralized federal mechanism of the Seljuk Sultanate was the essence of its strength. Therefore, the power of the Sultanate was proudly presented by the regional structure of Anatolia, whose backbone was linked by the caravan roads inherited from the Byzantine Empire (Figure 5.1) (Ramsay, 1961: 84). According to Tankut (2007: 15) Seljuk Anatolia was divided into four regions (see Figure 5. 2): i. The Rum Region with Konya as the capital; ii. The Danishment

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[83] According to Tankut (2007: 7-8), after the sixth century, drastic changes occurred in the Byzantine city. First, the Hippodrome and the Forum disappeared. The Basilica as a judicial building was gone, as was the Cura. Later, the Cruial status was transformed into the Clergy. Thus, the religious functions were housed in basilical forms. Thus, the Basilica church became the most significant structure of the Byzantine city. The Theater and the Gymnasium, the two monumental buildings of antique city function were also gone and forgotten toward the emergence of the early Byzantine city. Tankut asserts that the only antique city feature which maintained its function was the Bath House. She also argues that Bath House remained in the Byzantine city only as urban tradition; it did not have anything to do with the new Christian faith. Later, Muslim society attached religious importance to it. In the third stage of urban history, since the Byzantine provincial town primarily sought protection, the plain settlements were abandoned. As a result, the small fortress, the 'Castron', was the essence of the Byzantine urban existence. Thus, the major elements of the Byzantine 'Castron' were the churches, monasteries and some housing.

Region with Sivas as the capital; iii. The Southeastern Region with Diyarbakır as the capital; 4. The Frontier Region composed of two parts: The Northern part with Kastamonu as the capital, The Southern part with Kütahya as the capital.

All these regions had self-sufficient and self-governing authorities. The royal seal was generally in Konya and the Sultan acted as the highest consultant and the binding element of the decentralized system. Konya, besides being a governmental seat and cultural center was at the same time the hub of Seljuk transportation. As for the second tier cities of the region, on the top of the list, Tankut writes Ankara, an important production center as well as a major seat for the *Ahi* organization. (Tankut, 2007: 11). Antalya and Alanya rank the same as the southern ports with high levels of commercial activity.

Antalya was first conquered by Kutalmışoğlu Süleyman Şah in 1085, but in 1103 the Byzantine Emperor Alexius Comnenus recovered the city (Çimrin, 2002: 57). According to Durukan (1988: 27), one of the most important goals of the Seljukians, who endeavored to develop trade by land, was to take control of Mediterranean trade. Thus, the Seljukians captured the whole region during Sultan Giyaseddin Keyhusrev I's reign on 5 March, 1207 (Çimrin, 2002: 58; Durukan, 1988: 27; Karaca, 2008: 1; Sevim, 2000: 165). Not only did this secure the Seljukians' access to the Mediterranean, but it made Antalya the center of trade with Europe and Egypt as well as the headquarters of the Seljukian navy (Turan, 1984: 283 quoted in Durukan, 1988: 27; Hassan, 1995: 210, 215).

According to Baykara (1989: 42), Antalya, or actually Adalia in the thirteen century, can be defined as a *Subaşılık*. For Baykara, Antalya is, undoubtedly, an administrative center since the Seljukian times but calling it a 'province' might be objectionable. Baykara defines Antalya as a *Sübaşılık,* an administrative district governing Burdur, Isparta and some parts of Denizli besides the Antalya Region. In Baykara's terms, *Subaşılık* is a kind of administrative category which rules over the region at the 'edges' ['uc' in Turkish].

However, in 1212, the locals of Antalya, consisting mostly of Greeks and Byzantines killed the administrators of the Seljuks and the city thus fell (Ibn Bibi, 1957: 141; Ibn Bibi, 1941: 58-59; Durukan, 1988: 28; Geyikoğlu, 2001-2002: 190). Consequently, the Seljuk Sultan Izzettin Keykavus I, conquered the city again in December 22 1216 (Ibid.: 60). According to Durukan this was a failed experiment in terms of Muslims and Christians coexisting, dividing the city in two. According to Baykara (1980: 193 cited in Durukan, 1988: 28) a second rampart had to be built to separate the two communities by Sultan Alaeddin Keykavus I (1220-1237) in 1225.

During the *Beylik* (princedom) period in Anatolia, independent of Seljuks, the *Hamidoğulları Beyliği* [=Sons of Hamid Principality] was founded in Antalya around 1260 (Baykara, 1989: 44; *Life-Style in Antalya, Complete Guide 1989-1990*, 1990: 36). The *Hamidoğulları Beyliği* were a nomad

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Turkmen tribe who had been settled in the area covering Eğridir, Isparta and Antalya under Hamid's command in 1204 by Sultan Kılıçarslan III., on the Byzantine border. (Çimrin, 2007: 56). According to Hassan (1995: 208-9), however, these Turkmens were sent to the area in 1203. The ruler at the time was Rükneddin Süleyman II.

A Seljuk City, Adalia

Long before the Turks conquered Anatolia, Byzantine cities had Jewish or other communities' quarters, surrounded by walls and excluded from the rest of the urban structure (Tankut, 2007: 91). Though the majority of the population in Antalya consisted of the Greeks in the Byzantine period, during the Seljukian period there were four classes: Turks, Greeks, Jews and European Christian merchants (Erdem, 2003: 299) Based on the archive documents in Cairo, Foss (1996: 9-10) puts forth that during the Byzantine era, the Jews were the second largest community from the eleventh-century onwards. Parallel to this classification, Ibn-i Battûta (©1929, 1963: 124-5; ©2000, 2004: 403; 1983: 193-194) describes the city of Antalya as follows in his Book of Travels:

> […] Antaliya [Adalia], [84] a beautiful city. It covers an immense area, and though of vast bulk is one of the most attractive towns to be seen anywhere, besides being exceedingly populous and well laid out. Each section of the inhabitants lives in separate quarter. The Christian merchants live in a quarter of the town known as the Mînâ [the Port], and are surrounded by a wall, the gates of which are shut upon them from without at night and during the Friday service. The Greeks, who were its former inhabitants, live by themselves in another quarter, the Jews in another, and the King and his court and Memlûks in another, each of these quarters being walled likewise. The rest of the Muslims live in the main city. Round the whole town and all the quarters mentioned there is another great wall.

The essential structure of Muslim cities provided a permanent background for religious practice and teaching (Tankut, 2007: 19). Seljuk cities were no exception. Yet, Tankut holds that the Arabic westward expansion and the Turkish conquest of Anatolia were not inspired by exactly the same forces. While the first aimed at a universal recognition, the latter searched for a new fatherland to settle down. In its fundamental nature; assimilation, adaptation and gradual change constituted a corner stone of the Seljuk community. Eflaki (1964: 394; Tankut, 2007: 20) identifies four classes in Muslim society: i. The Royal family and its dependents at the top; ii. The so-called aristocrats composed of the government officials, scholars, religious leaders, representatives of professions, wealthy merchants; iii. Traders, artisans and other skilled workers; iv. Unskilled commoners.

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[84] Adaliya, known to Western merchants as Satalia, was the most important trading station on the South coast of Anatolia, the Egyptian and Cypriot trade being the most active. The lemon is still called Adaliya in Egypt. (Note of the translator A. H. R. Gibb, to the English edition) Ibn Battûta Tanci, Ebu Abdullah Muhammed. (1963) *Ibn Battûta Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354,* translated and selected with an Introduction and Notes by H. A. R. Gibb. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., ©1929, 5th ed. 1963)

Durukan (1989: 50) states that tradesmen with large capital were relocated to Antalya as well as Sinop to ease and develop commercial exchange and they were offered many privileges. The Anatolian Seljuks, an inherently military nation that existed from 1077 to 1308, built two shipyards not only for military purposes, but also because of the importance it placed on trade; one in Sinop on the Black Sea Coast and another in Antalya on the Mediterranean coast. Access to the Mediterranean benefited the Seljukian economy, since a port was important for the rapidly expanding trade (Rice, 1961: 67; Hassan, 1995: 215). As in Byzantine period, the customs revenues of Adalia during the Seljuk period were a major source of income for the treasury (Erdem, 2003: 299).

Another center in the region is Alanya. Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat, following his conquest of Alanya in 1223 ordered that the name of the city be changed as *Alaiyye* after his name and the construction of a fortress, the city and a dockyard (Hassan, 1995: 221; Sevim, 2000: 170). He virtually rebuilt the city and brought water through canals and commissioned works symbolizing Seljukian architecture (Hassan, 1995: 218). Then he went onto Antalya to spend the winter there. (Sevim, 2000: 170; Erdem, 2003: 296; Geyikoğlu, 2001-2002: 189). With the newly rebuilt palace, schools and mosques, these two cities gain as much importance as the capital, Konya.

According to Baykara (1989: 43), in the thirteen century Adalia was one of the capital cities of the Seljuks because in those times the definition of a capital city was where the Sultans and other rulers stayed for a relatively long period. Therefore, all government institutions were not in Konya. They were transferred to Antalya or Alanya, with the sultan. Similarly, Tankut (2007: 85) emphasizes the importance of the portable royal tent of the Seljuk sultans while dealing with the Seljuk Palace. According to Ibni Bibi (2007), the royal tent is referred to as the Seljuk Palace. The royal tent is as portable as the *yurt* of the Turkmen (Mazahery, 1951), but much more luxurious, including a portable bath, treasure house, carpet house, provision for household goods, and so on.

Implying Seljuks, though, Rice (1961: 95) asserts that "the town was ever a prison for Turks," and says, "early Turks adapted themselves to urban life" (Ibid: 153). According to Rice (Ibid.); it was not until the 13th century that the sultans began to build palaces; some far from Konya, due to their climate, and some were occupied in the winter and others in the summer. Similar to Baykara, Rice (Ibid.; Hassan, 1997: 218) mentions that some of these palaces, like the one in Sivas, are known only by name, whereas the sites of others, like those of Alaiye and Antalya, have been identified; and the palaces which Keykubad I built were named after him as Kubadabad or Kubadiye in Kayseri, between the years 1220 and 1235. In these cities, Alaeddin Keykubad I. built not only palaces but also *bedestan*s— great covered bazaars especially for jewelers—Medreses, Mevlevihanes, and mosques (Hassan, 1997: 218). Baykara (1987: 9) emphasizes architectural

buildings constructed during the reign of Kaykubad I. who primarily worked for public improvements.

According to Tankut (Ibid.: 11) at the very beginning of the Seljuk intervention, the Byzantine population was composed of farmers in villages, and craftsmen and merchants in cities. She also asserts that though the initial settlers were either soldiers or animal raising nomads, they learned about cultivation techniques and largely replaced the Christian peasants; in the cities they became apprentices and started contributing to the urban economy very soon (Ibid.: 12). For Tankut, the Seljuk Period was dominantly an urban period in Anatolia because the Seljuk City in her understanding provided grounds for a multi-phased urban life, and it was a melting pot and a point of attraction for large scale urbanization (Keskinok, 2007). As mentioned before Antalya was one of the second tier cities of the Rum region with Konya as the capital, not only a port city with an abundance of commercial activities but was also one of the important production centers of the *Ahi* organization like Ankara (Tankut, 2007: 11**).**

Ibn Batuta (©1929, 1963: 125; ©2000, 2004: 404), who visited Antalya around 1326-1328, narrated that he and his belongings had lodged in a hospice, actually in one of the *han*s inside the city owned by the *Ahi* organization, a kind of trade and craft guild even in the beginning of the fourteenth-century of the Seljukian period. As it is understood from his notes, the leader of the *Ahi* organization is a cobbler, and a man of generous disposition. He (Ibid.: 126; 405) reports that the leader his companions, about two hundred men belonging to different trades and crafts have made him their leader and have built a hospice to entertain their guests. All that they earn by day they spend at night.

Seyirci (1989: 126), believes that Antalya was one of the "cities of culture" in Anatolia beside Konya, Alanya, Iznik, Sivas and Kayseri during the Seljukian period. He asserts that the Seljukians created a high level of culture in Anatolia and defines this as the "Seljukian Illumination". According to Seyirci (Ibid.), the Seljukis, who wore pants so early on in the 1200s, built *medrese*s, which were the universities of the time when there were no such examples even in Europe. In addition, Seyirci asserts that the Seljukians did not build merely domiciles as did wealthy westerners; they also developed large spaces in compliance with the Anatolian climate as well as structures to meet community needs. Similarly, Rice (1961: 97) argues that "the Eastern rulers proved more alive to the needs of people." As she also (Ibid: 99; Hassan, 1997: 358) states, most Islamic cities were home to hospitals and different types of charitable institutions as early as the 9th century. In the following quotation Rice explains the foundation of these institutions:

> The creation of a hospital service in which people received free treatment and free board and lodging did not represent the full extent of Seljukid benevolence; money was also found for the establishment of numerous poor-houses, orphanages and mental homes, where the services provided were likewise given free of charge.

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Rice (1961: 130) also examines the Seljuk architecture in terms of building types. According to her, the majority of the buildings which survived in Anatolia during the Seljukian period fall into two groups. The larger of the two is made up of the mosques, educational and charitable institutions and numerous *caravanserai*s (=caravanserais); the second comprise *türbe* (=the mausolea) which they set up to serve both as mortuary chapels and as memorials to their dead.

For Tankut (2007: 86) there can be defined three important superstructures of the Seljuk era, namely *medrese, caravanserai*, and *türbe*. Among these structures, it is the *caravanserai* (=caravan palace) which is the most noteworthy in that it carries an extraordinary structure for its time period, which serves to distinguish the Seljukians from other civilizations as of the 12th century. According to Rice (1961: 100) there is a clear connection between the construction of the '*caravanserai*' as a new type of building and the increase in the flow of goods across Anatolia which the Seljuk State seek for new sources of income. She continues:

> As a first step in this direction the government ordered the repair of the old caravan routes which dating back to deep antiquity, had served generations of Roman and Byzantine merchants. The Byzantines had allowed these roads to deteriorate; the Seljuks now set about repairing them, strengthening the unsafe bridges and building magnificent new stone ones. Then for the first time in the long history of these ancient highways, they provided them with a network of rest-houses, the most splendid of which were *Sultan Hans* or *caravanserais,* while the somewhat less fine were known as *han*s. The majorities were superb structures and some were palatial. They were established at convenient intervals along the major trade routes to provide safe and comfortable resting-place for caravans, at which the men and beasts relaxed for a night to recuperate from the effects an arduous day of travel. The distance between each of these establishments was calculated on the basis of nine hours travel by camel, or about 18 miles, the equivalent of a day's journey

According to Ercenk (2004: 284), *caravanserais* were not only the architectural buildings in which the caravans took breaks. Rather they were the social centers where all kinds of human exchange like communication and consumption; they served as nodes in the route network in Anatolia until the mid of nineteenth-century. As mentioned above, owing to the caravan roads and hubs, the Seljuks brought a regional outlook to Anatolia. During the Seljuk period, the improvements made to the deteriorating early Byzantine roads (see map, Figure 1), the construction of additional road connections, and the building of the *caravanserai* as a new type of building improved the standards of long distance trade throughout the Seljukian state. According to Tankut (2007: 13), in the 13th century, three major caravan roads formed the framework of a commerce-oriented state (see map in Figure 2).

According Akurgal (1988: 288) "Seljuk *caravanserai*s are the Turks' unique worldwide success." He believes that in all of Anatolia, especially in Central Anatolia, although partly in ruins, these *monumental hotels* are the greatest and most beautiful examples of the world in the field of lodging. Hassan (1997: 358) who agrees with Akurgal with regard to the Seljuki *caravanserais* being

unique architectural structures unmatched in other countries writes the followings on this topic as follows:

> According to the charters we have belonging to these works of art as the most typical monuments from the Seljukian era [...], visiting trade missions were hosted free of charge and their animals were fed. Also, the larger ones had hammams for the guests to bathe, small mosques with imams as well as [...] doctors and veterinarians. In fact, some had musicians, singers and dancers for the entertainment of the guests. Naturally they required many employees. They were commissioned by sultans and high ranking government officials. Wealthy waqfs, or foundations, assigned for this purpose would cover the considerable expenses.

The carpets, kilims, Ankara mohair, wool, leather, silk, dried fruit, lumber, tar and so on from various Anatolian towns would be sent to eastern countries via the ports in Antalya and Alanya (Akdağ, 1979: 33; Durukan, 1989: 52). Through the same ports, luxury fabrics, materials, thread and weaponry from the west and luxury fabrics, spices, sugar and cotton from the east were obtained. (Durukan, Ibid.). The Anatolian *Cervansarai*s of the 13th century were large, multi-functional structures which ensured the safety of commercial goods bearers against robberies and other various threats. They were built at about an 8 hours' walk, or at about 30-40km intervals and fulfilled the accommodation and other needs of travelers at the end of a tiring day of travel. Durukan states that the eighty four (84) *Caravanserai*s found to have been built during the Seljuki period were built in one of four distinctive architectural styles. Around Antalya and its environs, all four types have been discovered to exist.[85]

Consequently, it seems evident that the state insurance and security offered to international traders from the second decade of the thirteenth century by successive Seljuk Sultans was the primary reason for the erection of the extensive non-urban state built *hans* and *caravanserais* network in the thirteenth century Seljuk Anatolia (Duggan, 2007: 292). According to Duggan these buildings were not only providing security and storage for state insured and taxed overland international trade but also serving the fiscal interests of the Seljuk Sultans in Anatolia. In his understanding, these state buildings were not erected at considerable, and sometimes, vast expanse, for the needs of ordinary travelers but primarily for the state controlled and state insured caravans of merchandise with their guides, caravan crew and guards and the occasional state recognized merchant actually travelling with his goods, and for the Sultan, state officials and diplomats. Certainly there were *hans* for ordinary travelers in the first half of the 13th century which were called *menzil hans*.

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[85] For example, *Evdir Han* has a double open courtyard *(avlu)* plan. The *Şarapsa Han* has a closed plan. *Kırkgöz* and *Kargı Hanlar* have a combination plan with an open *courtyard (avlu)* and a closed section. *Alara Han,* on the other hand is one of the few Seljuki structures with *eşodaklı* (=concentric) planned

The Seljuk sultans built many important buildings, including mosques, *hans, Mevlevihane*s and *caravanserai*s in Antalya in the 13th century. For example, the *Mevlevihane* and *hammam* included in the *Yivli Minaret* Building Group located in the Seljuk Neighborhood in İçkale, Antalya; as well as the Bali Bey Fountain in the Bali Bey neighborhood have been said by many researchers to date back to the Alaaddin Keykubad I (1228) period (Durukan, 1988: 28). Durukan, as a supporter of the idea that Antalya was among the Anatolian cities where the Mevlevi order spread early, holds that the ground floor of the two storeys *Mevlevihane* was built during the reign of Alaaddin Keykubat I.

Ottoman Period (1391-1923)

Kunt (1997: 46) attributes the fact that Ottoman wars and conquests take up such a large part of written Ottoman history to the fact that "Ottoman society started out as a small frontier principality and spread by transforming incursions into *gaza* and they employed unique expansion policies and management". In the following quotation, a very similar argument about the formation of the Ottoman Empire comes from Halil İnalcık (©1994, 1996: 11):

> The Ottoman State came into existence around 1300 as a small frontier [*uç boyu*] principality which devoted itself to the *gaza,* Holy War, on the frontiers of the Seljukid Sultanate in Asia Minor and of Byzantine Empire. Its initial *gazi* frontier character influenced the state's historical existence for six centuries.

While the Karaman Principality seemed larger and stronger compared to the Ottoman frontier principality in 1350 (Kunt, 1997: 48), by the end of the 1370s, Sultan Murat and his raiders as well as his organized army forces had taken over a considerable part of the Balkan peninsula and become more powerful than any of the other principalities (Ibid.: 51). In 1380, Murat's son Bayezid, married the daughter of the *Germiyanoğulları* (=sons of Germiyan) principal as a young heir to the throne and received a "dowry" of the areas of Kütahya and Simav. Soon after this, *Hamidoğulları* principal sold a large part of his land including Isparta, Beyşehir and Akşehir to Sultan Murat. The Ottomans were able to gain lands through heir weddings or through purchases only because they were the strongest and wealthiest among the other principalities. (Ibid.).

As mentioned before, the *Hamidoğulları* Principality was a Turkmen tribe sent to the area encompassing Eğridir, Isparta and Antalya in 1203-4 by Seljuk Sultan Kılıçarslan III (Çimrin, 2007: 56; Hassan, 1995: 208-9). The principality which divided into two in 1300-1301, Eğridir and Isparta referred to as *Hamid Eli/İli* (Hamid province) being managed by Dündar Bey; and the Antalya area managed by his brother Yunus Bey and referred to as *Teke Eli/İli* (Teke province) (Hassan, 1995: 277). According to Karaca (2008: 2), the name Teke Turkmens comes from the word 'teke'—

meaning 'goat' in Turkish—because for them 'teke' is an important animal for nomads *Teke Eli/İli* (later called the Teke province in the Ottoman period) (Hassan, 1995: 277).

In 1361 the Cypriot king Pierre invaded the center of the *Teke Sancakbeyliği* (province), Antalya, which was reconquered in 1373 by Yunus's grandson, Mübarizeddin Zincirkıran Mehmet Bey, who was followed by his son Osman Çelebi Bey (Moğol, 1997: 50-51; Çimrin, 2006: 57). With the *Hamidoğulları* principality losing its power, during this period, in 1390 the Ottoman Sultan (Yıldırım "Lightning") Beyazıd I closed in on Antalya, which was then led by Osman Çelebi's son Mustafa Bey, who escaped to Egypt and "Antalya became Ottoman land"[86] (Çimrin, 2006: 57; Moğol, 1997: 52). Antalya was put into the safekeeping of Firuz Bey and the 'Teke province' later became a sub-province.[87] It was first headed by Yildirim Beyazid's older son İsa Çelebi, then his other son Mustafa Çelebi (Moğol, 1997: 53).

All the while, Antalya, as one of the chosen winter capital of the Seljuk Sultans, did not lose its administrative importance with the foundation of the Ottoman State. It still retained some of its edge as it was a location where princes were sent to receive training as *Sancak Bey*s under the Anatolian main province till the 17th century (Uzunçarşılı, 1995 [1943] vol. II: 579, vol. III: 396). Historians explain Antalya's relatively decreasing significance with the changes taking place in Anatolian trade traffic (Goffman, 1990: 8-9; Faroqhi, 2008: 1; İnalcık, 1953-4; İnalcık, 1960a; İnalcık, 1960b; İnalcık, 1996: 319; Faroqhi, ©1993, 2004: 6; Faroqhi, 1984: 5; Moğol, 1997: 181). Halil İnalcık (©1994, 1996: 219) provides the following information to support this argument:

> by about 1350, although the center of world trade once again shifted south to the Red Sea, to Egypt and Syria under Memluks, Asian goods particularly raw silk, still followed the old route from Tabriz (or rather Sultaniye which replaced Tabriz under Olcaytu) to the Anatolian ports of Ephesus, Antalya and Trabzon.

Goffman (1990: 8-9) asserts that many merchants opted for transporting their goods along the caravan roads of Anatolia until the Ottomans conquered the Fertile Crescent and Egypt in 1516-17 and Rhodes in 1522. According to Goffman (Ibid.: 9), the conquest of Arab lands opened the rich ports of the Eastern Mediterranean to Ottoman trade and led to a commercial shift southward that bypassed western Anatolia.

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[86] Different sources list varying dates for Antalya's conquest by the Ottomans. For instance, for Durukan (1987: 29) Antalya was conquered during Bayezid the Lightening in 1389.

[87] During the period of expansion between 1360 and 1453, İnalcık (©1994, 1996: 13) argues, the Ottoman administrative set up largely conformed to the military organization, clearly aiming for a centralized system. In this system, *sancaks* or sub-provinces, were placed under military governors known as *Sancak Beyi*. The *sancaks* became a part of the province of either the *Rumeli* or *Anadolu Beylerbeyi* (Rumelia or Anatolia Main Province). According to İnalcık (Ibid.), the frontier forces, led by *Uc Bey*s [*uç*= frontier; *Bey*= Principal/Emir] played a major part in the internal and external affairs of the empire during this expansion period. These forces were organized under hereditary family leaders of the principalities.

Faroqhi (2008: 1; ©1993, 2004: 6; 1984: 5) agrees with Halil İnalcık (1953-4; 1960a; 1960b) with his assertion that "Antalya is out-of-the way of trade." Though Antalya has been surrounded by many small or larger scale *caravanserai*s since the Seljuks and though, as İnalcık (1953-4; 1960a; 1960b cited in Faroqhi, 1984: 5) also mentions, a frequently travelled route partly by land and partly by sea linked Bursa to the spice warehouse of Alexandria by way of Antalya during the Seljuk period, it is difficult to draw the correct path of this route, especially in the early years of the Ottomans. In any case, despite the aforementioned route and *caravanserai*s inside and outside of the city, "Antalya lost its importance in the international trade of Indian spices in the sixteenth century when in 1522 the Ottomans conquered the Rhodes and established a safe, direct [and even a cheap] sea route between İstanbul and the Egyptian ports of Alexandria and Damietta" (İnalcık, 1996: 319; Moğol, 1997: 181; Faroqhi 2008: 1, 2).

In the fifteenth century, the Alexandria-Antalya sea route was also used to import Indian goods to Ottoman Turkey. After the sack of Antalya by the Venetians in 1472, the quantity of species available at this Ottoman port impressed its pillagers (Heyd, 1936, II: 355 quoted in İnalcık, 1996: 317). Pillaging, piracy and shipwrecking might on occasion be connected phenomena. Official records about the captured pirates in 1559-60 (MD3, s. 145, no. 384 [967 '1559-69'] quoted in Faroqhi, ©1993, 2004: 126; Faroqhi, 1984: 101) explain the procedures after a shipwreck. Indeed, the sea shores of the Antalya region had been a shelter for the pirates in the Seljukian period (İbn Bibi, 1957: 99; Erdem, 2003: 293). Therefore, fortifications on the seashore—first constructed during the Kingdom of Pergamum—"might serve as protection for coastal areas against piratical raids" (Faroqhi ©1993, 2004: 125; Faroqhi, 1984: 100). According to Uzunçarşılı (1995, [1943]: 577), the ships of the Ottoman navy were built not only in the Istanbul and Gallipoli dockyards but in Antalya and Adalya as well. İnalcık (1996: 317; 1960b: 146) elaborates on the entries of the Antalya customs at that time:

> The Antalya customs regulation of 1477, confirms that cloth, raw silk, mohair, iron tools, wood and lumber were the principal export items and that spices, sugar and indigo were the principal import items. A detailed journal of customs dated 1560 from the same port shows that spices and dyes were still imported to Antalya but in rather small quantities compared with the large amount of rice, linen and sugar imports. From Tripoli in Syria soap, cotton and olive were shipped in quite large quantities to Antalya.

An Ottoman customs register in Antalya (Satalia), dated 1560 also tells that while white slaves were still then exported to Egypt and Syria in quite substantial numbers, in return black slaves constituted and important part of the imports from those countries (İnalcık, 1985: 38). Faroqhi (2008: 12) also mentions about slave import from Africa dating back from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. Durugönül (2008: 7) states that there are still families of African descent living

in Antalya today but these people have culturally assimilated, speak Turkish and do not know much of their history.

Referring to Evliya Çelebi, Faroqhi (Ibid.: 12-13) further claims that in the seventeenth-century used copper materials gathered from the plains of Antalya region were melted and by the way recycled to be exported to Egypt. According to a customs register of Antalya from the middle of the sixteenth-century, carpets as special export items resulting from the Turkmen Yörüks' economic endeavors, were also among the principal goods exported from the Antalya port to Egypt (Başvekalet Archives, Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler, no. 6222 cited in İnalcık, 1993: 115; Faroqhi, 2008: 13). The Ottoman customs registers of the late 15th and 16th centuries show that Turkish carpets, namely '*Döşemealtı*' carpets woven by the Turkmen Yörüks were exported to Egypt, the Black Sea countries, eastern and central Europe as well as Italy.[88]

Elsewhere, Faroqhi mentions that the goods exported the most were food items, based on the *icmal* (between 1233-1234/1818-1819) and *mufassal* (between the years 1229-1230/1814-1815) records obtained from the 19th century Antalya customs. Furthermore, it is seen from port records kept between 1889-1890 that on its voyage back from Antalya, a large Alexandrian ship carried leather goods (380 pairs of small shoes, 25 pairs of boots, 320 pairs of women's shoes and 55 pairs of small boots). As shown by these records, the cobblers, as members of the *Ahi* organization in the 13th century, were still producing shoes in the 19th century. Based on the Salname-i Konya (Konya, 1286/1869-70: 115 cited in Faroqhi, 1981: 1469), Faroqhi asserts that carpets were still were produced and exported from the Antalya port in the 1860s. It is apparent from the same Salname that silk working still existed in Antalya until the end of the 19th century. Faroqhi also informs us that there were records of Greek Christian and Muslim silk producers in the official *kadı records* in Antalya. However, Planhol (1958: 161; Faroqhi, 1981: 1466) states that toward the 1940s, raising silkworms was not as significant an activity in Antalya anymore.

Above all, as İnalcık (1996: 318-9) asserts, "Wood and lumber exported from Antalya, Alaiye and Finike overshadowed all other traffic with Egypt."[89] For the Turkmen tribes on the mountain range of Taurus from Maraş to Teke the production of lumber and charcoal was a principal economic activity. The group of Turkmen tribes engaged in this activity was known as *ağaç-eri* [=woodmen] or *tahtacı* [=lumbermen] (İnalcık 1960b: 146; 1993: 115; 1996: 319).

There is a common belief among historians that a great number of Turkmen nomad tribes inhabited the Antalya region, or actually the *Teke Sancağı* province, since the first Turkish invasion of

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[88] İnalcık's (1993: 115) note: The Ottoman customs registers and Transylvanian sources leave no doubt as to the existence character of the carpets exported to the northern countries.

[89] Documents prove that the Ottoman state brought an annual revenue from export of lumber, wood and pitch from the port of Antalya and its dependencies amounting to 177,531 akche (about 4000 Venetian gold ducats) over sixteen months and twenty-five days in 1476 and 1477 (İnalcık, 1993: 115).

Anatolia in the last decades of the eleventh century (Vryonis, 1971: 223-44 cited in İnalcık, 1996: 34). While most say that the population know as lumbermen (*ağaç-eri* or *tahtacı*), who lived in Antalya, "were one of the Oguz Turkmen tribes that came to Anatolia following the Malazgirt War in 1071", some hold that "these people were not a single tribe from the Oguz tribe but a group of many tribes (Tanal, 2008: 3). A third view about these lumbermen, who are the subject of a debate on "whether they were a part of the woods or workers", is based on the inscriptions found in the Neisa ruins at the top of Meryemlik Hill where Sütleğen village is located today. These inscriptions were deciphered in 2007 through the archeological work carried out by Sencer Şahin. Tanal, who states that the inscription was written in 134 AD and discussed two Neisa citizens called Artemes and Hermaios were working in a forest owned by a family, says that the lumbermen tradition in Antalya goes back to the second century (Ibid.: 3-4).

Known as *Turkmen* or *Yörük*, Turkish nomads made up about 15 percent of the population in the Anatolian province in the 1520s (this province stretched to a line between Sinop and Antalya Bay in the west (İnalcık, 1996: 34). In fact, the great Yörük concentrations were found in the sub-provinces of Ankara, Kütahya, Menteşe, Aydın, Saruhan, Teke and Hamid. These seven *sancaks* combined had a nomadic population of about 80.000 households (İbid.; İnalcık, 1986a: 45). While the general population growth in western Anatolia from the period 1520-35 to 1570-80 is calculated to have been 42 percent, the growth of the nomadic population was 52 percent, a fact explicable by immigration from the east rather than natural growth (İnalcık, 1986a: 45-46). In fact, İnalcık (1996: 37) suggests that Turkmen nomads constituted an integral part of the sedentary society and fulfilled certain functions crucial for society's survival. However, according to Lindner (1983: 51-74), the Ottoman state recognized this and went on to take measures accommodating the nomads in its imperial system. In Lindner's understanding, the Ottoman state deliberately followed a tax policy aimed at ruining the Turkmen nomads economically so that they had no choice but to become sedentary. The sedentarization of nomads is a long history for the Ottomans. Lindner (1983: 110) explains this long process in the following quotation:

> Osman and Orhan found that the tribal institutions which they had at their disposal enabled them to unite the ex-nomads and x-Byzantines of Bithynia in the troubled times of the later thirteenth century. Their success forced them to face the problem of a growing, more complex and political enterprise, for which the limited ends and means never sufficed. The classical Muslim political institutions, reinforced by the fourteenth century flow of schoolmen into west Anatolia, aided them in this political transformation and clothed at their earlier activities in a religious zealot' habit. The Ottoman leaders moved away from their nomads and became less and more than chiefs in adopting the sultan's robes. They no longer served or represented nomadic tribesman; instead they ruled their nomadic subjects.

According to Lindner (1983: 105) Ottomans hoped that their fellow tribesmen would become more malleable subjects but the nomad once valued as a military specialist, became a

potential enemy, so "Ottomans had been attempting to control the nomads" since the time of Osman I. Similar to Lindner's argument Faroqhi (2006: 115; Orhonlu, 1963;) suggests that central administration had always focused on the sedentarization of the *Yörük Turkmen* tribes in habitual places where available.

Wanting to control the nomad population, Lindner (1983: 54) suggests, the Ottomans tried to define and describe the impact of Ottoman rule on the nomads in their administrative regulations and cadastres, providing substantial documentation. According to Lindner (Ibid.), the Ottoman regulations set out, first,

> to describe the nomad, to define and set him apart from the other subjects of the sultan. For this definition the secretaries picked out those facets of nomadic life which struck them as important—or threatening. The *kanuns* [laws] generally call the nomads *yürük*, from the verb *yürümek*, to walk or wander. Seeking an explicit definition for administrative purposes, they contrast nomads with the sedentary bureaucrat's model subject, the settled farmer.

"Yürük" was originally an administrative word commonly used for nomads of various origins who arrived in Ottoman controlled lands during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and who, over time, appropriated this name for themselves (İnalcık, 1993: 103). İnalcık (Ibid.) also argues that in Anatolian Turkish, the words used for nomads are derived from *yürü-* or *yörü-*(to walk), or from the root *göç-*(to move from one place to another, to migrate). Thus, *yörük, yürük* or *göçer* are interchangeably used to define the nomads in Ottoman texts.

An eighteenth-century regulation of Sultan Ahmet III (1703-1730) further distinguished between nomad and Ottoman: "As for the *yürüks* leading a nomadic life, they are not the subjects of any man. Wherever they may go, they pay their dues to the *sipahi* of the village in whose name they and their group are registered" (a *kanun* from Çemişgezek, 948/1541-1542; Tuncer, 1965: 104; Barkan, 1943: 190 quoted in Lindner, 1983: 54).

The internal governance of nomad tribes was also alien to the experience and expectations of Ottoman bureaucrats: "The class of *yürüks* is a wondering one. They have no fixed homes nor special relations with the provincial governors. Their own chiefs are their own police. If a *yürük* commits a crime, after the judges have established this they leave punishment up to the *yürük*'s own police, and this is the imperial order" (Tuncer, 1965: 110 quoted in Lindner, 1983: 54). As Lindner (Ibid.) argues the tribal chiefs were the point of contact between them and the Ottoman government.

Faroqhi's brilliant book *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520-1650* about the urban development of Ottoman cities covering the time-span over hundred years, is entirely based on various recordings, such as "Ottoman tax

registers"[90] (*Tapu Tahrir,* TT) and Registers of 'Important Affairs'[91] (*Mühimme Defterleri,* MD) compiled mainly during the fifteenth and the sixteenth century. As mentioned above, Ottoman *Tapu Tahrir* (TT) registers were prepared for fiscal purposes, they list taxpayers rather than the population as a whole. All adult males were considered taxpayers, unless they had been granted an exemption because of their services to the central administration (*askeri*) (Faroqhi, 1984: 10). Moreover in the practical absence of data on Ottoman family and household size, general population figures remain largely a matter of conjecture. Barkan (1951-53: 12 quoted in Faroqhi, 1984: 10) "once suggested a household multiplier of five," which has also been adopted in Faroqhi's and often in other historians' studies.

Official reports recorded in TTs show that the census carried every 30-40 years in the 16th century lists the revenue sources for the villages, towns and cities (Faroqhi, 2008: 2). For instance, Trabzon numbered about 2.100 taxpaying inhabitants and may thereby have held a population of about ten thousand while Sinop [TK (*Tapu Kadastro*) 200, p. 90b f. (990/1582) cited in Faroqhi, 1984: 75] should have been even smaller. Nothing definite can be said about Antalya, but in terms of urban population it was probably closer to Sinop than to Trabzon (Jennings, 1976: 45 cited in Faroqhi, 1984: 75; ©1993, 2004: 93; Faroqhi, 2008: 2). She believes that the reason for this lack of documentation on Antalya was that it was 'far from the center', actually from the capital Istanbul. With regard to her own research, Faroqhi claims that no late sixteenth-century register survives concerning Antalya, but the taxpaying population amounted to 690 (TT 166, [p. 575/9371530-1] cited in Faroqhi, 2008: 2). When it is multiplied with five, a similar calculation for the years between 1530 and 1531, however, would put the total population count at 3500.

Karaca's studies demonstrate results approximating this estimate. Karaca (2008: 8) asserts that the population in Antalya was about 1,020 in 1455; 3,866 in 1530; and between 3,681 and 4,890 in 1568. The city population in Antalya was about 9,000-10,000 in 1754, about 15,000-18,000 in 1832, about 14,000 in 1837, 25,000 in 1882, and about 42.130 in 1901-02. For Karaca, in the Teke province, the other places that distinguish themselves from rural areas through the income sources of their inhabitants and the economic activities and resemble centers are Antalya, İstanos (Korkuteli), Elmalı, Kaş, Kalkanlı and Karahisar-ı Teke. These settlements were defined as town centers in the administrative set up in the 16th century (Ibid: 5) As mentioned at the beginning of this part, Antalya was first established within the city walls what is known today as Kaleiçi. The residential areas later extended toward Bali Bey Mosque and Murat Paşa Mosque. According to

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[90] Ottoman tax registers (*Tapu Tahrir*) containing names of taxpayers and the amount of certain taxes to be paid by towns, villages and nomads as collectivities,

[91] Registers of 'Important Affairs' (*Mühimme Defterleri*) containing rescripts sent out in the name of the Ottoman Sultan, both to foreign rulers and to provincial administrators.

Karaca, there were three neighborhoods in Antalya in 1455 and about 140-150 stores with revenues belonging to various waqfs or foundation in Antalya. Referring to official records he asserts that Antalya consisted of 20 neighborhoods in 1530, 39 in 1568, 38 in 1754, and 47 in 1837. He holds according to these same sources that the non-Muslim population was quite small in the Teke Province of the 15th and 16th centuries (Ibid.: 6-7).

Between the 15th and the 16th centuries the Antalya city grew outside the city walls around the City Gate to the North. From the 15th to the 19th centuries, the population of the city was between 15, 000 and 20,000 (*Antalya Kıyı Yerleşimleri*, 1996: 58). Erten (1997: 89) states that in 1770, 1798 and 1799, when Napoleon invaded Egypt, Egyptians escaping to Antalya formed one fifth of the town. According to Erten's data, some other populations that moved to Antalya were Moreans in 1822-23, Cretans in 1897 and some Tatars and Circassians in 1913 along with Skopjen migrants.

According to Faroqhi (1984: 75; ©1993, 2004: 93) as a glance at the map of Anatolia (see the Map, in Figure 3) during the second half of the sixteen century will show, most large cities lay inland, at some distance from the sea. Aside from Trabzon, Sinop and possibly Antalya, there were no sizeable urban settlements possessing a port. She thinks that even these three towns were of relatively modest proportions. Based on the data put forth in Ottoman registry books, Karaca (2008.: 8-9) maintains that the port and the customs revenues played an important part in the city's social and economic development. But he suggests that the relatively low population of Antalya, which did not increase much until the nineteenth century, can be explained by the fact that the city did not develop very much even though it was a coastal town, as the port did not meet the expectations. Concerning the reason for this conclusion, one might adduce local causes, such as the malaria problem which made Antalya as well as the whole Aegean and Mediterranean lowlands difficult to inhabit during the summer (Faroqhi, 1984: 290; ©1993, 2004: 355). But much more decisive was probably the impact of İstanbul. Halil İnalcık (İnalcık, 1973: 128; Faroqhi, Ibid.) has pointed out that the port of Antalya prosperous throughout the later Middle Ages, lost its importance once the Ottoman conquest of Egypt and Rhodes led to the opening of a direct sea route from Alexandria to İstanbul. The direct link from Alexandria to İstanbul resulted in a decrease in the frequency of the use of the caravan routes and *caravanserai*s inside and outside of Antalya.

Faroqhi (Ibid.: 289-290; Ibid.: 355) also asserts that maritime trade was relatively unimportant for the urbanization of Anatolia. Except for Trabzon, no port town even came close to 10.000 inhabitants at the end of the sixteenth century; Trabzon and Sinop were the only settlements which contained more than a thousand tax-payers. Rather, she (©1994, 1996: 484) believes that caravan routes were the lifelines of interregional trade, particularly the 'diagonal route' from İstanbul to Aleppo and the 'northern caravan route' leading from İstanbul to Erzurum and the Iranian frontier by way of Tokat. Faroqhi claims that "caravans were more important than river traffic for

linking together different regions of the empire." Antalya, between İstanbul and Aleppo seemed to have protected its strategic importance for a short period with the *caravanserai*s inside and outside of the city.

Faroqhi (1984: 26) examines the Ottoman cities in three categories. According to her, all cities in category I possessed one covered market (*bedestan*), a building for commercial function. Among the settlements of category II, more than one *bedestan* appears, generally known by the city dwellers as an "old" or "new" *bedestan*. In the third category, towns that possess no covered market were generally credited with one or two *han*(s), also known as *caravanserai*s.

Broadly speaking, the number of *han*s in a given city should indicate its commercial importance (Faroqhi, 1984: 28-29). In Faroqhi's description, certain isolated shops belonging to one and the same *vakıf* (waqf) but located in different parts of a given city may have been built and donated by one and the same founder. According to Faroqhi, more than a hundred 'isolated' waqf shops in the sense of definition existed in the cities of Ankara, Konya, Tokat, Niğde, Kütahya, Bergama, Tire, Afyon and Antalya (Ibid.: 35). In addition to Bursa, and Kayseri, Antalya is one of the cities for its numerous *han*s and *çarşı*s, constituted the fully developed commercial centers of western and central Anatolia. Besides the remarkable cities like Konya, Ankara and Kütahya, in Antalya and Niğde—the two exceptions—the majority of all waqf-owned shops were located inside larger foundation complexes.

As for Antalya; this center of the *Teke Sancakbeyi* province can be classified as a 'city' in the Ottoman period because of its certain functional characteristics. As described by Faroqhi (1984: 10; ©1993, 2004: 12), in terms of administrative rank, a given town must first be on record as a seat for a *sancakbeyi* or at least of a *kadı*. Second, marketing activities must be documented by the existence of appropriate taxes. Furthermore, at least ideally, evidence concerning business premises should prove that most of the population earns its living outside of agriculture.

During the Ottoman era, Antalya was a district of the Konya province, while in the spring of 1913 became a separate *mutasarrıflık* called *Teke Sancağı* (the Teke District) (*Antalya Kıyı Yerleşmeleri,* 1996: 59). With this new arrangement, it became a province under the Ottoman sultan with a *kadı*, seven mosques, a hospital, about ten schools, a courthouse as well as post and customs offices. With the same arrangement, the Greeks had their metropolitics, four churches, twelve schools of various levels and firehouses. The same year, Italy and the Austrian-Hungarian Empire opened consulates in Antalya. Following World War I, Antalya was occupied on April 1919 by the Italians. In early 1921, the Italians began to withdraw and by 5 July 1921 Antalya was completely free of Italian occupation (Kıvran and Uysal, 1992: 34).

5.2. A Spatial Development Overview [92]

In this section, parallel to the periodization of the Turkish urban experience in Turkey an attempt at periodization of urban experience in Antalya (Table 5.1) can be drawn as follows:

- 1923-1950: The commercial, service and administrative center of the agricultural hinterland. The construction of public buildings (the governor's building, schools, etc.)

- 1950-1970: Industrialization based on public investments and increase in population via migration,

- 1970-1985: The problem of increase in population via migration and resulting squatter housing, the search for suitable city planning measures. Plans for the first integrated tourism industry project in Turkey through the GATGP with state support, and infrastructure investments during the implementation of the plan

- 1985-1999: Transition from agricultural industrial development to a state supported tourism industry; the search for private capitalists to invest with tourism incentives, the 49 year leasing of coastal and forest areas

- 1999-2004: Third Way Urbanism (see Chapter 7)

- 2004-2009: Neoliberal Urbanism (see Chapter 7)

1923-1950: The Commercial, Service and Administrative Center

After the foundation of the Turkish Republic, the 1/500 and 1/2000 scale maps and also the 1/2000 plan of the city have prepared by constructor İskarpa (Güçlü-Özen, 2002: 39). During this period there were 39 quarters in the city. As in all the provincial unit in Turkey, in the early republican period since the "territorialization and urbanization of the nation-state" (see also sub-section 4.2) became the major issue of the new Republic, urbanization in Antalya led by the state in the process of nation-state formation, with an effort to make the citizens of the new Republic forget all the traces of the Ottoman period in social, spatial and cultural dimensions. In order for training those subjects as citizens, educating them as the professionals in the future, for instance in 1924 education had become a compulsory public service and the new Ministry of Education became responsible for this service. Most of the school buildings left over from the non-Muslims leaving Antalya were used as Ministry of National Education schools at differing levels. (Çimrin, 2007: 415, 416, 423).

During World War II, Antalya had been surprisingly constructed, improved and beautified by the co-operation of government and the people living in Antalya (Va la Nureddin, 1944: 8).[93]

However, during the years between 1939 and 1944, due to the war and consequently to the economic saving providents, construction and housing policies were decelerated even in the capital city. During the administration of Haşim İşcan, the governor of the province in the years between 1940 and 1944, parks, streets, play grounds had been constructed to beautify and improve Antalya. The most famous of these is the Karaalioglu Park, built by Architect Necmi Ateş in what used to be a swamp and a breeding ground for mosquitoes (Çimrin, 2007: 546). Ataturk Park, which, even today, represents Antalya's urban identity, Ataturk Street and the canal it forms by directing the water around the castle through the middle of the road, and work like the pergolas in Inonu Park belong to governor Haşim İşcan. In addition, during this period, the İnönü Primary School, The Girls' Institute, the maternity hospital and the City Library were built (Ibid.).

Although Antalya was famous for the Malaria disease in the Ottoman period, since the beginning of 1940s, it has become a center of attraction and fascination (Ibid.: 110). For instance, in 1944, Va la Nureddin (1944: 20) had cordially invited his readers to settle in Antalya especially for winter times. For him, Antalya was an ideal place to live in the houses surrounded by the orange gardens in those years.

1950-1970: The Industrialization based on Public Investments and the Population Increase via Migration

During this period the urbanization experience of Antalya can be described as "urbanization of labor power" (Şengül, 2003: 158-59) because in the postwar period between 1950-1980 the rapid migration of the surplus labor due to the modernization of the agricultural sector in the rural areas began to form large labor pools in Antalya too. In Göymen's terms, in the first period between 1923 and 1959, the *Étatist* Period, economic development is supported and executed by the State and for the security measures the State also attempted to apply "industrial insemination" in the distant places of Anatolia (Rivkin, 1964; Göymen, 1976).

In Antalya the first squatter housing dates back to the early 1950s. This report states that the first mass and intensive squatter housing in Antalya occurred parallel to the founding of the factory and explains the process as given below:

> With the establishment of the Ferro-Chrome Factory in 1957, the Cotton Textile Factory and
> Kepez (Municipality) Electric Plant in 1961 and the sustained development of the production

[93] In the booklet of the *Antalya'yı Güzelleştirme, İmar ve Tanıtma Cemiyeti Nizamnamesi,* it is especially denoted that the Antalya'yı Güzelleştirme, İmar ve Tanıtma Cemiyeti (the Society of Beautifying, Building and Promoting Antalya) was established in August 14 1940 by initiator Haşim İşcan, the governor of the province between the years 1940 and 1945. The aim of the society is described as follows in Article 3: "The aim of the society is to contribute to building and beautifying of the city of Antalya within the city borders as seen fit by the Building Ministry construction plans and the Municipality. The Society also aims to present Antalya and its surroundings to our country as a most beautiful winter and water city comprising many beauties of nature within the confines of the construction plans."
Va la Nureddin wrote that "since its founding until February of 1944 the Society spent a total of 330,000 Liras on its work" (Va'nu, 1944: 30).

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industry from 10 people/unit in 1964 to 11, 37 in 1971, and 46 in 1978 resulted in the innocent and well-intentioned construction of squatter housing to fulfill the shelter needs of people working in what was the main industry. These squatter housing or *gecekondu* neighborhoods were: Erenköy, Kepez and Ahatlı (*Antalya Kıyı Yerleşmeleri* [*Antalya Coastal Settlements*], 1996: 89).

Parallel to the foundation of the factories, the spatial formation in the city and accordingly the change in the traditional identity of the city began in the early 1950s. The first city plans were made by İller Bankası (the Provincial Bank) and were approved by the Construction Ministry in 1957 (*Antalya Kıyı Yerleşmeleri*, 1996: 67; Güçlü-Özen, 2002: 39; *Çevre Düzeni Planına Doğru,* 2006: 7). This plan was limited to Bahçelievler to the west along with *Kaleiçi*, Şarampol to the north and the Yenikapı neighborhoods to the east. According to the Chamber of Architects Antalya Branch, important mistakes were made during the pre-research reports, with erroneous and inconsistent calculations when the data about the city was being assessed and various scientific methods were used to predict future figures (residential needs of the population, lands necessary for industrial and tourism investments, etc). As a result of these errors, the city of Antalya, actually very hot during the summers as a coastal town, was designed as a land-locked city, which led to tall residential buildings along Konyaalti Street to deprive the city of the much needed cool sea breezes in the summer.

In 1965, decisions were made to renew the plan, but this time the Municipality decided to have a private office do this rather than İller Bankası, The contract for the plan was awarded to city planner Bülent Berksan in 1969, but the planning was halted in 1973 and the contract annulled in 1974. Only modifications were made to the previous plan during this period.

1970-1985: The increase in the population and squatter housing due to migration, state supported tourism investments for infrastructure and superstructure within the GATGP

The necessity for an Antalya Construction Plan was on the agenda again in 1976. In 1977, another city planner, Zühtü Can was given the contract. First, work was carried out on the Master Plan and the plan prepared with the Antalya Municipality Planning office was ratified in 1980. Following the Master plan, the 1/1000 Implementation Construction Plans were made. Until 1994, urbanization continued within the context of these plans through revisions and annexes. The 1/5000 scale Master plan, which was completed in 1979 and ratified in 1980, was quite scientific based on the conditions of the period. It foresaw, based on extensive research that 650,000 people would move into the city in 2000. However, according to the Chamber of Architects Antalya Branch, the plan writer Zühtü Can did not stand up for his plan and with amendments made, the plan became null and void.

Following the approval of the Antalya Master Plan, the Military Administration of 12 September 1980 integrated Çakırlar, Varsak, Altınova and Güzelyalı Municipalities into the Antalya Municipality. Therefore, the plan which was ratified in 1980 within that same year proved inadequate with this sudden enlargement of the Municipality. Thus, the Organized Industry Region, the Antalya Airport, Lara Beach and the two Çalticak Coves came under the jurisdiction of the Antalya Municipality. They were later taken away from Antalya on the condition that the Varsak Municipality, Düden Waterfalls would stay within the Antalya Municipality. According to these new city limits, a new, 1/25,000 scaled Master Plan was begun in 1981 and this plan was ratified in 1982. During this process, the 1/1000 scaled Construction Implementation Plan work continued.

Antalya, which developed until the 1980s as an agriculture and port city, turned into a tourism center planned at the 1970 as Turkey's first integrated tourism industry, rapidly receiving migrants with the Southern Antalya Tourism Development Project implemented in the early 1980s. With the rapid migration it received in the 1990s, the squatter housing (*gecekondu*s)[94] phenomenon in Antalya resulted in a messy and unhealthy environment (MOAŞ, 1996: 63). The *gecekondu*s (shanty housing) which appeared in Antalya in the 1960s and 1970s to fulfill a well-intimate need for shelter were at first concentrated around the factories, which were not that many. However, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, they were replaced by speculative *gecekondu* (Ibid.: 63-64). As in other Turkish cities receiving large concentrations of migration, there were increases in *gecekondu*s built prior to local elections, and the foundation and state lands around Antalya were plundered to a large extent. Informants R23, R24 and R21 say the following about the migration to Antalya:

> **R23:** *Now look, Antalya is going through such culture shock. Why? Because it was a small Anatolian town on the coast until the 1970s. After 70, 75, it started getting lively but what started after 75 was actually the bed and breakfast movement. It can't really be called tourism. It was a place where the adventurous ones came, those who had discovered it. For example, Kaş is like. Those who come are the ones who discovered it between 75 and 80 and these are very authentic places. But later, after them, the places boomed in 1980-83. The population was about 1 million in 1983, or maybe 1.2 million, now it'ss2.7 million. How did this happen? Rapid economic activity began and brought about an incredible construction sector, which attracted a great deal of labor force. They think it was only retired pensioners, because Antalya began getting popular. You can live there without any heating in the winter; your heating bill is nonexistent. There are two problematic months, July and August, so pensioners go back to where they came from in those two months anyway. There is a tradition of going up to a plateau in this region [during the hot months]. This is true for the entire Mediterranean region. The natives, all the people on the coast including the towns they go to the*

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[94] The central government has promulgated the Law no. 775 on Squatter Houses as of 27. 7. 1966. According to provisions included thereunder, "the squatter houses would be protected in their own residential territory or as an alternative the squatters would be transferred to the lands whose infrastructural works have fully been completed referred to as the <u>Squatter Preventive Area</u>" for the purpose of the project. However due to the least possibility of its application, a further Law (no. 2981) was set forth in 1984 supporting and enhancing this law as well as legalizing the construction of such houses for the period of application. This move, however led to supplementary Laws (no. 3290 and 3366) for the purpose of upgrading some of the provisions of previous laws which have some obstacles for the implementation to comply the prevailing conditions of the present day. According to the laws in their entirety, settlement plans focusing on the protection of the present situation in the squatter residential areas have been prepared, and by these, the squatter houses have obtained <u>legal rights</u>.

plateaus in the summer. Then with the liveliness in construction, trade got stronger along with tourism. It makes sense; these sectors call for trade. Many domestic and international companies set up headquarters here.[95]

R24: *Of course, because Antalya developed rapidly, it got a lot of migration. When I was here in 1978, there were direct buses from Diyarbakır to Antalya. Yes, in 78. So people were flocking here. There were so many bundles; when the bus stopped and the trunk was opened, it was full of bundles with pillows and comforters. There was a lot of migration. Of course, the north side of Antalya, the Kepez district is still another Antalya. There is some sort of urban life there. The culture there needs to be merged with this one. The culture there needs to be brought here and vice versa.[96]*

R21: *Let me just say that due to its climate, Antalya was mostly a place where retired pensioners and those who long for nature came to live, with an economy almost entirely based on agriculture. After 1980, tourism started getting into Antalya and this climate before the 80s transformed into migration after 1980. Since 80, 'it is a city based on tourism; where the most important sector is tourism of course I don't think it is right for it to be a city based solely on tourism; agriculture needs to be supported too. Antalya should be a tourism education city.[97]*

1985-1999: Transition to a state supported tourism industry and the search for private capitalists to invest with tourism incentives and the 49 year leases of coastal and forest lands. Flirting with Liberalism

The tourism sector, which was only guided completely by state support between 1970 and 1982, gained impetus with the 2634 numbered Tourism Support Act, which went into effect in 1982, causing the tourism sector in Antalya to develop rapidly, accompanied by the increase in capacity of the commercial and service trades. This rapid development inevitably increased the migration to Antalya. The growth of the city surpassed all expectations in 1985 and the population boomed. With its efforts to carve its place in the European tourism market, Antalya was represented as an appealing place of retirement for natives and foreigners, rendering the 1/25,000 scaled Antalya Master Plan ratified in 1981 inadequate and requiring revision.

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[95] **R23:** Şimdi bakın Antalya öyle bir kültür şoku yaşıyor ki, neden yaşıyor bunu? Antalya küçük bir Anadolu kasabasıydı. Sahilde bir Anadolu kasabasıydı 1970'lere kadar. 70'ten sonra, 75'ten sonradır hareketin başlaması ama 75'ten sonra başlayan harekette aslında pansiyonculuktur. Turizm denmez ona. Meraklılar, keşfedenlerin geldiği bir yerdir. Kaş'ta öyledir mesela. 75'le 80 arası keşfedenler geliyor ve acayip otantik yerlerdir. Ama ondan sonra, bu keşfedenlerden sonra 80-83, ondan sonra bir patlama yaşanıyor. Nüfus neredeyse, işte ne diyorum size 83'ten bu yana belki 83'te bir milyondu veya bir milyon ikiyüz bindi şimdi iki milyon yediyüz bin. Nasıl oldu? Büyük bir ekonomik faaliyet başladı. Ekonomik faaliyet şunu getirdi beraberinde. Bir kere korkunç bir inşaat sektörü oluştu. İnşaat sektörü korkunçlaşınca ve çoğalınca, korkunç bir işgücü gelmeye başladı. İşte sanırlarki sadece emekliler, emekliler gelmeye başladı, arkasından, Antalya çünkü herkese popüler gelmeye başladı. Kışın bir şey ısıtmadan yaşıyorsunuz bu kentte, ısınma gideriniz minimumda. Sıkıntılı iki ay var temmuz-ağustos, e zaten emekliyse yazında geldiği yere gidiyor iki ay. Bir yaylacılık geleneği var bu bölgede. Bütün Akdeniz'de var bu yaylacılık geleneği. Yerlisi falan, bütün sahilindeki insanlar, kasabaları da dahil Antalya'nın ilçelerine yazın yaylalara giderler. Arkasından bu korkunç bir hareket getirince inşatta, turizmle birlikte bu sefer ticaret çok güçlendi. Öyle ya bu sektörlerin ticarete ihtiyacı var. Ulusal, uluslar arası birçok şirket burada merkez oluşturdular.

[96] **R24:** Antalya tabi çok hızlı geliştiği için, çok büyük göç aldı. Ben 1978'de buradayken Diyarbakırdan Antalyaya direk otobüs seferleri vardı. Evet 78'de. Yani akın akın insan geliyordu. Denkten geçilmiyordu otobüs açıldığı zaman bagajından devamlı denkler çıkıyordu, yani yorganı yastığı çıkıyordu. Çok büyük göç aldı. Tabi Antalya'nın işte bugün hala kuzey tarafı, yani Kepez bölgesi tarafı Antalyanın bir ötekisidir. Bir kent yaşamı orda sürüyor. İşte bu kent yaşamındaki kültürü de burayla kaynaştırmak lazım. Buradaki kültürü oraya, ordaki kültürü buraya getirmek lazım.

[97] **R21:** Şöyle söyleyim yani Antalya kenti önceleri iklimi nedeniyle daha çok emeklilerin, doğaya, doğada yaşamayı isteyenlerin yaşadıkları, ekonomisi tamamen tarıma dayalı birkent. 1980'den sonra hızla turizmin antalyaya girmesiyle başlayan, 80'den önce başlayan işte bu iklim nedeniyle göç 80'den sonra turizm nedeniyle göçe dönüştü. 80'den bu güne kadarda turizm üzerine kurulmuş, en önemli sektörü turizm olmuş bir kent. Tabi bize göre antalyanın tek başına turizm kenti olması doğru değil, tarımında desteklenmesi gerekir. Antalya bir turizm eğitim kenti olmalıdır.

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For these reasons, keeping in mind the 1/25,000 Master Plan, revisions were planned in 1992 involving the reorganization of city outfitting and residential spaces, foreseeing that by 2010 the population would reach 1,500,000. Due to the speculative pressure it received in the city, it was decided that the plan ratified in 1992 would be revised yet again. The strongest of these pressures was regarding fertile agricultural lands being turned into residential areas. Following these developments, planning activities commenced in 1994, taking the city and its proximity into account.

In 1994, as the city became a Metropolitan Municipality, it was decided that a new Master Plan would be made. The planning work was carried out by a private planning company [Utta Ltd. Şirket]. According to MOAŞ, during the term of this Municipal Governance, 'wrong decisions'[98] taken by the AGM Assembly the 1/25000 Zoning Plan was again taken in the wrong direction and new problems were added to the revision plan (MOAŞ, 1996: 72-73).

In 1995, the 1/25,000 scaled Master zoning plan was approved by the Antalya Greater City Municipality. The plan estimated that by 2015, there would be 1,754,000 inhabitants in the city and around it; and drew a north-bound development and locations were selected for the necessary functions in and around the city.

Between 1985 and 1995, the agenda of the Antalya Municipal Assembly consisted mostly of plan revisions. Municipal assemblies explain their plan revision decisions with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism's memorandum numbered 49500 and dated 26.12.1985 sent to the governors' and mayors' offices concerning encouraging tourism within the scope of the Tourism Support Act, which aimed to support tourism and simply increase bed capacity. In this memorandum, the contribution tourism makes to the national economy is highlighted and followed by the statements below:

> Projects and zoning amendment proposals for the purpose of increasing the bed capacity of existing or impending touristic resorts should be resolved as affirmatively as possible, those entrepreneurs wanting to add floors or buildings should be given zoning permits and special repairs should be permitted …" (*Antalya Kıyı Yerleşmeleri,* 1996: 105).

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[98]Some of the wrong decisions made by the AGM Assembly regarding City Planning after 1990 according to MOAŞ are below(*Antalya Kıyı Yerleşmeleri,* 1996: 72-73):

Some lands belonging to cooperatives in the eastern and northern parts of the city will be opened to construction with additional zoning permits as per the AGM Assembly decision dated 02.07.1992 and numbered 191.

The residential areas on Mevlana Street, Burhanettin Onat Street, Kızılırmak Street, Evliya Çelebi Street, Kızılırmak Street, Fatih Street and the Ring road can now have more storeys and density as per the AGM Assembly decision dated 27.10.1992 and numbered 444.

The green areas outside the area in the city known as the 'Factory District' where the Weaving and Battery Factories are located have been rezoned as residential areas by MOAŞ as per the AGM Assembly decision.

In sum, due to the high annuity on land in Antalya, the municipal assembly decisions changed the plans to the detriment of the public.[99] According to MOAŞ, the most important of the wrong decisions during this term regarding planning was the decision allowing the development of the green land used as forestation in the Antalya city center and olive grove in the area known as the Muratpaşa Foundation Farm given in detail below.[100] As a result of the protocol signed between the AGM and the Foundations General Directorate (VGM) and the decisions taken at the Municipal Assembly, most of the lands under the possession of the VGM and which should be used to benefit the public have been turned into residential zones with index E= 1,20 and commercial areas with E= 2,00 density. Another bad decision concerns the 'Lara Coastline', which will provide incorrect data for the 1994 Master Plan and require revision. In the previous plans, the Lara coastline had been declared a tourism resort area, but was subsequently turned into a residential zone with a series of decisions made by the Municipal Assembly between 1992 and 1993 as if the city no longer had tourism related expectations. (MOAŞ, 1996: 74-75).

Lara Region[101]

Between 1960 and 1970, at a time when tourism in Turkey was only just being planned, the coasts were severed from the city in the Antalya zoning plans, and no plans were made for the public use of the shores with the exception of the Lara and Konyaaltı beaches. The first serious planning for the Lara Cliff Region was the 1/5000 scaled Antalya Master Zoning Plan, the work on which began in 1977 and received approval in 1980. According to this plan, the 150m wide 8.5km long coast line where the Lara Cliffs are located were defined as a Natural Preservation Area. The first section of this coast line would be used for green and beach areas open to the public, and the second would be used for tourism resorts to increase the coast line utilization rate and residential areas toward the rear. To allow for the construction of resorts with about 10,000 bed capacity,

[99] The authority to approve Master Zoning Plans was given to local administrations with the law dated 3194 with its annexed regulations. With this law, local governments were able to make amendments to plans on their own in contrast to the plans they had approved themselves and started making decisions impacting the structuration of the entire city. The agendas of municipal assembly's were always full of 'Zoning Plan Amendments' between 1985 and 1993. However, while the authority of approval was given to local governments, the regulations of the same law requires that the need for any amendments be detailed with arising needs and problems as well as their solutions.

[100] The AGM assembly has passed the decision dated 08.02.1993 and 09.04.1993 and numbered 182 for the construction of a complex comprising a hospital, school, dormitory and technical service units made up of 50-44-32 storey structures. However, this decision was reversed by administrative procedure.

[101] The Lara region is a coastal region to the east of the city, made of two types of natural formation, sand and rocks, with a length of 18.5 km. The 10km long shore broadens in places to 250m and the sandy area is followed by the 'Lara Beach' area covered by Kundu forests. The remaining 8.5 km long coast is the Lara Cliffs area, where there are 10-35m high cliffs and small and large beaches with suitable inclines. The area on the Lara Cliffs band, called 'Lara Shelters' today, and a large area around it was planned as a residential area, but no other planning decision was made for the area. However, after 1970 some plan amendments and localized plans allowed for the construction of some touristic resorts. Moreover, a localized plan was made which included the Karpuzkaldıran Military Camp area and summer homes built by Örnekköy Building Cooperative (*Antalya Kıyı Yerleşmeleri,* 1996: 96).

compulsory parceling between minimum 1000 m² and 5000 m² according to the property design and the natural structure was passed.

However, between 1980 and 1984, the subject of changing the Natural Preservation Site decree on the Lara Cliff Region was brought up by the High Council on the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Assets. With the influence of the liberal winds blowing around the world, in 1984, the Antalya Municipal Assembly decided to revise the Lara Cliff Region Zoning Plans because the Culture and Tourism Ministry changed its tourism investment policies, saying touristic resorts had to have a direct connection to the sea to encourage private enterprises to invest in touristic resorts.[102]

The nearly 10 km long Lara Beach area was added to the Antalya Municipality jurisdiction in 1980. In 1984, the Ministry declared it a 'Tourism Center' and started planning work in 1985. This area was later given the status 'Tourism Space' and in 1986, the Master Zoning Plan was prepared by the municipality in accordance with the ministry's principles at a scale of 1/5000. With this plan, a total of 65,000 bed capacity was created with 27,500 reserved for touristic resorts, 5000 for camping tourism, 12,000 for tent tourism and 20,500 for public tourism.

5.3.   Kaleiçi (Inner-Castle) District [103]

Strabon, who lived in the 1st century BC, states in *Geographika Antique Anatolian Geography,* his book thought to date back to 64-63 BC, that the city of Attaleia gets its name from its founder, Attalos Philadelphos (158-138 BC). According to Sönmez, during the second phase of the Castle of the City of Antalya, the north and south settlements exceeded their walls, bringing them closer together. The Pergamum King Attalos the 2nd formed a new city by joining these two small cities on this important sea way. The north city functioned as an Acropolis with its temples. During the merger of the north and south cities towards becoming Attaleia, new walls surrounding the city were built, and the ports of the two towns were conjoined (Figure 5.3). An agora and an amphitheater

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[102] The main principle of the revision plans which commenced in 1985 was to adhere to the zoning plan in force at the time, but in the areas reserved for touristic facilities, each parcel was to be given a shore and was to be no smaller than 5000 m². Furthermore, a note was added to the plan stating, "no construction can be carried out before the area reserved for public areas has been transferred to the public". Moreover, to prevent the resorts to be built from blocking off the sea, limitations were brought to the side of the resorts facing the sea and the restriction which was 150m in 1980, was decreased to 30 m from the cliffs onwards and construction as well as excavation was prohibited in this area that was declared a Natural Preservation Site The index was suggested as 0.60, but later this index was increased by the Antalya Municipal Assembly to 0.80 based on the Tourism Ministry's principle of increasing the construction area standard per bed in 1986 when the 2 November 1995 dated and 3194 numbered Zoning Act regulations gave the planning and approval authority to local administrations. (*Antalya Kıyı Yerleşmeleri,* 1996: 97).

[103] Unless another source has been cited, the information in this section has been summarized from Sönmez's (2008: 33-36) work titled *Antalya Kenti Kalesi'nin Tarihi (the History of the Castle of the city of Antalya),* which comprises Sonmez's compilation from various historians' accounts of Kaleiçi and its surrounds, where the city of Antalya was founded and which he examines in seven stages.

were built between the two towns. Also, a second wall was built from the city's north gate to the Varoş gate. As all the history of modern urbanism, the history of Antalya city has been a process of "wall building" (Sennett, 1990: xii; Stevenson, 2003: 109) in the Kaleiçi area (Figure 5. Born as a Greek *polis,* Attalia had provided a model and a way of thinking within the limits of *polis* as a 'cultural form' and later extended its limits with its multi-layer cultures.

In 133 BC., following the death of the Pergamum king Attalos III, the city of Attaleia was given over to the Roman Empire as per the deceased king's will. Tiberius (14-17AD.), who was the Roman Emperor after Augustus, built the Gate known as the Tiberius Gate immediately outside the walls in the north and northwest of the city, which was now in its third phase, as well as the Side road with the columns to the east. It is believed that the city's rulers lived in this area during this phase.

In the fourth phase of the city, Hadrianus (117-138 AD.), the Roman Emperor stops by Atteleia on his Eastern Mediterranean journey and becomes the patron of this city like all of the others he visits. He has the walls from Varoş Gate to Hıdırlık Tower (Picture 5.2.) and the Hadrianus Gate (Picture 5.1) built. This line of walls is the longest an emperor has had built in the city. One of the important towers in Kaleiçi called Hıdırlık Tower is a two-storey and 14-meter-high tower located at the western extremity of the land ramparts. Hıdırlık Tower is thought to have been built in the second century A.D. during the Roman era and has been used as a watchtower and lighthouse (Çimrin, 2002: 79; *Life-Style in Antalya, Complete Guide,* 1990: 43; *Antalya Kültür Envanteri,* 2003: 32). Another symbolic tower in Kaleiçi is the Clock Tower which was built in a central place dominating the major gate of the city walls (*Antalya Kültür Envanteri,* 2003: 28). The Clock Tower wears more than one architectural period. First, it was built as one of the towers of the city walls during the Roman period. Seljuks restored the tower and the Ottomans constructed a dome over the tower. In 1917, German engineers constructing the flour factory near the sea-port gave the clock as a gift to Antalyalites (Çimrin, 2002: 79).

In 395 AD, the collapse of Rome and the founding of the Eastern Roman Empire in İstanbul affected the city of Attaleia and its port. In its fifth phase, the city (886-912 AD.) was damaged due to invasions and plundering, with the fall of some walls. The city was later fortified with the repairs and the construction of trenches and lining walls which started to be built during the time of the Byzantine Emperor Aleksandros (912-913 AD.) and were completed in 916 yılında under Konstantin VII. (913-959 AD.).

In the sixth phase, the city was ruled by Seljuks. Sultan Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev I. took over the Byzantine ruled Attaleia in 1207. The city, which fell in 1215 as a result of an uprising, was taken back in 1216 by Sultan İzzettin Keykavus. The East connecting walls were completed during this phase and a sea wall was built in the West. Moreover, mosques, *medrese*s and *Mevlevihane*s and other

Seljuk structures were built in the area known today as the Seljuk neighborhood. In this period, both commercial and war ships were built in the Antalya port.

In its seventh phase, the city of Antalya was under Ottoman rule. In most phases, compiled materials are commonly seen in the walls and bastions. Especially during the Seljuk and Ottoman periods, the walls in the city, the theater and stadium seats, monuments, statues, column heads and pedestals were widely used in the repair of walls and bastions. (Sönmez, 2008: 39).

The city of Antalya, which developed behind the walls of Kaleiçi continued being an important port city in the Ottoman era, especially in the 15th-16th centuries. The renowned Turkish traveler Evliya Çelebi who came to Antalya in 1671 describes the city walls 4400 paces long with eighty towers (*Seyahatname I,* 1982). Today, very little of these fortifications remain with few towers (Çimrin, 2002: 74). A Dutch painter Corneille Le Bruyn who came to Antalya in 1698 drew the pictures of the port and the city and in 1728 he published them in his book *Voyage Au. Levant L'asia* with a short description about the sublime effect of the Beydağları (=Mountain Chains). In this phase, especially towards the 18th century, the shipyard thought to be on the northwest of the port gradually lost its significance. Sönmez (2008: 189) states that after 1786 no boats were built in Antalya and that the commercial traffic at the port came to a halt. The boats were built in the sandy area to the east of the port. A wall closing off the front of the shipyard was built for defense purposes. In the 19th century, the port is virtually left forgotten. There are records showing that Greek merchants exported lumber and horses in 1843. Sönmez mentions that in the late 19th and early 20th century, lumber was being smuggled off the Antalya port (Ibid.: 191).

Kaleiçi Neighborhood

During the Seljuk period, four classes, namely Turks, Greeks, Jews and European Christian merchants were lived in different quarters surrounded by city walls near the port in Antalya. Respondent 12, a representative of a capitalist interest group, from the General Director of Tourism Agency in Antalya, asserts that "The true city dwellers in Antalya are the old Greek population who are no longer here." Around 1326-1328, when Ibn-i Battûta (©1929, 1963; ©2000, 2004; 1983) visited Antalya during the Seljuk period, the four classes mentioned above were living together in and around 'Kaleiçi' (The Castle District). Respondent R6, who is an archeologist and a director of a cultural institute in Antalya states the following about 'The Castle District' and its residents:

> **R6:** *Kaleiçi is made up of 600-650 structures; it's a small residential area. Until the last stages of the Ottomans, when there was a population exchange, there were bureaucrats living here along with the real inhabitants, the Greeks; the nobility of the city. But since trade developed outside the city, shopping is done elsewhere. Therefore new neighborhoods are developing around those trade areas. Not all Greeks live here. There are also those living outside the city walls. There are Greek neighborhoods. But this is the makeup of The Castle District and of Antalya. The population exchange wasn't the only change in the population. Even before that, since the 1700s Antalya has been receiving migrants. There are Egyptians, Africans and so on. It's quite mixed. During the Balkan War many came*

here. In fact, there were entire peoples brought here who couldn't take the heat. None of them were left. Can you imagine? Those brought from along the Danube, the Balkan immigrants and they were all broken by the heat. [104]

Cengiz Bektaş, a well known Turkish architect, tells us in his book called *Antalya* that the construction masters he chatted with in Kaleiçi reported that all of the houses in Kaleiçi were built by Greek masters (Bektaş, 1980: 122). According to Bektaş's accounts, most of the construction work was done by Greeks until the population exchange and that Turks and Muslims took over this work once they had left. As Bektaş emphasizes, the old masters naturally took with them their knowledge and skills in construction with them when they left. However, three of the five construction masters that Bektaş spoke to in 1976, who live in Kaleiçi and whose ages range between 50-77 were trained by Greek masters. These elderly residents of Kaleici, who have contributed to Bektaş's (1980: 137) compilation with their accounts, say the following about their various means of earning a living in the past:

> The men of the families living here in Kaleiçi mostly worked on boats. Either as captains or shipyard workers. These two jobs were passed on from father to son, from apprentice to master. Whether they were Turkish or Greek, the masters would not keep ship building secrets to themselves and would teach all they knew. I remember when ships of 180 tons were built here. Then the masters died and the engine was born. The sailboat era also ended. The captains died and good seamen were not raised anymore. The sea and the port lost its importance. […] After ship building, the men of Kaleiçi were fishermen. Everyone made a living and fed off of fish. Te port, which used to wake up before the city and went to bed after the city did is now left at a state between slumbering and awake.

A female informant who lived in a two bedroom house with a view of the port, talked about how Kaleici and its inhabitants became what they are today:

> What ties does the Kaleici have with the port, or the Kaleici people with the sea anymore? As Kaleiçi got poorer, our ties were severed with the port. As we lost those ties, we got even poorer Bektaş (1980: 137).

In the compilation called *Antalya*, whose first issue came out in 1980, we find out from the part titled "Homes and People Today", which is made up of the interviews Oral (1980: 146) had with the inhabitants of Antalya Kaleiçi, that until the 1970s when TV became widespread, traditional

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[104] **R6:** Kaleiçi dediğiniz yer hepi topu 600-650 tane yapı stoğundan oluşuyor. Tabii, küçük bir yerleşim birimi. Mübadeleye kadar bürokrat (Osmanlı'nın son dönemi) burada oturuyor, gerçek halkı Rumlar burada oturuyor, kentin eşrafı büyük oranda burada oturuyor. Ama ticaret dışarıda geliştiği için kentin alışverişi dışarıda yapılıyor. Ticaret dışarıda ve ona bağlı olarak da yeni yeni mahalleler dışarıda oluşuyor. Tüm Rumlar burada oturmuyor, yani surun dışında da oturanlar var. Rumların da mahalleleri var. Ama Kaleiçi'nin yapısı bu, Antalya'nın genel yapısı da bu. Mubadele ile birlikte, ha bu arada şunu söylemek gerekir: Antalya'nın tarihi salt mubadele değil, mubadeleden çok önce de yani 1700 lerden beri göç alıyor. Mecburi iskanlar var. Bilmem, Mısır'dan getirilenler var Afrika'nın diğer bölgelerinden getirilenler var. Çok karmaşık. Balkan Savaşı sırasında, o kadar çok gelenler var ki. Hatta tamamen getirilip de tamamı kırılan bir grup bile var. Sıcağa dayanamayıp tamamı kırılıyor. Hiç kalmıyor geriye. Düşünebiliyor musunuz, Tuna boylarından getirilip de Antalya'nın o sıcağına dayanamayıp bir grup Balkan göçmeninin tamamı kırılıyor.

entertainment activities called '*Sıra Eğlenceleri*' still took place. It is possible that these traditional Antalya meetings called *Sıra Eğlenceleri,* which originate from the Middle Age *Ahi* tradition, took place during the Ottoman era, when the artisans gathered in a house once or twice a week to discuss and resolve their problems. As *Sıra* means turn, whosever turn it was would host the next meeting, with a different chairperson selected at each and the chair would go around the room asking who had a problem to discuss. After the problems were discussed and resolved, refreshments would be served, music played, songs sang and tales told. Over time, *Sıra Eğlenceleri* became entertainment oriented meetings and were forgotten.

The older residents of Kaleiçi joining the discussion say that the Greeks did not usually join in these *sıra eğlenceleri* as they usually went outside their homes to one of the many taverns. They emphasize at every opportunity the warm friendship and neighbor ties they had with the Greeks and the middle aged males in the group reminisce of those days as follows:

> We had a good relationship with the Greeks, strong bonds of neighborliness. Some hide their art. The Greeks would not do that. They would teach you everything they know. Building houses, boats. Working wood. […] Neither the Greeks nor the Turks were bigots. This was a place with mixed people. There were those from Dimyat, Damascus and Rhodes. Some were natives of this place, some we didn't know where they were from. That's why everyone had such good relations. Many of us cried when the Greeks left. We felt ashamed that something bad might befall them … (Oral, 1980: 146).

The elderly Kaleici residents interviewed by Oral (1980: 144-5) say the following about 'Neighborly relations in Kaleiçi':

> The absolute greatest change in Kaleiçi has been these neighborly ties. […] Even if your neighbor living the farthest from you had a problem, you would feel ashamed. To not feel this shame, you would need to find a solution to their problem. […] Then neighborliness died and was replaced by 'blackmarketism'.

5.4.   A Social Demographic Overview

According to the 1914 Ottoman Official Statistics, the Teke/Antalya Province had 235,762 Muslims, 12,385 Greeks, 630 Armenians (Güçlü, 1997: 44; Süslü, 1990: 21). Süleyman Fikri Erten, the founder of the Antalya Museum (1961: 1) states that following the 1918 Mondros Ceasefire, and before the Italian invasion, the Muslim folk making up the Muslim population were natives, Arabs, Cretans and Moreans, and that the Greeks living among them were made up of three groups: Native Greeks, second group Greeks and third group Greeks.[105] According to Erten, there were 6,500

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[105] Erten says that the native Greeks were the largest Greek population and that their language and traditions were the same as the Turkish Muslims in Antalya, religion being the only true distinction. Greek masters worked on any mosques or other buildings to be constructed. When there was a wedding, people would go to the Greek merchants. According to Evliya Celebi, they did not speak Greek but a rougher version of Turkish. In Erten's classification, the second group of Greeks consists of those who came from Cyprus and the other islands and settled in Antalya. Erten states that this group

Greeks and 120,000 Muslim Turks in the province of Antalya during the War of Independence (1961: 3). Only one quarter of these were able to speak Greek. Erten also reports that the 1914 yılında Ottoman inspectors' reports mention three schools in the Greek part of Antalya, one for boys, one for girls and one coed. There were apparently a total of 783 students and 14 teachers.

The Antalya population increase at the beginning of the Republican years (1917-1950) seems to match that of the average in Turkey (*Antalya Kıyı Yerleşmeleri,* 1996: 59). Since the founding of the Republic, Antalya has undergone noticeable changes in population. As per the 1924 Turkish-Greek Population Exchange Agreement, the 4702 migrants who arrived in Antalya between 1924 and1927 were settled in homes and farms previously owned by Greeks. (Güçlü, 1997: 41). Güçlü says that, in 1927, the Karaferye, Selonika/Kesriye gypsies were also settled in Antalya during the exchange. In the same source, Güçlü mentions that the Bosnian and Albanian migrants as well as a group of 54 Cypriot families with a population of 144 were settled in single storey houses built in Yeniköy. Çimrin (2007: 278) mentions that 1,574 people leaving Salonika on 26 February 1924 arrived at the Antalya port, albeit with 7 missing, on March 1924 and were greeted with joy by the well-respected and the public.[106] Those who had had jobs in their countries of origin were given a house in Kaleici as well as a shop so that they could continue their jobs (Çimrin, 2007: 281). According to Güçlü, the total number of migrants to Antalya between 1923 and 1934 was 1,426 families or 5,246 migrants. This new population received 1361 homes, 277 shops, 108,654 acres of fields, 1,196 acres of orchards.

Between 1920 and 1921, the population in Antalya comprised 23,000 people, most in Kaleici and the surrounding neighborhood living in wooden houses (Çimrin, 2007: 271). In 1925-1926 Antalya was a small city of 32,000 or a large town (Güçlü, 1997: 41). In 1927 the city's population was 17,635, while in 1950 it was 27,515, in 1960 it was 50,908 and in 1970 it reached 95,616. In 1980 it was 173,501, then rising to 258,139 by 1985 (Kıvran and Uysal, 1992: 36). Between 1935 and 1980, there were no significant population movements apart from the flow from the plains in Antalya and around it to the rural areas near the coast (Erel, 1985: 198). UNDP and FAO report that at the census of 1960 the total population of the three provinces (Antalya Burdur Isparta) was 841.027 and was increasing at 3 percent per annum. Over 70 percent of the population is rural wholly dependent on agriculture (FAO-UN, 1966: 3).[107]

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had more of a Greek conception The third group comprised Greeks who also came from the islands and from Greece but had made a fortune. (Erten, 1961: 2).

[106] See also "Muhacirlerimiz geliyor" *Antalya Gazetesi*, 23 Şubat 1924; "Mühacirlerimiz geldi ve pek parlak istikbal edildi [karşılandı"] *Antalya Gazetesi,* 5 Mart 1924

[107] In *Preinvestment Surveys of Antalya Region,* (FAO-UN, 1966: 5-13) the social and demographic detail in the Antalya Region of the 1960s is defined as follows: "The population of the region, which is estimated to be 946.000 in 1965, is believed to be increasing at an annual rate of three present. Employment in sectors other than agriculture is very limited. Cultivation

In this period, considering the increase in the domestic migration towards the industrializing cities over the whole country, it can be said that the migration Antalya's center was receiving was not yet significant. However, by the end of the 1970s, the region became an attraction for domestic migration with the new employment areas created by tourism. The tourism investments with state support after 1980, in particular, meant that workers in the construction and tourism sectors as well as investors. As highlighted by Özen-Güçlü (2002: 45) the main dynamics of the population increases and urbanization in Antalya are based on migration movements.

For example, between 1985 and 1990 Antalya received 82,737 migrants, coming in third place in terms of the cities receiving the most migration after Kocaeli and Istanbul with a rate of 89.65 per thousand net migration (Demirci and Sunar, 1998: 125-151; Özen-Güçlü, 2002: 46-7). In Antalya, according to the 1990 general population census data from the State Statistics Institute, women born in Antalya made up 74.8% of the population and men formed 68.7%. However, this might be due to the high migration rate from the villages and districts of Antalya to the center of Antalya (Güçlü-Özen, 2002: 48). In the general population census in Antalya in 1985, a glance at the origin of the population according to place of birth reveals that Antalya received the most migration from Burdur, Konya, Isparta, Ankara and İstanbul respectively. The 1990 census results show that the cities of origin are Burdur, Konya, Ankara, Isparta and Istanbul. The number of those moving from İstanbul to Antalya in 1980 was 5,045; this number increased at a record breaking rate in 1990 to 13,095 with an increase of 160%. In the 1990 general census it is seen that the rate of those born in Antalya is higher. The results of the 2000 census by the Turkish Statistics Institute show that those moving to Antalya from other cities came from Burdur, Konya, Ankara, İstanbul and Isparta, respectively. The number of those born abroad in the 1980 census was 19,252 for women and 19,832 for men, while in 2000 it was 33,235 for women and 30,648 for men.

The Antalya Commerce and Industry Chamber estimated in 2007 that should the migration to Antalya continue at the same rate, the population would double in 2000-2010 as it did in 1990-2000 and reach about 1,400,000 in 2010 (ATSO, 2007: 9). According to a research done by the Education and Society Work Group of the Antalya City Council, Antalya receives about 50,000-

and stock-raising are still the only means of livelihood for the great majority of the population, and the possession of land or livestock is their only form of economic and social security." "Probably, no more than 16 percent of the population are 'urbanized' in the sense that the whole or the greater part of their living derives from non-agricultural occupations. A further 10 percent or more might be described as 'urban dwelling rural' since they live in what are classified as towns but obtain the whole or the greater part of their livelihood from agricultural occupations. But the bulk of the population, over 70 percent of the total, is still village-dwellers almost wholly dependent on agriculture and livestock. This does not necessarily imply that the population is static. Season transhumance movements occur on a large scale and land is frequently held both in the uplands and lowlands. There is also a noticeable shift of population from the small hamlets (kuku key) to the larger villages and towns. True nomads and wandering gypsies constitute only a very small section of the total population, probably some one to two percent, but the former (nomad) own over 200.000 head of livestock, of which more than half are goats and the reminder sheep, cattle, equines and camels. Their way of life is becoming increasingly difficult" (Ibid.: 6).

55,000 migrants per year. Due to this rate, the share of those born in Antalya has decreased from 72% in 1990, to 58% in 2000. Not only the migrants from Turkish countries reside in Antalya but also foreign migrants reside in Antalya:

> **FG4:** *The Russians usually live on the Lara side, around Örnekköy. Some are unfortunately forced into prostitution in Kaleiçi'. Some houses have been rented there for them to live in. For example in Alanya they say that there are 5000 foreign families. Some are Russian, most are German. Last year, in the complex where we rented a house in Manavgat 15 of the 20 units were leased to foreigners. There are permanent residents. Mostly Germans who are retired live here. The Russians are younger. Of course not all of them do prostitution. They work in the animation teams at hotels or work as tour guides. Not only from Russia, but from other Russian speaking countries in the former Soviet Union. Kazakhstan, Georgia and Turkmenistan, for example. [108]*

> **FG3:** *Oh and there are Russian women who get married and come. They walk around in malls with their kids and husbands. Why do they marry Turkish men? Mostly they live around Lara, Örnekköy, and the Dedeman intersection. They usually meet a Turkish businessman there on a business trip and get married. They are usually well educated (and beautiful, just between you and me). Turkey is relatively more capitalistic than their country and this is appealing to them, Turkey is a place they want to live. [109]*

> **R24:** *Antalya doesn't only get domestic migrants but international ones as well. There are permanent residents that are foreigners they increased in number when the laws made it easier for them to buy real estate. And increased like that. Foreigners bought land in various parts of the city and settled. [110]*

5.5. A Short Story of the Antalya Municipality as a Leading Local Agency

When the municipality is considered as the leading agency within the process of restructuring a city into a 'city of culture' with respect to the 'growth machine' thesis, especially in the Antalya case, it might be worth considering the role of the 'mayor' in city politics. In a recent article, Ponzini and Rossi (2010: 1052) explore the 'politics of becoming' a 'wannabe' 'creative city' by focusing on Baltimore in the United States. In their article, they describe the city politics developing around the goal of making Baltimore a creative city, in contrast to its long standing reputation as a dangerous place. They have taken a complex set of network building dynamics, enrolling a number of institutionalized and empowered agents which they call macro-actors or creative class. In the case of Antalya, the politics around the goal to restructure Antalya as a 'city of

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[108] **FG4:** Ruslar genellikle Lara tarafı, Örnekköy civarında oturuyorlar. Bir kısmı ne yazık ki sermaye olarak kullanılan kadınlar ve Kaleiçi'nde fuhuş yapmaya zorlanıyorlar. Bir takım evler garsoniyer tutulmuş onlara oralarda yaşıyorlar. Mesela Alanya'da 5000 yabancı aileden sözediliyor. Bunların bir kısmı Rus, çoğu Alman. Geçen yıl Manavgat'da kiraladığımız evin olduğu sitede 20 dairenin 15i yabancıydı. Bunlar daimi oturanlar. Almanlar genelde emekli emekli maaşlarını alıyorlar burada yaşıyorlar. Ruslar daha genç. Tabi ki hepsi fuhuş yapmıyor. Otellerin animasyon ekibinde, tur rehberliği gibi işlerde çalışıyorlar. Sadece Rusya'dan değil Rusça konuşan eski Sovyetlerden gelenler de var. Kazakistan, Türkmenistan ve Gürcistan'dan gelenler var.

[109] **FG3:** Ha bir de evlenip gelen Rus Gelinler var. Çocuklarıyla, kocalarıyla geziyorlar alışveriş merkezlerinde. Neden Türkiye'den erkeklerle evleniyorlar? Daha çok Lara, Örnekköy, Dedeman kavşağı civarında oturuyorlar. Genellikle bir iş seyahati nedeniyle oraya gitmiş bir Türkle bir şekilde tanışıp evleniyorlar. Genellikle iyi eğitimli (ve çok güzeller laf aramızda). Kendi ülkesine görece kapitalist bir ülke Türkiye bu da onlara cazip geliyor yaşamak istedikleri bir yer Türkiye.

[110] **R24:** Bir taraftan bakınca Antalyada yaşayan sadece yurt içinden aldığı göç yok. Birde yurt dışından aldığı göç var. Devamlı yaşayan bir kitle var, yabancı bir kitle. Bunlar özellikle yeni çıkan kanunlara göre, emlak alımlarını kolaylaştırdığı zaman çok büyük tırmanma gösterdi ve o yapıda gelişti. Kentin belli bölümlerinde yabancılar mülk satın aldılar ve orda yerleştiler.

culture' focus on resolving the major crisis, or, 'the declining prices attached to Antalya's tourism services and products in the global market'. But in both cases, Baltimore and Antalya, an 'entrepreneurial mayor' acts as the urban leadership at the wide city level for ordering and mobilizing all these actors.

Historically, since "mayors have been considered the 'first citizen' of a city" (McNeil, 2008: 286), here, a short historical review about Antalya Municipality[111] is needed because the strategic role of urban cultural policy at the municipal level as a leading agency in the process of restructuring Antalya is highlighted throughout the study.

The Antalya Municipality[112] was established in 1864 with the Vilayet Nizamnamesi (Provincial Regulation) in 1864 long before the municipal law of 1930 (Güçlü 1997: 48). Güçlü also cites that in 1868, the Mayor of Antalya Municipality was Muhasebeci (Bookkeeper) Abdullah Efendi (Tortop, 1986: 68; TBMM, 1938: 77 cited in Güçlü, 1997: 48). In 1930, the year of the local elections, the mayor elected Hüsnü Karakaş paid a migrant from Karaferya by the name of Gypsy Hasan take down the Kaleici walls, claiming that "the public was complaining that Kaleici was

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[111] According to the information given on the Antalya Greater City Municipality official website (http://www.antalya.bel.tr/tr/bel_kurumsal/tarihce.cfm, 13.01.2010), the history of the municipality can be summarized as follows:
In the October 1930 elections, Karakaşzade Hüsnü Bey (Karakaş) from the Republican People's Party was elected as mayor. In this period, the walls of Antalya were torn down due to the complaints of those living in Kaleici that the walls prevented the wind from penetrating. The roads around the Kalekapısı were widened and cement shops were built on two sides of the road in lieu of the wooden houses torn down during the widening of the roads. Al butchers in the town were collected in the Butchers' Hall built in 1934, where it stands today. The new shops, which found a new name among the public, 'the New Shopping Area' (*"Yeni Çarşı"*) changed the appearance of the gate, transforming it into a shopping area. Moreover, in 1933, an irrigation truck, 6 garbage trucks were bought and 2 officers and 20 workers were hired by the municipality.
In the 1934 elections, Şerafettin Bey was elected as mayor. Upon his resignation soon after, Lütfü Gökçeoğlu speeded up the construction activities in Antalya. The most important activities in 1935 were the rearrangement and broadening of Ali Çetinkaya Street and Atatürk Street, the removal of the cemetery near Muratpaşa Mosque, the relocation plans for the animal and grain market. Gökçeoğlu was the first to have members of the municipality prepare "Health Police Directives" and put it into effect on 10 June 1936. Gökçeoğlu was reelected in the October, 1942 elections. The construction activities in the new term were the building of Karaalioğlu Park, the reorganization of Şarampol Street, the rearrangement of Tophane Park and Hatay Park, the establishment of new public markets and the opening of municipality bakeries.
After 1943, the post of mayor was held respectively by; Dr. Burhanettin Onat (1943-1947), Vasfi Cankatan (1947-1951), Seyit Ali Pamir (1951-1955), Hayrat Şakrak (1955-1956), Ömer Eken (1959-1960), Turgut Kılıçer (governor) (1960-1962), and Nuri Teoman (governor) (1962-1963). Turgut Kılıçer and Nuri Teoman, who came into power during the 1960 Coup, carried out both the governor's and mayor's duties.
Dr. Avni Tolunay, who was mayor for two terms in 1963-1968 and 1968-1973 is another name that changed the appearance of Antalya. Even the smallest streets were paved and Antalya was finally rid of its dirt roads. Lawyer Selahattin Tonguç (1973-1977, 1977-1980), who served two terms like lawyer Avni Tolunay, contributed to the city with his achievements especially in the cultural realm.
Following the 12 September 1980 Coup, Şerafettin Mıhçıkan (1980-1981), Nuri Teoman (1981-1983), and Kenan Aktekin (1983-1984) served as mayor. After Yener Ulusoy (1984-1987) and Metin Kasapoğlu'dan (1987-1989), Lawyer Hasan Subaşı was elected twice (1989-1994, 1994-1999).
Dr. Bekir Kumbul (1999-2004), who served as mayor after Hasan Subaşı turned the post over to Menderes Türel in April, 2004.

[112] In 1928, the Antalya Municipality is reported to have a ten bed health center, a slaughterhouse, 45 stores, ten acres of land, a sprinkler, a motor pump, a wheeled water pump, 11 firemen, 24 janitors, and 15 officers. (*Belediyelerimiz: 1925, 26, 27, 28 Senelerine Ait Hesap Hülasaları* 1930: 300, 330 cited as in Güçlü, 1997: 48). Following the founding of the Republic, the Municipality held the key role in the city and announced in the Yeni Turkiye newspaper dated May 10, 1928 its intention to procure new equipment to supplement existing ones. (*Yeni Türkiye,* 10 May 1928; Güçlü, 1997: 48).

deprived of the wind", citing public health as a justification (Çimrin, 2007: 381-83). Çimrin wrote that in the spring of 1930, the antique monuments inspectors sent to Antalya to investigate the demolition stressed the importance of the Antalya Castle, but they did not write a report that would prevent it.

Among the Antalya Greater City Municipality Mayors, Dr. Burhanettin Onat (1943-1947) in particular made important contributions to the promotion of Antalya as a tourism destination to the world. Dr. Avni Tolunay, who was mayor for two terms in 1963-1968 and 1968-1973, added to the promotion efforts started by Dr. Burhanettin Onat the inclusion of the Antalya Festival. In 1963 the National Film Competition was also added to the festival, underlining promotional efforts (see Chapter 6).

Lawyer Selahattin Tonguç (1973-1977, 1977-1980) also served for two terms expended effort to render the Antalya festival multi-faceted through art activities. Also in his term, wide boulevard ands and streets were built. During his term the GATGP developed by the Central government actually involved not the city center, but the government land with the forests and antique city remains along the coastline to Antalya's east and west (see Chapter 8). In the *Antalya Belediyesi 1975-1976 Yılı Çalışma Raporu* (*Municipality 1975-1976 Term Working Report,* 1977: 39) prepared by the Municipality during the term of Selahattin Tonguç, it is stated that Antalya was going to act as a transit to a relatively close airport within the framework of this project, which was planned as Turkey's first integrated tourism industry. Before the project was put into practice, mayor Tonguc made a legal complaint about Hüseyin Öğütçen, who was the governor when the plan was ratified. He said that the situation involved the building of touristic facilities to the east and west of Antalya, rendering the city as a corridor, and would deprive Antalyalites of Antalya's natural and historical heritage with an attitude against the locals. In the abovementioned report it was also mentioned that the efforts to establish a Press and Public Relations Office, which began in the first months of 1975 came to fruition in 1976 (Ibid.: 116-17). The function of this office was defined as presenting the work of the municipality to the public via newspapers and the national TV and Radio Network (TRT), finding out the public's comments and complaints about municipal activities and coming up with solutions with the public as well as organizing the Antalya International Film and Art Festival.

Following the *coup d'état* in September, 12 1980, appointed mayors headed the Antalya Municipality. Then, in 1984, Yener Ulusoy was elected as the mayor. During his period, the organization of the AGOFF was passed on to The Antalya, Culture, Art and Tourism Foundation, which he had also founded in 1985 (see Chapter 6). The first attempt at internationalizing the AGOFF was the addition of the music festival "Mediterranean Mediterranean" to the festival and

this event including Mediterranean countries co-existed with the Golden Orange Film Festival from 1985 to 1988 (*City of Festival for 41 Years: Antalya,* 2004: 16).

When Hasan Subaşı, a lawyer, took office as the mayor of Greater Antalya in 1989 he decided that the festival would be organized by a 'Festival Executive Board' comprised of municipal assembly members, tourism organizations, representatives of the Antalya Chamber of Commerce, and Banking Directorates. This board was in charge of the festival from 1989 to 1994. In 1994, as a result of Mayor Subaşı's efforts, with the participation of 51 founding members, many businessman and all municipalities [of the small districts beside the Greater Antalya Municipality] led by the Greater Antalya Municipality, 'The Antalya Golden Orange Culture and Art Foundation' was established on January 15, 1995. The Antalya Municipality because the Greater City Municipality during Mayor Subaşı's term (1994-1999) with the municipalities of Muratpaşa, Kepez and Konyaaltı as its subordinate municipalities.

Bekir Kumbul (1999-2004)[113]

During the period between 1999 and 2004, the candidate of Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (the Republican People's Party, CHP), Doctor Bekir Kumbul was the mayor of the city. During Kumbul's term, while 'social progressive urbanism' policies were partially implemented, Third Way Urbanism policies were predominant (see section 2.2.2.). In the *Portakal* (Orange) magazine, which was the publication of AKSAV under the auspices of the Antalya Greater City Municipality, Kumbul (AKSAV, 2004, 12: 3) summarized the urban cultural-political economy practiced during his term a month before he lost the local elections as follows:

> A city can determine its own identity through its infrastructure investments, roads, streets, the extent to which it protects its historical heritage, its per capita green space, and other similar quantitative measurements just as it can through how much it develops its cultural heritage, its art institutions and the quality of their activities. It is not possible to achieve a habitable environment in a city where local governments' success or lack thereof is measured only by infrastructure investments, only visible investments, where cultural identity and development is neglected, where art and artists are not valued.

The concluding manifesto of The Symposium of Culture and Art in Antalya organized by AKSAV in April, 2003 which proclaims that "The city should bear the cost of art and culture"

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[113] Bekir Kumbul was born in Serik (Salonika) in 1951. He completed his primary and secondary education in Antalya. In 1974, he finished Ege University School of Medicine. He specialized in Orthopedics and Traumatology at the same university, where he worked as head assistant and lecturer. He was a specialist at the SSK Antalya Hospital and ve SSK Isparta Hospital and later worked as the Chief Resident at the Antalya SSK Hospital. He headed the Antalya Chamber of Medicine and was the sports club doctor at Antalyaspor. In 1995, he was elected to the Grand National Assembly as the member of parliament representing Antalya from the Republican People's Party (CHP). At the Assembly, he worked on the commission for Health, Family and Social Works. He was elected Mayor of the Antalya Greater City Municipality in 18 April 1999 in the local elections, representing the Republican People's Party (CHP).
http://www.antalya.bel.tr/tr/bel_baskan/ozgecmis.cfm, 11 March 2008

(*Portakal,* Mayıs-2003: 3) summarizes the urban policy to which the Social Democratic Mayor of the Antalya Metropolitan Municipality adhered between 1999 and 2004. Kumbul (*Portakal,* Haziran-2003: 3), as if to reflect the social democratic local governance view of his term, says "Today, if Antalya is seen as a city of art and culture, this is only because of the efforts of Antalyalites and the artists, intellectuals, and people of art and science and their institutionalization". As it is understood from his statements and the actions performed by the Antalya Metropolitan Municipality during the Social Democratic Mayor's administration, between 1999 and 2004, art and culture were not seen as values to be transformed into commodities. Rather they were regarded as a social service to be offered for collective consumption and as almost completely independent of the field of economy (see also sub-section 6.3). The projects and practices started and implemented in accordance with the urban cultural policies adopted during the term of Bekir Kumbul of the CHP under the auspices of the Greater Antalya Municipality, in line with making Antalya a city of art and culture, are listed below (*Portakal,* Mart-2004: 3):

- Contributing to the social and cultural life of the city through free education and activities at the culture and art establishments under the Greater City Municipality

- The reintroduction of the dramatic arts to the public through the 20 year old Antalya Municipal Theater, which took the theater arts to the ghettos and rural areas

- Supporting those of lower income living far from the city center with cultural services as well as theater, folk dancing, hand crafts and English lessons at the Ermenek and Çamlıbel Culture Tents

- Laying the foundations of a culture center in the area where the old wholesalers' hall is to include two auditoriums with 300 and 700 capacity, an exhibition hall, a conservatory, culture-education workshops and five movie theaters

- Important strides taken in internationalizing the Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival by selecting a meaningful theme each year and establishing permanent connections with the art and culture institutions of countries such as Greece, Italy, Austria, Germany and the Netherlands.

The 40th Annual Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival (AGOFF) organized under the auspices of the Antalya Greater City Municipality and AKSAV on 1-5 October 2003, brought the festival with its free movie showings and public concerts to 40 different spots around the city with the slogan "40 Joys, 40 Spaces in the 40th Year" (*Portakal,* Eylül-Ekim, 2003: 9). During the field research in 2006 for the purpose of the thesis, the mayor of the time, Mayor Kumbul, says the following about AGOFF:

> **R16:** *An activity comparable to a revolution when considered against the period in which it started. A cultural step that teaches society, changes and transforms it. In its recent years, different debates appeared about the festival and about cinema. Recently, the groundwork was laid for the internationalization, but it just wasn't meant to be. I still think that the institutionalization of the Golden Orange should have been completed before it was made international. Today, (in 2006) the international film competition component was added, maybe it was time, but most importantly, the festival was distanced from the public. In our time, we put chairs in school yards and played movies on the walls*

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even in the farthest neighborhoods. Invitations are, after all, limited to the number of seats. You can't give everyone tickets to the show at the Antalya Cultural Center. Besides, not everyone might be able to afford movie tickets. [114]

Furthermore, with the Family History Project published in the *Antalyalı* magazine he mentions that the purpose was for "those living in Antalya to establish a historical and cultural bond with the city so they can claim ownership". Kumbul, by saying in the first issue of the magazine "Anyone who lives in Antalya and sees themselves as Antalyalites are from Antalya," exhibits a more conciliatory and unifying policy in the local governance towards those who migrated later to Antalya. Kumbul says that the main goal of this project was to create a 'Sense of Belonging to a Common City" (Ibid.: 10). During the in-depth interview, Kumbul says the following about 'Culture Tents' and the concept of being an 'Antalyalite':

> **R16:** *In one of our <u>gecekondu</u> areas, we established something like a modern public house model. We built a structure where plays, weddings and engagements could take place, where there were also classroom-shaped rooms. I was only able to make one of these. There was a room for hand crafts and a room for the mayor. The mayor was from another party. So they asked me why I had done something like this. I said that if the mayor didn't go there. The inhabitants of the region would not take charge of it or use it. The migrant population that gathered in this* gecekondu *area must participate in the city, in what the city can offer to feel like a true Antalyalite. One doesn't need to have been born in Antalya. Wherever you are from, anyone who came here is an Antalyalite. This is why we started publishing the "Antalyalı" (Antalyalite) magazine. When I say Antalyalite, I am not talking about someone who has been here for seven generations. I believe that simply by calling yourself so, you are an Antalyalite.* [115]

After Kumbul lost the 2004 local elections, an in-depth interview was conducted with him within the scope of the field work of this dissertation. In the interview, which took place around the time when the 43rd AGOFF was being organized, on 23 September 2006, Kumbul compared the urban cultural policies of the AKP (Justice and Development Party) municipality who had come through in the 2004-2009 term with the policies during his term and made the comments below:

> **R16:** *Those living in this city may be living in an identity stuck between the villager-and the urbanite. This society will gradually get accustomed to good art. It is not the sun, sea and sand that we have here. What about the history? Anywhere you look you see remnants of other lives in Antalya. Cities like Antalya where the population increases so rapidly have different problems. But it is a different understanding that sees everything we have here, the history and the culture as something to make a profit off of. Now you look and there's an attitude that sees everything in terms of*

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[114] **R16:** Kendi başladığı dönemi itibariyle devrim niteliğinde bir etkinlik. Topluma mesajlar veren, değiştiren, dönüştüren bir kültür adımı. Son dönemlerinde farklı tartışma alanları açıldı Altın Portakal ve sinemaya dair. Aslında son zamanlarda uluslararası açılımın altyapısı hazırlanmıştı ama kısmet olmadı. Ama ben önce Altın Portakal'ın kurumsallaşma aşaması tamamlanmalı daha sonra uluslararasılaşmalıydı. Bugün (2006'da) uluslararası film yarışması ayağı başlatıldı belki ama bence festival halktan uzaklaştı. (RVG: Altın Portakal elitleştirilmeye çalışıyor) Bizim zamanımızda biz en uzak mahallelerde bile, ilkokulların bahçesine sandalye koyup duvarlarında sinema oynatıyorduk. Davetiye koltuk sayısıyla sınırlıdır en nihayetinde. Herkese AKM'deki gösteri için davetiye veremezsin. Herkesin sinemaya verecek parası da olmayabilir.

[115] **R16:** Gelişmiş halkevleri modeli gibi bir şey yaptık bizim gecekondu bölgelerimizden birinde. İçinde tiyatro oynanabilecek, düğünler, nişanlar olabilecek, etrafında derslikler şeklinde odalar olabilecek bir şey yaptık. Bir tane yapabildim ben bunlardan. El sanatları odası vardı, muhtarın odası vardı. Halbuki muhtar başka bir partidendi. Niye böyle yaptın diye sordular bana. Eger muhtar oraya gelmezse bölgedekiler orayı sahiplenmez ve kullanmazlar dedim. Kendini Antalyalı kabul etmesi için bu gecekondu mahallesinde toplanan göçmen nüfusun; kente, kentin sunduklarına katılımı gerekir. Antalya'da doğmak şart değil. Nereden gelirsen gel Antalya'ya gelen Antalya'lıdır. Bu nedenle "*Antalyalı*" dergisini çıkarmaya başladık. Ben Antalyalı derken yedi göbek Antalyalı'dan bahsetmiyorum. Kendine Antalyalı diyen herkes Antalyalı'dır bana göre.

monetary potential. Culture and art to me are like the food and shelter that people need for survival. Culture and art is a need [not a luxury]. [116]

Menderes Türel (2004-2009)[117]

During Menderes Türel's term as Mayor (2004-2009), the Antalya Municipality became a Metro Municipality as per the law ratified on 10.07.2004, dated 23.07.2004, and according to the law number 5216 concerning the metropolitan municipality announced in issue number 25531 of the Official Gazette by taking on the added jurisdiction of 11 new first level municipalities, now with a total of 14.

As mentioned in the Introduction, Menderes Türel, Mayor of the Antalya Metropolitan Municipality, when he won the local municipal election in April 2004, sent out the message that there would be a rapid transition towards neoliberal policies with changes in local governance (see Türel's declaration in the Introduction). In Antalya, a touristic city where a fair number of social democrat voters had made their presence know in the local and general elections, Menderes Türel's election with a high percentage like 34.7% from liberal-conservative-islamist the Justice and Development Party (AKP), though the party in power, "surprised even the locals", as seen in the field research. Antalya, with its experience with mayors from other right wing parties like The True Path Party (DYP) and the Motherland Party (ANAP) had, for the first time in 2004-2009 a municipal administration from a liberal-conservative-islamist party. During the period 2004-2009, the municipal governance by mayor Türel is determined as 'urban restructuring' and examined elaborately in the sixth, seventh, eight, and ninth chapters in four subfields; namely the field urban cultural politics; the field(s) of urban –planning, –design, -management (governance), -politics; the field of tourism; and the field of economy.

In general terms, the basic argument of this dissertation is that the Antalya Greater Municipality, considered during Turel's term as mayor as the 'urban experience' as the leading

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[116] **R16:** Bu kentte yaşayanlar köylü-kentli kültürünün arasında bir kimlikte yaşıyor olabilir. Alıştıra alıştıra iyi sanatın kıymetini bilecektir bu toplum. Burada olan yalnızca deniz-güneş-kum değildir. Burada hiç mi tarih yok? Hiç mi kültür yok? Ne yöne baksanız yaşanmış bir doku vardır Antalya'da. Antalya gibi nüfusu hızlı artan kentlerde farklı sorunlar var. ... Ama herşeyi burada var olan tarihi ve kültürü de para kazanılacak bir şey gibi görmek farklı bir yaklaşım. Ama şimdi bakıyorsunuz para gözlüğüyle bakılan bir anlayış var. Kültür ve sanat bana göre insanın yaşamak için ihtiyaç duyduğu—gıda, barınak vs dışında—başka şeylerdir. Kültür ve sanat bir ihtiyaçtır.

[117] Menderes Türel was born on 11 July 1964 in Antalya. He finished his primary and secondary education in Antalya and went to the UK to study journalism. He worked in Antalya for many years as a journalist and was selected the best journalist of Turkey by the Press Broadcasting and Information General Directorate in the category of investigation and examination. In 1992, as a 28 year old, he was elected to the Antalya Commerce and Industry Chamber (ATSO) assembly member. Later, he served as the deputy president of the ATSO Board between 21 November 1987 and 25 November 1999. Following the chamber elections on 9 November 2001, he served as ATSO president from 14 November 2001 until 22 January 2004, when he resigned to become the Greater City Municipality Mayor. Menderes Türel, during the 28 March 2004 local elections, received 34.77 % of the votes and was elected the Mayor from AKP.
http://www.antalya.bel.tr/tr/bel_baskan/ozgecmis.cfm, 11 March 2008

agency, attempted at 'restructuring' Antalya in four sub-fields. In the field of art and culture, it is assumed that in Antalya the conscious of city dwellers about the term 'city culture' has also been restructured with the introduction of a new term 'city of culture' as if a novel concept entering the local agenda. In the same way, 'urban restructuring' in the field of urban planning manifests itself as the shift from urban planning approach for the long term expectation toward the flagship projects like internationalization of the AGOFF, for instance. Restructuring Antalya in the field of urban politics reveals itself as the shift from social progressive urbanism toward neo-liberal urbanism which was first announced by Türel who is going "*to pave the way for the private sector.*" The shift from urban management toward urban entrepreneurialism in the field of urban governance pushes the cities into the inter-urban competition game. During this period, as most local governments, Antalya Greater Municipality has the feeling that it has no option, given the coercive laws of competition. Restructuring Antalya in the field of urban design is observed as the shift from modern urbanism toward post-modern urbanism as found out in the strategies to construct a City Museum Building like Guggenheim in Bilbao, or constructing a 'Festival Sarayı' (Festival Palace) for the AGOFF for instance, beside the proliferation of five stars and even seven stars hotels as simulacra.

In the field tourism the idea for restructuring Antalya from traditional mass tourism of 3S [sun-sea-sand] to urban niche tourism of 3E [entertainment-education-environment] was already in Türel's mind in 2003, one year before he was elected. When he was Chairman of the Board of the Antalya Chamber of Trade and Industry (ATSO) in August 2003, he states the followings in the 'Foreword' of the *ATSO* Journal (Türel, *ATSO*, 2003: 3):

> It is time to make the concept of urban tourism more prominent. Urban tourism is dependent on the architectural, cultural, historical, entertainment, art, conferences and fairs, shopping, sports and other such touristic elements of a city. Tourists visit a city for these elements, they come, and they shop. We have to remember that this kind of tourism is different than sea tourism. We can not expect the sea tourism customers to also be present in the city tourism. What we need to do is to directly market the tourism opportunities in the city center domestically and internationally.

In the field of economy, 'restructuring' Antalya displays itself as representing city in the global market via 'branding' which can also be defined as the shift from local economy to global economy. One of the strategies for urban restructuring process in the field of economy is the search for a 'brand' or a 'collective symbolic capital' in academic terms. For this purpose, a professional firm, Brandassist and Interlace Invent, prepared a report for the Antalya Greater Municipality and Antalya Chamber of Trade and Industry (ATSO) through collecting the proposal for such 'brand' to represent Antalya among the twenty-four (24) stakeholders in Antalya (*Antalya Manifesto; Şehir Marka Stratejik Planı*, 2008). Certainly, in cities where the strategies of cultural political economy is applauded; art shows and galleries, opera halls, museums, festivals, and symphony halls are a vital

part in the reimagining of cities. Those cities like Antalya intimate *world city* status at least the status of *global city-regions.*

Concluding Remarks

Born as a port city with the name of its founder, Attaleia became naval base for the Pergamum Kingdom and a dominant commercial center for the Roman Empire. Then it was called Adalia following its capture by Seljuks for expanding trade in Anatolia via the port access to Mediterranean. Following Beyazıd I's conquest, Adalia was controlled by the Ottomans as a great source of revenue for the treasury. As seen, from its birth on, Antalya flourished as a 'city of trade' until the mid-sixteenth century, when it lost its strategic importance in the international trade of the Indian spices in. From this date on, Ottomans efforts encouraging permanent settlement in the Antalya region made Antalya an agricultural town.

Yet, all these things—*Ahi* organization, administrative rank of *Sancakbeyi* or *kadı, han*s, *caravanserai*s, *bedestans,* a port, even a *medrese*—though they made Antalya a 'city' of trade for centuries, a production place in small scale, a provincial administration, Antalya has never been a sizeable urban settlement since ancient times till the midst of the twentieth century. As discussed above, numerous reasons for this have been put forth by different historians. Arguably, the most important reason is that Antalya is far from Istanbul, the capital of both the Byzantine and the Ottoman Empire. In addition to this remoteness from the center, the malaria problem in the region due to the swamps made permanent settlement and cultivation of the plains difficult. Once the Ottoman conquest of Egypt and of Rhodes led to the opening of a direct sea route from Alexandria to Istanbul, Antalya lost its importance because of the commercial shift that had the trade routes bypassing Antalya. Thus, the urban economy based on trade slowly collapsed and Antalya closed on itself as the *han*s and *caravanserai*s were forgotten with the routes barely touching upon the Taurus mountains.

After the foundation of Turkish Republic, once the non-Muslim merchant and artisan population was no longer there to keep the economy of the city alive, Antalya experienced an immense loss of population and energy. Until the 1940s, the dominant aspect of the urbanization experience in Antalya, too, was to impose a 'unitary culture' of the modern Turkish Republic in a territorial context. This is what Sargın (2004: 659; Balakrishnan, 1996) calls 'ideological mappings' upon spatial perceptions and operations by establishing a new political and cultural cult.

Although Antalya was famous for malaria during the Ottoman period, since the beginning of 1940s it has become the center of attraction and fascination with its newly constructed parks, boulevards by the co-operation of government and the people in Antalya. In the early 1940s,

Bahçelievler Construction Co-operative was established in Antalya to construct houses in gardens in the new plots. In the second half of the 1950s, Antalya too has factories. All those urban development plans being recreated since the mid of the 1950s have fallen short when migrants come first to work in the factories in the end of 1950s, and second to serve in the tourism industry in the beginning of the 1980s. Following the government supported GATGP implemented between 1970-1982, the 2634 numbered 'Tourism Support Act' which went into effect in 1982 the private sector started playing a much more active role in the tourism sector, which developed rapidly, pressing other sectors I the city to increase their goods production and service capacities. Fertile agricultural lands were made into residential areas not only for retirees but for those coming to work for the tourism industry.

A great construction took place in the early 1980s, with many high rise buildings and modern business premises. Building cooperatives were established and housing units constructed on the outskirts of the city (Kıvran and Uysal, 1992: 37). Pursuant to the law on the permission of the rent for 49 or 99 years and of construction on the forests along coastal line set forth by the central government on the early 1980s. Beginning in 1980, tourism investment both in the city and along a 640 km shoreline resulted in thousands of licensed establishments being built. With the opening of these establishments, resulting from tourism investment, the whole economic and cultural structure has changed. The Antalya Municipality became the Antalya Metropolitan Municipality in 1994 having taken on the subordinate municipalities of Muratpaşa, Kepez and Konyaaltı. That same year, with AGOFF retaining its institutional identity, AKSAV, with its 51 founding members started acting the part of a small scale RDA and took over the organization of the 30 year old festival and has done so since then.

In, 1999 Doctor Bekir Kumbul, the candidate of Republican People's Party (CHP), took office as the mayor. During his governance partial 'social progressive urbanism' beside Third Way Urbanism was obvious. Following this period, Menderes Türel became the mayor in 2004. During this period, a total of 14 municipalities made up the Antalya Greater City Municipality in accordance with the Metropolitan Municipality Law. Türel, who had been a board member on ATSO prior to being elected as mayor, continued his mission from his previous post and made a rapid transition to neo-liberal policies as a mayor from the political party in power with the purpose of increasing Antalya's industrial and commercial capacity. It is at this point that he emerges as the most influential and leader agency in the 'growth machine' formed by the city's shareholders to restructure the city of Antalya. In the sixth, seventh, eight, and ninth chapters urban restructuring process in Antalya was discussed in the four sub-fields mentioned above.

CHAPTER 6

RESTRUCTURING THE FIELD OF ART AND CULTURE:

FROM THE CONCEPT OF 'CULTURE OF CITY'

TO THE CONCEPT OF 'CITY OF CULTURE'

> *The city in its complete sense is a geographic plexus, an economic organization, an institutional process, a theater of social action, and an aesthetic symbol of collective unity. The city fosters art and is art, the city creates theater and is theater.*

Lewis Mumford, ([1937] 2000: 29).

This chapter is devoted to examining the process of 'restructuring Antalya' in the *field of art and culture* through an analysis of the shift in the awareness of city dwellers from the concept of 'city culture' [or of citizenship] towards the concept of a 'city of culture' and the shift from the concept of a culture industry or cultural industry to a creative industry.

As examined in the theoretical framework for the concept of 'urban restructuring' in the first chapter and the conceptual framework for the concept of 'city of culture' in the second chapter, in his essay, "The Forms of Capital," Bourdieu (1986: 241) defines *capital* as 'accumulated labor' (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated', embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor. Bourdieu's concept of the *forms of capital* inevitably inspired most scholars so that they introduced relatively new concepts like 'creative capital', 'intellectual capital', also referred to as 'artistic capital'—one of the forms of capital derived from economic capital (Bourdieu, ©1983, 1986: 241).

Borrowing Bourdieu's (1983; 1986; 1990) concept of 'symbolic capital', Harvey (2001: 405) introduces the concept of 'collective symbolic capital' by which he means 'special marks of distinction' that are attached to some place. For such places, Harvey cites the examples of Paris,

Athens, New York and Rome having great economic advantages relative to, say, Baltimore, Liverpool, Essen, Lille and Glasgow. For Harvey, the problem for the latter cities lies in increasing their amount of 'symbolic capital' and their 'marks of distinction' to better ground their claims to the uniqueness that yields monopoly rent.

According to Bourdieu (1986: 243), '*cultural capital*' can exist in three forms: in the *embodied* state, [i.e. , in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body]; in the *objectified* state, in the form of cultural goods [pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.]; and in the *institutionalized* state, [a form of objectification which must be set apart, because as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee].

6.1. The Culture(s) of Antalya, the City: The Search for 'Collective Cultural Capital' in the Historical Depths of Antalya

This section of the thesis seeks to identify the 'collective cultural capital' and the 'collective symbolic capital' of Antalya. The analysis of its various layers through which it has acquired its cultural heritage becomes crucial. As mentioned often by Antalyalites, "Antalya has been a place for settlement and civilizations for over fifty thousand years, since Paleolithic times." Some architectural remains of Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Seljuk and Ottoman origin which seem significant have been mentioned in the fifth chapter. Meanwhile, special care has been taken in the selection of the architectural remains mentioned during the discursive analysis of "a city of culture", as a strategy developed by the city's stakeholders. In short, this study attempts to define the 'collective cultural capital' attached to Antalya, with an eye to going beyond a simple adaptation of 'cultural capital' for cities.

6.1.1. Embodied State of Collective Cultural Capital: What does it mean to be an Antalyalite? What is being an Antalyalite as an identity?

First, the accumulation of cultural capital in the embodied state, i.e., in the form of what is called culture, cultivation, *Bildung,* presupposes a process of embodiment, incorporation, insofar as it implies a 'culture' of a specific city. With the term 'culture of a city', the celebrated urban historian Mumford (1938: 421) means, for instance, the 'defensive culture' of cities surrounded by the city walls in the Middle Ages, and at the same time the 'housing and neighboring culture' around the church at the city center or the 'guild culture' as a craft organization in medieval cities. In this sense,

in its *embodied* state, the collective cultural capital of a city can be explained for instance by the working class culture in industrial cities following the industrial revolution.

In the same way, one can assert that a city's *embodied* state of collective cultural capital, external wealth converted into an integral part of the city, into a *habitus,* cannot be transmitted instantaneously (unlike money, property rights, or even titles of nobility) by gift or bequest, purchase or exchange. In short, the *embodied* capital or the *habitus* of a city is the most distinctive and essential 'collective cultural capital' by which the citizens of the city are to be identified.

In this context, in its *embodied* state, the oldest distinctive 'collective cultural capital' attached to Antalya is its favorableness as a place for commerce. Both the literature review and field research conducted in Antalya including in-depth interviews of the stake holders in the city demonstrate that, above all, Antalya has been a 'port' and a 'commercial city' since antiquity. It also bears mentioning that the Seljuk civilization turned Antalya into a Seljuk city by developing new types of structures in order to protect as well as improve Antalya's status as a city of trade. As mentioned above, though Seyirci believes that Antalya was one of the cities of culture during the Seljuk period, one of the respondents, R2 disagrees. R2, who was also the president of the *Antalya Kültür Sanat Vakfı* (the Antalya Culture and Art Foundation, AKSAV) from 1999 to 2004, claims that "although the Seljuks left behind significant heritage, Antalya has always been a 'city of trade'":

> **R2:** *The truth of the matter is that Antalya was never a "city of culture"; it was a "center of commerce." It is not even an "agricultural center." The surrounding lands are not very fertile, with the swamps. It is a center of trade. The goods arriving at the port is transported through mountain passages and antique paths toward the inlands, a topic which I have done research on. In fact, this is how I would explain the fact that Antalya's population has just recently reached barely 30,000, for it is a mediating town. There has never been much production. The local trade people have had a mediating role in port trade.[118]*

Since its foundation, as a 'commercial city', Antalya has naturally established a 'culture of commerce'. The 'culture of commerce' as an *embodied* 'collective culture of capital' attached to Antalya can also be identified as the 'collective commercial capital' of a city related to its infrastructure, distribution networks of storage and transport, as well as social network of marketing.

For some native Antalyalites, the so called 'commerce culture' attached to Antalya is also identified with the 'culture of the notables in the province (=*eşraf kültürü*) by which they mean a culture of rich people in small towns in the province, far from the capitalist bourgeois culture

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[118] **R2:** Ama ortada bir gerçek var. Antalya hiç bir zaman bir kültür kenti olmamış. Bir ticaret kenti olmuş her zaman. Hatta tarım kenti de değildir. Çevresinde ekilebilir alan pek yoktur çünkü bataklıktır. Ticaret kentidir. Limana gelen ürün dağ yollarından, antik yollardan—ki benim özellikle araştırdığım konulardan biridir.—içerilere taşır. Antalya'nın nüfusunun yakın zamana kadar 30.000'i aşmamasını da ben böyle açıklıyorum Çünkü aracı bir kenttir. Asla üretim yapılmamıştır. Liman ticaretinde aracılık yapmıştır buradaki tüccar nüfus.

flourishing in cities. They define '*eşraf* culture' as a 'rentier culture' based on selling everything one owns if not leasing profitably. As mentioned in the second chapter "at the heart of the growth coalition is the 'rentier class' that has an interest in the exchange of land and property (Logan and Molotch, 1987). Respondent 3, a native Antalyalite poet comments sadly about the 'rentier culture' of the merchant elites as one of the 'collective cultural capital' attached to Antalya by giving specific examples:

> **R3:** *The city actually has a relatively deep cultural tradition in this matter. Even the Antalya Kültür Merkezi* [the Antalya Cultural Center, AKM] *was put out for a contract three times. They are trying to sell even that place.[119]*

> **R3:** *What does it mean to earn a living? What kind of hardship does it involve? An Antalyalite has no conception of this. Adana with its Sabanci and Kayseri with its other entrepreneurs, Ankara with its Koç family and all the others. I don't know maybe there might be some small business managers in Antalya. And they are probably second generation Antalyalites. Could Antalya be considered a city regardless? What has a respected Antalyalite ever done for the sake of art, for industry? From Aksu all the way to Serik? They sold. They consumed and squandered endlessly.* [Another Antalyalite] *was once the head of the municipality. He was in charge of all the way from Aksu to Manavgat. All they did was to sell and squander. What about more recently? The municipality gave him a house in Meltem, big enough to live in. In the 1970s, a very well-respected Antalyalite family had a small grocery. At noon they would turn the chair in the front upside down to mean it was closed. The owner would have lunch and take a nap. A type of siesta. Antalyalites discovered how to take advantage of annuity early on, a rentier culture.[120]*

Respondent 14, who is not from Antalya and who represents one of the largest capital groups, has similar views on the 'rentier culture' and 'laziness culture' the two 'embodied collective cultural capitals' attached to Antalya. R14 is also critical of how Antalyalites do not invest at least in Antalya for their fellow citizens, as is Respondent 25, who is also from a different city representing the City Cultural Directorate under the Tourism Ministry.

> **R14:** *Antalyalites are not like Kayseri natives. Antalyalites, forgive the expression, are lazy people. When I first came, I heard something said about them: "Money entered Antalya before civilization ever did." Antalyalites usually have a life style where they are land owners who sell their land, hand it over to a contractor, lease fifty apartments and buy BMWs and Mercedes cars. And their standard of life doesn't change much with the exception of some. This is how they are. There are so few that think they should invest within Antalya, create employment and help people earn a living and contribute to Antalya. I make an example of Kayseri because they come full circle to invest in their townsmen.[121]*

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[119] **R3:** Bu kentin aslında derin sayılabilecek bir kültürel geleneği var. AKM bile üç defa ihaleye çıkarıldı. Orayı bile satmaya çalışıyor.

[120] **R3:** Çalışarak para kazanmak nedir? Bunun zorluğu nedir? Görmemiştir Antalyalı. Halbuki Adana'dan bir Sabancı çıkmış, Kayseri'den başka girişimciler. Ankara'nın Koç'u ve diğerleri. Antalya'da en küçük bir işletmeci belki yenilerde var mıdır bilmiyorum. O da ikinci kuşak Antalyalı'dır muhtemelen. Buna rağmen Antalya'dan kent diye bahsedebilir miyiz? Ne yapmıştır Antalyalı sanat adına, sanayi adına? Antalya'nın yerlileri taa Aksu'dan Serik'e kadar. Sattılar. Yediler yediler bitiremediler. [Başka bir] adam bir dönem belediye başkanlığı yaptı. Aksudan manavgata kadar o koca yol bunlarındı. Sattı sattı yedi. Son dönem noldu buna bir ev verdi belediye meltemde başını sokacak orada. Antalya'nın çok saygın ailelerinden birileri bakkaliyesi vardı 70 li yıllarda. Öğlen vakti sandalyeyi ters çevirirdi kapının önüne bu kapalı demek. Adam gider öğlen yemeğini yer ve uyur bir saat. Bir çeşit siesta yani. Antalyalı rantı keşfetmiştir.

[121] **R14:** Antalyalılar bir Kayserililer gibi değil. Antalyalılar maalesef şey, tabiri caizse tembel insanlar. Antalyalılar için ben ilk geldiğimde şöyle bir söz duymuştum, medeniyetten önce para girmiş Antalya'ya. Antalyalılar genelde arazi sahibi, arazisini satmış, mütehite vermiş almış elli tane daireyi vermiş kiraya çekmiş bmv sini mersedesini altına, öyle ibr yaşam tarzları var. Ve yaşam standartlarında da farklılaşmıyor, bazıları farklılaşıyor tabi de. Böyle bir şey var Antalyalılar için. Antalya da çok az var, alıp da ben Antalya'nın içinde yatırım yapayım, istihdam oluşsun, insanlar ekmek kazansın

R26: *You can raise anything here. The land is so fertile! Everything grows but the worst is that no one makes an effort to raise people.* [122]

As can be seen in the analysis of the field research, the 'rentier culture' has not only left Antalya without any property; it has also left Antalya without capital as a result of spending without producing. Because of this 'rentier culture', most of the fertile grounds suitable for agriculture were turned into commercial and residential spaces through their sales to outsider entrepreneurs.

Especially after the 1980s, when tourism gained impetus in Antalya, the locals left without capital were replaced by those willing to invest in their stead and those migrating to work there. The result was that the population of Antalya, which used to comprise mostly nuclear families, increased rapidly. Respondent 23, an Antalyalite who represents the Antalya *Sanayiciler ve İşadamları Derneği* (the Antalya Industrialist and Businessmen's Association, ANSIAD) explains this in his own words below:

R23: *But the classic Antalya bourgeoisie let go of economic power because there was an enormous amount of money coming in from external sources. A town like Antalya-for it was one before it got bigger-started receiving the kind of money it was not accustomed to. Trade changed rapidly. There newly wealthy people, and outsiders were quick to recognize this and had a reason to come to Antalya. […] Outsiders came for investment, they brought money – not too much- but they came with a goal in mind. Their goal was to get rich. And they succeeded. They came from Istanbul, Ankara and the southeast. But they kept their eye on the target, on making money but Antalyalites were not like this. Those in Antalya do not have this kind of a culture. Like hoping to strike it rich quickly. There were no such opportunities in the past, no culture, no tradition around this goal. <u>The culture of Antalya is thus;</u> as the amount of land with building permits increases, new buildings are built apartment buildings are erected on large pieces of land, these lands increase in value and turn into residential areas. Lots and lots of residences. Actually, Antalyalites never had a reason to get ambitious. Money naturally found them; they were as if waiting for what they were entitled to (=nasibini beklemek). This is how the locals were, but those coming from other parts were not like this.* [123]

Similarly, respondent R28, an outsider representing the artists and intellectuals living in Antalya expresses his opinions on the native people of Antalya as follows:

Antalya'ya bir katkıda diye bir mantıkları yok. Kayseriyi niye örnek verdim, Kayserililer çünkü döner dolaşırlar kendi insanına yatırım yaparlar.

[122] **R26:** Ve her şey yetişiyor burada. O kadar verimli ki! Her şey yetişir, ama en kötü tarafı insanları yetiştirmeye hiç kimse gayret göstermez.

[123] **R23:** Ama klasik Antalya burjuvazisi ekonomik gücü elinden çıkardı. Elinden çıktı. Dışardan çünkü korkunç bir para geldi. Öyle bir kasabanın, Antalya eskiden büyükçe bir kasabaydı adeta. Küçük bir kentin alışık olmadığı paralar girmeye başladı Antalya'ya. Ticaret çok hızlı kabuk değiştirdi. Hem içerde yeni zenginler oluştu hem dışarıdan gelen insanlar bunu daha iyi gördüler, daha iyi algıladılar değişimi ve Antalya'ya bir şey için geldiler. […] Hem yatırım için geldiler, parayla geldiler hem de az parayla ama bir şey için geldiler. Bir hedef için, zenginlik için geldiler. Ve muvaffak da oldular. İstanbul'dan, Ankara'dan geldi, Güneydoğu'dan geldi, ama hep kenetlenmiş geldi, ama Antalya'nın içersindeki insan böyle değildi. Antalya'nın içindekinin böyle bir kültürü yok zaten, birden zengin olmayı hedeflemek gibi. Çünkü geçmişte böyle bir imkan da yok, böyle bir görgü, bilgi de yok Antalyalılar açısından. Zaman içerisinde, biraz biraz, Antalya'nın kültürü şudur; imarlı sahalar genişledikçe yerlere imar girer, büyük arazilere apartmanlar dikilir, araziler çok değerlenir ve konuta dönüşür. Çok çok konut olur. Aslında Antalyalı da böyle bir beklenti hep olduğu için hırslanması içinde bir gerek yoktur. Anlatabildim mi? Doğal olarak onu buluyordu, yani para ona geliyordu, nasibini bekler haldeydi, pozisyondaydı ama dışardan gelenler böyle gelmedi. Ya paralı geldiler ya da hedefe çok kenetlenmiş geldiler. O yüzden süratle Antalya'da ekonominin siklet merkezi değişti. Şimdi Antalya ekonomisinde eski Antalya zenginlerinin ağırlığı çok daha düştü, çok düşüktür.

> **R28:** *You might have observed that the people of Antalya do not create anything original. They are not innovative. Let's say you do something new. They wait and see if it works and then open a similar shop next to yours. They do not produce an alternative. They are not go-getters. They simply see a cake and have at it!* [124]

Essentially, the *embodied* state of the 'collective cultural capital' of a city is first and foremost identifiable with the 'common production activity' in it. Besides the 'culture of commerce' based on the activities of the Christian merchants during the Seljuk period, the 'craft culture' of the cobblers of the Ahi organization in the city center and the 'nomad culture' of the *Yörük* Turkmens working in animal husbandry and producing lumber and charcoal on the Taurus mountain range around Antalya brought their own culture with them.

Antalya is one of the rare places where the altitude goes from sea level to 3000 meters within ten kilometers. According to Ercenk (2004: 279), this characteristic of the Antalya region could not be disregarded by the *Yörük Turkmens*, who existed within the production systems of the Seljuks and the Ottomans, with their "nature being animal husbandry." Nomadism (*Yörüklük-Göçerlik)* is a way of life in which the main production activity is breeding animals in nature. (Ercenk, 2004: 281). A nomad migrates not for pleasure but for production. Migration is a production activity which occurs regularly, on certain dates and through certain roads to certain destinations. Following Melikoff (1993: 69) Ercenk (2004: 281) defines Muslim Seljuks or Ottomans as urbanized Muslim Turks educated in *Medrese* and Turks as rural/pastoral nomads, not educated in *Medrese* to be Muslimized, or not yet Muslimized and who raise animals in nature.

'Agriculture,' another major production activity, is one of the *embodied* states of 'collective cultural capital' attached to Antalya, though activities have moved from the coastal region toward the mountains due to agricultural lands being allocated for tourism investments since 1980. Still, the stakeholders who were interviewed during the field research strongly believe that Antalya's future lies in agriculture especially organic agriculture. There still remain lands suitable for organic agriculture and the only way Antalya can be branded is through these goods.

> **R12:** *Antalya is still predominantly an agricultural city. Greenhouses are very widespread. Although less, citrus fruits are still grown. Antalya's future lies in agriculture.* [125]
>
> **R24:** *An agricultural city; with the most important asset being greenhouse production.* [126]

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[124] **R28:** Antalya'nın halkı eğer gözlediysen çok özgün işler yapmaz. Kendileri yeni bir şey yapmaz. Mesela sen yeni bir şey yaptın. Bakar sana satıyor mu? Hemen yanında onu yapar. Oradan bir alternatif türeterek kendisi farklı bir şey yapmaz. Atılımcı ruhu yok bu adamlarda. Şimdi bu her şey dahil meselesi de böyle. Burada bir pasta var: Hurra!

[125] **R12:** Antalya öncelikle tarım kenti hala. Turizm var ama çok az da sanayi var. Seracılık çok yaygın. Narenciye bahçeleri kalmadı ama hala var. Antalya'nın geleceği tarım.

[126] **R24:** Tarım kenti, en büyük şeyi de örtü altı yetiştirmesi.

R11: *For example, if Antalya's agricultural exports are at 300-400 million dollars, I'll bet the amount it sells to the facilities here is greater. And it also sells to its domestic market. Therefore, agriculture must always be sustained at any cost.* [127]

R21: *In Antalya there is definitely a well-established agricultural culture. The city used to be a place where people came to retire, to enjoy nature due to its climate with economy based on agriculture. The tourism activities which increased since the 1980s resulted in tourism becoming the most important sector. Of course, I think Antalya should not only be a solely tourism based city; agriculture should also be supported.* [128]

R26: *There's agriculture. Enough of it. In fact, agriculture and its benefits surpass that of tourism. Antalya still hasn't departed from its agricultural culture. The culture of tourism hasn't really penetrated Antalya. It is those from other places that work in tourism. Antalyalites do not have nor want a culture of tourism.* [129]

R22: *Antalya is strong in agriculture as well as tourism. It is actually the agricultural capital. %86 of Turkish greenhouse production takes place here. Tomatoes in particular are grown at 2 million tons per year. We* [As Antalya] *produce as many tomatoes as Greece. Our problem is that we are only able to export 7% of the tomatoes we produce. These problems need to be resolved. Antalya will make a name for itself in the future in terms of agriculture, especially modern and technological greenhouse production.* [130]

R23: *The greenhouse production culture has left the city center. There used to be such a culture in the villages in the center. Our Kırcami region and Lara used to be home to greenhouses. Now they are all about tourism. They used to call gardeners, greenhouse owners and vegetable producers as greengrocers. This greengrocer culture even entered names. There used to be one such greengrocer who was also head of the municipality for some time. He was from a respected family, the Manavuşaklılar* [manav=greengrocer] *family.* [131]

Regardless, a simplistic statement made to the effect that those living in Antalya are city people and those in the periphery are villagers would fall short of explaining Antalya's *embodied* state of 'collective cultural capital'. In fact, those living in the city of Antalya, as first of all a port and trade center have always been in close contact with the *Yörük* Turkmens, who are the lead actors in the rural production around the city. Moreover, as it is true in Antalya case, since the foundation of the Ottoman State, the central administration always focused on the sedentarization of the *Yörük*

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[127] **R11:** Mesela Antalya'nın tarım ürünü ihracatı 300-400 milyon dolar ise buradaki tesislere sattığı rakam daha fazladır bence. Kendi iç pazarına da satıyor. Onun için de tarımın Antalya'da hiçbir zaman yok olmaması lazım. Tam tersine varlığının sürdürülmesi gerekir.

[128] **R21:** Antalya kenti önceleri iklimi nedeniyle daha çok emeklilerin, doğaya, doğada yaşamayı isteyenlerin yaşadıkları, ekonomisi tamamen tarıma dayalı birkent. 1980'den sonra hızla turizmin antalyaya girmesiyle başlayan, 80'den önce başlayan işte bu iklim nedeniyle göç 80'den sonra turizm nedeniyle göçe dönüştü. 80'den bu güne kadarda turizm üzerine kurulmuş, en önemli sektörü turizm olmuş bir kent. Tabi bize göre antalyanın tek başına turizm kenti olması doğru değil, tarımında desteklenmesi gerekir.

[129] **R26:** Tarım var, tarım, yeteri kadar tarım var Antalya'da. Hatta tarım turizmden daha ilerde, getirisi de öyle. Yani getirisi de tarımın çok iyi. Hala Antalya tarım kültüründen asla vazgeçmemiştir. Hatta tarım kültürü turizm kültürünü geride bırakıyor diyebilirim yani. Zaten buraya turizm kültürü girmemiştir. Burada turizmi yapanlar hep yabancılar. Antalyalıda asla turizm kültürü yoktur, istemiyorda.

[130] **R22:** Antalya turizmin yanında tarım yönünden de güçlü bir şehir. Tarımında başkenti aslında Antalya. Bugün örtü altı tarımın %86'sı Antalyadadır. Türkiyedeki örtü altı tarımın. Özellikle domates üretimi, 2 milyon ton domates üretimi yapılıyor. Yunanistan kadar domates üretiyoruz biz. Fakat sıkıntımız, ürettiğimiz domatesin ancak %7'sini ihraç edebiliyoruz. Bunların sorunlarının çözülmesi lazım. Tarım yönünden de Antalya önümüzdeki dönemde özellikle modern seracılık ve teknolojik seracılık konusunda da isminden çok fazla söz ettirecek bir şehir.

[131] **R23:** Merkezden çekildi Antalya'da artık seracılık kültürü, Antalya'nın merkezinde eskiden bir seracılık kültürü vardı. Merkez köylerde seracılık kültürü vardı. Yani bizim Kırcamimiz işte Lara bölgemiz çok turizme, pardon, seracılıkla, sebzecilikle ve çok manav derlerdi eskiden. Sebzecilikle uğraşanlara, bahçecilere manav derlerdi. Belediye başkanlığı falan da yaptı bir arkadaşımız, büyüğümüz daha doğrusu, o aileden. Manavuşaklılar geniş bir ailedir. İşte manavlıktan geliyor. Kültür var mı derseniz, isimlere girmiş bir kültür var.

Turkmen tribes in inhabitable places where available. Long before the Turks conquered Antalya, the majority of the population in Antalya consisted of the Greeks until the end of the Byzantine period.

Like all informants, Respondent R6 holds that Antalya is a not a city but a provincial town. R6 attributes this provincial aspect of Antalya to the previously nomadic population settling down in Antalya:

> **R6:** *Antalya is first and foremost a rural city. Despite its level of development, it is a unique Yörük city. Some might disagree but the Yörük culture is definitely predominant and something people are proud of. Therefore it wouldn't be correct to talk about a bourgeoisie in the city here. The bourgeoisie or the citizen is actually pretty much "good yörüks". 'Good yörüks' meaning they settled down two or three generations ago, took advantage of the city's trade, became leaders, bought and sold. This is a city whose relationship with the Ottoman Palace was good due to its location. Others are "yörüks." Then there are the "peasant yörüks". There are many of those now as well. But they are different. "Peasant Yörüks" are better, I think. They are not as much a threat as (good yörüks).[132]*

> **R12:** *There are more investments made by Antalyalite capital around Kumluca and Manavgat. But if the issue is city culture, we could say that it is underdeveloped. Maybe we can say that* [there is] *a little of the village culture.[133]*

What informant R6 calls "good" or "urbanized" *yörük*s, are those who settled in the city at least three generations ago. The perception of this threat should be taken as a criticism of their role in the transition of Antalya from the trade and port city it had been since its founding with its *embodied* collective cultural capital as 'commerce culture' into a 'rentier culture'. Regardless, it should not be ignored that the Seljuk artisans, previously *Yörük* Turkmens who had settled down, established high level professional ethics as early as the beginning of the 13th century and established an *Ahi* Organization in the city. This society could be considered as one of the earliest examples of an NGO of its time. They clearly exhibited a highly sophisticated city culture. A look at the population trends in the city of Antalya reveals a dichotomy even more pronounced than that of the 'urbanized *yörük*'-'rural *yörük*' seen at the beginning of the 20th century during the population exchange. R6 comments on this subject:

> **R6:** *The Greeks left in the 1920s. They had had to escape before that when they saw the problems looming. Some went to America, some to Greece. This exchange of peoples doesn't happen overnight. The newcomers are not the same quality as those who left. You wouldn't believe some of them […] Even Greece wants to get rid of them […] So the structure of the city and the trade and everything received a blow in those days. Some newcomers were unhappy and wanted to move elsewhere. But the city changed. Meanwhile, we are forgetting those from Crete. The first large group came in the 1890s. They changed the city a lot, too. They formed Cretan neighborhoods not in The Castle District but outside of the city. They hardly speak a word of Turkish. Their culture is very different, which makes it hard for them to communicate with us and [understand] our Yörük culture. Conflicts arise, fights and so on but then they get used*

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[132] **R6:** Antalya her şeyden önce bir taşra kenti. Tüm bu gelişmişliğine rağmen tam bir taşra kenti, tam bir yörük kenti, tam kendine özgü bir yörük kenti. Yörük kültürü burada ne derseniz deyin egemen ve övünç kaynağı yani. Yörük olmakla övünür. Onun için, burjuva, kent burjuvazisinden söz etmek, bunların dışında söz etmek biraz zor. Kent burjuvazisi de aslında üç aşağı beş yukarı, "iyi yörük" yani. Kent burjuvazisi—gerçek Antalyalı için konuşuyorum—"iyi yörük" ama taa iki ya da üç kuşak önce yerleşik düzene geçmiş, bu kentin nimetlerinden ticaretinden, şuyundan buyundan yaralanmış, ağalık mağalık yapmış, almış satmış. Osmanlı ile ilişkileri çok iyi olan yani sarayla ilişkileri çok iyi olan bir kent. Konumundan dolayı öyle. Öbürü, "yörük." Bir de "köylü yörük" var. Köylü yörük de son zamanlarda Antalya'da, çok farklı. "Köylü Yörük," Köylü Yörük şey kadar tehlikeli değil tabii yani şehirleşmiş Yörük (iyi yörük) kadar tehlikeli değil bana göre.

[133] **R12:** Kumluca ve Manavgat tarafında daha çok Antalyalı sermayedarın yatırımı var. Ama şu var kent kültüründen bahsedersek az gelişmiş diyebiliriz. Biraz taşralı diyebiliriz. Taşra kültürü

to things. But things start our differently. They are called infidels. They speak a different language, eat and drink different food. There is mutual dislike between the two peoples. Where we eat meat all the time, they always have vegetables and herbs. Antalya meets olive oil for the first time through them even though they are Mediterranean as well.[134]

Conversely, Respondent R2 asserts that "though Antalya is a typical Seljuk City, there is no connection between the Nomads and the Antalya city itself." According to R2, Antalya had never been an inhabitable place for Nomads until the mid-twentieth century; rather it has always been a port and *commercial city*. He continues:

> **R2:** *This area was a swamp until 1950. The nomads leave after May. I spent years searching for the nomads' migration paths. But the nomadic life does not matter here. What I mean is that it is important in terms of Anatolian life, but not for the city. The nomads belong in the mountains. Transhumance and nomadism are two different things. Our livestock is different than in the western regions of the Mediterranean. It is different than in Sicily or Sardinia. Here is the main difference: The production is done differently. Also, it is different in terms of the subject's possession of the geography. The coasts are forgotten. The nomad needs the mountains. A nomad who is mobile in terms of production must not be too far behind his goat.[135]*

Implying Seljuks, though Rice (1961: 153) once asserts, "early Turks adapted themselves to urban life," she (Ibid.: 95) also argues that "they were very attached to their ancestral tents, and did not replace these with houses easily." These tents were of the Central Asian type; that is they were round and made of interlaced rushes, while their pointed roofs were formed of bent withies, the whole structure was covered with *keçe* (=felt) panels, which were often ornamented (Rice, Ibid.). The field research conducted in Antalya shows that the replacement of the Nomad's tent with a house corresponds to the mid-twentieth century. In the following quotation, Informant 2 describes a nomad family's efforts:

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[134] **R6:** 1920'lerde de işte mübadeleyle ilgili olarak, işte Rumlar gidiyor. Zaten daha önce de sıkıntıyı görünce kaçmışlar gitmişler zaten adamcağızlar. Amerika'ya giden var, Yunanistan'a giden var. Mubadele Antalya'da öyle bi günde olan işler değil. Gelenler işte, bildiğiniz hikaye, gelenin kalitesi de işte çok kaliteli değil. Gidenlerin kalitesinde değil gelenler açıkçası. Öyle şeyler var ki, işte […] Yunanistan'da başından atmak istiyor onları. Bunlar da gelmiş falan. Yani kentin yapısı, ticareti her şeyi epey bi yara alıyor o dönemde. Onlar burada oturuyor. Sonra bir kısmı sıkılıyor, başka bir yer istiyor. Her yerde olan hikaye burada da var. Ama kentin yapısı çok değişiyor. Tabii bu arada onu unutuyoruz; ilk ciddi grup da 1890'lardan itibaren gelen Giritlileri unutuyoruz. Giritliler kentin yapısını çok değiştiriyor. Onlar Kaleiçi'nde değil, şehrin dışındaki yerlerde Girit mahalleleri yapılıyor, oralarda oturuyorlar. Onlar Türkçe'yi bile zor konuşan insanlar. Tabii kültürleri çok farklı, buradaki o yörük kültürüyle anlaşmaları çok zor. Olaylar oluyor, çatışmalar oluyor, kavgalar oluyor, yavaş yavaş ısınıyorlar. İşte, bu gelen çocuğun babası Giritli, yani ordan gelmeler. Her zaman karşınıza çıkabilir. Ama işin başında çok farklı, gavur diyorlar Türkçe bile konuşamıyorlar, onlar burayı beğenmiyorlar. Bizimkiler onları beğenmiyor. Yedikleri içtikleri farklı. Hep et, hep et bizimkiler. Onlar da hep ot, hep ot. Zeytinyağı ile ilk defa Antalyalı Giritliler sayesinde tanışıyor ki güya bunlar da Akdenizli.

[135] **R2:** Şimdi bu kent hiç bir zaman yörük olmadı ki. Burası her zaman bir liman kenti ticaret kenti. 1950'ye kadar buralar hep bataklık, yörükler Mayıs ayından sonra durmuyor burada gidiyorlar. Benim hayatım yörüklerin göç yollarını aramakla geçti. Yörüklük burada önemli değil. Niye önemli değil. Anadolu yaşamında tabi ki önemli ama bu kent için yörüklük niye önemli değil. Yörüklerin yeri dağdadır. Yaylacılık başka bir şey yörüklük başka bir şey. Akdeniz'in Batı'sından farklıdır bizdeki hayvancılık. Sardunya'dan Sicilya'dan farklıdır. Temel farklılık şu. Üretme biçimi farklı. Bir de suje açısından yani bu işi yapanın coğrafyayı sahiplenmesi açısından farklı. Sahiller unutuluyor. Onun esas ihtiyacı olan yerler dağlardır. Yörükseniz eğer, üretim ilişkisinde göçebeyseniz eğer, hayvancılıkla geçiniyorsanız eğer keçinin kıçından ayrılmamak zorundasınız.

R2: *I recorded a conversation with Bekir Kumbul's* [Mayor of the Greater Antalya Municipality between 1999 and 2004] *grandfather. His grandfather and grandmother, about 26 years ago. I asked the 90 year old grandmother when she had first slept in a house. Her husband was 85. She quoted a date around 1950. Before that she had always slept in a tent. I asked her what happened when she went to bed in the house. She told me she couldn't sleep. She pointed to her husband and said that she told him to build set up the tent. They went into the tent when the stars were out and that's how she slept. […] The house is a different living space. The tent is sacred. It is ultimately a dwelling but it is carried on the back. All you need to do is load it on the back of an animal.* [136]

Informant R16 [Mayor of the Greater Antalya Municipality between 1999 and 2004], the son of a nomadic family described his childhood below:

R16: *I was born to a nomadic family. Although official records say I was born in 1951, it was actually 1948 because my parents stopped by a settled center three years later. I started primary school in 1954, so that would make me 3 years old. […] At migration time, we would miss about 15-20 days of school but our teachers would let us pass since they knew we were nomads. In middle school we stayed with relatives and acquaintances when my parents migrated.* [137]

Among the respondents, those living in Antalya for years say that the traditional Yörük migrations lasted until the beginning of the 1970s and that they saw some firsthand. For Antalyalites, who are proud of their *Yörük* heritage, this *Yörük* culture is without doubt the *embodied* collective cultural capital of Antalya. However, the essence of the '*yörük* culture,' which is 'the *Yörük* family' and 'traditional migration,' only exists in memories today. It can be concluded from what R24, a previous director of the *Antalya Tanıtım Vakfı* (the Antalya Promotion Foundation, ATAV) says that keeping 'traditional migration' alive is 'collective cultural capital' which could transform into 'collective symbolic capital', as in the case of Spain's bull fights:

R24: *There were still camels in the 70s. I wish—and this was a project we worked on at the foundation—we could revitalize the traditional migration and turn into a touristic activity and that our people could participate like the bulls that run through the streets in Spain.* [138]

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[136] **R2:** Ben 1 Mayıs 1980 günü Bekir Kumbul'un dedesiyle görüşmüştüm. […] Bekir Kumbul'un dedesinin sesini almıştım banta. Ninesiyle dedesinin 26 sene önce. "İlk evde ne zaman yattın?" diye sormuştum ninesine 90 yaşındaydı kendisi, kocası da 85 yaşındaydı. Verdiği tarih 1950 falan. Ondan önce hep kıl çadırda yatmış. "Peki ne yaptın evde yatınca?" dedim. "yatamadım" dedi. Eşini gösterdi. "Söyledim çadırı kurdu. Sabah yıldız alacasında çadıra girdik yattık öyle uyudum" dedi. Anlatabiliyor muyum bilmiyorum. Yani farklı bakıyor. Ev farklı bir yaşam alanıdır. Çadır kutsaldır. Nihayetinde konuttur ama sırtta taşınan bir şeydir. Hayvana sırtladınız mı işiniz bitti demektir. Ev daha ciddi bir tasarımı gerektiririr. Daha ciddi bir donanımı gerektirir. Daha farklı bir ihtiyacı gerektirir.

[137] **R16:** Ben bir Göçer ailenin çocuğu olarak dünyaya geldim. Her ne kadar nüfusta 1951 yazsa da babamlar yerleşik bir merkeze üç yıl sonra uğradığı için gerçekte 1948 doğumluyum. 1954'de ilkokula başladım hesaba göre 3 yaşında başlamış oluyorum. Bizim dönemimizde ilkokulda bitirme imtihanları vardı. Göç zamanı baştan ve sondan 15-20 gün kaybımız olurdu ama öğretmenimiz bizim göçer olduğumuzu bildiği için bize sınıfı geçirirdi. Ortaokuldayken ailem yine göçer yaşarken biz okul zamanı aile tanıdıklarımızın yanında kalırdık.

[138] **R24:** Develer hala vardı 70'lerde. Ve bu ben çok yaşadım. Gönül ister ki mesela bizim vakıftada çok çalıştığımız bir projeydi bu. Hala geleneksel göçü canlandırabilsek ve bunu turistik bir görselliğe dönüştürebilsek ve insanlarımız da bunu hala katılımcı olarak, mesela İspanyadaki o boğanın salınması ve boğanınönünden koşulması veya işte domatesin savaşının yapılması, portakalın savaşını yapılması falan gibi.

Though Nomads (*rural yörük*s) regularly migrated on certain dates and through certain roads to certain destinations not for pleasure but to raise their livestock, *urbanized yörük*s still migrate to the highlands in the summer for pleasure. R23, who defines himself as a native Antalyalite, R24, who is an outsider devoted to promoting Antalya to the world and FG4, who has been living in Antalya for over ten years, say the following about the seasonal migration of the urbanized *yörük*s in Antalya.

> **R23:** *We are Antalyalites, typical Antalyalites. We go up to the highlands. It's a whole other kind of nature. It's a different kind of pleasure. It's a family gathering like a big camping trip.*[139]

> **R24:** *There are those here who go up to the highland in the summer and spend winters in Antalya and those from Yörük backgrounds. Even though they now use cars or trucks, migration still takes place.*[140]

> **FG4:** *The nomadic culture is still predominant. Whether rich or poor those living in the city go up to their homes in the highlands in the summer.*[141]

Informants R24, FG4, FG6 and FG5, who believe that the urbanized *yörük*s, for whom the sea has never held much appeal even after their move to Antalya as a port city, still have practices reminiscent of the *Yörük* culture:

> **FG4:** *Until recently, there were families who lived in tents on Konyaaltı Beach. That is where they spend the summer in a domestic state like that in authentic Yörük tents. Or they live in tin barracks for summer homes. Even those living in the houses in the city have the nomad culture in them. For instance, in the homes I have seen, rarely is there a culture of sitting at a table to eat. They still eat on a large copper tray on the floor.* [142]

> **R24:** *The Yörük culture has influenced Antalya at least as much as the Mediterranean culture has. Not only interims of food but general life style. It is a fact that the Yörük ways continue. Antalyalites did not swim in the sea for years. They went to the seaside to cool off, but they never actually went in. Fishing was never very big. These are all remnants of the Yörük culture, in my opinion. Why did sailing or yachting develop so late in Antalya? If you spent the night in this city, you would not see one light on the waters after dark. In any other coastal town, there are always lights dancing over the water from sailboats, motorboats and dinghies. This city lacks these.*[143]

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[139] **R23:** Biz Antalyalıyız, klasik Antalyalı, yaylaya gideriz. Başka bir doğadır, başka bir zevktir o. Büyükler gider, aileler bir arada olur falan. Bir kamp, kamp kurmak gibidir yani. Eviniz var ve kampa gidiyorsunuz.

[140] **R24:** Her ne kadar artık motor, şeyler kullanıyorlarsa da, motorlar açılarak kullanılıyorsada bir göç, yazlık bir kervan çıkıyor. Ama bunlar kendi arabalarıyla çıkıyorlar veya kamyonlarıyla çıkıyorlar.

[141] **FG4:** Hala göçer kültürü hakim. Şehirde yaşayan zengin ya da fakir olsun buradaki ailelerin çoğu yaz gelince yayladaki evlerine çıkıyorlar.

[142] **FG4:** Yakın zamanlara kadar Konyaaltı Plajına çadır kurup yaşayan aileler vardı. Tenteyle ya da göçer obalarının otantik çadırları gibi bir ev düzeni içinde orada yazı geçiriyorlar. Tenekeden yapılmış barakalarda yaşıyor yazlık niyetine. Şehirde evlerde yaşayan halkda da göçebe kültürü var. Benim gördüğüm bir çok evde masada yemek yeme alışkanlığı yok mesela. Hala yer sofrasında büyük sinilerde yiyorlar.

[143] **R24:** Yörük kültürünün Antalyaya en az Akdeniz kadar etkisi var. Yemek açısından olduğu gibi, yaşam açısından efendim hayat tarzı olarak bir Yörük yaşantısının olduğu bir gerçek. Yıllarca Antalyalılar denize girmediler, deniz kenarına gittiler serinlemek için ama denize giren çok olmadı, balıkçılık çok gelişmedi. Hep bunlar Yörük kültürünün verdiği şeyler bana göre. Yani niçin Antalyada yelkenli veyahutta yat olayı veyahut deniz olayı bu kadar geç gelişti ve hala da aynı. Bu kentte siz geceleyin, ava karardıktan sonra denize baktığınız zaman ışık göremezsiniz. Oysa bir deniz kentinde pırıl pırıldır. Her biri birer tane inci parıltısında denizin üstündeyelkenliler dolaşır, motorlular dolaşır, kayıklar dolaşır, sefalar yapılır. Bunlar bu kentte eksiktir.

FG6: *When I first came here, I was surprised at the lack of connection these people had to the sea living right on the sea. They don't know about the sea, fishing or even fish. They have no sea culture. Even in the small villages along the Aegean coastline, they have a sea culture, a fish culture. I think this can be explained by them not having yörük ties.*[144]

FG5: *So are the residences. Even though they are almost on the water, they have no view with the apartment buildings obstructing the view. And this doesn't bother them. But, in Istanbul for example, you try to get a glimpse of the sea by hanging out of one tiny window. Why? Because the sea in Istanbul is beyond comparison. Why? Because it is a dynamic sea where you see the bosphorus, the opposite coast. My home here has a view of the sea but I sometimes have trouble appreciating it. It is an empty sea. I take pictures of each boat I sea. That's how distant and empty it is in the horizon. No light. Just emptiness and darkness.*[145]

R1: *Do you know Konyaaltı street? The one between the Museum and the Republic square. One side of the street is a park and the other [is lined with] residences. I wonder what pleasure the people living along that street get out of the pitch dark above the sea when they sit out on their balconies. Its not right. That area would be great for hotels. The tourist there would go downtown in the evening. That's no place for apartments. This isn't the Istanbul Channel where you might enjoy the view at night sitting on your balcony, looking at the twinkling lights across the bosphorus. You might see maybe a single fisherman's boat/ And the rows of residences should be parallel to the sea not perpendicular to it. There is terrible planning in Antalya.*[146]

R14: *Antalyalites and the sea are very distant to one another. Antalyalites are disgruntled with the sea, they don't like it.*[147]

Regardless of how those living in Antalya, despite their various origins, have observed the influence of the *Yörük* culture, tourists during their short visits would have a hard time seeing this impact on daily life. Instead of this, tourists are hosted in 'Black Tent-like restaurants, a parody of the *Yörük* culture. Although it remains a controversial issue why there is not one preserved authentic *Yörük* Tent instead of the copies by the tens, informant R6, who opines that the fake 'Black Tent's will do more harm than good to tourism states the following:

R6: *On the road to Korkuteli some phony Yörük centers were built. There used to be a real Yörük family there with their livestock and Black Tent right by the road. A guide once stopped there on the way to Pamukkale and said "Look, this is a real Yörük family, this is how the yörük live" Everything was original. The second guide said "Yes, it's great." They liked it a lot. Then the third bus stopped there and the fourth and so on. Before we knew it, it started getting crowded. They forced the poor man saying "if you want to make money, you need to make this tent larger, and*

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[144] **FG6:** İlk geldiğimde denizin kenarında bu kadar yakın yaşayan insanların denizle olan ilşkisizliklerine çok şaşırmıştım. Deniz bilmiyorlar, balık bilmiyorlar, balıkçılık bilmiyorlar. Deniz kültürü bilmiyorlar. Ege'nin koylarında küçük küçük köylerde bile bir deniz kültürü balık kültürü vardır. Bence göçebe olmalarından kaynaklanıyor.

[145] **FG5:** Konutlar da öyle. Denize çok yakın olmalarına rağmen önlerindeki yüksek bloklardan dolayı denizi göremiyorlar. Bunu da önemsemiyorlar. Ama mesela İstanbul'da tek bir pencereden bile denizi göstermeye çalışırsın. Çünkü İstanbul'un denizi ölçülemez bir deniz. Neden? İstanbul'daki deniz boğazı gördüğün, karşı kıyıyı gördüğün hareketli bir deniz. Buradaki benim evim, denizi görüyor ama denizi algılayamıyorum bazen. Buradaki deniz boş bir deniz. Ben kayık geçtiğinde fotoğraf çekiyorum.

[146] **R1:** Konyaaltı caddesini biliyor musunuz? Müze ile Cumhuriyet Alanı arasındaki cadde. Caddenin altı park, üstü ev. Ben çok merak ediyorum o cadde üzerinde oturan insanlar akşam balkonlarında oturduklarında denizin üzerindeki o zifiri karanlıktan ne zevk alıyorlar? Oralar öyle olmaz. Oralar çok güzel otel olur. Oradaki turist de akşam kente iner. Orada ev olmaz. Burası İstanbul Boğazı değil ki akşam balkonunda oturunca için açılsın. Karşılar ışıl ışıl olsa belki bakacaksın. Bir tane balıkçı teknesini zor görürsün. Sonra konut sıraları denize paralel oysa dikey olmalı. Çok kötü bir planlama var Antalya'da.

[147] **R14:** Antalyalıyla deniz birbirine çok uzak. Antalyalı denize küskündür, sevmez denizi.

so he did. Then there were two, then three, and so on. People around saw this was lucrative business and they started building rest areas there. It has nothing to do with how it really used to be.[148]

The *embodied* collective cultural capital or *habitus* of a city by which the citizens of the city are to be identified have been: the 'navigation culture' of the early Greeks, the 'commercial culture' of the early Byzantines, the craft culture of the Seljuk cobblers, urbanized *yörük*s of medieval Seljuk cities, and animal husbandry of the nomadic rural *yörük* in the highlands, '*eşraf* culture' of the notable urbanized *yörük*s, and 'cultivation culture' of the sedentarized rural *yörük*s in Antalya during the Ottoman period. Undoubtedly, all of them are Antalyalites and together they constitute the *habitus* of Antalya. Thus, the question, "Who is the truest Antalyalite?" has no clear response today. As a matter of fact, informant R16, who was born to a nomadic family and worked as the Mayor of the Greater Antalya Municipality between 1999 and 2004; informant R7, who recently came to Antalya from Istanbul for the City Museum Project; informant R24, who has been living in Antalya for more than thirty years, R13, R23 and almost all of the respondents interviewed during the field research think that having been born in Antalya is not a prerequisite of being an Antalyalite:

> **R16:** *You don't have to have been born here. No matter where you are from, if you live here, you are from here. This is why we started publishing the magazine "Antalyalı" (=The Antalyalite). When I say Antalyalite, I don't mean that you must be able to trace seven generations of your family back to Antalya. I think that anyone calling themselves an Antalyalite is.*[149]
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> **R7:** *It is a very vague term. When we were publishing the Istanbul magazine, our first cover story was about "Who are the true natives of Istanbul? Someone thought this up during the meeting and asked the participants this question. The son of the former American Consul General was among us and he had been born in Istanbul. Therefore, there is no reason why there shouldn't be more people like this in Antalya. In the last 80 years, the population of Antalya has increased fifty fold. I do not know of a sociological survey done on the rate of first generation Antalyalites, but in an oral history preparation group study a professor from the sociology department* [at Akdeniz University in Antalya] *uttered the figure %35, which sounds about right to me. It is probably a population over 18 years of age. Then there are second generation Antalyalites. The remainder is all first generation Antalyalites. Moreover, most of them are not any more attached to or feel responsibility for Antalya than those from Ankara, Istanbul or Izmir. What we call the awareness to preserve the city does not call for being born somewhere or having family there. […] This is why if you were to differentiate between nostalgia and awareness of one's home city, the former would say "the good old days!" and the latter would say "I must do something for this place". For the latter group, it makes little difference whether they feel they are truly from a city or not. In fact, I have observed that many people not born here, but who have been working here for 5-10-15 years are working harder to protect and do research on the cultural heritage of Antalya.*

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[148] **R6:** Korkuteli yolu üzerinde düzmece Yörük merkezleri kuruldu. Eskiden orada bir tane gerçek bir Yörük Aile vardı. Yolun hemen kenarında, hayvanları, mayvanları, Kara Çadırı. Turist, bir rehber giderken orada durdu. Bakın işte bu özgün Yörük Ailesi, yörük yaşamı böyle olur dedi. Gerçekten de o özgün bir yörük ailesiydi. İndiler, baktılar, çok hoşlarına gitti. Her şey özgün. İkinci rehber dedi ki: "Ya, güzel bir şey." Çok hoşlarına gitti. İkinci otobüsün rehberi de orada durmaya başladı, üçüncüsü de durmaya başladı. Dört, beş derken orası çok kalabalık olmaya başladı. Adamı zorladılar. Dediler ki "yav madem sen para kazanacaksın bu çadırı büyüt" dediler. Şöyle yap böyle yap. Adam şimdi çadırı büyüttü. İki iken üç oldu, üçken beş oldu. Valla, işte ne bileyim, televizyon koydu oraya, plastik masalar koydu artık. Konu komşu baktı bu iş çok karlı, hemen onun yanına bu sefer işte dinlenme tesisleri inşa edilmeye başlandı. Hiç alakası bile yok aslıyla.

[149] **R16:** Antalya'da doğmak şart değil. Nereden gelirsen gel Antalya'ya gelen Antalya'lıdır. Bu nedenle "*Antalyalı*" dergisini çıkarmaya başladık. Ben Antalyalı derken yedi göbek Antalyalı'dan bahsetmiyorum. Kendine Antalyalı diyen herkes Antalyalı'dır bana göre.

Therefore the difference should be identified using the sense of active civic responsibility not rooted in personal gain but interest in the future of Antalya.[150]

R24: *This city receives so much migration that there no 'original' Antalyalites. It is interesting that Antalya is the only city that has an Antalyalites Society within its city. […] That shows how much of a minority they are. But anyone who breathes in this city should make some sort of contribution. Otherwise, if the city is left to the originals, this city will never develop. Therefore, neither should the originals nor the newcomers be alienated. They should collaborate. Ideally, of course, the originals should take the lead, but this doesn't tend to happen here.[151]*

R5: *Antalya… not yet.. I mean urbanization and becoming an urban people, these require time. Being an İstabul native or Ankara native. For example you are from Ankara. I can say that I am from Ankara too. I lived there for 19 years. Even the concept of being from Ankara is just beginning to take hold. "City culture" is brought about by the friction of stones. Just like the similarly sized and shaped by the seaside forming a pattern, and smaller stones making up one in another place. This is how a city comes into being. I believe that the sudden appearance of a city culture in Antalya goes against science. This place can not be like Ankara or İstanbul, either. This place first of all is open to the outside with its city tourism potential. Because people come here from around the world. I think that there are several types of culture forming here. […] The Antalyalite culture here I think will take time [to form]. The culture in Ankara developed there in the 80s, the one made up by third generation Ankara residents. So at least two generations are required. Now, if a child born here finishes primary school and high school here, he will have the culture of an Antalyalite for that generation when he is in his 50s or 60s. A pattern is only formed over time, as in the rocks on the seaside example. But this* will *happen later. For Antalya has a strong infrastructure.[152]*

R13: *The number of true Antalyalites is quite small. The awareness of being an Atlayalite is very low. This is because those living in the city are mostly migrants who came later. <u>There are newcomers in almost all professional fields.</u> Maybe an Antalyalite might feel like one, but here there work and live people who are not originally from Antalya <u>Most people don't have the feeling of being an Antalyalite,</u> This wasn't created. I mean, people didn't make an effort for this. I see myself as an Antalyalite. I have been one for 15 years. My wife is also from here, she was born and raised here. But when you ask people living in Antalya who came from somewhere else, where they are from, they will all tell you their region of origin. So this is about how one feels. This should of course be developed. Everyone living in Antalya and*

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[150] **R7:** Antalyalı terimi çok belirsiz bir terim. Şimdi biz İstanbul dergisinin ilk sayısını çıkartırken, bir sayının dosya konusu "İstanbullu Kim?" idi. Bununla ilgili hazırlık toplantısında birinin aklına geldi ve dosya konusunun sorusunu katılımcılara sordu. Ve eski Amerikan Konsolosunun oğlu Tony Clean sadece İstanbul doğumluydu içimizde. Dolayısıyla Antalya'da bu oranın daha yüksek olması için çok fazla sebep yok. Antalya'nın nüfusu son 80 yılda 50 kat arttı. Birinci kuşak Antalyalıların oranı konusunda ben bir sosyolojik araştırma bilmiyorum ama, sabah burada yapılan bir sözlü tarih hazırlık grubu çalışmasında Sosyoloji Bölümü'nden bir Öğretim Üyesi %35 gibi bir rakam telaffuz etti. Makul geliyor bana yani %35 civarında 18 yaş üstü bir nüfustur muhtemelen. Bir de ikinci kuşak Antalyalı var. Gerisi hep birinci kuşak Antalyalı. Ayrıca o Antalyalıların önemli bir bölümü Antalya'ya ait kentli sorumlulukları Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir'den gelmiş kişilerin kentli sorumluluklarından daha gelişkin kişiler değil. Kenti koruma bilinci dediğimiz şey illa bir yere doğum olarak aile olarak ait olmakla oluşmuyor. […] O yüzden bir nostalji ile kentlilik duyarlılığı arasında bir parça ayırım yaparsanız yani bir tanesinde "Ah ne güzel günlerdi!" diye başlayan cümle ötekisinde "Benim bu kent için bir şeyler yapmam gerekir" diye başlıyor asıl. İkinci grup için, Antalyalı olmak ile olmamak çok az şey fark ettiriyor. Hatta benim gözlemim şöyle: Bir çok Antalya'da doğmamış ama 5-10-15 yıldır burada çalışan burada yaşayan insanlar çok daha güçlü bir biçimde Antalya'nın kültürel mirasının korunması ve araştırılması için çalışıyor. O yüzden ayırım noktası Antalya'nın geleceğine ilgi, kişisel çıkar temelli olmayan bir kentsel aktif yurttaşlık sorumluluğu ile ölçülmeli.

[151] **R24:** Şimdi burda, bu kent çok göç aldığı için Antalyada bir çekirdek Antalyalılar yok. Yani, enteresandır, Antalyalı Türkiyede tek kenttir, kentin içinde, kendi bulundukları kentte Antalyalılar derneği var. […] Böyle bir artık azınlıkta bir grubun kenti burası. Ama bu kentte her nefes alan, kentlik bilinci bana göre odur, her nefes alan bu kentte, o kente mutlaka katkıda ve benimsemesi gerekiyor, özdeşleşmesi gerekiyor.

[152] **R5:** Antalya'da henüz... yani bu kentleşme ve kentlilik meseleleri uzun süreçler gerektiren şeyler. Bir İstanbullu olmak bir Ankaralı olmak, Mesela siz Ankaralısınız. Ben de Ankaralı sayılırım, 19 yıl orada yaşadım. Şimdi Ankaralılık bile daha yeni yeni oluşmaya başladı. Yani bir 'kent kültürü' çakıl taşlarının birbirine sürtmesiyle oluşur. Tıpkı deniz kenarında biribirine benzeyen neredeyse aynı büyüklükte taşlar bir yerde bir doku oluşturur, başka bir yerde başka bir doku daha küçük küçük. Bir kent de böyle oluşuyor. Şimdi Antalya'da birdenbire bir kent kültürünün oluşması bence bilimsel verilere ters düşüyor. Burası birdenbire bir Ankara ya da İstanbul gibi de olamaz. Burası her şeyden önce dışarıya açık kent turizm potansiyeli nedeniyle. Çünkü dünyanın her yerinden insanlar geliyor. Burada bana göre çok farklı bir kültür oluşmakta. […] Burada Antalyalı kültürü biraz zaman alacaktır. İşte Ankara'da Cumhuriyetten itibaren bakarsak üçüncü kuşak Ankaralı'nın oluşturduğu Ankaralı kültürü bana göre 80'lerde falan gelişmiştir. Yani en az iki nesil geçecek. Şimdi burada Antalya'da doğan çocuk Antalya'da ilkokulu liseyi bitirirse o kuşağın 50li 60lı yaşları bir Antalyalı kültürüne sahip olur. Ancak yavaş yavaş bir doku oluşturur çakıl taşı örneğindeki gibi. Ama bu ilerde olur. Çünkü Antalya'nın çok güçlü bir altyapısı var.

feeling like they are an Antalyalite should be able to say this. Another factor here is that the rapidly decreasing number of <u>people who have been here for several generations don't acknowledge that others different than them can be Antalyalites</u>. Today, there is not much of an awareness of being an Antalyalite. How does this reflect on [other things]? There are a group of people newly arrived from various places trying to adjust. A group trying to survive. A group considering going back one day to where they came from. But among these, the majority are not those saying "I am an Antalyalite, I was born here, or I came here, I am growing up here, I will live here my whole life".[153]

Ironically, since Antalyalites feel like a minority group in their own home town, they have founded an *'Antalyalılar Derneği'* (the 'Society of Antalyalites') in Antalya in 1992. Çimrin (2007: 29) affirms that true Antalyalites founded it to keep the spirit of being an Antalyalite as the real mix of being Mediterranean alive. It might be meaningful to found a 'Society of Antalyalites' in Ankara for instance, as the association of a minority group but in Antalya it is quite surprising. Moreover, it is sad because founding a 'Society of Antalyalites' in Antalya means someone is searching an Antalyalite identity or yearning for their own 'Antalyaliteness' in a sense. Though informant R3 himself is one of the founders of the 'Society of Antalyalites', he also finds this strange and says the following about the society:

> **R3:** *We don't even converse amongst ourselves as Antalyalites anymore. Can you imagine an Antalyalites society being founded in our very own Antalya? […] So we gather at our meeting place and grieve. We reminisce. There are few of us left who bear a <u>common memory of Antalya</u>.[154]*

Respondent R19, the former chair of the Antalya Branch of the Turkish Chamber of Engineers and Architects between 1998 and 2001, has been living in Antalya since 1979. He severely criticizes Antalya and Antalyalites, as well, because he feels Antalya became unurbanized as did Antalyalites.

> **R19:** *Antalya is like a living space where huge masses live, but can not act as city dwellers as they haven't quite settled. There are very few NGOs and people who are sensitive to societal and special issues. The most important thing missing is that no one in Antalya means what it is to be an Antalyalite. […] Why is there an Antalyalites Society here in*

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[153] **R13:** Antalyalı sayısı son derece az. Antalyalılık bilinci son derece düşük. Çünkü şehirde yaşayan insanların büyük bir çoğunluğu sonradan Antalya'ya yerleşmiş insanlar. Hemen hemen her noktada <u>her profesyonel iş kolunda dışarıdan gelenler var.</u> Antalyalı, kendini belki Antalyalı hisseder ama köken olarak Antalya'lı olmayan insanlar çalışır ve yaşarlar. <u>Antalyalı hissi çoğu insanda yok,</u> bu yaratılmamış, yani insanlar bunun için çaba sarfetmemişler. Ben kendimi Antalyalı olarak görüyorum. 15 senedir Antalyalıyım, eşim Antalyalı, o burda doğmuş büyümüş. Ama Antalya'da yaşayan belli bir yerden göç etmiş insanların büyük bir çoğunluğuna sorduğunuzda nereli olduklarını, hepsi geldikleri bölgeyi size söyleyeceklerdir. Yani insanın nasıl hissettiğiyle ilintili bir şey. Bu geliştirilmeli midir, evet geliştirilmelidir. Antalya'da yaşayan ve Antalyalı hisseden herkes Antalyalı olduğunu söyleyebilmelidir. Bu arada birkaç kök, ya da köken Antalya'da yaşayan insanların sayıları gittikçe azalan insanların <u>kendileri dışında başkalarını Antalyalı kabul etmemeleri de burada bir etkendir.</u> Bugün itibarıyla çok fazla bir <u>Antalyalılık bilinci yok</u>. Bu neye yansıyor? Birçok şeye yansıyor aslında. Şehirde herkes işte belli bir yerden gelmiş bir grup, alışmaya çalışan bir grup. Hayatını geçirmeye çalışan bir grup. Belki bir gün köyüme, şehrime dönerim diyen bir grup. Ama bunların içerisinde ben Antalyalıyım, burda doğdum, ya da buraya geldim burda büyüyorum, burda yaşayacağım, ömür boyu burda kalacağım diyen bir gruptan çok daha fazla.

[154] R3: Antalyalılar olarak kendi aramızda konuşma ve sohbet etmek gibi bir diyalog kalmadı. Antalya'da Antalyalılar Derneği'nin kurulmuş olmasını düşünebiliyor musunuz? […] İşte biz Antalyalılar Derneği'nde toplanıp ağlaşırız. Eskiyi anarız. […] Antalya'nın ortak belleğini taşıyan Antalyalılar azaldı.

Antalya? When I look at this from an architect's perspective, I see that Antalya has not become urbanized, the people here have not become city dwellers in the true sense of the word.[155]

Though it is one of the forgotten collective cultural capitals 'silk worming' was another common production activity in Antalya. Immediately after its founding, the new Turkish Republic made efforts to create new jobs to rejuvenate the collapsed economy by supporting traditional craftsmanship with some modern tools and methods. Hüseyin Çimrin, an Antalya native and a local historian who worked as a tourist guide, says that raising silkworms, a forgotten activity today, still took place in his childhood, in the 1950s in some houses in *Kaleiçi*, and that the cocoons were collected in silkworm pots set up in '*Zerdalilik Kahvesi*,' or in what used to be known as '*Kozaklı Kahve*'. (Çimrin, 2007: 31, 542). In Bektaş's anthology, *Antalya*, we find out from Oral (1980: 142-43) that the modest silkworms, which made cocoons for centuries in the Kaleici Houses, watered with the waters flowing from the arcs in the alleys of the streets of Kaleiçi, and fed on the washed mulberry trees that stood next to the citrus fruit trees present behind almost every house, no longer remained in the late 1970s.

The activity of ship building as another collective cultural capital in its *embodied* state had survived since the Greek period until the mid 1950s (see subsection 5.3). After then, this common production activity was neglected but reappeared in the Free Zone in the new millennium with the production of luxury boats (see subsection 9.2).

6.1.2. Objectified State of Collective Cultural Capital

Similarly, a city's 'collective cultural capital' in the *objectified* state can be defined by a number of properties in the relationship with cultural capital in its *embodied* form. A city's 'collective cultural capital' *objectified* in material objects such as buildings, monuments, instruments, inscriptions, writings, and so on, is transmissible in its materiality up to the present. The accumulation of those material cultures generally called 'cultural heritage' is consumed by visits and can be transmitted just like economic capital. Since cities are a product of time, "in the city, time becomes visible: buildings and monuments and public ways, more open than the written record" (Mumford, 1938: 4). In other words, the 'culture of a city' becomes visible through the tangible products of its time. The 'culture(s) of a city' also mean(s) the spatial outlook of a city in relation to the changing culture of architecture with the use of new material and technology. For instance, following the industrial

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[155] **R19:** Antalya, çok büyük yığınların yaşadığı ama tam olarak yerleşemediği bu nedenle kentli gibi yaşamadığı bir yaşam alanı. Antalya'da çok sayıda sivil toplum kuruluşu var toplumsal ve mekansal konulara duyarlılık gösteren ama Antalya'daki en büyük eksiklik, Antalya'da Antalyalılar yok. Antalya'da Antalyalı olmak nedir bilen yok. […]. Antalya'da Antalyalılar Derneği niye var? Ben bir mimar olarak baktığım zaman Antalya'nın—top yekun olarak baktığım zaman—kentleşemediğini, buradaki insanların kentlileşmediğini, kentli olmadığını çok açık olarak söyleyebilirim.

revolution with the use of metal construction the culture of architecture changed in cities with the new spaces like railway stations and factories in addition to the changing transportation culture between cities thanks to the steam engine and railways.

For its purpose, this study has necessitated the use of sources detailing the architectural and monumental remains in the region in relation to the cultural heritage from the Hellenistic to Seljuk, from Seljuk to Ottoman period (see Chapter 5) until present time.

Informant R24, who was the president of ATAV for many years as well as a tourism business owner, believes that the Antique Greek and Roman heritage is not sufficiently appreciated. He says that if the right strategies were employed, Antalya could be the 2015 European Capital of Culture (ECOC):

> **R24:** *I wrote that just as Istanbul set a goal for 2010 and made it happen – the goal of becoming a city of culture- so should Antalya have a similar goal. I think that Antalya needs to have set a target by 2015, or actually to reach that target [and be the European Capital of Culture] in 2015. In reality, Antalya is ready for this. It would only take an antique drama festival in the antique the world would be enthralled. There is an antique amphitheater here every 20km. Can you imagine? Organizing festivals one after another at these amphitheaters and since they are far apart, it would be accessible and would attract much to these cities as a location.[156]*

Antalya was founded as a Greek city by the Pergamum King Attalos II. It was an important city visited personally by the Roman Emperor. The Hadrian Gate (*Üç Kapılar,* see Picture 5.1), built to honor the Roman Emperor Hadrian during his visit to Antalya is an important piece of Antalya's 'objectified collective cultural capital'. However, the Antique Greek and Roman heritage is not so apparent in the daily life in the city, though sophisticated tourists who come with the intention of visiting can see the 7,100 of the 53,500 total works that the Museum is currently able to exhibit. Respondent R28, who represents the Antalya Museum of Archeology under the Culture of Ministry, says with a heavy heart:

> **R8:** *The Museum would immensely benefit the ceramic, sculpture, art and even cinema students at the Akdeniz University School of Fine Arts. Unfortunately we never received a request or proposal from them or the Archeology Department to this effect. The School is not utilizing the city that probably exhibits the greatest number of pieces in the country. When a park or square is designed, they do not carry themes at all consistent with the cultural legacy of Antalya. Statues could be exhibited even if they are imitations marked as such. Due to technical and security reasons original artifacts can not be placed in the middle of the city. But most of the Antique Greek statues were excavated in Antalya. But no one, neither tourist nor native would know this. If there was an imitation here with a clear inscription, maybe tourists seeing it might visit the museum. Or there could be a sculpture festival.[157]*

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[156] **R24:** Nasıl İstanbul 2010 yılında kendine bir hedef koymuş ve gerçekleştirmişse bir kültür kenti olma projesini, Antalyanın da böyle bir hedefenin olması gerektiğini yazdım. Bana göre Antalyanın 2015 yılına kadar mutlaka böyle bir hedefini koymuş olması lazım yani o hedefe 2015 yılına. Antalya buna hazır aslında. Antalyadaki antik tiyatrolarda sadece antik tiyatrolar festivalini yapsanız dünyada yer yerinden oynar. Burda her yirmi kilometrede bir antik tiyatro var. Düşünebilir musunuz? Bütün bu antik tiyatrolarda birbiri ardına festivaller düzenlemek ve birbirinden de uzak olduğu için hem kendi içinde ulaşılabilir hem de lokasyon olarak o bölgelerde daha çok şey çekebilir.

[157] **R8:** Antalya Arkeoloji Müzesi, Akdeniz Üniversitesi Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi bünyesinde bulunan seramik, heykel, resim hatta sinema gibi bölümlerde okuyan öğrencilerin fazlasıyla yararlanabileceği bir bölüm. Ama ne yazık ki ne GSF'den ne de Arkeoloji Bölümü'nden bizimle etkileşimli çalışmak konusunda bir teklif gelmedi. Öğrencilerin münferit gezileri mutlaka oluyordur ama Antalya'da bir GSF var ve belki de Türkiye'de yapılan Arkeoloji çalışmaları sonucu ortaya çıkarılan

Surprisingly, there are no sculptures in the city representing Antique Greek or Roman sculptures apart from those at the Museum and the other open air museums around Antalya with the recent addition of the much debated sculptures made in 2003. Below are excerpts about the sculptures of Antalya's founding father and namesake Attalos (see Picture 6.1 and Picture 6.2); and Sultan Giyaseddin Keyhüsrev (Picture 6.3 and Picture 6.4), who made Antalya a Seljuk city from three respondents: R16, who served as the head of *Antalya Büyükşehir Belediyesi* (the Antalya Greater Municipality, AGM) between 1999 and 2004; poet R3, who served on the board of *Antalya Kültür Sanat Vakfı* (the Antalya Culture and Art Foundation, AKSAV) during the same period; R21, representing *Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi* (the Antalya Chamber of Architects, MOAŞ); and R5 representing the Akdeniz University School of Fine Arts, where he was the dean during the time the statues were made:

> **R16:** *There used to be no statues other than those of Ataturk. Both the Attalos and Giyaseddin Keyhüsrev sculptures were made during my term.*[158]
>
> **R3:** *The Attalos statue... It doesn't matter what the sculpture is of. It was missing. There are no statues or squares in Antalya.*[159]
>
> **R21:** *There are 30 statues in the city of Antalya. The Greater Antalya Municipality took the lead in those. We organized stone sculpture symposiums here with the Chamber of Architects and the Modern Sculptors' Foundation for three terms. […] Each year we added ten sculptures. Then in Kumbul's term (1999-2004) inspectors came, and we experienced a disadvantage of not being from the political party in power. They told the municipality, "You can't spend 30 billion liras on this; you already owe money". Then the Turkish Court of Accounts did not allow it. "You have no money. Don't invest in culture," they virtually said.*[160]
>
> **R5:** *They made orange-like figures in the city entrance. No tourist would have their picture taken with a round orange thing. As the School of Fine Arts, we made the Attalos statue and the tourists lined up in front of it. He is the founder of this city. That figure lends historical depth to the city. Oranges can't do that.*[161]

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kültürel değerlerin en çoğunun sergilendiği bir yer olan Antalya'da GSF bizden hiç faydalanmıyor. Mesela Antalya'da bir park bir küçük meydan düzenlenirken Antalya'nın kültürel mirasıyla en ufak teması olmayan yerler tasarlanıyor. İmitasyon da olsa 'imitasyon' olduğu özellikle vurgulanarak heykeller sergilenebilir Antalya'da. Çünkü bazı teknik ve güvenlik nedenlerinden dolayı orijinal Antik Yunan Heykelini müze dışında kentin ortasında sergileyemezsin zarar görmemesi için. Ancak yapılan arkeoloji kazılarının sonunda bulunan Antik Yunan Heykellerinin çoğu Antalya ve bölgesinden çıkarılmıştır. Ama gelin görün ki Antalya sokakta dolaşan hiç kimse turist de tabi bunun böyle olduğunu bilemez. Şuraya gelen bir turist de bunu görür ve orjinalini de görmek ister müzeyi ziyaret eder belki. Ne bileyim belki bir heykel festivali olur.

[158] **R16:** Mesela Antalya'da Atatürk'ün heykellerinden başka heykel yoktu. Hem Attalos hem Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev heykelleri benim dönemimde yapıldı.

[159] **R3:** Attalos heykeli... Amaç ne heykeli olduğu değil böyle bir eksiklik vardı. Heykel yok Antalya'da. Meydan yok.

[160] **R21:** Antalya kentinde bir 30 tane heykel vardır. 30 heykelinde kente kazandırılmasının en önemli destekçisidir Antalya Büyükşehir belediyesi, Mimarlar Odası ve Çağdaş Heykelciler Derneği birlikte üç dönem burda taş heykel sempozyumu düzenledik. […] Her yıl on tane kazandırıyorduk. Sonra Kumbul döneminde müfettişler geldi, iktidar partisi olmamanın da, sen buna 30 milyar harcayamazsın, senin zaten bir sürü borcun var bunları yapamazsın dedi.

[161] **R5:** Şimdi, şurda şeyler yapıldı, şehrin girişinde portakalı anımsatan yuvarlak şeyler yapıldı. Ama hiç bir turist gelip de onun başında durup fotoğraf falan çekmez. Attalos heykelini yaptık fakülte olarak. Kırk tane turist kuyruğa girip fotoğraf çektiriyor onun başında. Attalos bu kentin kurucusu. Oraya baktığın zaman orada kent bir derinlik kazanıyor.

Informant R2, who claims that Antalya was a milestone for the Seljuks, says the following about the Attalos and Seljuk Sultan Giyaseddin Keyhusrev's statues[162] and the controversy that arose:

> **R2:** *I was the general director of the Antalya Culture Center and I was the deputy director of the local authority who made this decision-the Antalya Culture and Art Foundation. We debated these decisions after they were made in the presence of decision makers and sponsors. I told them "I am not opposed to either of these statues" The Attalos statue, however, should be displayed somewhere relevant to it. Right now it is at the Gate of the Castle District. It should be somewhere like the outside of the Hadrian Door or some similar place but the Castle District is not an appropriate location. [163]*

> **R2:** *But it actually shouldn't be at the Gate because the <u>Gate of a city is its womb</u> and the Gate is the entrance to the womb, if you will pardon the expression. This place, the Gate should not be shown to belong to Attalos with the wrong imagery because behind it is the Arasta, which is where the Seljuk Ahi organization, the medieval metal workers, gathered and worked. This was the organization of the Seljuki medieval era, i.e., the middle eastern medieval era. Ibn-i Batuta talks about the shoemakers of the Castle District. For 700 years, this place has been called by the Shoemakers' area (Ayakkabıcılar İçi, Kunduracılar İçi), and this is still what it's called. We said this is the Arasta; this shouldn't be here, this is the entrance to the womb and tried to come up with what would be suitable to put here. We suggested the figure of a smiling shoemaker, a curly haired Mediterranean man with an Ahi look about him, with an unshaven but clean, nice face sitting down. Exactly three meters toward the back from where the Attalos statue stands. But, no. Then they took Attalos somewhere else. [164]*

Even though the respondents claim that Antalya's multi-layered cultural heritage is not appreciated, it continues to accumulate as 'objectified collective cultural capital' in the city, especially in the Castle District, the museums, city spaces, residences and inside the residences. However, it can be inferred from the responses that Antalya does not have a developed sense of preserving its *objectified* 'collective cultural capital'. Regardless, attributing the city's disintegration to its lack of self-preservation would mean ignoring the damage caused to it. Among the informants, some have

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[162] See the news "3 yıl önce sökülen Gıyasettin Keyhüsrev heykeli yeniden dikildi" *Yeni Şafak*, 04.10.2007 accessed on 30.05.2010 at http://yenisafak.com.tr/YurtHaberler/?t=04.10.2007&i=72906

See also the news by Önder, Ö. "500 milyarlık heykel kavgası" *Hürriyet-Akdeniz,* 29.10.2003.

[163] **R2:** Ben bu heykel kararlarının verildiği sırada AKM Genel Müdürüydüm ve bu kararı veren yerel yönetimin başında bulunan Bekir Kumbul'un başkanı olduğu vakfın (AKSAV) ikinci başkanı idim, onun vekiliydim yani. Bu kararlar verildikten sonra bunları çok tartıştık biz. Bekir Bey'in ve herkesin hazır olduğu yani bu işe karar verenlerin ve parayı sağlayanların hazır olduğu ortamlarda tartıştık. Be dedim ki "Attalos heykeline, Antalya'nın kurucusu olarak yapılmasına karşı değilim, Keyhüsrev'in heykeline de karşı değilim." Niye kenti türkleştirmiş yeni bir süreci başlatmış. Ancak Attalos heykelinin onu ilgilendiren bir mekan içinde sergilenmesi gerekiyor. Şimdi Kale Kapısında sergileniyor. Yani baktığınız zaman "kentin kuruluşu şuradadır diyebileceğimiz yerde olmalı." Nerede olabilir? Üçkapılarda olabilir. Üçkapılar'ın dışa bakan yüzünde olmalı. Ama asla Kale Kapısı'nda olmamalı.

[164] Ama asla Kale Kapısı'nda olmamalı. Niye olmamalı biliyor musunuz? Çünkü bir kentte Kale "rahim"dir. Kale Kapısı da "Rahim Ağzı"dır afedersiniz. Burası yani Kale Kapısı, bir yanlış imgelemle, Attalos'a ait olmamalı çünkü arkası Arasta'dır. Arasta nedir? Ortaçağ Ahiliğinin örgütlendiği ve eylem yaptığı yerdir. Ahilik nedir? Ahilik Ortaçağ metal üretim örgütlenmsidir. Neyin ortaçağı? Selçuklu Ortaçağı'nın yani orta doğu orta çağının örgütlenme biçimidir. İbn-i Batuta seyahatnamesinde Kale Kapısı ve ayakkabıcı esnafını anlatır. Buranın adı 700 yıldır Ayakkabıcılar İçidir, Kunduracılar İçidir. Hala da öyledir. Arastadır. Buraya olmaz dedik. Burası rahim ağzıdır dedik. Buraya ne yapalım dedik. Buraya; elinde işliği yanıbaşında kucağında örsü, küçük bir çekici, güleryüzlü böyle kıvırcık saçlı bir Akdenizli, Ahi tabiatlı böyle kirli sakalı olan fakat temiz yüzlü bir kunduracı yapalım dedik oturur durumda. Tam o Attalos'un dikildiği yerin 3 metre gerisine falan. Ama yok. Sonra kaldırdılar nereye koydular bilmiyorum Attalos'u falan.

mentioned that the only way to preserve the Castle District is to render it non-commercial with a radical decision. Indeed, the time may have come to seriously consider this alternative.

A smaller but nonetheless significant *objectified* state of 'collective cultural capital' is the Döşemealtı Carpet (=*Döşemealtı Halısı*)[165] as a particular export item arising from Turkmen *Yörük*'s economic activity which were also among the principal goods exported from Antalya port even in the middle of the sixteenth-century (Picture 6.5). In the mid 1980s, there still were nearly 30,000 carpet looms in the Antalya region (ATSO, 2006, 20/222: 30). The Döşemealtı people, once unable to meet their customers' demand for their carpets, now complain that they can not get the girls in the region to weave carpets (Picture 6.6). Although this regression can be attributed to factors like developing technology, the variety in carpet production, and global reasons like the trends leaning towards countries like Nepal and China, where cheap labor is abundant in hand made carpets, the tourism based changing social and cultural structure of the people in the region also plays a part.

6.1.3. Institutionalized State of Collective Cultural Capital

Here, the *institutionalized* state of a city's 'collective cultural capital' can be determined by the cultural and academic institutions hosted by that city. Through their academic and conventional centers, cities compete with others since the certificate or a degree received from an institution confers on its holder a constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture; social alchemy produces a form of cultural capital identified with that city, such as Oxford University and Oxford.

In the case of Antalya, *Ahi Ocağı,* a kind of trade and craft guild, like a non-governmental organization since the beginning of the thirteenth century of the Seljuk period, established a work ethic among its members until the end of the Ottoman period. This organization can be identified as one of the *institutionalized* states of the 'collective cultural capital' in the region. During the Seljuk period, there were The Greek and Byzantine handicraftsmen along with the *Yörük* Turkmens as well as other eastern artisans join in what is called Anatolian Seljuk craftsmanship. Increasing density of economic activity and the number of workers results in the necessity for an organization to regulate the undertakings and to protect the interest of this new social group in cities and to create economic security in the market (Tankut, 2007: 24). It was for this reason that the *Ahi* brotherhood was established. In later years, the *Ahi* order became a force to be reckoned with in the politics of the Seljuk state.

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[165] The history of *Döşemealtı* Carpets dates back to the 12th century, when there were nomadic Yörük Türkmens living in the Teke Region in groups. These carpets are made of 100% sheep wool and are woven on 1,5-2 m wide looms (the looms are narrow to enable ease in transporting the looms dring the seasonal migrations). The main colors used are navy blue, burgundy, green, red and white, the colors for which are obtained from natural root dye (ATSO, 2006, 20/222: 31).

Though it is not as old as cobblering, which was the basis for the foundation of the *Ahi* order, today, gold jewelry craftsmen have unified under a campaign called 'Antalya-Heart of Gold' aiming to provide safe shopping in the jewelry sector for tourists and promote Antalya by symbolizing it with gold (see also subsection 9.3.1).

A *Mevlevihane* is not only a building (built in 1225 by Alaaddin Keykubat), or a 'collective cultural capital' in the *objectified* state but an *institution* established during the Seljuk period in Antalya. From this perspective, *Mevlevihane* can be determined another *institutionalized* state of 'collective cultural capital' in Antalya. In contrast to the *Ahi* order that draws its followers from the craftsmen or working classes, the *Mevlevi* order's followers are from the aristocratic classes. Nevertheless, *Mevlevihane* in Antalya is not as widely known as the *Mevlevihane*s in Konya and İstanbul.

Medreses which were first built during the Seljuk period in Anatolia were the universities of the time. Exemplary institutions in the midst of the thirteenth century, they can also be regarded as an *institutionalized* state of 'collective cultural capital' from the Seljuk period. However, the institutionalization of a modern university in Antalya is relatively late. Akdeniz University was founded in 1982 with its four faculties namely; the Faculty of Medicine, Faculty of Agriculture, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, and Faculty of Engineering (*Antalya İli V. 5 Yıllık Kalkınma Programı,* 1986: 101). Akdeniz University, as one of the collective cultural capital of Antalya in the *institutionalized* state developed in time with new faculties. As an aspiring 'city of culture,' Antalya gained a Faculty of Fine Arts and Design (FFAD) in 1999. Though informant R5, the founding dean of the FFAD, believes wholeheartedly that Antalya has a dire need for an art faculty, in the eyes of informant R19, it is not serving the purpose needed by Antalya:

> **R5:** *I founded the Faculty in 2000 because I thought about all this (I came here in 1999). We opened 8 departments in a very short time. Of course there was a reason. We had no budget, no building, no space, but we opened eight departments at once because I wanted to turn the Faculty into a larger university or academy. Because of four very important issues. First, <u>if this is indeed the cradle of the world civilization or primarily European culture,</u> then the culture needs to be relayed to the world through the medium of design. […] Now, when will become a "city of culture"? When this kind of heritage is used wisely, when a university like this is founded, when people who will carry this culture into the future are raised here. Other examples can be given for this. Before the FFAD was founded, there were virtually no stores selling arts and crafts supplies here. There was only one place that framed pictures. Now I estimate that there are over twenty artistic frame shops that opened, although there may be more. There are at least five or ten art studios offering courses, with Akdeniz University in the lead. What happened to cause this impetus? It must be the FFAD. There were art showings, conferences and other activities organized. Thus, people had come to a certain point and were encouraged and started organizing other activities. So, for Antalya to become a city of culture, you can't import [talent], you must cultivate it and train people here. Because as they say, "one hand is nothing, but two can make a sound". Then imagine that some of the students that graduate open studios in Antalya. One works with handicrafts, another has founded an experimental music studio, or is organizing art events at large hotels that tourists can attend as well. Then what would happen? This would slowly become a city of culture. [166]*

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[166] **R5:** Ben bütün bunları düşündüğüm için Fakülte'yi (1999'da geldim) 2000'de Eğitim Öğretim'e açtım. Kısa sürede sekiz bölüm açtık. Tabi bunun bi nedeni vardı. Ödenek yok, bina yok, yer yok ama sekiz bölüm birden açmamın ve bu kadar çok eleman almamın nedeni Fakülteyi daha büyük bir üniversiteye ya da akedemiye dönüştürmekti. Çünkü burada üç tane dört tane konu çok önemli. Bunlardan birincisi<u>, burası madem Dünya kültürünü ya da herşeyden önce Avrupa kültürünün beşiği,</u> o zaman bölgede var olan kültürün dünyaya tasarım yoluyla iletilebilmesi. […] Şimdi, Antalya "kültür

R19: *Akdeniz University is one of Turkey's premier universities in terms of opportunities available and its campus. But it is stuck inside the campus; it does not have any ties with the city. In fact it has this attitude that the people outside are low level, only those in academe know everything. I talked about this situation with the rector when I was president of the chamber. In fact, he held a reception for the NGOs in Antalya, where they introduced me as the President of the Contractors' Chamber, and I had to correct them saying it was the Chamber of Architects, but he insisted on calling it the Chamber of Contractors (this was around 2000). For example, I struggled for years to open a School of Architecture in the university. Maybe there is no need in Turkey for another School of Architecture; because there are a total of 35. But Antalya needs one. The Chamber of Architects is an NGO, and sometimes has a strong voice, but it is not effective in Antalya just by itself. In a place where structuring is so rapid a handful of NGOs can't even write a report together. This is why a School of Architecture that has integrated with the city and can identify and find solutions for the city's problems is crucial in Antalya. I believe that a School of Architecture can contribute 100%. We fought so much for this that finally one was opened. This was a first, though because it was opened under the School of Arts. And I think this is wrong. Let's say that a Tourism Zoning Plan is going to be made in Antalya, and you are discussing where this should be. The university says they can't do it. There is a school of arts in Antalya but this faculty has no activities in Antalya. We talk to the students there, too. The students have no idea about even Antalya. It is very closed off.* [167]

There is a common belief among the respondents of the field research that Akdeniz University has limited relations with the life in Antalya in the social, cultural and economic contexts. Rather than as a university, it is known by the public as a Faculty of Medicine. Informant FG3, who has been teaching at Akdeniz University since 2000, as well as R14 and R6 say the following about Akdeniz University and its relation to Antalya:

FG3: *My first observation was that universities have always made positive contributions to even the smallest city, contributed to the city's identity. Unfortunately in Antalya, the opposite has taken place: the city's identity has shaped*

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kenti" ne zaman olur? İşte böyle bir mirası akıllıca kullanınca, böyle bir üniversite kurulunca, bu kültürü geleceğe taşıyacak insanlar buradan yetiştirilmeye başlanınca olur. Buna başka bir örnek de verebiliriz. Şimdi GSTF kurulmadan önce burada hemen hemen güzel sanatlarla ilgili malzeme satan yer yok gibi bir şeydi. Tek bir tane resim çerçevesi yapan bir tane yer vardı. Şimdi, tahminen söylüyorum belki daha fazladır ama en azından benim bildiğim yirminin üstünde sanatsal resim çerçevesi yapan yer açıldı. En az on-on beş tane resim atelyesi kursa başladı, başta Akdeniz Üniversitesi olmak üzere. Ne oldu da birdenbire bu birden hızlandı? Demek ki Güzel Sanatlar ve Tasarım Fakültesi (GSTF) burada bir ivme kazandırdı. Sergiler açtı, konferanslar düzenledi, başka aktiviteler yaptı. Dolayısıyla, insanlar belli bir noktaya gelmişti ve ordan cesaret aldılar başka etkinlikler yapmaya başladılar. Yani, Antalya'nın bir kültür kenti olabilmesi, dışarıdan taşıma suyla olmaz. Bunun için burada insan yetiştirmek lazım. Çünkü, "Bir elin nesi var? İki elin sesi var!" demişler. O zaman düşünün ki her sene verdiğimiz mezunların bir kısmının Antalya'da atelyeler açtığını. Birisi el sanatlarıyla ilgili çalışıyor, bir diğeri deneysel müzik atelyeri kurmuş ya da büyük otellerde turistlerin katılımına da olanak sağlayan sanat etkinlikleri düzenliyor. O zaman ne olur? Burası yavaş yavaş bir kültür kenti olur.

[167] **R19:** Akdeniz Üniversitesi Türkiye'nin sayılı büyük üniversitelerinden birisi belki olanaklar ve kampüs açısından ama kendisi kampüsün içerisine girmiş, dışarıyla yani Antalya ile alakası yok böyle bir kurum. Hatta şöyle bir duruşu var dışarıdaki insanlar seviyesiz akademidekiler her şeyi bilir havasındaydı. Ben bu durumu oda başkanı iken rektörle de görüştüm. Hatta bir gün Antalya'da bulunan bütün sivil toplum kuruluşlarına bir kokteyl verdi, beni Müteahhit Odası Başkanı olarak tanıttılar, ben düzelttim hayır Mimarlar Odası diye o da ısrarla Müteahhit Odası Başkanı diye hitap etti bana (2000 yılı filan). Mesela ben yıllarca Akdeniz Üniversitesi içinde bir Mimarlık Fakültesi açılması için çok mücadele ettim. Türkiye'de bir Mimarlık Fakültesine daha ihtiyaç yok belki; çünkü 35 tane Mimarlık Fakültesi var toplamda. Ancak Antalya'nın bir Mimarlık Fakültesine ihtiyacı var. Mimarlar Odası bir STK olmasına rağmen, çoğu zaman güçlü ses çıkarsa da etkili olamıyor tek başına Antalya'da. Bu kadar hızlı büyüyen yapılaşmanın olduğu bir yerde üç-beş tane sivil toplum örgütüyle bir rapor bile yazamıyorsunuz. Bu yüzden kentle bütünleşmiş, kentin sorunlarını içerden de tanımlayabilen ve çözüm yolları bulabilecek bir Mimarlık Fakültesi şart Antalya'da. Mimarlık Fakültesi'nin Antalya'ya katkısı %100 olacaktır diye düşünüyorum. Bunun için o kadar çok mücadele ettik ki sonunda bir Mimarlık Bölümü açıldı o da Türkiye'de bir ilk ve bence yanlış, GSF bünyesinde açıldı. Mesela Antalya'da Turizm İmar Planı yapılacak bunun nerede yapılacağını tartışıyorsunuz, diyor ki Akdeniz Üniversitesi biz bunu yapamayız. Antalya'da GSF var ve bu fakültenin neredeyse hiçbir eylemi yok Antalya'da. Oradaki öğrencilerle de konuşuyoruz. Çocukların Antalya hakkında bile bir bilgisi yok. Çok içine kapanık bir fakülte.

that of the university. Despite the university's 24 years, the university does not contribute anything to Antalya culturally. To the contrary, Antalya's own identity, Antalyalites' rentier oriented mentality has affected the university. This could be interpreted in this way: For example, let me tell you about an observation of mine. When you get on a public transport vehicle and say, "I want to get off at Akdeniz University, "your statement means nothing to the driver or the other passengers. <u>You have to say "I want to get off at the Hospital or actually "I want to get off at New Medicine", then you will have defined a meaningful place here</u>. Most people here know only that there is a hospital at the Medical School. Asking "Where is the Akdeniz University campus here?" is a question you won't get any answers for. I saw this happen many times my first year here, and so I believe most of the residents don't even know that there is a university here. And those who know, don't care. It is meaningless here: where is the university, how many departments does it have, what does university mean. [168]

R14: *It is not in the forefront, but it is partly their fault. They don't change the education system, they don't have programs suitable for the city; I haven't seen them to be in collaboration too much..* [169]

R6: *Well, I can't say it is at the desired level. Because this is a bit of gossip, but the professors at the Archeology department are fighting amongst themselves. Those who go here and those who don't are not on good terms. Who goes, who doesn't, it is counted. You see? This is very hard to understand. This goes all the way down to the students. So any professor who doesn't have a close relationship with us doesn't want even their students to come here. This is the truth. That is the type of city this is.* [170]

Some of the informants believe that such disconnection between Akdeniz University and Antalya has resulted from its awkward structure as a public institution:

R13: *Akdeniz University is actually a gain for Antalya. And Antalya is a gain for Akdeniz University but I don't think either side is aware of this.* [I say this] *as a Akdeniz University employee, but after twenty something years, Akdeniz University is still not a well known school in Turkey. The wrong departments were opened, it was badly managed, but most importantly, the coordination between the city and the university wasn't established much. It is going well; especially with these last two administrations, it is trying to get somewhere in terms of reputation and [university exam placement] in the city and the country. For example, the tourism department might require the most points among all other tourism departments. This is because there is a source of work here. But one can not say the same for the department of Agriculture. The State's slow and stagnant [mechanism] is a disadvantage, and maybe it should be overcome in Antalya with a private university.* [171]

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[168] **FG3:** Benim ilk gözlediğim şu oldu. Üniversitelerin, yüksek eğitim kurumlarının, en küçük kente kültürel anlamda katkısı olmuştur olumlu anlamda hatta kentin kimliğine katkısı olmuştur. Ama Antalya'da ne yazık ki tam tersi kentin kimliği üniversitenin kimliğini şekillendirmektedir. Burada şunu söyleyebilirim. Antalya'daki üniversitenin 24 yıllık geçmişine rağmen Antalya'daki Akdeniz Üniversitesi'nin kültürel anlamda kente kazandırdığı bir şey yoktur. Aksine Antalya'nın kendi kimliği, Antalyalı'nın ranta dayalı zihniyeti üniversiteyi etkisi altına almıştır. Bu şöyle de yorumlanabilir. Mesela kendi gözlemlerimden birini anlatayım. Toplu taşım araçlarından birine bindiğinizde "Akdeniz Üniversitesi'nde ineceğim" dediğiniz zaman ne şoför ne de diğer yolcular için bir anlam ifade etmiyor cümleniz. <u>"Hastanede ineceğim" daha doğrusu "Yeni Tıp'da ineceğim" derseniz burada yaşayanlar için anlamlı bir yer tanımlamış oluyorsunuz</u>. Yoksa bir çok insan burada yalnızca Tıp Fakültesi'nin Hastanesi olduğunu biliyor. "Burada Akdeniz Üniversitesi Kampüsü nerede?" diye sormak cevabını alamayacağınız bir soru. İlk geldiğim yıl ben buna çok tanık oldum ve bu nedenle düşünüyorum ki burada yaşayanların çoğu burada bir üniversite olduğunu bilmiyorlar bilenlerin de çok umurunda değil. Üniversite nerede, kaç fakültesi var, üniversite ne demek bunlar anlamsız şeyler.

[169] **R14:** Biraz daha geri planda kalıyor, ama onlardan da kaynaklanıyor. Onlarda biraz eğitim sistemini değiştirmiyorlar, kente uygun bir program yapmıyorlar, işbirliği içerisinde çok fazla görmedim onları.

[170] **R6:** Yani işte, yeterli düzeyde olduğunu söyleyemiyorum. Çünkü bu dedikodu işi dedikodu faslı ama Arkeoloji Bölümü'nün hocaları bile birbirleriyle kavgalı. Buraya giden gitmeyenler birbirleriyle kavgalı. Kim gidiyor, kim gitmiyor; hesabı yapılıyor. Anlatabildim mi? Bu anlaşılmaz bir iş ama. Bu durum öğrenciye kadar indiriliyor. Yani bizimle ilişkisi herhangi bir nedenle kopuk olan herhangi bir hoca buraya öğrencisinin dahi gelmesini istemiyor. Yani şimdi, bu gerçek. Şimdi, böyle bir kenttesiniz.

[171] **R13:** Akdeniz Üniversitesi aslında Antalya için bir kazanç. Antalya'da Akdeniz üniversitesi için bir kazanç. Ama taraflar bunu çok iyi değerlendirememiş benim görüşüme göre. Akdeniz üniversitesi çalışanı olarak, yirmi küsuruncu yılında, Akdeniz Üniversitesi ama hala bilinirlik açısından Türkiye'de belirli bir yere gelmiş bir üniversite değil. Yanlış bölümler açılmış, yanlış yönetimler tarafından idare edilmiş daha önemlisi şehir ve üniversite arasındaki koordinasyon doğru dürüst

R4: *Every year* [under AGOFF] *we being 200 students from universities and regions all over Turkey. We make them watch movies, and they participate in panels and discussions We have a director lead them and a professor and two assistants. These students are already selected by their professors. Then afterwards we write emails back and forth. We listen to their comments and requests. If this happened at another festival, this would be headline news. We provide pocket money and food. Plus, it's not easy to keep track of them. You are responsible of 200 dynamic young people. More cooperation with Akdeniz University is needed. It seems they move a bit slowly. For example, we work very well with Bilgi [University] here. The same with Kadir Has [University]. They work very fast. But Akdeniz University is a bit more like the state. For example, I do work over the phone. Okay, we'll write an official petition. But let's meet first. Then we say, let's do this together. They say, ten days before the festival, we are ready, were doing this. Ready for what? We already finished everything months ago.*[172]

With regard to the views of the informants from different interest groups, what is expected from the Akdeniz University as one of the collective cultural capital in the institutional state attached to Antalya is its position taking that plays as a *subversive agent* in the field of art and culture to ease the process of restructuring Antalya into a 'city of culture'.

Furthermore, with the invention of the *caravanserais* as the new type of buildings, the Seljuks not only promoted the standards for the long distance trade circulation throughout the Seljuk State but also established almost a travelling institution to carry out international trade safely and embraced people from all around the world in these monumental hotels. *Caravanserai*s multiplied around Antalya and Alanya, as they were important centers for the trade between cities and countries. As to trade, the Seljuks were more interested in large scale trade.

Today, there are hundreds of travel and hospitality establishments in Antalya. With its 230 five star hotels and two international airport terminal buildings, Antalya is one of the most visited destinations in the Mediterranean basin (see also Chapter 8). Besides, following Istanbul and Ankara, Antalya joined the network of the World Trade Center (WTC) on September 6, 2006 as the branch of the Istanbul WTC (see also Chapter 9) long after the *han*s and *kervansaray*s serving as the trade center in the Seljuk Middle Ages.

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sağlanamamış. Gidişi güzel aslında yani hem son iki dönem yönetimle belki şehirli bilinirliği, tanınırlığı ve ülke çapında da puanları belli bir yere gelmeye çalışıyor. Mesela turizm bölümünün puanı Türkiye'nin en yüksek turizm bölümüdür. Çünkü burda bir iş kaynağı vardır. Ama aynı şeyi bir Ziraat Fakültesi için söylemek mümkün değil. Devletin hantal ve karar vermede atıl ve de yavaş kalan dezavantajını özel üniversiteyle Antalyada aşmak gerekiyor gibi görünüyor.

[172] **R4:** Biz her sene [AGOFF kapsamında] Türkiye'deki bütün üniversitelerinden farklı farklı bölgelerden 200 tane öğrenci getiriyoruz. Onlara mecburi film seyrettiriyoruz, söyleşilere katılıyorlar, panellere katılıyorlar. Onların başına bir tane yönetmen koyuyoruz, bir de hoca koyuyoruz, iki de asistan koyuyoruz, kendi hocaları da zaten seçip gönderiyorlar. Onlarla sonra devamlı e-mailleşiyoruz. Onların eleştirilerini, isteklerini alıyoruz. Başka bir festivalde böyle bir şey olsa bir numaralı haber olarak bunu verirler. Paralarını veriyoruz, yiyeceklerini veriyoruz. Sonra onları takip etmek de kolay değil. Bunların hepsi cıvıl cıvıl 200 tane genç çünkü sorumlusun. Akdeniz Üniversitesi ile biraz daha işbirliği yapmak lazım. Onlar biraz sanki hantal mı desem ne desem? Mesela biz burada Bilgi ile çok iyi alışveriş yaparız çok iyi çalışırız. Kadir Has da öyledir. Çok hızlı çalışırlar bunlar. Ama sanki Akdeniz (Üniversitesi) biraz daha böyle devlet gibi. Yani ben telefonla iş yaparım. Tamam yazıyı yazarız tabi ki resmi yazı. Önce bir tanışalım. Diyoruz ki sizle şunu yapalım. Diyorlar ki festivale on gün kala hazırız, yapmaktayız, yapıyoruz. Ne hazırı biz bitirmişiz her şeyi aylar önce.

On the 8th of May 1930, having seen the scenery, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk the founder of Turkish Republic said, "Without a doubt, Antalya is the most beautiful place in the world" (Çimrin in Cover-back of *City of Festival for 41 Years: Antalya,* 2004: 2; Çimrin, 2002: 88). Hüseyin Çimrin (Ibid.; Çimrin, AKSAV, Eylül-Ekim 2003: 12; Çimrin quoted in Koç, 2004: 40), the famous local historian in Antalya, also tells us that Atatürk said, in admiration of the strength of the edifice while visiting the Aspendos theater (Picture 6.18; 19; 20) in the afternoon on a Sunday in May, 1930:

> Restore this theatre and perform plays and wrestling competitions. But you will neither lock its doors, nor ask for an entrance fee. Whoever wishes so can stage plays. This place will be open to all branches of arts and sports.

Thus, the people of Antalya, heeding these words, began to organize wrestling contests in 1951. Both the wrestling competitions held until that day, and the theater performance of 1953 performed by the students of the Ankara Conservatory, were the driving force for the people of Antalya for the Theatre and Music Festival (Çimrin quoted in Koç, 2004: 40). In 1956, the activities held in Aspendos became "the Antalya Belkıs Theater and Music Festival", and the foundation for today's Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival (AGOFF) was laid. This festival was to constitute the cornerstone of the cinema festival later. Dr. Avni Tolunay, a fabled man according to Antalyalites, once said, "The silver screen is where all arts merge, embrace and kiss; we need the silver screen" (*City of Festival for 41 Years: Antalya,* 2004: 14). Dr. Tolunay was mayor when the first AGOFF greeted the public in 1964. In Antalya, as in the rest of the world, "by the 1960s and 70s, however, culture was also coming to mean film, image, fashion, lifestyle, marketing, advertising, the communications media" (Eagleton, 2005: 25). In the 1960s, with the introduction of the AGOFF, Antalya followed other European cities; namely, Cannes and Berlin.

Dr. Tolunay, the mayor, first embarked upon the search for a symbol for Antalya. He integrated oranges, the symbol of the area, with the sea, historic elements and the statue of Venus (see Picture 6.7 and Picture 6.8). The orange was not only depicted in the emblem, but also became the name of the film festival (*City of Festival for 41 Years: Antalya,* 2004: 14). The orange was chosen as the logo of the festival because Antalya was a city of agriculture in the mid-1960s, and so the symbol of the festival bearing the city's name needed to be an agricultural product (Ercenk, 2004: 18).

During the opening ceremony of the first festival, the organizer and mayor of Antalya, Dr. Avni Tolunay, identified the goal of the festival. According to him, it was "to support the Turkish cinema sector financially and spiritually by encouraging Turkish film makers to produce high quality works and to set the scene for taking the Turkish cinema industry to an international platform" (*City*

of Festival for 41 Years: Antalya, 2004: 16, www.aksav.org.tr/tr/11.htm). Born to this principle and carried out as part of the Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival (AGOFF), "The Golden Orange National Feature Film Competition" earned the title 'Turkey's Oscars' with the success and the thrill it evoked in the world of cinema, in a relatively short period of time (Ibid.; TURSAK-AKSAV, 2006: 9). From 1964 to 1973, the festival was executed at a local scale and upheld by incoming mayor Selahattin Tonguç in 1973 (*City of Festival for 41 Years: Antalya,* 2004: 16). The AGOFF was organized internationally for a few years from 1976 to 1978 (Çimrin, 2002, p.99).

Until 1985, the festival was organized under the aegis of the Antalya Municipality. Afterwards, it was passed on to The Antalya, Culture, Art and Tourism Foundation founded by Yener Ulusoy, then mayor. In 1985, the international music festival "Mediterranean Mediterranean" was included in the festival and this event including Mediterranean countries co-existed with the AGOFF from 1985 to 1988 (*City of Festival for 41 Years: Antalya,* 2004: 16).

In 1989 Hasan Subaşı, a lawyer, took office as the mayor of Metropolitan Antalya and decided that the festival be organized by a "Festival Executive Board" comprised of municipal assembly members, tourism organizations, representatives of the Antalya Chamber of Commerce, and Banking Directorates. This board was in charge of the festival from 1989 to 1994. In 1994, as a result of mayor Subaşı's efforts, the decision was made to gather the 30 year old Golden Orange Film Festival and other culture and art activities to be held in Antalya under a single organization. Accordingly, with the participation of 51 founding members, many businessman and all municipalities [of the small districts beside the Greater Antalya Municipality] led by the Greater Antalya Municipality, 'The Antalya Golden Orange Culture and Art Foundation' was established on January 15, 1995 (Ibid.). Since then, the organization of the Golden Orange Film Festival has been undertaken by the Ministry of Culture, Antalya Metropolitan Municipality, and *Antalya Kültür ve Sanat Vakfı* (the Antalya Culture and Art Foundation, AKSAV) since 2002.

Research shows that AKSAV was not only founded to support the organization of the AGOFF and to lay the culture of cinema, but also to promote Antalya in the field of art and culture and in the field tourism via the 38 year old film festival. Regarding its 51 founding members including businessmen and municipalities, AKSAV can also be regarded as a RDA in small scale (see the discussion on RDAs in Chapter 4). Informant R1 defines the functions of AKSAV as an institution as follows:

> **R1:** *Remember that commercial where they say we'll do any kind of work, we are almost in that same exact position. Our main work involves this park (Antalya Atatürk Culture Park), this 680 acre park is in our control. The maintenance of the park, of the facilities inside, the operations. The production of new trees. This whole park has been given by the Antalya Municipality to AKSAV. Under certain conditions (maintenance and operation) we use this space and let users use it. So the State Opera Ballet, the State Symphony Orchestra and the State Theater use this park, this building, these halls. So we are a type of traffic directorate. Now the Haşim İşcan Culture Center was built. It was given over to the Ministry of Culture. They said the three institutions I mentioned were to use it. The Symphony*

didn't want to use it. A schedule was forced on them as far as I understand, they would use it so many hours and others would use it at other times and so on. Here, institutions prepare their own schedules and bring them to us and we organize the halls according to the calendar within the frame of those programs without causing any grief to any of them. Of course there are certain days when the Governor's Office or the Municipality needs the halls. So we don't set up a program on November 10th, for example. All official ceremonies are usually held here. If there is any time left from state institutions we make arrangements for shows from cities like Ankara or İstanbul. [173]

AKSAV, which is under auspices of the AGM, also operated the amphitheater (Pictures 6.10; 6.11; 6.12) which houses the Antalya Atatürk Cultural Park (Pictures 6.13; 6.14; 6.15) and where the opening ceremonies of the AGOFF take place as well as the Glass Pyramid Convention Center (Pictures 6.16; 6.17) where the closing ceremonies are held. The glass pyramid is the imitation of the glass pyramid in front of the Louvre in Paris, which is also an imitation of the pyramids in Egypt. During summer, it is hardly possible to cool such a huge glass building, considering the green house effect of the sun in Antalya and the 40 something Celsius heat outside. R1, who is the AKSAV co-president, was interviewed in June, 2006, when he said that it was being planned during the 2004-2009 municipal governance term that AKSAV would be restructured:

> **R1:** *We* [as AKSAV] *also need to provide infrastructure. Why? Our budget last year was about 6 trillion. A part of this (in 2006) is financed by the state.: the Prime Ministry and the Ministry of Culture. The Municipality provides some, and we take on some of it as AKSAV. For us, for AKSAV, it doesn't mean anything when we have a million dollars. We are not going to put it in the bank, we first spend it on operational expenses. But, for example, <u>I believe the municipality shouldn't use funds for this. The two trillion that the municipality gives to AKSAV could be used for another infrastructure need</u>. Because AKSAV, even though it is a foundation, and is non-profit,—if we can ensure the economy of this festival from within the sector in the long run—the foundation may come to the point where it can sustain itself. Municipalities should allocate funds for local services. They should make transportation easy, build rail systems and such..[174]*

AKSAV, one of the important collective cultural capitals of Antalya in the institutionalized state, has also been organizing the Antalya International Piano Festival (AIPF) since 1999, beside

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[173] **R1:** Hani var ya bir reklam ne iş olsa yaparız diyen neredeyse tam olarak o durumdayız. Aslında bizim ana işimiz, bütçe itibariyle de en büyük işimiz bu park (Antalya Atatürk Kültür Parkı) 680 dönümlük bu park bizim kontrolümüzde. Parkın bakımı, içindeki tesislerin bakımı, işletilmesi. Yeni ağaç üretimi. Bütün bu park Antalya Belediyesi tarafından AKSAV'ın kullanımına bırakılmıştır. Belli koşullarda (bakım ve işletme) biz bu alanı kullanıyoruz ve kullanıcılara da kullandırıyoruz. Yani Devlet Opera Balesi, Devlet Senfoni Orkestrası ve Devlet Tiyatrosu da bu parkı kullanıyor, bu binayı, bu salonları kullanıyor. Yani bir tür trafik müdürlüğü yapıyoruz. Şimdi Haşim İşcan Kültür Merkezi yapıldı. Orası Kültür Bakanlığı'na devredildi. Bu saydığım üç kurum kullanacak dendi. Senfoni kullanmak istemedi. Orada onlara bir program dayatıldı anladığım kadarıyla sen şu kadar kullanacaksın sen şu kadar diye. Buradaysa kurumlar kendi programlarını hazırlayıp getiriyorlar biz o programlar çerçevesinde üç kurumu da mağdur etmeyecek şekilde sadece takvime göre salonları ayarlıyoruz. Tabi bu arada belirli günler var ki onlarda da Valilik, Belediye falan kullanmak durumunda. Yani bir 10 Kasım'da kalkıp da bir program yapamıyoruz. Bütün resmi törenler genelde burada yapılıyor. Kamu kurumlarından arta kalan boş zamanlar olursa da Ankara, İstanbul gibi şehirlerden gelen gösteriler için ayarlama yapıyoruz.

[174] **R1:** Bizim [as AKSAV] de altyapı sağlamamız lazım. Niye? Bizim geçen yılki bütçemiz 6 trilyon civarındaydı. Bunun (2006da) bir kısmını kamu karşılıyor: Başbakanlık ve Kültür Bakanlığı. Bir kısmını Belediye karşılıyor, bir kısmını da biz karşılıyoruz AKSAV olarak. Bizim için yani AKSAV için elimizde milyon dolar olması bir şey ifade etmiyor. Onu bankaya faize koyacak değiliz, dolayısıyla öncelikle işletme giderleri olarak harcıyoruz. Ama mesela <u>belediyenin bu işe bütçe ayırmaması lazım, bana göre. Belediyenin AKSAV'a vereceği iki trilyon başka bir altyapı ihtiyacına yönlendirilebilir.</u> Çünkü AKSAV her ne kadar Vakıf da olsa, kar etmese bile—uzun vadede biz bu festivalin ekonomisini yine sektörün kendi içinden sağlayabilirsek—vakıf kendi varlığını devam ettirebilir hale gelebilir. Belediyeler yerel hizmetlere bütçe ayırmalı. Ulaşımı kolaylaştırmalı, raylı sistem yapmalı falan.

organizing the AGOFF since 1995. The AIPF, whose art director is the famous pianist Fazıl Say, has hosted well-known piano artists like İdil Biret, Gülsin Onay, Aziza Mustafazadeh, Shahin Novraslı, Uri Caine, İbrahim Yazıcı and Kerem Görsev.[175] Also, during the opening night of the 9th AIPF, held between 6-30 November 2008, AGM Mayor Menderes Türel played a piece by Mozart, arguably investing his own cultural capital in the endeavor to transform Antalya into a 'city of culture'.[176]

In addition to AKSAV, there are numerous institutions actively playing in the field of art and culture. Kumbul, the 1999-2004 term AGM Mayor believes that the location that cultural and art institutions belong to hold a key responsibility for shaping the cultural and art related composition of that place. According to Kumbul, Antalya is a culture and art city and no one should ignore the cultural and art institutions in Antalya:

> No one can pretend AKSAV (Antalya Culture and Art Foundation, 1994) doesn't exist in Antalya. No one can pretend ADT (Antalya State Theater, 1993), ADSO (Antalya State Devlet Symphony Orchestra, 2003) ADOB (Antalya State Opera and Ballet, 1999), ABT (Antalya Metropolitan Municipality Theater, 1983), AGM İsmail Baha Sürelsan Conservatory, (1991) Eyilik Foundation, (2001) ANSAN (Antalya Artists' Association, 1992), and so many more culture and art associations don't exist. (AKSAV, Kumbul, 2003, *Portakal,* 7: 3)

Of the culture and art institutions that Mayor Kumbul lists, which were mostly founded after 1990, the Antalya State Opera and Ballet was established by the Ministry of Culture in 1999. As only 60% of the seats were filled at any given time, there were discussions of closing down the theater in 2005. About 10.000 signatures were presented against the closing, surprisingly, a figure clearly much larger than the number of viewers. Informant R1, the co-president of AKSAV, which runs AKM, where the Antalya State Opera and Ballet's recitals are held and R6, the director of another privately funded cultural institution, have even more surprising things to say about the closing of the institution:

> **R1:** *Maybe 5 thousand of the ten thousand who signed this petition have probably never gone to see an opera or ballet production, or even a play in their lives. You know how easily signatures can be collected. This means nothing. I agree that it should be closed down. I wouldn't have signed the petition. The State Opera and Ballet is a luxury for this city.[177]*

[175] See the news on AIPF at
http://www.europist.net/?sayfa=kultursanat_detay&gun=&ay=&yil=&id=647&kategori2=all

http://www.antalya.bel.tr/tr/bel_guncel/haber_detay.cfm?sayfa=5428

http://www.tatildefteri.com/festival_dtl.aspx?FestivalID=4

http://www.aksam.com.tr/haber.asp?a=9492,202&tarih=14.10.2005

[176] See the news "Antalya Belediye Başkanı Menderes Türel, Piyano Festivali'nin açılışında çalacak" *Hürriyet-Pazar*, 14.02.2008

[177] **R1:** Bu on bin imza sahibinin belki de beşbini hayatında bir kez bile Opera ve bale gösterisine gitmemiştir hatta tiyatroya bile gitmemiştir. İmza istenirse toplanıyor biliyorsunuz. Bu bir şeyin göstergesi değil. Bana kalsa bence de kapatılmalı. Ben olsam imza atmam. Devlet Opera ve Balesi bu Antalya'da bir lükstür.

R6: *There is the State Opera and Ballet in this city but no one goes, no one want to. It's unbelievable. There is the State Theater, and they haven't been given a hall in two years. Although, it doesn't mean anything to have a hall. I am one of those that think the State Opera and Ballet is unnecessary here, first of all. There are many today that agree with me. Even Prof. Mehmet Arman, the president of this foundation, came over the other day and said I was right, I swear. He wondered if this cause he had supported before was in vain. He said at the beginning, it's the 10th or twelfth year of the Aspendos Opera and Ballet Festival and we even forgot about that. This is unbelievable. Look, I don't know a single person who is interested. The opening was held with Aida ten days ago. There were 2000-2500 people. Even on stage there were 250-300 artists including the extras. What a waste! And if you just saw the one in the city through winter. Now, there is an international festival in this tiny city, and in this city, which doesn't even have the infrastructure you establish an opera and ballet directorate and it doesn't fill up in winter. Nobody goes in the winter. (?) So who do you rely on when you make an opera or ballet? In Antalya? Who do you rely on when founding the theater in Antalya? Would you believe, there is a very simple answer: "<u>Tourists come to Antalya.</u>" This is what they first say. That's what I'm trying to tell you. This utterance is so misleading. "The tourists will come." Yes, tourists! Where are the tourists? <u>The quality of tourists coming to Antalya has dropped.</u> Ten thousand people attended the opening of the Opera Ballet Festival in Antalya. The first and second, ten thousand people. It was full. The roads were congested, it was horrible. Look, the second and the third were like that and the fourth. It was truly amazing. Our people eventually started coming. Slowly. They were intrigued. It was crowded and stuff. But a serious group was formed.* [178]

The Aspendos International Opera and Ballet Festival (Aspendos Uluslararası Opera ve Bale Festivali, AIOBF) has been held since 1994 in the 6000 seat Aspendos Antique theater (Pictures 6.18; 6.19; 6.20). For example, it is reported that the average audience count for each event during the 14th AIOBF between 17 June-16 July 2007, was 2,200, 60% of which was composed of foreign vacationers and the foreigners living in Antalya (ATSO, 2007, *Vizyon*, 20/235: 52).

The Aspendos Antique Theater was allocated to the '*Anadolu Ateşi*' (Anatolian Fire) Dance Group, who perform folk dances, by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism for a certain period in 2007. However, ATSO, one of the most active agents of the 'growth machine' seeking niche tourists by transforming turning Antalya into a 'city of culture', led the opposition to this allocation. ATSO President Kemal Özgen, critical of the efforts to use historical spaces with the excuse that there are no other convention or art centers that match the capacity of the 2,000 year old Antique Theater in Antalya, a city which hosts millions of tourists, says the following :

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[178] **R6:** Devlet Opera Balesi var bu kentte, kimse izlemiyor, kimse istemiyor. Yani, bu kadar olmaz. Devlet Tiyatrosu var, iki senedir salonları yok. Hoş salon olsa da çok şeyi ifade etmiyor. Şimdi Devlet Opera ve Balesinin ben burada gereksiz olduğunu savunanlardan bir tanesiyim, işin başında. Bugün bana çok hak verenler var. Bu derneğin başkanı bile Prof. Mehmet Arman, geçen gün uğradı bana, çok haklıymışsın dedi, vallahi. Yani, acaba çok mu lüzumsuz bu işi destekledik falan filan. Yok, mümkün değil. İşin başında dedi ki, bırakın Aspendos Opera ve Bale Festivali on mu, on ikinci mi bu sene bilmiyorum. Onu bile unuttuk. Olacak iş mi? Yani bakın, ben ilgisi olan birisi dahi bilmiyorum. Yani, Aida ile on gün önce açılışı yapıldı, 2000-2500 kişi vardı. Sahnede zaten 250-300 tane şey vardı, figüranlarla beraber sanatçı vardı. Ee, günah yav! Bir de siz kenttekini kış boyu izleyin. Şimdi, bu kentte orada bir uluslararası bir festival yapılıyor, bir de bu küçücük kentte , bu altyapısı olmayan kentte bir opera bale müdürlüğü kuruyorsunuz ve de kışın bu dolmuyor. Kışın giden yok zaten ona. (?) Ee kime güveniyorsunuz böyle bir operayı, baleyi yaparken? Antalya'da bunu yaparken kime güveniyorsunuz? Antalya'da tiyatroyu kurarken kime güveniyorsunuz? İnanır mısınız? Çok basit cevabı var bunun: "<u>Turist gelir işte Antalya'ya.</u>" İlk laf budur. Bunu söylemeye çalışıyorum işte. O kadar kötü bizi yönlendiriyor ki bu laf. "Turist gelir. İşte turist gelir." İşte turist! Hani nerde turist? <u>Antalya'daki turistin kalitesi düştü.</u> On bin kişi katıldı Antalya'daki Opera Bale Festivalinin açılışına. Birincisine, ikincisine on bin kişi katıldı. Yer yoktu. O yollar tıkandı, rezaletler oldu. Bakın, ikincisi öyle oldu, üçüncüsü öyle oldu, dördüncüsü öyle oldu. Yani, inanılmaz duygular yaşadık. Bizim insanımız yavaş yavaş gelmeye başladı. Yavaş yavaş, yani merak. Kalabalık, falan filan işte, şu, bu. Ama ciddi bir grup da oluştu.

No doubt, the original dance performance of 'Anadolu Ateşi' turning into a constant art activity is an important benefit for Antalya tourism and art life. However, the gain to be gotten from these kinds of activities for Antalya, bears no comparison to the value of the Aspendos Antique Theater, a most cherished part of our universal cultural legacy. Such an important historical piece should never be exposed to the smallest risk no matter what the type of activity. [...] The allocation of the antique theater is not the allocation of a space, but of history. Even the smallest risk has no recompensation. It is unacceptable that the Ministry has allocated the theater without taking into account these risks (ATSO, 2007, *Vizyon*, 20/230: 54).

As mentioned in subsection 5.1, the ancient theater Aspendos, which was built during the rule of Marcus Aurelius in the second century AD, is one of the most important immovable archeological assets. Since it is one of the most beautiful and well-preserved ancient theatres in the Mediterranean region, it has been used for festivals and concerts for many years. With the 'Anatolian Fire' dance group benefitting commercially from performing at this theatre, the balance between the preservation and use of the theatre has become a subject of dispute. Because of the damage caused by the sound and lighting systems and by thousands of spectators every evening, such profit oriented leasing of an archeological site is limited by the Antalya Conservation Board. Interestingly, the 'Anatolian Fire' dance group got permission to construct a new stage in a third-degree archeological site near Aspendos theatre. Agreeing with Pulhan (2009: 148), such a permission procedure for the construction of a new stage would require an excavation conducted by the relevant museum to secure the archeological clearance of the site in question. But the construction of the 'Aspendos Arena' was completed in haste, with no excavation. After all, the opening of the 'Aspendos Arena,' constructed on an archeological site near the original Aspendos, was conducted by Ertuğrul Günay, the Minister of Culture and Tourism, himself (Ibid.: 149).

During this period, beside the ancient theatre Aspendos, antique cities of Perge and the church of Santa Claus within the municipal boundaries of Antalya were also considered for transferral to the private sector with the new resolution eases to leasing of first-degree archeological sites. Resolution 745, which paved the way for the privatization of archeological sites, was promulgated on 22 July 2008 in Ankara. The resolution fundamentally changed the rule that accepted archeological assets as public property and forbade their usage for personal or monetary profits and it quickly drew criticism from archeologists (Ibid.: 147).[179]

Before the resolution was leaked to the press, Koç Holding in Turkey was a candidate in the privatization of the Church St Nicholas. The Koç group has long been extending financial support to the church, which is a place of religious tourism and frequented by many foreign tourists. Though the State had started the landscaping and restoration, the work was incomplete, and the Koç group was planning to take over the project, and subsequently the management of the site.

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[179] See the reactions against the resolution 745 at www.mimarlarodasi.org.tr; http://haber.sol.org.tr; www.yapi.com.tr.

According to Pulhan, the cost of the project, an anticipated six million US Dolars, was far more than any revenue to be generated by the entrance fees or other services provided (Ibid.: 148).

The investments that the Koç group has made in the historic ve cultural heritage in Antalya are not recent. The Agios Georgios Church, one of the high quality cultural assets in Antalya Kaleiçi, was given to Suna Koç Kıraç in 1991 by her husband İnan Kıraç as her 50th birthday present. It was restored, keeping true to the original in 1993-1995 by Architect Sinan Genim. The house adjacent to the church, which embodies architectural elements unique to Antalya, was also restored in the same way. Later, the space made up of these two structures became home to the Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilization (Suna & İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Enstitüsü – Vehbi Koç Foundation, AKMED). Antoher historical structure across from the Institute was also restored and made into a museum called the 'Antalya House', displaying instances of the traditional home and lifestyle of the people of Antalya (Kıraç, 2006: 230-32). AKMED, which was opened on 18 May 1996, was founded, in Kıraç's own words, "with the purpose of facilitating the mutual information exchange of all countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea and perpetuate the common history of the Mediterranean" (Ibid.: 233). During the field research, AKMED Institute Director informant R6 defines the founding philosophy of the institute as follows:

> **R6:** *We are formulating a model. But it is certainly not very ambitious. But look, even our name is just 'Mediterranean Civilizations' When we were choosing our name, we determined the* [geographical region]. *We drew circles starting with Antalya. Then we drew circles including the surrounding areas, and their surrounding areas and gradually we broadened the circles. Now after ten years, those circles encompass the Anatolian Mediterranean. This circle depends o our performance, meaning it can get as broad as we get stronger. Another circle and Cyprus will be included. Another circle might cover the whole Mediterranean* [basin][180]

As can be seen, a more regional outlook to the geography of archeological studies is one of the major mottos of AKMED. Thus, aspirations for becoming a world city, or at least a global city region, are not only observed in the field of economy but in the field of art and culture as well.

6.2. Nominating a new center of film Industry in Antalya

Primarily, this part of Chapter 6 is devoted to investigating the 'transformation of Antalya into a city of culture' through the restructuring of the AGOFF. The strategic role of cultural policy at the municipal level as a leading agency in this transformation process will be highlighted in this section, as the newly elected mayor has been announcing their new cultural policies in which neo-liberal policies are used almost synonymously with creativity in terms of transforming Antalya into a

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[180] **R6:** Biz bir model oluşturuyoruz. Ama hiç bir zaman o kadar iddialı değil. Ama, bakın adımızı da "Akdeniz Medeniyetleri" koyduk zaten. Adımızı da koyarken biz bir coğrafyayı belirledik. Başta Antalya olmak üzere, çevresi, çevresi, çevresi halkaları çizdik. Şimdi o halkalar on yılda Anadolu Akdenizini içeriyor. Bu halka, bizim performansımıza bağlı olduğu gibi yani gücümüz ne kadar fazlaysa genişleyebilir. Bir halka daha çizerseniz Kıbrıs'ın tamamını alır. Bir halka daha tüm Akdeniz'i içine alabilir.

'city of culture' since 2004 (Varlı-Görk, 2008). This is another one of the issues that I am critical of throughout the dissertation.

Approaching the Turning Point of the Festival: From the 37ᵗʰ to the 40ᵗʰ

The members of The Antalya Culture and Art Foundation determined the theme of the 37ᵗʰ AGOFF in 2000 as 'Peace', the 38ᵗʰ Festival in 2001 as 'Communication', the 39ᵗʰ Festival in 2002 as 'Bringing Cultures Together', and the 40ᵗʰ Festival in 2003 as 'Festivals and Cities' (Kumsal, AKSAV, Şubat-2003:3). Dr. Bekir Kumbul (AKSAV, Kasım-2003: 6), the mayor of the Antalya Metropolitan Municipality, reveals their reasons for selecting 'Festivals and Cities' as the theme of the 40ᵗʰ AGOFF in 2003 as follows:

> Cities in the world considered a 'brand' are closely linked with their arts and festivals. So it is fair to say that the most important instrument in creating a city-brand is a 'festival'. […] Festivals not only improve the art they involve, but also lead to a great deal of economic liveliness in the city.

In his article "The link between the Awareness of Being a Citizen and Festivals," Nizamettin Şen (AKSAV, Ağustos-2003: 5), the Chairman of the Antalya Promotion Foundation, asserts that in the inter-urban competition for recognition [of cities] in our world experienced the communication era, the 'city of culture' concept is increasingly important. According to Şen, "the consciousness of being a citizen as well motivates [people] rapidly to turn their own city into a 'city of culture'."

In the 1960s, while tourism was taking its first steps in Antalya, more or less a large agricultural town at the time, the AGOFF was inaugurated to contribute to tourism. Since the first festival forty five years ago, tourism has become the dominant sector in the area. As the city has spread beyond its limits, the AGOFF, an organization associated with the very same city, with the related growing pains, is also growing. (AKSAV, Kasım-2003: 4)

The Symposium of Culture and Art in Antalya organized by AKSAV in April 2003 was concluded with a manifesto proclaiming, "The city should bear the cost of art and culture." (AKSAV, Mayıs-2003: 3) This concluding manifesto summarizes the urban policy adhered to by the Social Democratic Mayor of the Antalya Metropolitan Municipality between 1999 and 2004, which can be defined as 'third way urbanism' located in a field of tension between neoliberal and urban progressive urbanism.

During the Social Democratic Mayor's administration of the area between 1999 and 2004, art and culture were not seen as values to be transformed into commodities; rather they were regarded as a social service to be offered for collective consumption, and as completely independent

of the field of economy. It follows from this that until the 40th AGOFF in Antalya, the only ideas conceived were those at a local scale. Art and culture was not regarded as an industrial product circulating in the market; on the contrary, the municipality and the Antalya Culture and Art Foundation had sponsored much of the activities within the circle of art and culture in Antalya. However, during the symposium in 2003, organized five months before the 40th AGOFF different opinions were voiced. One of them was that in order to for art activities to continue in Antalya, the activities must contribute to the urban economy. (AKSAV, Eylül-Ekim-2003: 3).

The social democratic mayor of the Antalya Metropolitan Municipality between the years 1999 and 2004 summarizes their urban policy and cultural policy one month before the local election:

> A city's identity can be determined not only through its infrastructure, streets and boulevards, green area per capita, and other quantitative values, but also through how it builds upon its cultural heritage, its art institutions and the quality of artistic activities therein. In cities where the success or failure of local governments is evaluated by considering infrastructure and visible investments, where cultural identity is neglected and not improved, and where the art and artists are ignored, it is impossible to create an inhabitable environment (AKSAV, Mart-2004: 3).

The 2nd General Assembly of Turkish Cinema in the 40th Year of the AGOFF: The New Direction of the Festival

The 40th AGOFF organized in 2003 with the theme 'Festivals and Cities' was also host to the Second General Assembly of Turkish Cinema. The representatives of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, producers, directors, actors and actresses, scriptwriters, movie theater owners and others in the film sector in Turkey attended this event. During the assembly, various papers were presented in several sessions under the theme of "How can Yeşilçam—the Turkish version of Hollywood—be transformed into a film industry? (AKSAV, Sept.-Oct. 2003: 9)

During the assembly, in their presentation, Türkoğlu and Öztürk (AKSAV, Kasım-2003: 22) asserted that "festivals do not only concern film industry circles." According to them, festivals have the potential to increase their effectiveness by incorporating the city's local government(s), the cultural and communicational administrations of the central government, press and media, as well as the economic and touristic institutions in the city. They (Ibid.) also suggest how festivals might function to overcome existing centralization of cultural development in major cities:

> In order to prevent the 'cultural centralization' in certain regions, especially as it is in İstanbul, there should be created and developed new cultural centers in several regions. Especially, international festivals which are to change cities' atmosphere must be on the new Agenda of Turkey for global purposes.

Türkoğlu and Öztürk's (Ibid.: 23) proposal for restructuring the AGOFF with a multi-functional design is as follows :

Antalya, with its economic, cultural, touristic and infrastructural assets, has the capacity to execute an international film festival. Such a festival can be organized as a 'Meeting of Three Continents' (Asia-Europe-Africa) or as a 'Mediterranean Countries Film Festival'. […] Antalya, with the capacity of a 'World City', will not only contribute a kind of liveliness to the national film industry, but also advertise itself.

The major issue discussed in the assembly was the industrialization of the Turkish film sector via its restructuring. The concluding manifesto (AKSAV, Kasım-2003: 24-25), emphasized that the scope of this reformation can be explained from three perspectives. The first is related to the international culture industry. From this point of view, restructuring calls for creative interaction with the fields of cultural production, international /global capital, press and mass media. The second point of view is of considerable strategic importance because people living European countries and Middle Eastern countries and the Turkic Republics, with approximately 300,000 in population, are the potential audience of Turkish Cinema. The third and last point of view about restructuring the film sector is related to the geographic location of Turkey. As the center of civilization, the entire geography mentioned above has been host to three major religions. This geographic area defines the penetration potential of Turkish cinema.

Restructuring the AGOFF

In the 45th year of the festival, Antalya is not only a city of agriculture. It is a city of tourism and trade sandwiched between mountains and the sea, drawing people from all over the world. Regardless, as Ercenk states, the future of the Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival has not been addressed or discussed even in its catalogues for the past forty years. According to Ercenk (*City of Festival for 41 Years: Antalya*, 2004: 18), forty years is a significant accumulation. He believes that forty years may also lead to the mistake of self-replication and monotony, whether intentionally or unintentionally, and thus he proposes to diversify and revitalize the AGOFF (Ibid.: 19). When Ercenk first proposed restructuring the AGOFF for its future, he claimed that the AGOFF should not be satisfied with the task of judging only national cinema anymore. Two years before the foundation of the Eurasia Film Market, in 2004, he also proposed the creation of a Film Market under the internationalized organization of the AGOFF (Ibid). The following quotation explains Ercenk (Ibid)'s idea about restructuring the AGOFF:

> Bearing in mind the place occupied by Antalya on a global scale, the geographic area where the platform will be positioned should be Asia/Europe embracing the Mediterranean basin under the name Eurasia as well. Saving the Antalya Film Festival from the uni-dimenional identity of a competition of films can only be possible through forming a healthy film market. In this way, Antalya will use the opportunities elicited by its position as a tourism center and will be a gateway of countries bordering Asia and Mediterranean basin to the world.

Agreeing with Informant R2, [the Director of AKSAV between 1999 and 2004] today cinema is much more powerful than it was in 1950s when Hasan Karagöz—son of an Antalyalite notable family—screened films onto sheets hanging in the villages around the rugged landscape of the Antalya region. With its powerful light, cinema still attracts people.

Informant R5—the founding Dean of the Faculty of Fine Arts at Akdeniz University in Antalya—mentions the economic power of the film industry through the example of *Kurtlar Vadisi*, a Turkish movie made with an astronomical budget of 10 million US Dollars. The film, he says, redeemed its capital in less than a year. This is an amount of money no one in the Turkish film industry has ever dared invest in a movie. He states that people should be made aware that the film sector, as a field which has not thus far inspired anyone to make investments of this size, has an incredibly fast and profitable return. But above all, Informant R5, who bewares of the issue that "culture has always been a weapon of the powerful" (King, 1991: 99) beside the economic power of cinema mentions about its cultural and political power as follows:

> **R5:** *Now there is also a cultural dimension to this. Last year (in 2004) Ibrahim Tatlıses [a famous Folk Music Singer in Turkey] went to Erbil [in Iraq]. He said: "If you do not hoist the Turkish flag I won't sing." How many F16 aircraft can force them to hoist the Turkish flag today? Thus, in this way, you can impose your own culture through exporting the products of your own cultural industry to be consumed in different countries. And, what's more is its political dimension which I don't touch upon. But the economic dimensions can not be ignored. Who knows how many people will earn a living from this sector?* [181]

Beware of the economic power of cinema, Menderes Türel (*City of Festival for 41 Years: Antalya*, 2004: 10-11), who had been the mayor between the years 2004-2009, signals the restructuring of the AGOFF in the 41st festival catalogue in 2004:

> We are now in the early 2000's; the point we have come to calls for the <u>meeting of these two areas, tourism and culture</u> so that they can add new dimension to our city. […] The 41st Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival is an important chance to see where we stand and allows us to set our goals more competently.

Duly impressed by the Cannes Film Festival, Mayor Türel declares his belief that in its fortieth year in 2004 AGOFF is going to achieve new goals and he explains what is needed for this purpose:

> We believe that the organization of the festival must be executed by an independent board comprising professionals. A mayor should not directly interfere in the issues in fields s/he is not an expert in, but rather support the board through decisions. I believe that this kind of a mindset will

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[181] **R5:** Ha tabi bunun bir de kültürel boyutu var, vs var. Geçen sene İbrahim Tatlıses Erbil'e gitti, "göndere Türk bayrağı çekmezseniz ben şarkı söylemem" dedi. Bugün kaç tane F16 ile Erbil'de göndere Türk Bayrağı çektirebilirsiniz? O zaman; bu sinema aracılığıyla kendi kültürünü, kendi tüketim ürünlerini, kendi politikanı da empoze edebilirsin. Bunun bir de politik boyutu var, ben ona hiç girmiyorum. Ama bunun ekonomik boyutunu gözardı etmemek gerek. Kimbilir bu sektörden kaç kişi ekmek yiyecek?

result in the success of our festival, with the contributions of all Antalyalites, art-lovers and people from the cinema world (AKSAV, Mayıs-2004: 3).

Informant R4, the president of the Turkish Foundation of Cinema and Audiovisual Culture (TÜRSAK) uses the word 'submission' to describe the transferring of the festival organization to TÜRSAK from the Antalya Metropolitan Municipality:

> **R4:** *Antalya has been consulting us for ten years. During* [Mayor] *Hasan Subaşı's and [Mayor] Bekir Kumbul's administration, they say let's make it international* […]. *I saw that Antalya was not our cup of tea.* […] *I withdrew immediately. However, in the 41ˢᵗ year the festival was appalling.* […] *It had been deteriorating for the past ten years and this year they hit rock bottom. There are rules to organizing a festival. If you don't go by those rules and principles, you can't put together anything. Festivals are the most difficult organizations in the world. We talked with the Mayor Menderes when he came to ask us to organize the 42ⁿᵈ* [festival]. *I asked: "Will you submit?" I mean, he has to give in.*[182]

Informant R4 defines the goals of TÜRSAK, which was founded as an NGO in 1991 by nearly 215 members consisting of directors, scriptwriters, actors and actresses and others working in the Turkish cinema sector, as "diffusing 'general culture' in the field of communication and increasing its quality." Saying, "What makes festivals what they are, are the institutions of art and culture, not municipalities," Informant R4, the president of TÜRSAK, claims that the municipality and the AKSAV made the right decision when they consulted TÜRSAK, asking them to organize the AGOFF. Elsewhere, Engin Yiğitgil, the president of TÜRSAK, says the following about the restructuring process of the AGOFF:

> AGM Mayor Menderes Türel contacted us. He said that the crumbling festival needed to be restructured, that it needed to transcend into the international arena. […] It is also a first in Turkey that two foundations organized something together. AKSAV and TÜRSAK achieve this together. […] <u>AKSAV is being restructured</u>. This was necessary because the 41 year old festival was crumbling. Within the restructuring process, TÜRSAK shares all of its accumulated knowledge with AKSAV, and it will continue to do so. This festival can not happen without AKSAV. […] Because the AGOFF is first and foremost Antalya's festival, then Turkey's. TÜRSAK can not become influential in Antalya as some claim. It is AKSAV that lays the groundwork in Antalya (*Sabah-Akdeniz,* 19.09.2006).[183]

For forty years, Antalya has hosted a sector whose producers, directors, actors and other technical staff live in Istanbul through its own material assets and local agents and institutions. However, after the fortieth year, Antalya as the namesake of the festival, has submitted the organization to the TÜRSAK foundation, an organization operating out of Istanbul.

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[182] **R4:** Bize on senedir, on beş senedir Antalya müracat eder. Hasan Subaşı zamanında, Bekir Kumbul zamanında işte uluslar arası yapalım şöyle yapalım falan diye. […] Baktım Antalya bizim kulvarımız falan değil. […] Baktım ortam iyi değil hemen çekildim. Fakat bu 41. senede Antalya yerlere serildi bitti Antalya. […] Zaten son on yıldır gide gide aşağı doğru iniyordu. Çünkü festival yapmanın kuralları var. Siz o kurallara ilkelere riayet etmezseniz festival falan yapamazsınız. Festivaller dünyanın en zor organizasyonlarıdır. Biz 42'de tekrar Menderes Bey gelince oturduk konuştuk. Dedim: "Teslim oluyor musun?" Yani, teslim olması lazım.

[183] See the interview with Engin Yiğitgil given to Nihat Toklu "Bu festivale sahip çıkılmalı" Sabah-Akdeniz, 19.09.2006.

As Informant R2 claims "*even if the AGOFF is splendidly organized by an outsider institution, it is going to be transformed into an event working according to a market economy, where everything is calculated in relation to the laws of supply and demand.*" According to Informant R2, taking away the idea of the AGOFF, an idea conceived by Antalyalites would also imply the lack of sophistication and the incapacity of Antalyalites. Parallel to this view, Informant R3, an Antalyalite poet, criticizes the alienation of Antalya in the organization of AGOFF as follows:

> **R3:** *Local factors, not to mention the local actors, as possible locomotives, have been withdrawn or been forced to withdraw from Antalya, especially in the fields of art and culture. They keep writers and painters as intellectuals outside of this* [restructuring] *process. Instead, he is following a different path, he is using the media well because he is also a journalist For many years, Antalya has been shaped in the Social Democratic Municipal Tradition.* […] *Since they* [Antalyalites] *do not trust their own entity, their own intellectual potential, they have entrusted the AGOFF to a group of people from Istanbul. At least this is how I see it. Is there not one single person who could do the job* [in Antalya]*?[184]*

Informant R3-1, a poet's wife who herself is a painter, is also critical of TÜRSAK organizing the AGOFF. She states, "*Antalyalites do not appreciate their own values. There is a common belief in Antalya that any outsider would know more, understand more* [than Antalyalites]." In a sense, while they talk about the cultural heritage dating back from Hellenistic, Byzantine, Seljukian and early Republican architecture as the physical evidence for nominating Antalya as a 'city of culture', they completely disregard their own intellectual, cultural, social, symbolic even creative capital.

Looking at the process of restructuring Antalya into a 'city of culture' in four fields like art and culture, tourism and economy for the last five years, one can easily observe that almost all of the related institutions, foundations and establishments of art and culture have been administered or directed by outsiders, most notably by actors from Istanbul. Among these new actors are the presidents of TÜRSAK and AKSAV, most of the academics at Akdeniz University, the founding dean of the Faculty of Fine Arts and Design at Akdeniz University, the founder curator of Antalya City Museum, the ballet dancers of the Antalya State Opera and Ballet, musicians of Antalya State Symphony Orchestra and the manager of AKMED. They have relatively higher cultural, educational, social and symbolic capital and are now commonly seen in Antalya, trying to attract global capital to the city in this age of inter-urban competition. Still, one cannot argue that here is a creative class flow to Antalya. The 'creative class' theory as presented by Richard Florida in *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002) is a multifaceted concept that represents a new class, an emerging sector of the economy, and an urban plan for economic growth and development. It is asserted in this theory

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[184] **R3:** Lokomotif olabilecek yerel faktörler ve tabiki yerel aktörler bugün geriye çekilmiş ya da çektirilmiş durumda Antalya'da özellikle kültür-sanat alanında. Düşün adamları olarak bir çok kimseyi yazan çizen takımını dışarıda tutuyorlar. Bunun yerine başka bir yol izliyor kendisi gazeteci olduğu için medyayı iyi kullanıyor. Antalya uzun yıllardır Sosyal Demokrat Belediyecilik geleneğinde şekillenmiştir. Menderes'in […] [Antalyalılar] Kendi varlığına, entelektüel potansiyeline inanmadığı güvenmediği için İstanbul'dan bir ekibe emanet ediyor Altın Portakal'ı ben böyle anlıyorum. Yoksa o işi yapacak bir adam yok mu burada.

that the presence of technology clusters, talented populations, and tolerance attracts a significant number of creative workers, and the presence of this "creative class" drives innovation and economic growth in cities. As mentioned in subsection 2.1.3, the creative class has two strata: the supercreative class (computer scientists, academics, architects, and artists) and creative professionals (managers, accountants, lawyers, and health care professionals), both of whom are related through the process of "create[ing] meaningful new forms" of goods and services (Florida 2002, 68).

Florida (2002b: 7; 2005: 151; 2006: 72) emphasizes the social-cultural dimensions of city life, suggesting that the "creative class does not just cluster where the jobs are […] they cluster in places that are centers of creativity and also where they like to live." According to Bianchini and Landry (1995, p. 12) universities, research centers or cultural industries have acquired a new strategic importance in the inter-urban competition. Consequently, future competition between nations, cities, enterprises looks set to be based less on natural resources location or past reputation and more on the ability to develop attractive images and symbols and project these effectively (Ibid.).

During the restructuring process of the AGOFF, the festival posters (see Pictures from 6.37 to 6.42) were designed by Emrah Yücel (2008, http://www.sadibey.com), a graphic designer known for his Hollywood film posters, instead of the traditionally held poster design competition from the 2nd AGOFF (see Picture 6.9; see also Pictures from 6.21 to 6.36). He explains the sun/orange illusion as a recurring theme in all of his posters for the AGOFF. Another innovation brought forth is the production of the AGOFF advertorial film by Alinur Velidedeoğlu, a well known advertiser in the USA and Turkey under the official sponsorship of a multinational company, the Real Group. According to Velidedeoğlu, (http://altinportakal.tursak.org.tr) the AGOFF advertorial film, which was not only produced for the 43rd festival but for the coming festivals in the future as a permanent promotion, should bring the national and international dimension of the festival together through the presentation of Antalya as one of the most magical cities in the world with its ancient history, natural beauty and mythology.

The AGOFF has been an important organization with its support of the Turkish Cinema for forty years with significant amounts of money awarded as prizes. Informant R1 says that instead of rewarding the winners with a film reel needed to make a movie as they did in the past, for the first time in 2006 winners were awarded the equivalent of over 250,000 US Dollars, which covers roughly a third of the costs of an average film in Turkey.

The changes in the festival were also apparent in the closing ceremony. Informant R4 claims that TÜRSAK is famous for its opening and closing ceremonies held for other organizations in Istanbul, Bursa and other cities in Turkey. He talks about the magnificence of the closing ceremony of the 42nd AGOFF in 2005 in the following excerpt:

> **R4:** *The closing ceremony* [of the AGOFF] *took place at Aspendos* [the ancient amphitheater]. *It was the greatest ceremony in the world. 15,000 people made this happen. No one believed me in Europe* [when I told them]. *I was only able to convince them by showing them pictures.* [The closing ceremony in] *Locarno was organized with 7000* [people]. *Locarno was the greatest until then* [2005]. *We doubled Locarno with 15,000. And we did it in a 2800-3000 year old Ancient Theatre. It was incredible.*[185]

Informant R4, who says, "When I think of Antalya, I think of Aspendos," (Picture 6.18; 6.19; 6.20) believes that the closing ceremony of the AGOFF held in Aspendos was magnificent, a dream-like experience. In Heideggerian terms, what was desired there can be defined as the domination of art as such, and thereby the domination of the pure state of feeling—the tumult, the delirium of the senses. Eventually, the "experience" as such becomes decisive (Heidegger, 1991: 86). At this moment, especially architecture and sculpture as a means of achieving this "experience" can be regarded as "the cultural furniture of so called urban cultural life, whose theaters, museums, concert halls reveal the enthusiasm for culture of the bourgeois centuries" (Gadamer, 1998: 1). For Heidegger, they all are "aiming toward the impression, the effect, wanting to work on and arouse the audience: theatrics." In terms of this effect as the "will to power" in Nietzschean terms, Heidegger claims that aesthetics become a state of mind, a psychology that proceeds in the manner of the natural sciences: states of feeling are taken as facts that come forward in themselves and may be subjected to experiments, observation and measurement.

In the official web-site of TÜRSAK (The Turkish Foundation of Cinema and Audiovisual Culture) in 2004, the definition of newly restructured AGOFF is a follows (http://altinportakal.tursak.org.tr/indexen.php?sayfa=1&ic=128):

> Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival is the first national film festival organized in Turkey for 43 consecutive years; this prestigious national event has celebrated and supported the Turkish Film industry through its film competition and annual Golden Orange Award Ceremony. As one of the longest running festivals of Europe dedicated to celebrate the cinema, it became a multi-dimensional event of international identity, accommodating International Eurasia Film Festival and Eurasia Film Market since 2005. With its renewed concept, vision and philosophy launched due to the initiative of the new Festival Committee TURSAK, the Golden Orange not only provides leisure time to its participants but also features a glamorous gathering for cinema professionals and stars from all around the world with its screenings, workshops, red carpet celebrations, […] Over 1000 Turkish, European, Asian and American filmmakers, media representatives and industry professionals have attended the 2006 edition of the festival.

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[185] **R4:** Kapanışı Aspendos'ta yaptık. Dünyanın en büyük kapanışıydı. 15.000 kişiyle kapanış yaptık. Ben Avrupa'da gösterdiğim zaman kimse inanmıyor. Resim göstererek inandırdım. Locarno 7000'di. O güne kadar Locarno geçiyordu dünyada. Biz 15.000 ile Locarno'yu ikiye katladık. Ve 2800-3000 yıllık bir Antik Tiyatro'da yaptık kapanışı. Muazzam bir şeydi.

However, in 2006, a journalist Ayşe Özyılmazel asserts that "the opening ceremonies of the 43rd AGOFF were less like a festival and more like hotel animations with the endless performance of the Bollywood dancers."[186]

In addition to the glamorous opening and closing ceremonies, and increase in the amount of prizes and the award categories since the 42nd AGOFF in 2005, the Golden Orange Awards statue given to the winners has also changed in 2006 (see Picture 6.43 and Pictures 6.44; 6.45). The source of inspiration for the awards statue designed in the Urart Studios for the AGOFF is defined as "the natural and monumental beauties of Antalya and the rich cultural history of Anatolia" (*43rd Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival,* 2006).

In 2006, during the 43rd AGOFF, when I had the chance to watch distinguished films from around the world ranging from the Far East to Iran and from Europe to America as a participating observer, I also found the opportunity to talk to some people from the audience. All of the respondents, with whom I had unstructured interviews, were complaining about the attendance because they had not been able to get invitations to any of the galas or even tickets for the movies. In fact, I had also had the same problem. When asked who had received the invitations and tickets, a festival official brought in from Istanbul by TÜRSAK replied that most of the invitations had gone to VIP visitors from Istanbul and from the global film industry.

For the 43rd festival in 2006, two types of invitations had been prepared; Antalya residents had received invitations which did not include the opening and closing ceremonies nor some galas, whereas the VIPs had been given all inclusive invitations. Because of discriminating policy of the organizations, most of the Antalyalite audience could not enter the closing ceremony and they expressed their anger by burning the invitations in front of the glass pyramid (see Pictures 6.46; 6.47).

According to Informant R16, the mayor of the Greater Antalya Municipality between 1999 and 2004, "though the AGOFF was a revolutionary organization in its first years," today it has given rise to discussions in terms of its restructuring and the industrialization of the Turkish Film sector; the festival seems to be alienating Antalya and Antalyalites.

During the unstructured interviews, viewers from Antalya stated their observation that the AGOFF was gradually becoming an organization manipulated by agents from Istanbul—turning into an event less of Antalya and more and more of İstanbul. "In recent years, I am offended that these commericalized events held under the name of AGOFF as an Antalyalite," writes journalist Birol Çağlayan and goes on, "This is not our festival. In our fesstival, famous stars would go to the coffeehouses in the slums and chat with the townfolk. All of the festival events were open to the

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[186] See the news by Ayşe Özyılmazel "Festival değil, otel animasyonu" *Sabah-Günaydın*, 18.09.2006; See also the news by Alin Taşçıyan "Çifte Festival Çifte Açılış" *Milliyet-Cumartesi*, 16.09.2006.

public and the concerts and fairs were free of charge," critical of the restructured AGOFF (*Milliyet-Akdeniz*, 18.09.2006).[187]

Informant 2, who organized the festival for three years during his presidency of AKSAV, describes the participation of Antalyalites in the AGOFF as mainly being satisfied with celebrities up close from behind the barriers. According to informant R2:

> **R2:** *People have lost interest* [in the organization]. *If you turn it into a glamour, red carpet sort of deal, you will lose even the remaining viewers. You can not make the general public set foot on a red carpet. Is there ever anyone from the general public when there are VIPs? The general public is made up of average people.*[188]

World renowned directors and actors were invited to the festivals in 2005 and 2008, when the AGOFF was restructured through the collaboration of AKSAV and TÜRSAK, especially to participate in the opening and closing ceremonies of the Eurasia Film Festival.[189] Journalist Ömür Gedik, saying that the fact that co-productions and foreign productions get so many awards is surprising, comments that there are those saying, "our awards have gone to foreigners", and that even Ben Hopkins himself was surprised at the results in 2007.[190]

Mayor Türel believes that AGOFF, an event that hosts the celebrities of the Turkish and world cinema in Antalya, is going to become one of the most important festivals in the world.[191] The president of the Magazine Journalists Association, Nurettin Soydan, states that he sees the efforts of TÜRSAK Foundation President Yiğitgil's efforts to make the AGOFF into an event like the Academy Awards as a good thing, but that "AGOFF, a 43 year old sycamore, while turning its [new] face to world stars, should not turn its back to the Turkish movie stars, who are its branches,

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[187] See the news by Birol Çağlayan "Bir festivalimiz vardı" *Milliyet-Akdeniz*, 18.09.2006.

[188] **R2:** Meraklısının pek kalmadığı. İşi iyice salon, görkem, haşmet, kırmızı halı işine dökerseniz bu kalan izleyici de gidecek bence. Kırmızı halıya halkın ayağını bastıramazsınız. Protokolün olduğu yerde halk var mıdır? Halk ortalama insandır.

[189] For example, in 2005, the first year that the AGOFF was internationalized, Kim-Ki-Duk, the best director award winner from the Berlin and Venice Festivals, competed in the Eurasia Film Festival competition part with his movie, *The Bow*. Again, in 2004, Cannes Film Festival best director award winner Michael Haneke participated with his movie *Cache* in 2005. In 2006 the 43rd AGOFF's daughter the 2nd International Eurasia Film Festival hosted guests found news worthy by the international press such as globally famous movie starts and celebrities. In 2006, in the national film competition part of the AGOFF held since 1964, director Ömer Uğur's movie *Eve Dönüş* featured Sibel Kekili, who won 'best actress' award. Sibel Kekili had starred in *Duvara Karşı*, German born Turkish director Fatih Akın's movie, for which he won the 'best director' award in the 2005 Berlin Film Festival.

[190] In 2007, the movie *Yaşamın Kıyısında* won Fatih Akın the 'best director' award, and in the international competition in 2008, British director Ben Hopkins's Turkish-British-German-Kazakh production *Pazar: Bir Ticaret Masalı* film won the 'best movie', 'best costume' awards, not to mention the lead actor Tayanç Ayaydın the 'best actor' award. See the news by Ömür Gedik "Antalya'dan Son Notlar" *Hürriyet-Kelebek*, 21.10.2008; See also the news "Dünya Sineması Antalya'da Yarışıyor" *Hürriyet-Pazar Keyfi*, 25.09.2005;

[191] See the news "Dünya'nın en önemli festivallerinden olacak" *Sabah-Günaydın*, 18.09.2006; See also the news "Avrasya'ya muhteşem açılış" *Sabah-Akdeniz*, 19.09.2006; "Hollywood yıldızları Antalya'da buluştu" *Hürriyet,* 18.10.2008, accessed on 30.05.2010 at http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/magazin/anasayfa/10148008.asp; "45. Antalya Altın Portakal Film Festivali'nin kapanış partisi Beverly Hills'in çılgın partilerini aratmadı" *Hürriyet,* 21.10.2008, accessed on 30.05.2010 at http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/ShowNew.aspx?id=10164613.

leaves and trunk!". With these words, he criticizes the new attitude of the organizers who look to world movie celebrities walking the red carpet to internationalize AGOFF for help.[192]

Fully supported financially by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism during the restructuration period in 2005-2009, AGOFF witnessed harsh words spoken in 2008 during the 45th award ceremony targeting the Culture and Tourism Ministry. One of the veterans of Turkish cinema, Eşref Kolçak, who was awarded the Honor Award, said that the law in place in Turkey does not protect the rights of cinema actors and called those who prepares the law as 'mentally disabled'.[193]

Perhaps as Yiğitgil (22.08.2005, http://www.aksiyon.com.tr) claims, many people will, in fact, get into the habit of visiting Antalya to watch the movies in the AGOFF. Then maybe it will not be only those viewers who simply wish to see celebrities up close, but rather true movie enthusiasts with a deep seated interest in international cinema who will fill Antalya during the festival.

According to informant R4, some of the significant travel agencies in Europe are now asking about the schedule for the AGOFF and Eurasia Film Festival, which is also indicative of the gradually changing tourist profile, seeking cultural activities in Antalya. However, informant R4 underlines the serious nature of organizing a festival saying that the major travel agencies tend to favor festivals whose programs are prepared at least nine months in advance. He also mentions that they have taken great strides with AGOFF in terms of the reformation, as demonstrated by their acceptance by the Union of European Festivals within only a few years.

The concluding manifesto of the second General Assembly of Turkish Cinema held in Antalya during the 39th AGOFF in 2003 announced that "without a strong framework, the power of judicial sanctions and the protection of the government, no film sector in Turkey can function" (AKSAV, Kasım-2003:16-17). Parallel to this view, in 2008, the president of the Antalya Promotion Foundation (ATAV) (Şen, 2008, http://www.turizmgazetesi.com), draws our attention to a sentence within the Promotion and Marketing chapter of the "2023 Tourism Promotion Strategy" report prepared by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism: "The film sector shall be used as a promotional tool." Similarly, Informant R4 asserts that of the three key elements in Turkey's promotion the AGOFF is perhaps the first.

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[192] See the news "Yiğitgil yanlış yönlendiriliyor" *Sabah-Günaydın*, 21.09.2006.

[193] See the news by Cengiz Semercioğlu, "Beyin özürlülere anında müdahale" *Hürriyet-Kelebek*, 21.10.2008; see also the news at http://www.cnnturk.com/2008/kultur.sanat/sinema/10/19/altin.portakalda.oduller.sahiplerini.buldu/497471.0/index.htm, accessed on 30.05.2010; http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=10170965&yazarid=105, accessed on 30.10.2010.

Beyond the Internationalization of the AGOFF: Creating a Film Industry Center in Antalya

As can be seen, the change in the expectations of the stake-holders in Antalya from the AGOFF has led to changes in the festival. These changes can be attributed to the law of supply and demand. According to Informant 4, the AGOFF has a chance in the market of cultural tourism since it is the fifth oldest festival, having been held for forty five years, among the other prestigious film festivals in Europe, namely the sixty year old Cannes Film Festival and fifty eight year old Berlin Film Festival.

Informant R4, who asserts that in a rapidly globalizing world of 6 billion people, there is immense competition in the film industry, and that the Cannes Film Festival is constantly trying to outdo itself despite its long standing position as the champion in this field. Informant 4 explains the reasons for a restructuring the Eurasian Film Market within the scope of the AGOFF:

> **R4:** *The money turnover in the film industry has surpassed, for the first time ever, the turnover in weapons trade in the world: 220 billion US Dollars. The weapons trade amounted to 210 billion US Dollars. If the USA does not support a market, that market has no chance of surviving. There was [a film market] in Milano. Once the Americans withdrew, the market collapsed. The greatest thing going for the Berlin* [film festival] *is the Americans. It is not the French who do Cannes* [the festival] *but the Americans. All of the major companies are there. We have already invited two major companies from the USA. It's not exactly that they are supporting us, but at least they are not hampering our efforts* [our market]. *I try to persuade them, like, "Look* [at us]*!" "What is near us on the map? The Arab countries." Palestine; they have a very good film industry. Israel, also. Egypt is starting up. Last year, even Dubai had a film festival. They spent millions of dollars* [but] *there is nothing.* [There are] *no films produced* [in Dubai]. *And Saudi Arabia recently produced their first movie.* [194]

Informant R4, who emphasizes the importance of Antalya's geographic location, thinks that beside Middle Eastern countries where the art of cinema and its industry is gradually developing, Turkey's neighbors, the Turkic Republics, who are not yet producing their own films, are a potential market for the Turkish film industry. Similarly, Karsten Kastelan (2007, http://www.hollywoodreporter.com), a newsagent from Hollywood, also reports that "Eurasia's main attraction may be the festival's location: The city of Antalya, located on the Mediterranean coast of southwestern Turkey." As Kastelan asserts, while the 44th Golden Orange Film Festival—a showcase of Turkish films—is considered a national institution, its sibling, the third Eurasia International Film Festival, is still taking its first steps.

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[194] **R4:** Dünyada sinemanın turnover'ı yani dönen para ilk defa geçen sene galiba silah ticaretini geçti: 220 milyar dolar. Silah pazarı 210 milyar dolar. Amerika bir marketi tutmazsa o marketin tutma şansı yok. Milano'da vardı. Oradan Amerikalılar bir çekildi, Pazar çöktü. Berlin Fuarının en büyük şansı Amerikalılardır. Cannes'ı zaten Fransızlar yapmıyor, Amerikalılar yapıyor. Bütün büyük firmalar orada. Biz de zaten Amerika'dan bir iki büyük firma getiriyoruz ki— Amerikalılar arkamızda demekten ziyade adamlar şimdilik itiraz etmiyorlar bu Pazar yıkmak için bir şey yapmıyorlar. Çünkü ben onları şu şekilde ikna etmeye çalışıyorum: "Bakın" diyorum "biz, arkamızda ne var haritada? Arap ülkeleri, Filistin. Çok iyi sineması var. İsrail çok iyi sineması var. Mısır başlıyor. Fas, Tunus başlayacaklar. Dubai bile geçen sene Film Festivali yaptı. Milyon dolarlar harcadılar hiçbir şey yok. Film üretilmiyor. Suudi Arabistan geçen sene ilk filmini üretti."

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During the closing ceremonies of the 3rd Eurasia Film Festival and the 44th AGOFF, Shekhar Kapur, director of the film *Elizabeth: The Golden Age,* summarized, to a great extent, the very intention of the stakeholders in Antalya:

> The AGOFF has been contributing to Antalya's achievement of its goal to become a city of culture. The future of cinema lies in the East. Antalya is located between Asia and Europe. As Asia, we want to be recognized in Europe, and Europe wants to be recognized in Asia.

The cultural policy followed by TÜRSAK can be regarded as a global economic cultural policy since the foundation aims to establish a film industry center in Turkey; in the geographic area between Asia and Europe. The first implementation of this policy reveals itself in the internationalization of the AGOFF and later, the organization of the Eurasia Film Market[195] as the third in the center of the huge geographic area between Asia and Europe in addition to the Pusan Film Market[196] in South Korea and the Cannes Film Market in France. TÜRSAK Foundation President Engin Yiğitgil stated in an interview he gave to Nihat Toklu, that the Eurasia Film Market is a great opportunity for Turkey, and that within ten years, it will be among the top five markets:

> We fill an important gap between Europe and Asia. Today, the greatest problem of the Turkish cinema is that it has not opened to the global market enough. That our movies are not being promoted. The Eurasia Film Market will first achieve this. It will ensure the promotion of Turkish cinema in its own home. More importantly, it will pave the way for co-productions (*Sabah-Akdeniz*, 19.09.2006).

The posters designed for the 2nd Eurasia Film Festival in 2006—the internationalized version of the AGOFF—depicts the image of two young boys, one on each side of a bridge between Asia and Europe made of a movie reel walking toward each other.

The Greater Antalya Municipality (http://www.antalya.bel.tr) describes the major aim of the Eurasia Film Market as creating the required environment for making business agreements, doing research for new productions, getting new contacts and forging partnerships. The mayor (2007, http://www.aksav.org.tr), intends to turn Antalya into a key point between the production in the West and the market in the East via the Eurasia Film Market. Engin Yiğitgil, the president of the TÜRSAK foundation (Öztürk, http://www.aksiyon.com.tr/detay.php?id=22373), expresses his regret for not being able to have foreign productions like Gladiator, Troy and Alexander the Great filmed in Turkey. He states TURSAK's current intention to overcome bureaucratic obstacles and attract global capital in the field of film industry. He says that Turkey has better natural plateaus

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[195] See the news "Avrasya Market'te Türk Filmleri Satıldı" *Ekspress,* 23.09.2006.

[196] See "Pusan International Film Festival" at http://www.piff.org/structure/eng/default.asp accessed on 20.05.2010; see also "Asian Film Market" at http://www.asianfilmmarket.org/structure/eng/default.asp accessed on 20.05.2010.

than Malta, where the film industry is a mainstay in the economy.[197] Hence, he believes, Antalya has the potential to become the film production center of Eurasia. Informant 4 explains the aim of TURSAK as attracting global capital via the Eurasia Film Market by which the production of the Turkish Film Industry will be offered to the global market. In the following quotation he explains the objectives of the Eurasia Film Market:

> **R4:** *I am trying to bring capital into Turkey. Because, 2,000-3,000 copies of an average movie are put on the market. When we make 400 copies* [in Turkey] *we say "Wow!" But 400 copies is nothing.* […] *Cinema is a multi-dimensional art. You, as a director make your film. A producer just invests.* […] *Then there's the marketing expert, someone else.* […] *It is a matter of expertise. The marketers sell the film all over.* […] *When they come to our market, Turkish films also find buyers.* […] *Markets are a meeting place.[198]*

During the opening ceremony of the 43rd Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival held in Antalya on the 16th of September 2006, a stand-up showman consciously expressed the common interest shared by the stakeholders in Antalya from the restructuring of the AGOFF:

> The 2nd Golden Orange Eurasia International Film Festival was organized for two years and also the Film Market Fair Events was first invented in 2006 in order for the national film industry to attract the global capital.

Informant R4, the president of TÜRSAK, an organization founded by 215 people living in Istanbul working in the Turkish film industry in various capacities, believes that Antalya may be able to establish a name for the Turkish film industry not only in the national context but also in the international context. According to him with its wealth of natural and historical spaces, the density and quality of sunlight as well as its ancient cities like Aspendos, Termessos and Phaselis only forty minutes from the city center, and with five stars hotels with at least 200 rooms each to easily accommodate entire film production teams, Antalya is a prime location.

Still, informant R5 believes that for there to be a festival somewhere, there needs to be a culture surrounding whatever it is that will be theme of the festival. In other words, for there to be a film festival in Antalya there should be a culture surrounding cinema. In the following quotation Informant 5 explains his view on this issue:

> **R5:** *Having a 'Rose Festival' in Isparta* [another province near Antalya famous with roses] *is meaningful but only to support the culture of rose cultivation, or to promote this culture. However, in Antalya if you organize a*

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[197] See the news "Sinemada KDV'yi indirin, Türkiye 'bir film platosu'na dönüşsün" *Hürriyet,* 04.11.2007 accessed on 30.05.2010 at http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=7619913&tarih=2007-11-04; see also the news by Düzgün Karadaş "Hollywood'u Anadolu'ya transfer tasarısı" *HaberTürk*, 04.05.2009.

[198] **R4:** Yani sermaye getirmeye çalışıyorum ben Türkiye'ye. Çünkü normal bir film dünyada 3000-2000 kopyayla çıkıyor. Bizde 400 kopya çıktığı zaman "Aman Allahım" diyoruz. 400 kopya bir şey değil. […] Sinema çok yönlü bir sanat. Siz, filminizi yapıyorsunuz yönetmensiniz. Yapımcı, yatırım yapıyor bitiyor. Bittikten sonra beni bile aşıyor film. Pazarlamacı bir başkasıdır. Ben yapımcıyım, ticaret adamıyım ama pazarlamasını bilmiyor olabilirim. O da bir uzmanlık konusu. Pazarlayıcılar, o filmi her yere satar. […] Bizim markete de geldikleri zaman Türk Filmlerine de alıcı çıkıyor. […] Pazarlar, marketler buluşma yeridir.

film festival but grow oranges, people will call you up on it. […] *Without establishing a film industry in Antalya, creating an international film festival following the National Film Festival, or creating a 'city of culture' based on this organization is extremely difficult.* […] *First of all, suitable infrastructure* [and substructures of the film industry in Antalya] *needs to be in place.[199]*

Based on what informant R5 has said about the organization of a film festival in Antalya being meaningless with an economy dependant on agriculture and tourism, in order for a film festival to be organized in Antalya, first and foremost, there needs to be a culture surrounding cinema and film making. In other words, organizing a film festival in Antalya would only make sense if the aim were to support the culture of film making and the film industry, and to promote this particular culture. Keeping in mind that we live in a world where global capitalism has crept into each and every crevice, non-industrial modes of production simply cannot survive. It follows from this that the film-sector still in its embryonic stage in İstanbul-Yeşilçam, is trying to become industrially reanimated in Antalya through the internationalization of the AGOFF and the establishment of the Eurasia Film Market.

Informant R5 also believes that Antalya and its surroundings can strengthen the Turkish film industry with the convenient conditions it offers and that Antalya even has the potential to become a key production center for European Cinema due to five important reasons. First, a film studio was established in 1998 in a town called Serik in the Çandır area, which is very close to Antalya. This studio, so called "Çandırwood", was constructed by the American Golden Horn Film Company with the collaboration of a Turkish Company, Tekfen Holding (Hürarşiv, 2007).

The studio complex known as Çandırwood[200] was built on 185,000 square meters of land, 10,200 of which is covered (Güçer, 2004: 67). The first production shot in those studios was *Arabian Nights,* produced by the Hallmark Entertainment for ABC Television. The production took six months, employing close to 500 people; 19,000 nights were spent in hotels, hundreds of vehicles were hired, and 6,000 extras were employed. In the end, this production brought about ten to twelve

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[199] **R5:** Eğer Isparta'da gül festivali yapıyorsanız, anlamlıdır ama gül yetiştiriciliğinin kültürüne sahip çıkmak için, bunu tanıtmak için anlamlıdır. Ancak Antalya'da portakal yetiştirip film festivali düzenlerseniz, sorarlar adama. […] burada bir sinema endüstrisi kurulmadan sinema festivalini düzenleyerek uluslararası festival yaratmak hele buna dayanarak kültür kenti yaratmak çok zor. […] Öncelikle altyapının oluşması gerekiyor.

[200] Journalist Erdal İpekeşen, who visited Çandırwood 10 years after its founding in April 2008, writes that the facility, which hosted two films, now lies idle due to the cancellation of nearly thirty international film projects tangled up in bureaucratic obstacles related to laws (*Hürriyet*, 06.04.2008). Tekfen Holding, the owner of the studio, has founded an 'Agriculture Research Station' in an open air part of the film plateauto experiment with seeds. See the news by Erdal İpekeşen, "Turizmden yerli Hollywood'a…" *Hürriyet-Ankara*, 06.04.2008, accessed on 30.05.2010 at http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=8630330&yazarid=180

In May 2008, Paul Verhowen, the director of *Basic Instinct*, *Total Recall* and *Robocop,* visited Turkey to investigate the filming opportunities. The AGM Mayor'u Türel and Pimena Film hosted Verhoven in Antalya, where he visited Çandırwood Studios. See the news "Çandırwood'a hayran kaldı" Hürriyet, 13.05.2008, accessed on 30.05.2010 at http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=8922830&p=2.

million US Dollars into the region (Ibid.: 68). The second film shot in Çandırwood was *G.O.R.A.,* produced by the Turkish Production Company, Böcek Productions (Ibid.: 69).

Secondly, the amount, density and reflection of sunlight provide suitable conditions for outdoor shoots. In addition, Antalya has an average of 300 sunny days a year. Thirdly, backgrounds required for fantasy films like *the Lord of the Rings* already exist in Antalya, where there are canyons, a sea, mountains and forests. The fourth reason according to Informant 5 is the transportation and accommodation facilities available in Antalya. The Antalya International Airport, where the average number of flights including landing and take offs is about 600 a day in the summer seasons, is one of the main destination points from most major airports in the world. The fifth and most important reason is that it is home to a film festival which has been organized for forty four years, albeit with its own limited economic assets and institutions. The continuous organization of the AGOFF in Antalya, Informant 5 believes, has created a culture of cinema to a certain extent. All in all, Informant 5 claims that Antalya can easily become a production center in the European Film Industry.

According to Informant 5, both local and foreign film producers and directors have begun to realize the potential Antalya has of becoming a film production center. However, he emphasizes that the production of film in Antalya, or rather the transformation of Antalya into a film production center requires that the relevant subordinate fields like setting, stage design, textile design, fashion design be developed and intermediating staffs be educated to ensure employment in these fields. To this end, Film Set Design, Costume and Graphic Design are offered in the Serik Vocational School as major areas of study. The objectives of the Serik Vocational School are described as "to educate specialists needed by the film industry and specifically to help develop this sector in Antalya" (http://www.akdeniz.edu.tr).

> **R5:** *I founded the two year Cinema Vocational School in Serik. In fact, we wanted to turn it into the Golden Orange Cinema Vocational School. There was a* Kaymakam [provincial district administrator] *there. He was very supportive. In fact, he had an area allocated. But it was never completed and it was annexed to Akdeniz University. This wasn't the initial plan. Many of the famous directors from Istanbul that I mentioned and artists were going to teach free of charge. Because most of them have more than enough money. They were just going to come an teach a day a month except their plane ticket. Thus, we planned to get the Istanbul film industry familiar with this place and create a cinema culture. With the existence of that kind of a culture, Europe would have come, too. For example, they would find a functioning studio and technical crew support already in place and would come willingly. A European director or producer would have come and said "I want to make a movie like so and so, and I need you to prepare whatever in three months" or something like that. [201]*

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[201] **R5:** Serik'teki Sinema Meslek Yüksek Okulunu kurdum. Hatta Altın Portakal Sinema Yüksek Okuluna dönüştürmek istedik orada bir Kaymakam vardı. O da çok destekledi hatta yer tahsis ettirdi. Ama sonra öyle kaldı ve Akdeniz Üniversitesi'ne bağlandı. Yoksa başta planlanan böyle bir şey değildi. İstanbul'daki bu saydığım bir çok yönetmen ve bir çok sanatçı gelip ders verecekti parasız. Çünkü çoğu paraya doymuş ayda bir gün gelip ders vereceklerdi işte uçak paralarının dışında ayda bir gün gelip iki saat ders vereceklerdi. İşte böylece İstanbul sinema endüstrisinin ayağını buraya alıştırıp burada bir sinema kültürü oluşturacaktık. Böyle bir kültür oluştuğu zaman da Avrupa gelecekti. İşte ne bileyim, Avrupa sineması burada işleyen bir stüdyo ve teknik destek ekibini hazır bulunca kendisi gelmek isteyecekti. Avrupa

Antalya certainly can not industrialize the Turkish film sector all by itself. However, the stake holders there are determined to transform Antalya into a film production center. The Eurasia Film Market was launched in 2006 in Antalya, beginning with the internationalization of the AGOFF by Eurasia Film Festival in 2005. The predominant reason underlying the organization of the Eurasia International Film Festival is to show the world Antalya's potential of becoming a fourth center of film industry in Antalya, right between Asia and Europe alongside other recognizable film industry centers in the world, namely Hollywood, Europe, and Bollywood. The main goal for holding the Eurasia Film Market in Antalya is to introduce an international co-production market offering film business facilities—sales offices, market screening, buyer and production services—in between Pusan in Asia and Cannes in Europe.

As mentioned in subsection 2.1.4, parallel to the new map of the Hollywood film industry due to the ever expanding global mobility of the US film industry, new clusters of creative and cultural industries have risen across the globe and in specialized industrial districts. The movement of the *territoriality* of the production system towards a more dispersed pattern has heightened the competition between various globally dispersed production centers and the places with the potential to enter the game for the same competition. Economic runaways from Hollywood have expanded to locations in many different countries since the beginning of the 1980s. Beside the North American cities, Australia, New Zeeland, Mexico, the Czech Republic, Romania, South Africa are some of these. Location shooting in Asia is favored by Hollywood because of the exoticism and diversity of the continent, but especially for the relative inexpensiveness of the outsourcing of studio space, post-production facilities, technical talent, and location hire. In short, it is because of cheaper labor and weaker or non-existent unions in Asia.

As described earlier, there are two major forms of the decentralization of film-shooting activities away from Hollywood: *creative* runaways and *economic* runaways, though, in practice, the two cannot always be unambiguously distinguished from one another. Runaway production for creative purposes involves shooting on location at far-flung sites in search of scenic and artistic effects deemed essential for the achievement of specific aesthetic goals. Creative runaways have always been a feature of the Hollywood production system, and there is a proliferation of film commissions run by local governments all over the world whose main objective is to entice specific creative projects into their jurisdictions.

In the case of economic runaways, Scott and Pope (2007: 1366), explain the decentralization of film-shooting activities from Hollywood with three specific factors. First, and most obviously, it is a reflection of the high labor costs in Hollywood compared with a number of

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sinemasında bir yönetmen veya yapımcı işte ben şöyle bir film çekmek istiyorum, ne bileyim üç ayda şunları şunları hazırla diyecekti.

alternative locations. Second, it entails, for the most part, packages of tasks whose transactional relationships to the rest of the production system are sufficiently weak and/or manageable as to allow them to become spatially disarticulated with relative ease. Third, the existence of generous subsidies and tax allowances for film-shooting activities in a number of receiving countries is a powerful additional incentive to decentralize. To these factors, they also add the possible subsidiary effect of an undersupply of studio space in Hollywood in the 1990s. Needless to say, the amount of runaway film-shooting activity that can be accommodated in any receiving area is intimately dependent on the quality of local facilities and the available supply of labor, and so these features of the actual and potential destinations of outsourced jobs must be taken into account as well. Though Antalya has been aspiring to become a runaway production center for film shooting activities from Hollywood, it might actually have a chance for some economic reasons. However, despite the cheap labor supply and the natural beauty of its surroundings some regulations of tax allowances and subsidies for film shooting still remain as a problem.[202]

After the 2009 Municipal Election

AGM Mayor Menderes Türel, the leading actor of the 2004-2009 term the urban restructuring in Antalya, ran again from AKP in the 29 March 2009 local elections. According to the election results, the CHP candidate and previous Akdeniz University Rector Prof. Dr. Mustafa Akaydın has become the new Mayor (see also Picture 6.48 and Picture 6.49 for the Posters of the AGOFF in 2009 and 2010).[203] Five days after the elections, Star Newspaper reporter Alin Taşçıyan wrote that it was concerning that the state of film festivals which are greatly dependent on the culture and art related attitudes of the local administrations, especially the mayors, of the cities in which they are organized. Taşçıyan said in his article titled, "Belediye Başkanları değişti, festivaller zora düştü" ("Mayors changing, film festivals struggling") asks, "Is Antalya going to be punished?" and summarized the opinions of actors in the movie business regarding the election results as follows:

> In the cinema sector, many are sure that the new mayor from CHP, Prof. Dr. Mustafa Akaydın, will withdraw his support from the 10 million dollar budget AGOFF, which has been the apple of the government's eye. The Antalya Metropolitan Mayor, traditionally presides over the board of AKSAV, which organizes the festival. During his pre-election speeches, Prof. Dr. Mustafa Akaydın was critical of the fact that a significant amount of the 2008 festival's debts have not been paid off and that hosting a single Hollywood star in Antalya costs tens of thousands of dollars (Taşçıyan, *Star*, 04.04.2009).

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[202] See the news "Sinemada KDV'yi indirin, Türkiye 'bir film platosu'na dönüşsün" *Hürriyet,* 04.11.2007 accessed on 30.05.2010 at http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=7619913&tarih=2007-11-04; see also the news by Düzgün Karadaş "Hollywood'u Anadolu'ya transfer tasarısı" *HaberTürk*, 04.05.2009.

[203] See the results of the Municipal Election "Antalya Büyükşehir 2009 Yerel Seçim Sonuçları" accessed on 30.05.2010 at http://secim.haberler.com/2009/sonuc.asp?il=antalya

A month after the local elections, on 29 April 2009, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan made a speech during his meeting with the mayors of small districts of the provinces from his party. He told them, "My friends, we must - you must- let go of these frivolous, useless festivals, celebrations and such."[204] These words could be interpreted as proving the actors mentioned in Taşçıyan's piece above right in their concerns. The new AGM Mayor, also the chairman of the board of AKSAV, which has been organizing the AGOFF for years, took over the task of organizing the 46th festival to be held on 10-17 October 2009 from TÜRSAK. During this controversial change, Vecdi Sayar was made the general art director of the festival. Vecdi Sayar explains the reasons for this and the coming changes yenilikleri aşağıdaki gibi açıklar:

> AKSAV has made the correct decision. If this continued in the same city for years, the institutional structure organizing the festival should have grown roots there and cultivated new talent. From now on, we intend to raise a serious group of festival organizers in the Cinema department of Akdeniz University But the change in administration took place only five months ago. And this position was offered to me after the board was elected. We have been working intensively for the past three months. Despite the budget and time disadvantage, we will present the audiences with a good menu (*Hürriyet-Kelebek*, 09.10.2009).[205]

The answer to Taşçıyan's question above, "Will Antalya be punished?" might be inferred from Vecdi Sayar's statements about the AGOFF 2009 budget:

> The budget last year [2008] was 21 million TL, from what we can see in the AGM's own accounting records. As for the budget now, 3,5 million from AGM sources, 1 million 250 thousand TL support from the Culture and Tourism Foundation. That's all. We are still expecting a response from the Promotion fund [of the Culture and Tourism Ministry] [a day left until the festival opening].

The new AKSAV administration, which believed that there were three or four important, dominant film markets in the film industry field, held that the newly formed Film Market in Antalya was not realistic and thus had no chance for survival. Therefore, they cancelled the Film Market. Then, they made changes to the Hollywood star hosting organization, something TÜRSAK cared a great deal about, by inviting renowned directors from various countries. Vecdi Sayar says the following on this point:

> The quality of a festival is not measured by how many stars are brought over. Stars come to big festivals to promote their films. Avoiding unnecessary people and unnecessary expenses during this festival will be better for the future and reputation of this festival. When you pay an actor to come, you lose respect among international movie circles. It's not an accomplishment to bring them. What is important is to use them in parallel with their film schedules.

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[204] See also the news "Erdoğan: Festivalden, Şölenden Vazgeçin" accessed on 30.05.2010 at http://www.haberler.com/erdogan-festivalden-solenden-vazgecin-haberi/ http://www.haberler.bbs.tr/erdogan-festivalden-solenden-vazgecin.html

[205] See the interview with Vecdi Sayar given to Sinem Vural "Festivalde değişim rüzgarları esiyor" *Kelebek-Hürriyet*, 09.10.2009.

Hürriyet (20.08.2009) writer Ömür Gedik, wrote a piece about the changes made to the AGOFF in 2009 entitled, "You're like a Festival, I want to join you" in which she says that a festival is being prepared with a higher intellectual level than a holiday festival attended by world cinema celebrities. Another journalist who attended the 2009 festival, Rahşan Gülşan (*Haber Turk*, 17.10.2009), says, "fantastic conversations about movies were taking place instead of ridiculous gossip" and underlines that "the unnecessary burden of hosting stars has been removed and it is about the real stuff.".[206]

For becoming a 'city of culture', beside the AGOFF, an integral part of Antalya's image is its association with a number of events; namely, the Aspendos Opera and Ballet Festival, Antalya Piano Festival, Antalya International Sand Sculpture Festival in Lara Sand City (Pictures 6.50; 6.51; 6.52). The city also hosts a large number of athletic activities such as the Alanya International Beach Volleyball Tournament, Alanya Triathlon Premium European Cup, not to mention golf tournaments, archery, tennis, and skiing contests. Antalya was also preparing to host the World Rally Championship in 2008[207] and the World Basketball Championship in 2010.

Concluding Remarks

In terms of policy, the field research shows that Antalya has outlined clear goals to become a regional tourism hub for culture and convention, entertainment, events, and a tourism partner to complement Istanbul—and to some neighboring major cities in Turkic countries, but probably in the future. As a tourism hub, Antalya aspires to be more than just a travel destination. The common language of the stakeholders comprising the growth machine in Antalya shows that it will also be a center where international festivals and other cultural events can be held here, as a gateway in between Asia and Europe.

In addition to being a tourism service hub and being a 'city of culture' in the region, the second enlargement strategy pertains to transforming Antalya into a film production center whereby a talented or skilled laborer in culture industry can find a job in Antalya. Since the main goal for holding the Eurasia Film Market in Antalya is to introduce an international co-production market offering film business facilities—sales offices, market screening, buyer and production services—in between Pusan in Asia and Cannes in Europe—stake holders believe that film business enterprises will bring in investments, create jobs and enhance Antalya's reputation as a global film industry center like Hollywood, Europe/[actually French], and Bollywood. As a 'city of culture', it is

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[206] See also the news by Rahşan Gülşan "Altın Portakal'dan gerekli gereksiz notlar" *HaberTürk*, 17.10.2009.
[207] See ATSO (2002) "FAO Başkanı Bernie Ecclestone Antalya'da" *ATSO Dergisi* (16)177: 6-7.

estimated by the stake holders, that Antalya's tourism revenue streams will be increased beyond its traditional reliance on tourist arrivals.

Referring to Frith (1991, p. 140), three types of cultural policy can be identified: *industrial cultural policy, touristic cultural policy* and *cosmetic cultural policy*. The AGOFF since 1964, the Eurasia International Film Festival since 2005 and the Eurasia Film Market since 2006 have been the most striking examples of *industrial cultural policy,* which focuses on the local production of cultural goods to be consumed nationally or exported through mass media.

The aforementioned goals can not be accomplished by the local agents in Antalya alone. Creating the Golden Orange Eurasia International Film Festival will inevitably require creative agents in Antalya. In his book *Creative Cities and Creative Class,* Florida (2005, 28-33) tries to show how agents become creative with urban policies. From his 'creative capital perspective', economic growth will occur in places that have highly qualitative and educated people who are the driving force of regional economic growth. For Florida (2005, p. 34), Creative Capital begins with people, those he calls the Creative Class with their distinguishing characteristic of *creating meaningful new forms.*

So, what is 'creativity' in terms of cities? As Bianchini and Landry (1995: 17) state that if "creativity is a way of discovering previously unseen possibilities", it can not be reduced to "removing bureaucratic obstacles to creativity" (Ibid: 25) as asserted in their book, *The Creative City* or in Menderes Türel's words "pave[ing] the way for the private sector." If creativity means merging into neo-liberal policies to reduce the role of bureaucracy and politics in the management of the economy and to unfetter the business from the burdens imposed upon it by the regulatory environment, one can conclude that the mayor in Antalya is the most creative actor in Antalya. "The urban elite in Antalya, with their 'world city' ideology, have been transforming Antalya into a '*city of culture*' just because they are convinced by the global ruling class" (Varlı-Görk, 2007: 1256) of the assumption that "creative centers tend to be the economic winners of our age" (Florida, 2005: 36).

Indeed, creativity requires nothing but the *subject* that is "the origin of 'her' [freedom] expressive forms, and that these forms do not emerge from any source other than subjectivity as such" (Mann, 1968: 184 quoted in Laclau & Zac, 1994: 11). Subjectivity and creativity in this case require each other; the realization of subjectivity is freedom conceived as self determination (Laclau & Zac, 1994, p. 12). The process of 'urban restructuring' has always been reconstituted by the agents through their individual and collective choices in *freedom.*

In their book *Creative City,* Bianchini and Landry (1995) cited Harvey only to claim that "aesthetics [have] replaced ethics in urban planning" (Harvey, 1990: 102) but did not refer to his concepts of 'creative city' and 'collective symbolic capital', which he mentioned in his well known article "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation of Governance in the Late Capitalism" written in 1989. Besides, in his book *Creative Cities and Creative Class,* though Florida

(2005) refers to Putnam's (2000) concept of 'social capital' he did not cite the concept of 'creative capital' among Bourdieu's concepts of *forms of capital,* by which most scholars were inevitably inspired and introduced relatively new concepts like 'creative capital', 'intellectual capital', also referred to as 'artistic capital' or 'health capital' in another context—one of the forms of capital derived from economic capital first coined by Bourdieu in 1983 (©1983, 1986: 241).

As Harvey (2001 ©1989: 356) argues in his aforementioned article, festivals and cultural events likewise become the focus of investment activities as one of the strategies utilized to improve a city's competitive position. Above all, the city has to appear as an *innovative, exciting, creative,* and safe place to live or to visit, to play and consume in. (Ibid.: 355)

The flow of creative class for the formation of a creative city is inevitable. However the strategies for transforming Antalya into runaway production center are not enough to pull the creative class. Actually Antalya provides a quality of place and life to its creative class. The city has much to offer to talented people with its natural and constructed amenities, with its internationally rewarded marina, with *Kaleiçi* embracing multi-layered cultures since ancient times, and the bohemian lifestyle suits well with the experimental lifestyles of the creative class. In this context, some individual agents coming to Antalya with their high creative capital beside their academic, technological, social, cultural and symbolic capital might be regarded as signal of the formation of creative class in Antalya. Those people centering around the AGOFF, like the president of TÜRSAK; around the AGM, like founding curator of the City Museum; around the Faculty of Fine Arts at Akdeniz University, like the founding Dean; around AKMED in the bosom of Kaleiçi, like academics; deal with cultural heritage, and around the foundation of the Museum of Modern Arts within the border of Kepez District, like professional land developers from a multi-national firm, are some of them.

Festivals are therefore seen as being not only an integral part of Antalya's image, but also a key component of the city's economic fortunes. It is also recognized that Antalya's festivals are important in marketing the town to external audiences and they are an important part in the competition between places for economic development and it is also recognized that the media plays a crucial role in the dissemination of the images of the festivals. Antalya's festivals are seen as an important mechanism for keeping the city in the public eye, which, as a result, has economic benefits for the town. The number and type of Antalya's festivals, however, can also serve to challenge what is seen as the traditional image of the town.

CHAPTER 7

RESTRUCTURING THE SUBFIELDS OF URBAN

-POLICY, -GOVERNANCE, -PLANNING AND -DESIGN

Since the main aim of this thesis is to understand the process of 'restructuring Antalya' under the leading agency of Antalya Greater Municipality between 2004-2009 and the strategies of the 'growth machine' under a 'grand scenario' of 'transforming Antalya into a city of culture', the municipal governance of Antalya by a social democratic mayor during the previous period between the years 1999-2004 was also examined to see any shift in urban policies, urban governance, urban planning and urban design.

In order to understand how Antalya has been spatially restructured during this period, some of the recent strategic urban projects were chosen. To this end, the following spaces have been chosen as the research objects to be discussed in this chapter of the dissertation: The Lara area, Vakıf Çiftliği; The Textile Factory and Battery Factory Spaces, Karaalioğlu Park, the spaces included in the Pedestrianization of the Historical City Center Project-namely the School District, Republic Square, Kalekapısı, the spaces of the Vakıf Office Building, 100. Yıl Sports Facilities and the East Bust Station and the Bazaar, as well as the neighborhoods of Kaleiçi, Haşim İşcan and Balbey. The decisions made and the related planning process concerning the two spaces known as the Lara Area and Vakıf Çiftliği differ greatly. Therefore these two spaces have been investigated separately for each municipal administration considering the potential oppositions in Antalya In this period, The AGM, has designed, and managed to implement many of, a series of 'flagship projects' under the name, 'City Transformation Projects' in the spaces listed above. These Projects could easily be called Urban Propaganda Projects. With the grand scheme of transforming Antalya into a 'city of culture', these UPPs, each of which are offered to the public as an 'urban spectacle' and a 'hallmark event', are presented in terms of efforts made by urban elite "to refashion collective emotion and consciousness in order to legitimate political projects that function primarily in their interest." These UPPs were chosen because they were used as instruments to sustain support from Antalya's people,

to legitimatize the formation of the 'growth machine', and to persuade them with the claim that "growth makes jobs" (Molotch, 1976: 323).

7.1.   1999-2004 Third Way Urbanism

Among the work he was a part of during his term as mayor, Kumbul places a lot of importance on the Biological Purification Facility, as one of the infrastructure activities to make Antalya a more habitable place (ATSO, 2002, *ATSO Dergisi,* 16/175: 8). In the interview he gave to the *ATSO* Magazine, Kumbul emphasizes that this facility built to protect the coast at Antalya especially used for tourism purposes and the sewage investments made have saved Antalya's future. Another work he finds important is the 'Geological Study Report'. Kumbul was involved in many projects during his term.

One project implemented during Mayor Kumbul's period was the *Kepezüstü* Waste Dump Rehabilitation Project. Then there was the 'Family History Project', which was developed during the 1999-2004 local administration period, which was used to form the basis of the 'Antalya City Museum'. The idea for this museum had first been mentioned in the report published by the Antalya City Council on 15 January 1998. The 'Disabled People's Village' and the 'Culture Tents' projects reflect the social democrat side of this period's administration, while the Atatürk Park and Karaalioğlu Park plans aiming to revitalize the city center as well as the 'Surönü Project' in cooperation with the Muratpaşa Country Municipality appear as third way urbanism.

In general, a look at the 1999-2004 municipal governance period reveals that the projects developed were Third Way Urban projects. As defined by Keil (2000: 262), Third Way Urban Projects differ slightly from neoliberal and social progressive urban projects. As a blend of two they are to produce an environment located in a field of tension between neoliberal and progressive projects. Most prominently, ecological modernization (sustainability and smart growth), even entrepreneurialism, cultural modernization, and modest feminist politics are its hallmarks. Third Way Urbanism takes urban design as a means through which to devise social solutions.

Another project that could be defined as a Third Way Project was the Furnacemen's Market (*Demirciler İçi*) Project of 2002 (see Picture 7.1). The architectural project competition held for the new market, which aimed to protect traditional trades with their masters was finalized but the implementation was left for the next administration. The planning process for the Lara City Park and Muratpaşa Vakfı Çiftliği, which were widely debated in this period, has been discussed in detail below.

Lara City Park [208]

The space planned as the Lara City Park is a 3,500 acre piece of land that was granted to the municipality by the Ministry of Forests with the consent of the residents of the city during the 1999-2004 AGM local administration period in the Lara Area (see Pictures 7.2 and 7.3). This space, called Lara Park by Antalyalites for a long time, has a unique fauna, flora, endemic species, misshapen Red Pines unique to the space, various bird species, and a rare sand ecosystem, and is a unique piece of nature. Due to these characteristics, the area was declared a 'nature reserve area' by the Antalya Regional Committee for the Protection of Culture and Nature in 1992. Thus, the Lara City Park is an important natural value that could be offered for tourism Taking into account these characteristics, the Lara City Park was approved in 1998 and was reserved as a park area to meet the recreational and green space needs of Antalyalites with the currently in effect 1/5000 and 1/1000 scale plans. According to the common opinion of the people of Antalya, "the Lara City Park belongs to 900,000 Antalyalites, has been marked as a nature reserve site on 3,500 acres, is home to the unique endemic system described above and can not be turned into a theme park like Disneyland." (MOAŞ, 2007: 71)

During the 1999-2004 AGM local governance term, when the Lara City Park plans started, the Forest Ministry stopped the allocation of the land to AGM. However, this land was regained through the efforts of the AGM administration and the Forest Ministry. Then a plan was prepared following discussions with all of the city's NGOs, profession chambers, experts, related university departments and high attendance rates of the public over three years between 2000-2003 under the leadership of the municipality and in accordance with the "6/f provisions of the legislation for the Manner and Principles concerning the Preparation, Display, Implementation, Monitoring of Zoning Plans for Conservation and Landscaping Projects". The related projects were presented to the general public, approved by the Antalya Regional Directorate of Conservation and the AGM as well as the Forest Ministry and put into practice. In this period, two hotels intended for construction in the space was cancelled upon the public's strong opposition. Informant R19's impressions of the process are as follows:

> **R19:** *Rixos had made a request a long time ago during Bekir Kumbul's term but it was left until this term. Bekir Kumbul did not see anything wrong with this group, with its considerable capital, doing the project. In fact, once the project had been developed within the municipality, he asked these people if they would do it on account of their significant capital. […] The Rixos group said that they wouldn't win [the bid] with the project developed during Bekir Kumbul's term because it involved 1% structuring. In other words, they said they wouldn't invest in this community project because they wouldn't be able to make much of a profit ad they suggested another project: "We could make an*

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[208] Unless another resource has been named, the information in this section has been obtained from the sources published by the TMMOB Architects' Chamber Antalya Branch: *Antalya Kıyı Yerleşmeleri* (1996, *Antalya Coastal Settlements*) and *Çevre Düzeni Planına Doğru* (2006, *Towards an Urban Plan*) *2007 Genel Seçimleri Kapsamında Dünya, Türkiye, Antalya ve Mimarlık Ortamına İlişkin Değerlendirme Raporu,* (2007); Antalya: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi.

investment if you dropped this project and we could develop another one to make this place into an entertainment center," they said. […] This is an area special in many ways, and it's large; one side is the sea, the other is a forest; it attracts people and it attracts capital. […] The capital of some Ukrainian and Kazakh guys[209]. *Actually in Kazakhstan there's a man called Igor that later worked in the Ukraine. Then he comes to Turkey to invest. To make such an investment in Turkey he has to have a Turkish partner.*[210]

The space, according to the plan prepared as per the planning regulations during the 1999-2004 AGM administration and expert views from various fields, the City Park was planned with the Building Intensity index / modulus E= 0,01.[211] This plan, which was made with the precondition of minimum structuring aiming to benefit the general public and preserve the unique natural characteristics of the area, was not seen as adequately profitable by the contracting companies who were candidates for the space. 'Themes' were created to increase the diversity of use according to the plan prepared in the previous period. The goal of this plan, which was made according to themes grouped under park titles such as Aquapark, Naturepark, Culturepark, Healthpark, was a build-operate-transfer or profit partnership model. The Mayor during 1999-2004 said the following during the interview within the scope of the field research about Lara City Park:

> **R16:** *That's a place covering thousands of acres of land; a special place with the sea on one side and a forest on the other. In my day, it was an area designed as a Cultural Park. Our rationale was to bring Antalyalites and the tourists together. As its name implies: a "Cultural Park". It was going to be a place where the construction would be low density. Its sand has healing properties. It was thought that something inspired by the Yörük Tents would be made. It was the only culture park area in Antalya. A law concerning the creation of new tourism fields related to the evolution of the tourism sector had passed. In those days I said the addition, "The planning of the areas within city limits should be carried out through collaboration between the Ministry of Tourism and the Municipality," should be made to this law. They didn't listen to me. Areas within city limits should not be planned as tourism areas merely through the decision of the Ministry of Tourism. I still think that the community living there should be consulted. They should be planned with the contributions of the local government.*[212]

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[209] See the news by Önkibar, S. "Fettah Tamince'nin servetinin kaynağı nereden geliyor?" *Yeniçağ*, 12 Nisan 2009 accessible at http://www.patronturk.com/fettah-tamincenin-servetinin-kaynagi-nereden-geliyor, 29.03.2010.
See also the news "Rixos Grubu'nun patronu Fettah Tamince medya patronu oluyor" *Vatan*, 20.05.2009 accessed at http://www.patronturk.com/rixos-grubu%E2%80%99nun-patronu-fettah-tamince-medya-patronu-oluyor, 29.03.2010;
See also the news "Rixos, Ankara'yı da açtı, zincirindeki otel 12'ye çıkacak" *Hürriyet*, 12 Mayıs 2009 accessed on 16.04.2010 at http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/11629080.asp.

[210] **R19:** Aslında Rixos grubunun talebi ta Bekir Kumbul döneminde de vardı ama bu döneme kaldı bu iş. Bekir Kumbul, iyi sermayesi olan bu grubun böyle bir projeyi yapmasında bir sakınca görmemişti. Hatta belediye olarak projeyi geliştirdikten sonra bu adamlara sormuş bunu yapar mısınız, sizin iyi sermayeniz var diye. […] Bekir Kumbul döneminde geliştirilen %1 yapılaşmayı geçmeyen projeyle biz kazanamayız dedi Rixos grubu. Yani bu sosyal projeye biz yatırım yapmayız çünkü biz kar edemeyiz dediler ve başka bir proje önerdiler kendileri: "Bu projeden vazgeçip burayı bir eğlence merkezine dönüştürecek bir proje geliştirirsek o zaman yatırım yapabiliriz" dediler. […] Böyle çok özelliği olan bir alan bu, çok da büyük bir alan; bir tarafı deniz, bir tarafı orman insanı çekiyor, sermayeyi de çekiyor. […] Ukraynalı ve Kazakistanlı bir takım adamların sermayesi. Aslında Kazakistan'da olan İgor isimli bir adam daha sonra Ukrayna'da çalışmış. Daha sonra Türkiye'ye yatırım yapmaya geliyor. Türkiye'de böyle bir yatırım yapabilmesi için mutlaka Türk bir partneri olması lazım.

[211] See the discussions on this issue "Lara Kent Parkı Kentlilerin Mutabakatıyla Hazırlanmış, Plan ve Projeye Göre Hayata Geçirilmelidir" in *2007 Genel Seçimleri Kapsamında Dünya, Türkiye, Antalya ve Mimarlık Ortamına İlişkin Değerlendirme Raporu,* Antalya: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi, pp. 71-80.

[212] **R16:** Şimdi orası binlerce dönüm bir alanı kapsayan, bir tarafı deniz bir tarafı orman özel bir yer. Benim dönemimde bir Kültür Parkı olarak tasarlanan bir alandı. Antalyalı ile turisti orada buluşturalım mantığıyla yola çıkmıştık. Adı üstünde 'Kültür Parkı'. Yapılaşma yoğunluğunun düşük tutulduğu bir yer olacaktı. Kumunun iyileştirici bir özelliği vardır. Yörük Çadırlarında esinlenilmiş bir şeyler yapılması düşünülmüştü. Antalya'nın bulabileceği tek kültür parkı yeriydi orası. Turizm

The mayor for the term 1999-2004 says, "The people living there should be consulted" and summarizes the pluralist participatory planning approach of his governance period known in the planning literature as "the social learning communicative model".

7.2.   2004-2009 Neoliberal Urbanism

Lara City Park

New plans came into play during the 2004-2009 term AGM local administration for the Lara City Park space, as if this subject had never been discussed before. MOAŞ describes this process as follows:

> As there was no other land left to allocate to tourism investments in the region where Lara City was and since the allocation made by the Ministry of Forests could not be cancelled, the only way to allocate the lands to investors with expectations of the land by taking it from the general public through the cancellation of the allocation was to give the right of disposal to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The only way to do this was found: "The region including Lara City Park was declared a Cultural and Tourism Preservation and Development Region (KTKGB)." The resolution was put into effect through its announcement in the September 6th, 2004 issue of Official Gazette numbered 25575. (MOAŞ, 2007: 71-72)

With this resolution, all planning authority regarding the space at any scale was handed over to the Culture and Tourism Ministry. Even though the Ministry gave the authority to approve to the AGM, it removed the decision for the City Park and put forth the Theme Park decision in line with the expectations of the 2004-2009 term AGM administration and the Culture and Tourism Ministry for the allocation of the land. The Ministry later completely disregarded the decisions made during the previous period, handed over the planning to the investor and allocated the land. In other words, the Culture and Tourism Ministry changed the 1/5000 scaled Lara Kundu KTKGB Regulatory Zoning Plan prepared previously by the AGM, whose authority was withdrawn, against all scientific and technical principals to the detriment of the public and right at the approval stage. In the new 1/5000 scale plans prepared by the ministry, the themes in the previous plans for the space were eliminated and instead, the Building Intensity index was increased to E= 0,10, which allowed the construction of facilities identified as theme parks in the "Regulations Concerning the Certification and Qualifications of Tourism Facilities".[213]

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sektörünün evrilmesine ilişkin olarak yeni turizm alanlarının açılmasına ilişkin bir yasa çıkmıştı. O zaman ben şunu söyledim: "Kent sınırları içindeki alanların planlanması Turizm Bakanlığı ile Belediye İşbirliği içerisinde yapılmalıdır" ibaresi koyulsun bu yasaya dedim. Beni dinlemediler. Kent sınırı içindeki yerler yalnız Turizm Bakanlığı'nın kararına göre turizm alanı olarak planlanmamalı. Orada yaşayan halka da sorulmalı diye düşünüyorum hala. Yerel yönetimlerin katkısıyla planlanmalı.

[213] "25 Temmuz 2005 tarih ve 25882 sayılı Resmi Gazetede yayınlanan ve onay için Kurula sunulan planlar "Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planları ve Çevre Düzenleme Projelerinin Hazırlanması, Gösterimi, Uygulaması, Denetimi ve Müelliflerine İlişkin Usul ve Esaslara Ait Yönetmelik"e uygun hazırlanmamıştır. Bu yönetmeliğin 6/f maddesi hükümleri gereği, plan

The Regional Preservation Board decreased the Building Intensity index to maximum E= 0,02 (%02) for the plan which had been prepared by the Culture and Tourism Ministry without complying with the regulation, and stipulated the condition that themes be detailed and made the decision to re-present the 1/1000 and 1/5000 scale implementation plans to the board. During the time the decision was under discussion Menderes Türel, the mayor of AGM states his views on the Lara City Park Project:

> We had expressed that this area should be used as a theme park as an election promise. […] I envisioned a theme park with not an index of 0.02, but one of at least 0.05 or even 0.10. However, the with the Preservation Board's decision being 0.02, we will have to make do. Frankly, it is hard to achieve the project I have been dreaming of with an index of 0.02 but <u>we will do our best to succeed.</u> (*Hürriyet,* 18.09.2006)

Türel also mentions that the public's objections stemming from the possibility that the Lara Theme Park Project will be closed to the public's use are not realistic, and that the objections and protests (Picture 7.4; 7.5) are political, and that those objecting to the project are anti-modern (*Hürriyet-Akdeniz,* 18.09.2006).[214] The 3,500 acre Lara City Park Project Contract was in the media as "Turkey's largest tourism contract" and was made under the authorization of the Culture and Tourism Ministry on 17 August 2006.[215] A representative of the company which won the bid with their 22 million 720 thousand YTL offer for 49 years stated[216] that they would "invest at least 306.2 million YTL in Lara Park and create employment for thousands of people" (*Hürriyet*, 18.08.2006). In the statement he made to a local newspaper, the owner of the corporation stated his belief in the Lara City Park allocation project and continued, "Lara City Park is the project I will go down in history for. It will bring me prestige abroad, as well" (*Yeni Şafak*, 9.10.2006).[217]

The radical change in the Building Intensity Index in the planning and determination of Mayor Türel to execute such a theme park by disregarding the public opposition to this project with a claim that "75% of the public wants this project and 80% will in six months once I have [this project] done" and "it is for the benefit of the public" because for him this project will attract

hazırlama sürecinde idarelerce plan yapılacak alanda ilgili meslek odalarının, sivil toplum örgütlerinin, konunun uzmanlarının, üniversitelerin ilgili bölümlerinin ve KTTGK içinde yaşayan halkın, faaliyet gösteren esnafın katılımı ile gerçekleşen toplantılarda planla ilgili görüşler, hedefler, araçlar, sorunlar tartışılmalı ve bunun sonucunda hazırlanan taslak plan koruma kuruluna sunulmalı idi" (MOAŞ, 2007: 72).

[214] See the Interview mayor Menderes Türel gave to Dursun Gündoğdu "Haftanın Sohbeti" *Hürriyet-Akdeniz,* 18.09.2006, "Şu anda Lara Temalı Parkı içindeki alandan yararlanan insan sayısı 100'ü geçmez. Onlar da kumu romatizmaya iyi geliyor diye gidiyor. […] Ben anket yaptırdım, halkın %75'i, altı ay sonra yaptırdığımda ise %80'i [bu projeyi] istiyor."

[215] See the news "Disneyland tutkusu Lara Park'ta fiyatı ikiye katladı" *Vatan,* 18.08. 2006, accessed on 29.03.2010 at http://www.arkitera.com/news.php?action=displayNewsItem&ID=11036.

[216] "AKP'den şaibe iddialarına yanıt" *Hürriyet,* 18.08.2006, accessed on 29.03.2010 at http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/4939286.asp?m=1, 29.03.2010

[217] See the news "Lara Kentle ismimi tarihe yazdıracağım" *Yeni Şafak*, 9.10.2006 accesed at http://yenisafak.com.tr/Ekonomi/Default.aspx?t=09.10.2006&i=9134 29.03.2010.

millions of tourists to the region. As an exemplary strategic UPP, this project allows some multi-level of governance with the very mediation of the 'state' itself, partnership with the private sector even in the planning level, and legitimization with the involvement of civil society in the form of NGOs. Instead of the possibility of negotiated universalism, of democratization, of social justice, and of urban ecology in the Third Way Urbanism often uses the social learning communicative model in planning, during the neoliberal urbanism of this period, the platform for communication and negotiation is cancelled by the hand of the central government (or state) through the intervention of the Ministry of Tourism and Culture with some new regulations relating to this 3,500 acre Nature Reserve. Informant R16, the 1999-2004 term AGM mayor comments on The Lara City Park soon after it has been concluded in an interview:

> **R16:** *Now that the authority has been handed over to the Culture and Tourism Ministry, all that's left for everyone else to do is to sit and watch. Unfortunately now we can't see where the Lara Cultural Park Project is headed. It's not about who gets the job. There will be a bid and someone will win it. I think the way that the work is done is what's important. The conditions of the contract are set; anyone who complies with the conditions has the right to enter the bid.* [The company that prepares] *the tender correctly wins the bid. OF course the company will invest and desire a return on this investment. But if the specifications are such that they are more beneficial for Antalya, the company that commits to these will win.[218]*

Those among the informants that work in the tourism and trade field believe that a center to attract tourists to Antalya is necessary, even if this is not a Disneyland. R12 and R22 claim that all projects are geared towards tourists due to the presence of tourism in Antalya and comment on the Lara Theme Park as follows:

> **R12:** *What the tradesmen in Antalya want is for the tourists in the hotels to come downtown. How would a tourist not able to get downtown go to Lara Park? Take a bus? There are no buses that go there anyway. They take* [the tourists] *downtown on a tour bus for a couple hours on certain days, and that's it.[219]*
>
> **R22:** *Antalya needs a theme park. Antalya needs parks. But not Disneyland. There should be a theme that will make tourists spend money.[220]*

Informant R19 makes the comments below about the Lara City Park Project, which recommends high density construction despite the sand structure that is useful in the treatment of rheumatism related illnesses and thus suitable for health tourism:

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[218] **R16:** Madem insiyatif Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı'na verildi şimdi uzaktan seyretmek düşer herkese. Şimdi maalesef Lara Kültür Parkı Projesi'nin yönünün nereye gittiğini göremiyoruz. İşi kimin aldığı meselesi değil mesele. Sonuçta bir ihale yapılır birisi alır. İşin nasıl yapılacağı önemlidir bence. İhalenin koşulları bellidir, ihale koşullarını karşılayan herkesin girme hakkı vardır. İhaleyi doğru hazırlarsan, koşulları karşılayan firma kazanır. Firma elbette yatırım yapacaktır, karşılığını da almak isteyecektir. Ama şartnameyi ne kadar Antalya'ya faydalı hazırlarsan bu koşulları kabul etmeyi taahhüt eden firma kazanacaktır.

[219] **R12:** Antalya'da esnafın derdi oteldeki turistin kente inmesi. Kente inmeyen turist nasıl gidecek Lara Park'a? Otobüse mi binip gidecek? Zaten oraya otobüs de gitmiyor ki. Belirli günler bir iki saatliğine tur otobüsüyle şehre indirip geri götürüyorlar hepsi bu.

[220] **R22:** Antalyanın temalı parka ihtiyacı var. Antalyanın parklara ihtiyacı var. Ama Disneyland değil. Turiste para harcatabileceğiniz bir tema olması lazım.

R19: *This area which had previously been identified in the Antalya Zoning Plan as Antalya City Park belonged to the Ministry of Forests. This Ministry transferred it to the Ministry of Tourism. And the Metropolitan Municipality got this place during Bekir Kumbul's term for 15 years, as if it were a company, then it was changed to 49 years. The legal arrangement were made. In the project planned back then, the rear would have remained the City Park with the construction limit below 1%, the sand's special property would have been utilized, there would have been small health units geared towards health tourism, and spaces like an amusement park and a botanical garden. That project was also highly debated in Antalya. For example, there were two hotels in that project. Then it was discussed and shelved. This was the plan. But in the end the project wasn't carried out. If it had been, it would have meant that a project that the city's people had decided on would have been implemented. The Muratpaşa County Municipality and the Metropolitan Municipality couldn't agree on anything despite being from the same party. That project was left to [administrators in] this term.* [...] *Can you imagine? They made changes in the tariffs of the Tourism Ministry's Tourism Investments Foundations Regulations. They added the definition Theme Park, and then they put out a tender for a Theme Park. Now they are going to do what they want there.* [...] *There is no project out right now, but what is being done is this: you buy the land, allocate it, and prepare a zoning plan according to the terms of the contract. The ratio et by the Ministry in the tender was a maximum of 2%. What is 2%? It's such a big space over there that you can build* <u>75.000 m²</u> *of closed space. It's going to be made into a place like Disneyland. Maybe they won't use the name, it's a brand, but it will be similar. NGOs objected, but then they accused them of objecting to everything. They are opposed to everything. Go and do it. There's another place over there, in fact, let's all have a share as city residents, we have the money let's become partners through the Municipality.* [221]

R19 agrees with the stance MOAŞ has taken towards the situation in Lara. As R19 also points out, the space is already a 'theme' in and of itself, without requiring any construction due to its pine nut trees, sand and other natural characteristics. To repeat R19's question, "*Does it make any sense to destroy the theme that already exists?*"

During these debates, after the passing of the Law Concerning Amendments to the Tourism Support Act in the Grand National Assembly in 2008, the investor company, which won the right to resume its activities in Lara Park, founded the Istanbul based 'Lara Theme Park Tourism Investments, Inc.'[222] on 23 October. On its trade registration, it says about the company's purpose

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[221] **R19:** Daha önce Antalya İmar Planında, Antalya City Park olarak ayrılmış olan bu bölge Orman Bakanlığı'na aitti. Orman Bakanlığı, Turizm Bakanlığı'na devretti. Turizm Bakanlığı da Büyükşehir Belediyesi geçen dönem, Bekir Kumbul döneminde aldı burayı önce 15 yıllığına aldı, sanki şirket gibi aldı, arkasından da 49 yıllığına çevirdiler. Buranın hukuki düzenlemesi yapıldı. O zamanki öngörülen projede Arka taraf City Park özelliğini koruyacak yapılaşma limiti %1'i geçmeyecek, o kumdan kaynaklanan özellik değerlendirilecek, sağlık turizmine yönelik küçük sağlık üniteleri, onun dışında da Gençlik Parkı, Botanik Parkı gibi alanlar bırakılacaktı. O proje de Antalya'da çok tartışıldı. Mesela o projenin içinde iki tane otel vardı. Sonra tartışıldı ve kaldırıldı. Böyle bir planlaması vardı. Ama sonunda proje uygulanamadı. Eğer proje uygulanabilseydi kentlinin de karar verdiği bir proje uygulanmış olabilirdi. Muratpaşa İlçe Belediyesi ve Büyükşehir Belediyesi her ne kadar aynı partiden de olsa o dönem uzlaşamadılar. Bu döneme kaldı bu iş. [...] Düşünebiliyor musunuz? Turizm Bakanlığı'nın Turizm Yatırımları Vakıflar Yönetmenliği'nde tarif değişikliği yaptılar. Oraya Temalı Park tanımını eklediler, ondan sonra da Temalı Park olarak ihale ettiler. Şimdi oraya istediklerini yapacaklar. [...] Şu anda proje yok ortada ancak öncelikle yapılan şu; siz alanı alıyorsunuz, tahsis ediyorsunuz, ihale şartlarına göre imar planını hazırlıyorsunuz. Bakanlığın ihalede verdiği oran %2'nin üstüne çıkamazsınız şeklindeydi. %2 nedir? Orası öyle büyük bir alan ki <u>75.000 m2</u> kapalı alan yapabiliyorsunuz. Disneyland gibi bir yer yapılacak. Belki ismini kullanmazlar, o bir marka ama yapılacak şey öyle bir şey. Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları karşı çıkınca hemen eleştirdiler bunlar da her şeye karşı çıkıyorlar diye. Onlar her şeye muhaliftir. Git yap kardeşim şurada başka bir yer var hatta biz kentli olarak ortak olalım paramız da var biz kentli olarak belediye kanalıyla ortak olalım bu işe.

[222] See the news at (http://www.patronturk.com/fettah-tamince-lara-temali-park-turizmi-; see also Akkaya, İ. "Yeni Bir Oyun mu?" 24. 02. 2010, accessed on 29.03.2010 at http://www.haberantalya.com/yazar.asp?yaziıd=12254;

of establishment and its establishment, "Setting up, operating, buying or leasing out all types of parks and theme parks where people can enjoy themselves".

The Lara Region has been turning into an attractive region not only for the purposes of the theme park, but also the luxury housing constructions built on the lands behind the themes hotels in the Lara Kundu Area as an extension (see Chapter 8). This region, which did not even have a highway in the early 2000s, has been linked to the city with the main artery called *Özgürlük Bulvarı* (Freedom Boulevard) The target for these residences were Russian buyers demanding luxury housing, with the added bonus of revitalizing the real estate market through arrangements easing the sale of real estate to foreign nationals. During the field research, informants FG5 and FG4 share their views concerning the region and the spatial divergence in terms of the social stratification based on residences:

> **FG5:** [Özgürlük Bulvarı] *The Freedom Boulevard has a series of hotels on it where this policy is implemented. When I came here 3-5 years ago, it was just a dusty side street. This boulevard is going to be the main artery that connects these hotels to the city. A road that goes all the way to Topkapı Palace, and the Kremlin. But the parts close to the city weren't very valuable a few years back. Those parts were designed as luxury housing just to increase the value of that area. Because they couldn't have the tourists pass through that bad area to the hotels. This is why they redefined the residential region there.[223]*

> **FG5:** *A residential complex was built in Kemer. There were three storey villas and a wall like a rampart. A pool was built in the front. Even though they are very close to the sea, they don't have a sea view because of the tall buildings blocking. And they don't care about this. But in İstanbul, for example, you try to show people your sea view even from a single window. […] These villas in Kemer with this kind of a view are being sold for 350,000 Dollars. You could buy a luxury apartment on the bosphorus with that kind of money. Also, these villas are empty, without anything done in the inside. No bathroom or kitchen. If you buy this house and fix the inside, you have to part with 500,000 Dollars. Who has that kind of money? And for a place like that? This place isn't worth that much, I know because I am an architect. All you can do here is to launder money.[224]*

> **FG4:** *Lara and Arapsuyu, for example, are where the wealthy live. In Lara, there are mostly the high level executives of the hotels or travel agency owners and in Arapsuyu there are many jewelry store owners. So we can say that most of the jewelers are Antalyalites but most hotel managers are from elsewhere. The other migrants hold lower level jobs like busboys and waiters. They live across from the bus station in the shanty housing area called Kepezüstü. Then the migrants from the east live in a shanty neighborhood near the football pitch behind Topçular and they mostly work as waiters, busboys and construction workers. They also work as bouncers.[225]*

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[223] **FG5:** Özgürlük Bulvarı bu politikanın uygulandığı ardarda oteller zincirinin dizildiği bir hat. Ben geldiğimde 3-5 sene önce toprak yoldu orası. Bu otelleri kente bağlayan ana arter olacak Özgürlük Bulvarı. Topkapı Palas'a, Kremlin'e kadar uzanan bir yol bu. Ama şehre yakın kısmı 3-5 sene önce çok değerli yerler değildi. Sırf oranın değerini yükseltmek için şehre yakın kısımları lüks konut alanı olarak tasarlandı. Çünkü turisti o kötü yoldan götüremezdi o otellere. Bunun için de oradaki konut bölgesini yeniden tanımladılar.

[224] **FG5:** Kemer'de bir site yapıldı. Üç katlı villalar suvari bir bahçe duvarı var. Önlerine havuz yapıldı. Denize çok yakın olmalarına rağmen önlerindeki yüksek bloklardan dolayı denizi göremiyorlar. Bunu da önemsemiyorlar. Ama mesela İstanbul'da tek bir pencereden bile denizi göstermeye çalışırsın. […] Böyle bir manzarası olan Kemer'deki bu villaları 350 000 Dolara satıyorlar. Bu paraya İstanbul'da yalı dairesi alırsın. Üstelik Kemer'de satılan bu villalar boş, kabası bitmiş teslim ediliyor. Ne banyo var ne mutfak. Bu evi alıp içini yaptırırsan 500 000 Doları gözden çıkarırsın. Kimde var bu para ya üstelik böyle bir yer için. Burası bu kadar etmez, ben eğer mimarsam. Burada ancak kara para aklanır.

[225] **FG4:** Mesela Lara, Arapsuyu zenginlerin oturduğu semtler. Lara'da genellikle otellerin üst düzey yöneticileri ya da turizm acentası sahibi, Arapsuyu tarafında da daha çok kuyumcu dükkanı sahipleri oturuyor. Yani şöyle de diyebiliriz, kuyumcuların büyük bir kısmı Antalya'nın yerlisi ama otel yöneticilerinin çoğu dışardan gelme. Diğer göçmenler alt sınıf diye tanımlanabilecek olan komi, garson olarak çalışan işçilerin çoğu Otogar'ın karşısında Kepezüstü dediğimiz gecekondu mahallesinde oturuyorlar. Topçular'ın arkasında halı sahanın orada bir gecekondu yerleşkesi var orada da daha çok

Muratpaşa Vakıf Çiftliği/Muratpaşa Foundation Farm

The 2,630,000 m² urban green space in the Antalya city center called the Antalya Muratpaşa Foundation Farm has been used as an olive grove production site since 1936. This space carries special significance for Antalya in that it has enabled the survival and relay of the city's agriculture culture to the future. In 1998, the City Council Zoning and Planning Working Group of Local Agenda 21 (LA21) requested demanded that the Foundation Farm become a park in a questionnaire with responses from 30,000 Antalyalites. Then the Agriculture Lands Working Group, once again, of LA21[226], wrote in a report that even making the area into a park would have detrimental effects. In accordance with these views, Vakıf Çiftliği was declared a Natural Preservation Area of the first degree as per the 14 July 1998 decision numbered 596 by the Antalya Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Cultural Entities during Lawyer Hasan Subaşı's term as Mayor with the efforts of AGM. It was also decided that no activities related to the space were to be carried out without the permission of the Conservation Board (MOAŞ, 2007: 81). R21, who is also the Chair of the City Council, comments on the founding reasons for the LA21 in Antalya and the democratic organization based on volunteerism during the founding efforts that began in 1996. As well, City Council member informant R2 comments on the functions of the Antalya City Council and LA21:

> **R2:** *I think the City Council is a great idea, a very good organization model. It worked very well in the beginning. A council was established during Hasan Subaşı's term and Bekir Kumbul's. But now it is merely a symbolic institution. Local Agenda 21 as you know aimed to create solutions for the problems cities would face in the 21st century by planning the development. For example, what do various commissions think or predict about the Lara Project? It was a council created to facilitate the exchange of ideas. LA21 was actually started to convey the decisions it made to these institutions and receive feedback. They had some very glamorous meetings, but I couldn't attend the recent ones for health*

doğudan gelen göçmenler oturuyorlar ve daha çok garson, komi, inşaat işçisi olarak çalışıyorlar. Bodyguardlık falan da yapıyorlar.

[226] "Local Agenda 21 is a local-government-led, community-wide, and participatory effort to establish a comprehensive action strategy for environmental protection, economic prosperity and community well-being in the local jurisdiction or area. This requires the integration of planning and action across economic, social and environmental spheres. Key elements are full community participation, assessment of current conditions, target setting for achieving specific goals, monitoring and reporting" accessed on 18.05.2010 at http://www.gdrc.org/uem/la21/la21.html.

"*Implementing Local Agenda 21s in Turkey* started in January 2000, following the termination of the first phase project at the end of 1999. During the second phase, two Decrees dated 19 March 1998 and 7 November 2000 respectively, were issued by the Ministry of Interior to support the LA-21 processes. Thus, more effective state-stakeholders collaboration was facilitated. Partnership to the LA-21 Program is open to all local authorities in Turkey, except village administrations, as they require a different setup. New applications to join the Program are discussed and decided by the National LA-21 Program Steering Committee. The partnership structure, discussed and revised by the National LA-21 Program Steering Committee in its meeting held on 19 November 2004, encompasses the following 61 local authorities as "partners": *Metropolitan Municipalities*: İstanbul (supporting partner & the term Presidency of IULA-EMME), Adana, Adapazarı, Antalya, Bursa, Diyarbakır, Eskişehir, İzmir, İzmit, Mersin and Samsun; *Special Provincial Administrations*: Edirne, Elazığ, Kastamonu and Nevşehir." Accessed on 18.05.2010 at
http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un/unpan031655.pdf.

reasons. But it is a good idea. It needs to be activated. But I see that it isn't working that well. The city councils were born with potential but I think they are dying. Council decisions are not given much consideration.[227]

R21: *Here's how the City Council was founded: For example, the chamber of architects has filed at least 100 lawsuits since 1988. It tried to gain public support many times on its own, to no avail. Some platforms were created. Like profession chambers, democracy platform, and serious battles were fought by these regarding the country's problems. But it was seen that none of these was enough. In the 1994 elections, NGOs said that platforms in the city like a local parliament or a city council was necessary. All of the mayors of the time promised to make this happen. After the 1994 elections, Hasan Subaşı became the mayor. In 1996, he worked on the creation of this council for two years. He is a very democratic man. He said, "okay, you take there and investigate." Let's implement whatever is the most suitable. […] We prepared a report and said, "this is how we can do this." We can start an effort under LA21 and get UN support. But we also told him of our concerns […] together, we wrote the by laws of the city council. With these bylaws, mayor Hasan Subasi put a call out to NGOs and in, 1997, Local Agenda 21 Antalya City Council was established. The Antalya City Council has been the most interesting organization in Turkey since 1997.[228]*

However, the Vakıf Çiftliği, which covers 2,630,000 m² of land, was put out to tender on 28 September 2006 to be leased to the private sector; the tender was subsequently cancelled due to the reactions from the city people, NGOs and the media with the support of some members of parliament from Antalya.[229] MOAŞ and the Chamber of Agricultural Engineers worked together after the tender was cancelled to prevent the same mistake from being made by the Regional Foundations Directorate by keeping the issue on the current agenda and continued to warn NGOs. The two chambers were proven correct by the Regional Foundations Directorate's tender dated 18 December 2006 regarding the collection and sale of the olive crops at the farm.[230] The Directorate

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[227] **R2:** Kent Konseyi bence çok iyi bir tasavvur, çok iyi bir örgütlenme modeli. Başlangıçta da çok iyi çalıştı. Şimdi, Hasan Subaşı zamanında Kent Konseyi kuruldu. Bekir Kumbul döneminde de öyleydi. Ama şimdi Kent Konseyi sembolik bir kurum olarak kaldı. Yerel Gündem 21 bildiğiniz gibi 21. yüzyılda kentlerin karşılaşacağı sorunlar o gelişmeyi planlayarak karşılamayı hedeflemişlerdir. Mesela Lara Projesi hakkında farklı komisyonlar ne düşünüyor, ne öngörüyor. Bu fikir alışverişini sağlamak amacıyla oluşturulmuş bir konseydi bu. Gündem 21 aldığı kararları bu kurumlara iletip bir geri bildirim beklemek için oluşmuştur aslında. Çok görkemli toplantıları oldu ben yakın zamanlarda sağlık sorunlarım nedeniyle pek katılamadım. Ama iyi bir düşüncedir. Aktif hale getirilmesi gerekir. Ama çok iyi işlemediğini gözlüyorum. Kent konseyleri ölü doğmadı ama sanırım giderek ölüyor. Konsey kararları, sanırım giderek dikkate alınmıyor.

[228] **R21:** Şimdi kent konseyi şöyle kuruldu. Şöyle anlatayım; kentte birçok davalar açıldı. Örneğin mesela mimarlar odası 1988 yılından bugüne kadar yüz tane dava açtı. Birçok kere kamuoyu oluşturmaya çalıştı kendi başına, olmadı. Bazı platformlar oluşturuldu. Bunlar neydi, işte meslek odaları, demokrasi platformu, bunlarla kentin ülkenin sorunlarıyla ilgili ciddi mücadeleler yapıldı. Ama bakıldı; bunların hiçbiri yeterli olmuyor. 1994 yılındaki seçimlerde sivil toplum örgütleri kentte yerel parlomento ya da kent konseyi diyebileceğimiz platformların oluşturulması gerektiğini ileri sürdüler. O dönemki belediye başkanlarının hepsi böyle bir platform oluşturulacağı konusunda söz verdiler. 1994 seçimlerinden Hasan Subaşı belediye başkanı olarak çıktı. 1996'ya girdiğimizde de iki yıl kent konseyinin kurulmasıyla ilgili bir çalışma yaptı. Hasan Subaşı [1996'da Belediye Başkanı] da gerçekten çok demokrat bir adamdır. O dedi ki "tamam sen bunları al, araştır." En doğrusu hangisiyse biz onu hayata geçirelim. […] Biz bir rapor hazırladık ve dedik ki: "bunu böyle kurabiliriz." Yerel gündem 21 üzerinden birleşmiş milletlerinde desteklediği bir çalışma yapabiliriz. Ama işte endişelerimizi de söyledik, […] birlikte kent konseyin yönetmeliğini oluşturduk. Bu yönetmelikle sivil toplum örgütlerine çağrı yaptı başkan, Hasan Subaşı, 1997 yılında Antalyada yerel gündem 21 Antalya Kent Konseyi kuruldu. Antalya kent konseyi 1997'den beri Türkiye'deki en değişik örgüttür.

[229] See the news "Vakıf Çiftliği'nden yağ gibi satış çıktı" *Sabah-Akdeniz,* 18.09.2006; "Tartışmalı İhale" *Milliyet- Akdeniz,* 21.09.2006; "Antalya Talan Ediliyor" *Yeni İleri,* 22.09.2006; "Çiftlik Mücadelesi Başlıyor" *Ekspres,* 23.09.2006.

[230] The subject and content of the 'Specification' as it has been quoted is as follows: "The olive crops from the groves of the immovable space covering 2,630,000 m² in Antalya, Central County Ahatlı Neighborhood Duraliler Area Plot number 226 (new plot number nb: 2906) (Antalya Vakıf Muratpaşa Farm) shall be sold in an open auction in accordance with the 45th article of the 2886 numbered Public Tender Law, within the framework of this specification and the liabilities in its

prepared a new 'Agreement'[231] in violation of the 'Specification' which did not exist in the specifications of the cancelled tender. According to the 11th article[232] added to the 'agreement', they would be able to lease the land to the company that won the contract for collecting and selling the yields, according to the specifications of the previously cancelled bid by signing a new lease agreement concerning the Foundation's Olive Groves at any time. This situation which might seem complicated, despite the Foundations Directorate Regional Manager's statement, "a mistake was unknowingly made", constitutes "an illegal act carried out to enable leasing unbeknownst to the general public" according to MOAŞ.

On the other hand, Vakıf Çiftliği was left undefined in all of the plans AGM made in the 2004-2009 term on the grounds that it was a Natural Preservation Site. MOAŞ was not comfortable with this lack of definition of the space. In 2004, MOAŞ cited the decision of the Antalya Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Cultural Entities' dated 14 July 1998 and numbered 596 concerning the declaration of Vakıf Çiftliği as a Natural Preservation Site of the first degree. This ensured that the space was declared as 'special product land whose agricultural character will be maintained' and that this decision was recorded into plans at all scales." Thanks to MOAŞ's efforts, the Vakıf Çiftliği space was resolved to be an 'agricultural space' instead of a 'park space', and 'special product land whose agricultural character will be maintained' instead of 'undefined space'. If not for MOAŞ, it might have been inevitable that this enormous green space in the center of the city, which had been characterized as an undefined park, would be turned into a Disneyland-type ordinary theme park as a result of rentier policies, as constantly stressed by MOAŞ. According to the 2007 report by MOAŞ, the sale of treasury and public lands in Antalya is wrong. However, it is apparent from informant R2's comments that no lessons have been learned from repeated mistakes of this kind:

> **R2:** *For example, in the 1930s, the land of the Muratpaşa Foundation covered 106,000 acres. Now it is less than 3000 acres. What happened to the 103,000 acres? It became the city, it became buildings and roads. Now the olive*

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annexes under the condition of the protection and maintenance of the natural asseets and the land structure" (TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi, 2007: 81).

[231] Though the tender prepared by the Foundations Regional Directorate was cancelled, a Contract contradicting the subject and contents of the an already existing 'Specification' was made as defined here: The olive crops from the groves of the immovable space covering 2,630,000 m² in Antalya, Central County Ahatlı Neighborhood Duraliler Area Plot number 226 (new plot number nb: 2906) (Antalya Vakıf Muratpaşa Farm) shall be sold within the framework of this specification and the liabilities in its annexes under the condition of the protection and maintenance of the natural asseets and the land structure. It is subject to the decrees of the Protection of Cultural and Natural Assets Law numbered 2863" (TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi, 2007: 81).

[232] Madde 11: "The correspondence between the parties after the signing of the contract does not affect the contract and is not binding to the parties opposing the decrees of the contract. The contract can only be modified by mutual free will declarations and the signing of a document covering the modificationand legal procedures being completed.." (TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi, 2007: 82).

groves cover 3000 acres, and now they want that too. It's stuck in the middle of the city like an island. It's on the left hand side on the way to Burdur, only 3000 acres left between it and the Ferro-chrome Factory.[233]

As seen in two cases (Lara Kent Park and Vakıf Çiftliği), neoliberalism as a form of governance is that of the 'public-private partnership' in which "state and key business interests collaborate closely together to coordinate their activities around the aim of enhancing capital accumulation" (Harvey, 2006: 27). That is the reason why neoliberalism should not be understood as a bundle of characteristics, but as "a political project, a process of neoliberalization to reestablish the conditions for capital accumulation and to restore the power of economic elites."

7.3. Urban Spatial Restructuring [234]

The Antalya Branch of the Chamber of Architects claimed that the work that began in the center of Antalya in 2004 changed the appearance of the city considerably and that this change would continue rapidly with implementation of the current projects (Sönmez, 2008: 39). Having retired from his position as the president of ATSO followed by his election as AGM mayor in 2004, Menderes Türel, was interviewed in 2006 by Dursun Gündoğdu for the newspaper *Hürriyet-Akdeniz[235]*. In the piece, Türel announces this rapid change by advising the people of Antalya that "they should take pictures of Antalya today and keep them in albums at home, because Antalya' picture is going to change".

The Local Agenda 21-Antalya City Council (LA21), AGM and the Antalya Chamber of Trade and Industry (ATSO) jointly published in 2008 the *Presentation of the Antalya City Vision First Report*. This report, which concerned Antalya's vision for the future, identified 'three fundamental areas for development potential'[236] to form as a basis for the change and transformation in the city.

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[233] **R2:** Mesela 1930'larda Muratpaşa Vakfı'nın arazisi 106 000 dönüm. Şimdi 3000 dönümden az. Ne oldu bu 103 000 dönüm? Kent oldu, bina oldu, yol oldu. Şimdi 3000 dönüm zeytinlik kaldı, gözlerini oraya diktiler şimdi. Orası kentin içinde ada gibi kaldı. Burdur'a giderken solda Ferro-Krom arasında 3000 dönüm zeytinlik kaldı.

[234] Unless another source has been cited, the information in this section has been summarized from Sönmez, R. (2008) "Antalya'da Yeni Kentsel Düzenlemeler" *Mimarlık,* 344: 39-43.

[235] See the Interview mayor Menderes Türel gave to Dursun Gündoğdu "Haftanın Sohbeti" *Hürriyet-Akdeniz,* 18.09.2006.
[236] The following are recommendations for the first, which regards mobilizing Antalşya's potential to become a city of "specialized service in tourism" (*Antalya Kent Vizyonu İlk Rapor Sunuşu,* 2008: 8):
1. Creating an environment for trade, service and tourism recreation investments in Antalya;
2. Supporting tourism and recreation activities in and near the city to make Antalya a national and international level culture and convention as well as sports and health tourism center;
3. Supporting specialization and diversification in tourism and year-round activities;
4. Ensuring the development of Antalya in the trade and service sectors, and intensification ofculture, recreation and trade activities.

The second are recommendations for improving the quality of life in Antalya and for the realization of the urban transformation for inhabitable and healthy urban surroundings:
1. Ensuring the balanced distribution of population and activities in the subregions to prevent the uncontrolled growth of the city on the edges and in the center;
2. Developing the transportation and infrastructure systems in the city so that they ease living;

(2008: 8). The first of these for Antalya to gain the qualification of "specialized service in tourism"; the second was for transformation to take place in Antalya towards "the improvement of living standards and an inhabitable urban environment"; and third was defined as the realization of an "effective and democratic local administration". Three basic strategies were developed for the potential for development mentioned above:

> The aim is to: decrease the pressure on the city center through a planned 'decentralization' strategy by handling the spatial development of the city by including nearby municipalities and rural areas; protect tradition and historical assets; moving unorganized businesses to outside the city; and enable transformation projects in these areas; and develop intracity and intercity transportation and operations. Thus, the goal is to make each spatially specialized region into a center of attraction.
>
> Within the scope of *Urban transformation* strategies the sub-strategies developed were; the 'protection' sub-strategy, the 'redevelopment' sub-strategy regarding a planned property order, 'renewal and revitalization' strategies for shanty areas, public spaces and old industrial sites within the scope of privatization
>
> The goals within *Implementation strategies* were the consideration of urban design as a tool to serve as data for the planning, and the development of models based on ensuring the fair distribution of social benefits from city rentier creation among the city share holders the project implementation phase through participation oriented forms of organization.

The projects planned and mostly implemented within the framework of the three fundamental strategies listed have been given in detail below. Antalya, in the context of these projects, as in all cities governed by neoliberal politics, is imagined as a city with commercialized and malled street life, with entrepreneurial urban governance instead of strong managerial urban government, with low residential property taxes, private instead of collective consumption, invisible poverty and homelessness through picking up the beggars from the streets of inner city, controlled public spaces with camera security systems, and managed segregation on various scales.

Inner-city Transportation Network

According to MOAŞ, one of the most important endeavors changing the constructed structure of the city has been the construction of large scale intersections and underground passes (Pictures 7.6; 7.7; 7.8) in the inner-city transportation network. When we look at the other cities in Turkey under the administration mayors from AKP—Ankara, İstanbul, Denizli—we see that the

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3. Protecting the city's historical assets by making it possible for them to gain new meaning within the city's constantly renewed identity;
4. Kentte çevresel değerlerin koruyarak geliştirilmek ve çevre standartlarını arttırmak;
5. Göçle gelen nüfusu yerleşik nüfus ile bütünleştirmek.

The third are recommendations for the implementation of "an active and democratic local government":

1. Facilitating the formation of an administrative integrity and planning authority for the purpose of establishing an active and democratic local government system in Antalya together with the nreadby municipalities and rural areas;
2. Ensuring a planned development that encompasses the surrounding settlements within the inhabiting and construction process in Antalya;
3. Organizing by empowering professional organizations, NGOs and local administrations for an effective and participatory planning model.

underground passes and intersections exist in Antalya a well. Informant R19 says the following on this matter:

> **R19:** *So Ankara, then Istanbul, and now Antalya. The projects, you know about those; things like <u>building underpasses, overpasses and bridged junctions</u>. Then you see that the contractor that built the construction in Ankara is the same as the one that built them in Antalya or Denizli. I think we can conclude that the metropolitan mayors in cities like Ankara, Antalya and Istanbul have no function. They get orders from higher up to write up projects that so and so companies can take on, and the mayors from the AKP party approve such projects, the company that will win the contract is set anyway. I think that local governments need to regain their local authority. Today, especially AKP's municipalities are the <u>local spokespeople for the central government</u> and they function as the <u>mechanisms that lift the obstructions in front of the bureaucratic hindrances.</u>*[237]

The municipal governances, which function as sub-mechanisms that the central government uses to overcome bureaucratic problems in localities (the same projects being implemented by the same companies in local governances as in the example provided by R19), overlook the narrowing of their own general field of power when necessary, in the event that they come up against local oppositions (as in the declaration of the Lara Region as a KTKGB and the transfer of the entire authority on the subfield to the ministry of the central government). As seen in Antalya case, too, neoliberals believe that privatization and deregulation combined with competition, eliminate bureaucratic red tape, increase efficiency and productivity, improve quality, and reduce costs, both directly to the consumer through cheaper commodities and services and indirectly through reduction of the tax burden to improve city's competitive position as an entity vis-à-vis other states in the global market (Harvey, 2006: 27).

According to the Antalya Branch of the Chamber of Architects, should the intersection plans implemented by the Antalya Greater City municipality and the 13th Regional Office of the Directorate of are completed, the main plan guiding the city's transportation and traffic system will be violated from the get go. In other words, this intersection and road system underway will act as data and this incorrect data will yield an incorrect plan.

It was announced that the tunnel interchanges, whose construction started with a ground breaking ceremony on 24 October 2004 attended by Prime Minster Recep Tayyip Erdoğan with the promise of completion within 120 days, would be open for use four months later on 15 February 2005 (ATSO, 2004: 9). The plans involved a system starting from the *Kızıltoprak* Neighborhood in the area called '*Meydan*' (Main Square) in Antalya, going past *Mevlana* Street to *Güllük* and to

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[237] **R19:** Yani Ankara, Istanbul, işte şimdi Antalya. İşte projeler de malum; <u>altgeçit, üstgeçit yapmak, köprülü kavşaklar</u> yapmak şeklinde bir takım işler. Sonra bakıyorsunuz Ankara'daki alt geçit inşaatını yapan müteahhitle Antalya'daki ya da Denizli'deki aynı. Bana göre buradan şu sonuç çıkar: Ankara, Antalya, Istanbul gibi AKPli belediye başkanlıklarının hiçbir fonksiyonu yok. Yani üst yönetimden şu firmaların yapabileceği şu işleri projelendirin diye emir geliyor, AKPli belediye başkanları da bu emirlere uygun projeleri onaylayıp ihale ediyorlar zaten ihaleyi kazanacak olan müteahhit firma da belli. Bence yerel yönetimlerin bu yerel güçlerini geri kazanmaları gerekiyor. Bugün özellikle AKPli belediyeler <u>merkezi hükümetin yereldeki sözcüsü ve buradaki bürokratik güçlüklerin önünü açan mekanizmalar</u> olarak işliyor.

Konyaaltı, and then to the shopping center structure (called Migros). These plans for the intersection on the main artery of the city, which was referred to by the citizens as '*battı-çıktı*', led to a great deal of controversy but were eventually implemented.[238] MOAŞ's opinion regarding the artery on which there are seven intersections can be summarized as follows:

> The intersections AGM claims to have been built according to the Antalya Transportation Master Plan can only be a short term solution to traffic. In the long term they will make traffic more congested, negatively affect the rail system to be built in the future in the city, and that, despite the statements made, the construction of these intersections without the Antalya Transportation Master Plan will not yield positive results Sönmez, 2008: 39).

Another example of urban spatial restructuring in Antalya is the transition to rail system transportation within the inner-city transportation network. In an interview he gave on 18 September 2006, mayor Türel announced that the rail system tender would take place at the end of 2006 (*Hürriyet-Akdeniz,* 18.09.2006). Named Antalya Stage 1 Rail System Line, the rail system was planned to run from the north of the city to the city center in the south along the main artery— Kepez, Bus station, Muratpaşa, Meydan. The plan was that system would be 11.1 km long, and have two lines, one in each direction.[239] The first stage of the Light Rail System (Picture 7.9), which had been planned to go into use in 2010, was completed within the promised period. The first trial run of three kilometers took place with AGM mayor Menderes Türel in attendance from the *Fatih* stop to the Bus Station intersection on 2 January 2009.[240]

In addition to the new arrangements made in the inner-city transportation network, in this period, discussions of Antalya's connection to the railroad network resurfaced. This matter, which was thought to be among the most urgent action plans, is commented on by ANSIAD president informant R23:

> **R23:** *The government should invest in direct flights to Antalya'. There should be a fast train from Antalya to Alanya and the train should also connect Antalya to Ankara and Istanbul, this is crucial. I mean, look, we have lots of wealthy people who go abroad from İstanbul and Ankara. If there were a fast train, they would come to Antalya as well. More of our mid-level income citizens would come to Antalya if there were a fast train. If the city center of Antalya were revitalized, canyon tourism, golf tourism, football tourism and so on would become significant. And if the gastronomy tourism were revitalized, it could easily be done in the city center. You know, Mediterranean cuisine.[241]*

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[238] "Minister of Transportation Binali Yıldırım, who attended ATSO's annual award ceremony, stated that Antalya is a city lucky to have its governor and mayor, and added that Antalya is diplaying good work in harmony. Minister Yıldırım said that 500 trillion TL was allocated to Antalya for transportation in the past year and a half and said, 'The roads built have reached 250 kilometers. The second runway and terminal for the airport is almost complete. Our government is working at a dizzying speed'." ATSO (2004: 23-24).

[239] See also "Antalya 1. Aşama Raylı Sistem Projesi" AGM Basın Bülteni, 11 Nisan 2006 http://www.antalya.bel.tr/tr/bel_guncel/haber_detay.cfm?sayfa=2667, accessed on 05.04.2010.

[240] "Raylı sistemde ilk hareket" *Kenthaber*, 2 Ocak 2009 at http://www.mimdap.org/w/?p=13623, accessed on 05.04.2010.

[241] **R23:** Antalya'ya direk uçak seferleri için devlet yatırım yapmalı. Antalya Alanya arasında hızlı tren meselesi hatta hızlı trenle Antalya'nın Ankara ve Istanbul'a bağlanması çok önemli. Yani bakın, bizim çok zenginimiz var İstanbul'dan ve Ankara'dan yurtdışına tatile giden. Onlar, hızlı tren olsa Antalya'ya da gelirler. Orta direk vatandaşlarımız, yani orta gelir düzeyine sahip vatandaşlarımız Antalya'ya hızlı tren olsa çok daha fazla gelirler. Antalya'nın kent merkezi de biraz

For example, in the preface of Akşin's (1997: 20) *The History of Turkey, Volume 5: Turkey Today (1980-1995)*; the necessity of the immediate linkage of Bursa, Antalya and Trabzon to the railroad network is stressed. In fact, this issue debated since the 1980s. In the booklet called ANSIAD Following the Founding Years (*Kuruluş Döneminin Ardından*) (1999: 38) which is a collection of the views of Sadık Badak, the founding president of ANSIAD between 1990 and 1998, it is underlined that tying Antalya to Central Anatolia via the railroad is an economic as well as strategic necessity. According to Badak, with the lack of railroad taken care of, the Antalya Port will be able to fully join the Turkish and regional economy and an immense mobility of goods will be enabled. In another ANSIAD publication, the booklet called *Antalya's Vision 2023,* the Antalya[242] of the year 2023 is imagined as follows:

> We dream of a city which is connected via to Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir a motorway, there are fast trains running, the airport is among the 50 largest in the world, there are flights to all of the major cities in the EU and chartered flights to some US cities, Courvoisier ships visit often, ferryboats run to the important Mediterranean ports, there are small boats going between coastal towns, and a light rail system exists for inner- city transportation (*Antalya 2023 Vizyon,* 2006: 10-11).

It is clear that the issue is on the central government's agenda from a comment statement made by Kemal Unakıtan, the Minister of Finance on 2 June 2007, at ATSO's Special Assembly Meeting "The railroad should be brought to Antalya" (ATSO, *Vizyon,* 2007 20/233:25). These words by the Minister of Finance support one of the central arguments of this dissertation that the 'state', or more accurately, 'the central government' is literally an actor in the 'growth machine' formation. Looking at how often the Prime Minister and the relevant ministries visit Antalya, the significance the city holds for the central government is clear. Informants R21, R18 and R14 comment on the importance the central government places on Antalya:

> **R21:** *Imagine, Recep Tayyip comes to Antalya every chance he gets. It's because the market is here.*[243]
>
> **R18:** *Let me tell you this: the investments made by the government in the last 4-5 years are equivalent to the investments made over the last 50 years. This means five quadrillion. This is a serious figure. Antalya has become a city of considerable prestige with all its roads, connecting roads, the second airport terminal, its hall of justice and all other investments. The central government has contributed enormously. In the last five years, that is. If it weren't for this support, honestly, tourism in Antalya would come to a halt. […] The prime minister visited 25 times, ministers came and other work was done here every week. It is a great stroke of luck for Antalya to have a minister in the central government.*[244]

hareketlendirilse, bu kanyon turizmi, bilmem ne turizmi, golf turizmi, futbol turizmi, bunlar çok önemli hale gelir. Biraz da gastronomi turizmi burada hareketlendirilse, kent merkezinde ki çok rahat yapılabilir. Akdeniz mutfağı işte.

[242] See also the news "İşte Patronların Hayalindeki Kent" *Hürriyet-Akdeniz*, 10.08.2006

[243] **R21:** Düşünsenize, Recep Tayyip en fazla her fırsatta Antalya'ya geliyor. Pazar burada da ondan.

[244] **R18:** Valla ben şunu söyleyim, sadece hükümetin buraya yaptığı yatırım, son elli yılda yapılan yatırıma beş yılda, dört yılda beş yılda yapılan yatırım eşittir rakamsal olarak. Yani beş katrilyon yatırım yapılmıştır. Bu ciddi bir rakamdır. Bugün bütün yollarıyla, bağlantı yollarıyla, ikinci hat hava alanıyla, adliye sarayıyla diğer bütün yapılan yatırımlarla baktığınız zaman Antalya ciddi bir prestij şehri haline gelmiştir. Merkezi hükümetin büyük desteği vardır. Son beş yıldır. Yani bu destekler olmasaydı Antalya'da zaten şu an turizm bitme noktasına gelirdi, onu da söyleyim. Merkezi hükümetin çok büyük desteği

> **R14:** *The central government and Antalya have always gotten along actually. I have always has a positive view of investments in Antalya. The government places importance on Antalya. It has been this way this year as well ever since the new government came along. AKP won here, anyway; Menderes Türel. He is fully supported by the prime minister and the ministry. But this isn't only about Antalya; there are issues the Ministry of Tourism needs to resolve. The ministry is a bit passive on these.[245]*

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, during a speech on television on a news show said, "I have been to Antalya 28 times. Why? Because we need vision cities, [we need] brand cities" and reveals the active role the central government plays in restructuring Antalya.[246]

The Pedestrianization of the City Center

During the 2004-2009 period, the AGM started a second project, namely the transformation of Antalya's traditional city center to a cultural city center. Sönmez (2008: 39-40) defines the scope and goals of the Project to Pedestrianize the Historical City Center in Antalya:

> The protection and development of the region's historical and cultural assets, landscaping, efforts to reveal historical structures that can not be perceived or tracked due to disorganized construction, as well as the Pedestrianization of the city center. Furthermore, the Pedestrianization of the Antalya city center starting from Republic Square to the area called the East Station and to Hadrian's Gate, also named Üç Kapılar is under consideration. It has been deemed a necessity to close Kaleiçi off to traffic with the exception of a limited number of private vehicles and the existing rail system.

The project implemented by AGM to pedestrianize the traditional city center of Antalya as an 'Urban Arrangements Project' is actually and 'Urban Transformation Project'[247] (UTP).

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var. […] Yirmibeş defa bir başbakan buraya gelmiş, her hafta bakanlar burda, çalışmalar. Yani Antalya'nın bir bakanının olması merkezi hükümette büyük bir şans.

[245] **R14:** Hep iyiydi aslında, ben hep Antalya'daki yatırımları pozitif gördüm. Hükümet Antalya'ya değer veriyor. Bu sene de bu yeni hükümet geldiğinden beri de öyle. Zaten AKP kazandı burada, Menderes Türel. Ful destek alıyor zaten başbakandan ve bakanlıktan. Ama burada sadece Antalya meselesi değil, Turizm Bakanlığını sahiplenmesi gereken konular var. Turizm Bakanlığı bu konuda biraz pasif kalıyor.

[246] See TGRT Haber, 10 Mart 2009, Saat: 21.00 "Pursaklar/Ankara Aile Yaşam Merkezi Açılış Töreni Konuşması" accessed on 19.05.2010 at http://www.tumgazeteler.com/?a=4793915; accessed on 19.05.2010 at http://www.lpghaber.com/Basbakan-Erdogan--Pursaklar-Aile-Yasam-Merkezi-ni-Hizmete-Acti--haberi-184688.html

[247] MOAŞ explains their opinions about the Urban Transformation Projects as follows: "Urban transformation, considering examples of implementation, has become a name coined by the Government to directly or indirectly make the people living in shanty neighborhoods left in the middle of the city, as a result of the rapid growth of cities, move to areas farther from the city where the annuity is lower and thus appropriate the city annuity to itself, by claiming that this will improve the economy. With this method, depending on the capital, these valuable shanty lands now in the middle of the city will be home to new and luxury buildings under the heading of URP, and new annuity oriented projects will be created around them for more capital. According to the Government and capital circles, this will rejuvenate the stagnant construction sector and the real estate market and create new annuity as well economic dynamism with other annuity facilities to be created around the luxury housing built, thus revitalizing many other sectors. On the other hand, the shanty properties owned by economically disadvantaged or public properties near or in the city center are also given to domestic or international capital that wants to appropriate city annuity and build multi storey residences is also now being called urban transformation. TOKİ has been and is being used as a tool to ease this process and avoid penalties determined in laws and bylaws and avoid any obstacles hindering the implementation. Urban transformation has become a method of

However, an active NGO in Antalya, the Antalya Branch of the Chamber of Architects (MOAŞ), supported this UTP which they believed would enable the people of the city to remember the traditional city center and sustain it, and, tourists and citizens to use this center as pedestrians. However, the support extended by MOAŞ to the project was interpreted as support of the municipality in creating annuity in the city center for the profit of some. With the belief that policies and projects can be created in the interest of the public by opposing the dominant philosophy of UTPs and annuity, substantiate their response to these criticisms and accusations with this project, which was nominated for the 2008 historical cities union promotion and incentive and conservation awards, not to mention the award it won the Historical Cities Union Jury Special Award for implementation (http://www.kolayeval.com/news/detail/9983/Dosya:-Antalya-Belediyeler-ve-Uzman-Oda-Ittifakina-Odul-).

The Antalya Branch of the Chamber of Architects has started legal action against the Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Zones declared in accordance with the Tourism Support Act.[248] However, during the course of this lawsuit, the area encompassing Kaleiçi, Balbey, the Haşim İşcan Neighborhood and Kalekapısı has been declared KTKGB by the Council of Ministers. MOAŞ has kept its distance, taking into consideration the lack of serious work Municipal Governments up to now have done in the area as well as the decreased authority compared to the present that Greater City Municipalities have been granted regarding cultural spaces in previous local administration laws. During the declaration of the aforementioned area as

transferring lands and shanty propoerties that have increased in real estate value to domestic and international capital for the sake of creating annuity."

"Antalya 'Belediyer ve Uzman Oda İttifakına Ödül" Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi, 27.02.2010 http://www.kolayeval.com/news/detail/9983/Dosya:-Antalya-Belediyeler-ve-Uzman-Oda-Ittifakina-Odul-, accessed on 27.03.2010.

[248] See "Antalya'da son dönem ilan edilen bütün kültür turizm koruma gelişim bölgeleri iptal edilmelidir" in *2007 Genel Seçimleri Kapsamında Dünya, Türkiye, Antalya ve Mimarlık Ortamına İlişkin Değerlendirme Raporu,* (2007), Antalya: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi, pp. 58-59. "In 2004, amendments were made to the tourism support act, which had been put into effect by the central government in 1982 and deemed to be in violation of urban science and the principle for public benefit in the Zoning Plans by the Chamber of Architects, and which allowed for privileged zoning permits, and the definition of Tourism Zone and Centers was replaced by article 3/b, 'Culture and Tourism Protection and Development Regions'. According to this definition, 'Culture and Tourism Protection and Development Regions', are "regions whose boundaries are determined and announced by the Ministry's recommendation and the Cabinet's decision with the purpose of protecting, using and facilitation sectoral development and improvement in regions where historical and cultural assets abound and or the tourism potential is high". In this definition, no mention is made of the city's people or their needs. Sectoral development has been targeted; in other words, a definition has been made focusing on investors and annuities. Antoher amendment was made to the Tourism Support Act numbered 2634, which was one of the most highly debated laws for 20 years. The amendment, Article 7, gave the planning authorization to the Culture and Tourism Ministry, with the decree, "the Ministry is authorized to make, authorize and modify plans at any scale for KTKGB and tourism centers" . However, the Ministry leaves the authority to build and have built to the investors with the articles it puts in the allocation specifications. The plans prepared by investors according to their annuity are approved by the ministry without any modification, meaninf the investors make the plans in accordance with their own expectations. The amendment made by Article 8 of the law regulated how the immovable assets in KYKGB can be used. Article 8/A.1 has brought about the decree, "the forests regarding treasury owned land are allocated to the ministry by the relevant ministry". With the amendments made to the law, many places in the Antalya Region, first the Lara-Kundu-Kemerağzı Region, then the Konyaaltı-Boğaçayı Bölgesi Region and many other areas habe been declared KTKGB'."

KTKGB, as far as it could be seen from the public eye, negotiations were held about not taking legal action provided the AGM undertakes serious work with NGOs, and MOAŞ, and the decision was made that no legal action would be taken regarding this area with the condition that the AGM take into account MOAŞ feedback and recommendations. Informant R21, who represents MOAŞ within the scope of the field research describes the happenings:

> **R21:** *You see many Urban Transformation Projects (UTP) in Turkey, don't you? Now there is a URP that the AGM is carrying out in the city center. The greatest supporter of their project is MOAŞ. According to this tourism support law, MOAŞ has filed lawsuits against all of the tourism zones, tourism centers, or as they are now called, all culture tourism development regions within the city limits of Antalya. We filed 13 lawsuits. As we sued them, the ministry changed their plans, without the city's people even knowing about it. Now, the Tourism Ministry has declared Antalya's Kaleiçi, Balbey Haşim İşcan, Kalekapısı and their surrounding areas as KTKGB. After this declaration, the chamber of architects Antalya branch came out and said to the AGM: "Look, nothing has been done in Kaleiçi since 1980. None cared about Kaleiçi or Balbey. Now if you're going to do serious work here, you need to involve the NGOs, and if you do, then we might not sue to save these areas. But we want guarantees." It turned out that the AGM said, "Yes, don't sue us and let's work together and we'll give you the guarantee you want". As MOAŞ and AGM, we signed a new protocol concerning the replanning of these areas. The main goal of the protocol was to gather NGOs, all Antalya residents and experts in cultural spaces in Turkey and to work on making this place a cultural center. A project to turn this traditional city center into a cultural center. Immediately after signing the protocol we put together <u>a local and a national board</u>.[249]*

The fact that MOAŞ had sued the other KTKGBs declared within the city limits of Antalya but not Kaleiçi and its surroundings and was involved in the planning process, served to legitimatize and exonerate the UTP developed for this area in the public eye. Thus, with the participation of MOAŞ, the Kaleiçi Area UTP, intrinsically an example of entrepreneurial planning, is perceived as a participatory, communicative and negotiative planning process. Informant R19 holds similar opinions regarding this UTP:

> **R19:** *Planning has become a tool recently. For example, if they manage to turn Kaleiçi into a cultural center, it would be good for the area, but they just haven't been able to do it. Why not? Because they see it as a source of money; they are thinking about who they give it to that will operate it and give us some of his earnings. Now no one can come into Antalya Kaleiçi, all of those cultural assets are disintegrating. It only means something if you make culture and art in the existing cultural assets in Antalya. A project on this could be done, at least to bring some energy here; Kaleiçi could become a cultural center. Because they also have a UTP. For example, the Kalekapısı area is a UTP. It is in the local*

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[249] **R21:** Türkiyede bir sürü kentsel dönüşüm projesi izliyorsunuz değil mi? Şimdi AGM'nin kent merkezinde yaptığı bir kentsel dönüşüm projesi var. Bu kentsel dönüşüm projesinde en büyük destekçisi MOAŞ. İşte bu turizm teşvik yasasına göre Antalya sınırlarında açılmış, bütün turizm alanlarına, turizm merkezlerine, ya da son ismiyle kültür turizm gelişim bölgelerine MOAŞ dava açmıştır. Biz 13 dava açmışız. Biz dava açtıkça bakanlık planlarını değiştirmiştir, kentillerin hiç haberi olmadan. Şimdi Turizm Bakanlığınca Antalya'nın Kaleiçi, Balbey Haşim İşcan, Kalekapısı ondan sonra bunların çevresi bütün bunların hepsi KTKGB ilan edilmiştir. Bu ilandan sonra mimarlar odası Antalya şubesi çıkmış demiştir ki kamuoyunda AGM'ne: "Bak kardeşim 1980'den beri Kaleiçinde doğru bir iş yapılmadı. Hiç kimse Kaleiçine sahip çıkmadı, Balbeye sahip çıkmadı. Sen burda ciddi bir çalışma yapacaksan, sivil toplum örgütlerini de bunun içine alacaksan, bu çalışmalar sivil toplum örgütlerini de kapsayacaksa biz bu alanların kurtarılmasıyla ilgili buraya dava açmayabiliriz. Ama bunun güvencelerini isteriz." Nitekim AGM, "Evet, siz buna dava açmayın, nasıl bir garanti istiyorsanız beraber çalışalım" dedi. MOAŞ ve AGM birlikte bu alanların yeniden planlanmasıyla ilgili bir protokol yaptık. Bu protokolün ana amacı, sivil toplum örgütlerini, Antalya'da yaşayan herkesi ve Türkiye'de kültürel alanlar konusunda söz söylemiş insanları bir araya getirerek bu alanın kültürel merkeze dönüşmesiyle ilgili bir çalışma yapmaktır. Bu alanın geleneksel kent merkezinden kültürel merkeze dönüşmesiyle ilgili bir çalışma. Protokolün hemen imzalanmasının ertesinde <u>bir yerel bir de ulusal kurul oluşturduk.</u>

This UTP's primary goal is to "ensure that the Antalya tradesmen earn enough from tourism, the citizens use the historical and cultural center to be organized as pedestrians, the tourists visiting the city center to live together with the locals and enable cultural exchange." The UTP comprises a series of small scale projects. The first o these is the demolition of the present governor's office, as suggested by the Antalya Governor's office, the integration of this area with the Republic Square (Picture 7.10; 7.13; 7.14; 7.15; 7.16), and the governor's office service units to be transferred to the historical Gazi Mustafa Kemal Primary School (Picture 7.11) behind where the Governor's used to stand.[251] The governor's office was torn down and a parking structure was built with the capacity to fit 20 buses and 100 cars. A second project involved the restoration of the facades of the buildings around the small square that remained in the place of the old Governor's office (Picture 7.10). The residents of the buildings agreed to let the façades be done under their supervision by architects they would choose and this façade project was prepared by architects determined as a result of negotiations with the AGM.

The decisions taken by the 'national Board' regarding Kaleiçi and its surroundings for the UTP as also mentioned above by R21 involved the integration of the aforementioned areas within the scope of the KTKGB, and, to this end, the Balbey Neighborhood was connected to the Kaleiçi Neighborhood. On this vein, plans were made to demolish two schools east of Kalekapısı (İnönü Primary School and İsmet İnönü Girls' Vocational High School) as well as a health facility (the old Maternity Hospital), and in the event of AGM locating resources, to confiscate the privately owned properties wound the schools and demolish them (Picture 7.12). Discussions took place about the AGM rebuilding the two schools in another area. At this point of the project, a group of citizens and some organizations took legal action to prevent the demolition of these schools on the grounds

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[250] **R19:** Gerçi planlama anlayışı da son zamanlarda iyice şeye döndü yani planlama bir araca döndü. Mesela bunların içinde Kaleiçi'ni kültür merkezine dönüştürülürse adam olur ama bir türlü bunu başaramadılar. Neden başaramadılar? Çünkü para, sermaye biz bunu kime veririz, o bunu işletir sonra kazandığını bize verir mantığıyla bakıyorlar. Şimdiyse Antalya Kaleiçi'ne hiç kimse giremiyor, bütün o kültürel değerler yok oluyor. Kültürü ve sanatı Antalya'da var olan kültürel değerlerin içinde yaparsanız bir anlam ifade eder. Mesela bununla ilgili bir çalışma yapılabilir en azından bir hareket olabilir, Kaleiçi kültür merkezi haline gelebilir. Çünkü bir de kentsel dönüşüm projeleri var. Mesela Kalekapısı bölgesi bir Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi. 2000 yılından sonraki yerel yönetimler yasasında da var. Artık projelere baktığınız zaman bu projeler için hükümetlerde kaynak yok artık. Ama yerel yönetimlerde kaynak var.

[251] "After the debates in the Architects' Chamber and the City Council, major changes were made to the project for the demolished governor's building, and then the project was mostly implemented and integrated with Republic Square. With this work, the road from here to the Dönerciler area was made in to the first stage and was pedestrianized with the exception of a certain small number of vehicles using Kaleiçi. Going east from this area, returning the facades of the buildings in the area including the Clock Tower and shops in Kalekapısı to their original appearance was taken under consideration. The demolition of the Vakıf Office Building, also in this area, was planned for the space to be reopened to public use as a small open square, as well as plans for uncovering Tek Kapılı Han, İki Kapılı Han and Pazar Hamamı and other civic architecture examplesand the project work commenced" (Recep Sönmez, 2008: 40).

that they have historical and emotional value and that they embody the architectural style of the period.

During and after the 'Kalekapısı Project Competition' held in 1990 with MOAŞ's contributions, the said structures were not to be preserved according to investigations. MOAŞ states that it is more important to formulate a historical and cultural center and thus attempts to justify their agreement with the municipality concerning providing uninterrupted pedestrian access; the integration of the area with Kalekapısı, Kaleiçi, the Haşim İşcan Neighborhood and Atatürk Street so that the area is more orderly an perceived better, the consideration of the demolition of the Vakıf Office Building, the *Tekel Building*, *İş Bank* and the Municipality Office Building; the demolition of the hospital and school structures due to the certification of the Preservation Board that they have lost the architectural characteristics of the period in which they were built; the remembrance values being maintained in the Antalya City Museum work About a year before the demolition of the buildings, informant R1, who was the AKSAV president under the AGM says, "*All old buildings in Antalya should be torn down The Vakıf Hospital, the east bus station, the market, they were all old and were taken down. I think these areas should be made into green spaces to let the city breathe,*" and signals that the old public buildings in the city will probably be torn down.

It was decided that the empty land obtained following the demolition of the schools and the health facility would have a one storey cafeteria not to exceed 300 m² and the rest of the space would be used as a green space and a square, and below the ground, there would be a four storey parking lot. During the field research, some informants (R3, R8, R19, R20, R27, FG1, FG3), share the view that particularly the public buildings of the early Republic Period (İnönü Primary School, İsmet İnönü Girls' Vocational High School, the old Maternity Hospital, the old Governor's Building, etc.) are being torn down as a "revenge against the Republic ideology," in other words a revanchist urbanism. R3 and R3/1 are critical of the AGM, who only engage in dialogue with civil initiatives they can ally themselves with to legitimatize the destruction they are implementing within the scope of the UTP:

> **R3:** *The civic initiatives should be able to pressure the municipalities. Because we live in this city. For example, a Keykubat Statue was made here. No one was consulted. I mean, there are artists living in this city. An artist can not create when he is used for ambition or economic value instead of art. Each artist has spaces he can take shelter in depending on his attitude. Manifestoes come out in the common work done in these spaces. These spaces are disappearing one by one. The city is also losing its identity because of it. The past is being destroyed. There used to be a 'Dönerciler Market'. It had an identity, now it's gone. There was the Girls' Technical High school, and the Inonu school, which are all being demolished many important structures are being taken down under the name of the 'Kalekapısı Project'. These are the old buildings of Antalya. Balbey Neighborhood, where I grew up, there are spikes every 50 meters. You can't go in anymore. Kaleiçi is the same way.[252]*

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[252] **R3:** Bu kentin yerel sivil insiyatifleri belediyeler üzerinde baskı unsuru oluşturabilmeli. Çünkü bu kentte biz yaşıyoruz. Mesela burada bir Keykubat Heykeli yapıldı. Kimsenin fikri alınmadı. Ya bu kentte yaşayan bir sanatçı zümre var. Sanatçı, sanat adına değil, bir ihtiras, ekonomik değer yaratma uğruna kullanıldığı zaman sanat da üretemez. Her sanatçının kendi anlayışına göre sığınabileceği mekanlar vardır. Bu mekanlardaki ortak çalışmalarda manifestolar çıkar. Bu mekanlar giderek

The area known as the School District (Pictures 7.18; 7.19; 7.20; 7.21), where the aforementioned destructions took place, was planned to be integrated with the Tinsmiths and Furnacemen's Market, previously obtained through competition. The protection of the market's current tradesmen was brought up as an absolute condition by MOAŞ and agreement was reached on this point with and protective measures were covered in the project.

Doğu Garajı / East Bus Station Area

Recently, new and large scale malls are being built in Antalya. However, from a cultural perspective, the importance of traditional markets for Antalya can not be denied (Picture 7.22; 7.23). These markets can be defined as trade spaces where all kinds of goods, especially produce is sold in small units, that enable the traditional tradesmen and customer relations to be maintained in socio-cultural continuity, and an urban meeting space that locals and tourists will make use of together.

During the 2004-2009 AGM administration period, an architectural project competition was held under the coordination of the Antalya Branch of the Chamber of Architects for the *Doğu Garajı,*[255] which had been remodeled during the 1999-2004 AGM administration period in

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yok olmakta bugün. Kent kimliği de yok oluyor böylelikle. Geçmiş yok ediliyor. Bir dönerciler çarşısı vardı. Kimliği vardı. Yok oldu. Kız teknik Lisesi, İnönü okulu bunlar yıkılıyor. Kale Kapısı Projesi adı altında çok önemli yapılar yıkılıyor. Bunlar Antalya'nın eski binaları. Balbey Mahallesi benim doğduğum yer. 50 metrede bir kapan kurmuşlar. Girilemiyor şimdi. Kaleiçi de öyle.

[253] **R3/1:** Sivil insiyatifin görüşünün alınması o kentteki yerel yönetimin siyasi duruşuyla örtüşmesi doğrultusunda geçerli. Aksi bir görüşü duymak istemiyorlar elbette.

[254] **R20:** Kentsel dönüşüm adı altında yapılmakta olan işte kamu binalarının yıkılıp, işte kent merkezini yayalaştırma ve meydancıklar oluşturma, projeleri var. Yani, kentin yayalaştırılmasına bir şey demiyorum ama yöntemi bu değil, ulaşımı felç ederek değil. Sonra meydanlar oluşturulması fikrine evet diyorum ama, kamu binalarını sadece yıkıp yerine ne idüğü belirsiz, belkide hiç kullanılmayacak alanlar oluşturmak...

[255] When the East Station Area was a rural bus terminal, the Antalya Muratpaşa Municipal Assembly changed the plan with the resolution dated 20.11.1995 and numbered 179. According to this changed plan, the north section of the space was turned into a commercial center made up of shopping and office floors with a total construction area of 50.000 m². The south part where the public market is was turned into a 3 storey underground car park with about 1500 car capacity by using the slope of the space. With this resolution, considering that the levels below the ground were left out of the construction area and the zoning plan notes, about 100.000 m² of construction was carried out in the north side of the area. The project was suspended with pressure from NGOs. Again, the East Station area (in 1999-2004, during Mayor Kumbul's term) a new plan was resolved by the assembly dated 19.12.2003 and numbered 278. This plan was a 1/5000 scale zoning plan and would include commercial space, a market and a small section would be for parking. With a correct decisision, the 100.000 m² construction area was decreased to 19.000 m² excluding the carpark and was spread over the

accordance with the 1/5000 scale plan modified according to the sound construction of the 1/1000 and not to violate the 1/5000 scale plan to be added to the plan (Picture 7.24; 7.25). It was decided that the competition would involve measures enabling the whole region to live 24 hours with the KTGGB. According to the Kalekapısı Tradesmen Empowerment and Development Association (KALDER)'s view seen in the media and relayed to MOAŞ, "KALDER, has organized the tradesmen at Kalekapısı and with this organization, has decided that while not the Golden Orange tradesmen, life could be sustained in these spaces. The promotion of the Historical and Cultural Center to tourist sending countries and other countries can be carried out by local administrations with the support of the Ministry of Tourism, thus dispelling any notion of the tour operators not bringing tourists to the areas with jewelers, leather traders and other tradesmen." On the other hand, it was understood that the Golden Orange Market tradesmen would not contribute to the municipality for the construction of the new market and that new solutions would be found in the space they were moved to temporarily. For these reasons, the Golden Orange Tradesmen did not need to stay in the underground market in the School District so that life in the area could be developed. ("Antalya 'Belediyeler ve Uzman Oda İttifakına Ödül" Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi, http://www.kolayeval.com/news/detail/9983/Dosya:-Antalya-Belediyeler-ve-Uzman-Oda-Ittifakina-Odul-, accessed on 27.02.2010). As informant R3 puts it, "*The fishermen and the stores were cast out to other places.*"

The construction on the East Bus Station area started in 2005 in accordance with the projects whose plans were obtained through a competition under the coordination of MOAŞ. However, grave remains from the Antique Attaleia City East Necropolis were found during the digs in what was to be the marketplace area of the *Doğu Garajı* (Picture 7.26; 7.27). Construction came to a halt and it was decided that staging and modifications would be made in the project to ensure the transformation of the historical site into a museum. (Sönmez, 2008: 42-43). Though the Necropolis, where 556 antique tombs were found with some dating back to the 3rd century BC, it was declared a 'Potential Historical Site' by the Preservation Board, construction continues in some parts of the area (Üstün, 2009).

Cotton Textile Factory

The construction of the Cotton Textile Factory of Sümerbank began in 1955. The factory went into production in 1961 and closed in 2003 (Pictures 7.28; 7.29; 7.30). The area where the Battery Factory and the Weaving Factory are were planned as a sub-center and a City Park in

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grounds along with the market. Later, an advance project was prepared by the Metropolitan Municipality regarding the space but the 1/1000 scale plan change wasn't made as the project had not become certain and election time had come.

accordance with Antalya's general development tendencies and the Master plan strategies. The Zoning Plans approved by the municipalities were taken into consideration in line with these strategies. The east of the Weaving Factory was planned as a City Park and the west was planned as a 'sub-center' with to have specialized markets, office buildings, multi-storey parking lots, a city square, neighborhood sports area and other public spaces, the basis for the all set on scientific and technological data and with the support of the citizens and NGOs. In the approved Zoning Plan, there would be an east-west pedestrian traffic flow between the areas of the two factories and the park would be integrated with central and commercial uses.

According to MOAŞ, "a new plan was made with the sole purpose of attaining annuity despite the objections of the people and NGOs, without any basis in scientific or technical data by the Turkish Privatization Administration (ÖİB) and it received the approval dated 26 April 2004 and numbered 2004/34" within the scope of the privatization of the Weaving Factory, which closed down in 2003 (MOAŞ, 2007: 85; MOAŞ, 2006: 14). Upon the continuing objections to the plan, the privatization decision for the Weaving Factory Area was revoked by the ÖİB and was handed over to the Kepez Municipality Company, who was the resident of the space, and to the Kepez Municipality as per the public interest principle. According to the MOAŞ report dated 2007, the planning of the area was started out correctly by the Kepez Municipal Company. Later, however, despite all objections from profession chambers, NGOs and the public, and even though the land was public property, this space, which also contained the factory buildings mentioned above, was granted to a company with a foreign partner for 49 with right of construction. R19, R7 and FG5 say the following about this area which was planned through public-private partnership with the entrepreneurial governance model:

> **R19:** *Before the municipality, it was brought under the scope of privatization in 2002. In September 2003, they stopped production in the factory altogether. Around that time, plans were underway for the privatization of the place. Let's prepare a plan together but first this place has to be owned. The NGOs, everyone supported Hasan Üstün and the City Council started collecting signatures. This is how they usually do it; <u>they set up a lure, if no one says anything they go on, if there's opposition they step down.</u> That's what happened then too. When the protests got louder around September- October 2004, they gave up the tender idea. Of course the Mayor and the Kepez Mayor came and said they had been successful and we thanked them. The approval of the Privatization board is necessary again because it was transferred to the municipality without leaving the scope of privatization. Hasan Üstün called me and asked, "This place can not be demolished. What can we do?" We decided to first petition the Preservation Board. We were lucky that Hasan Üstün had time to spare for this around that time. They said it would take the board two months to decide. Then we thought about what to do. Those who were bidding for Factory Area were a Dutch company, who mostly build office and shopping centers. A multinational corporation called Multi-TürkMall. They form multi-national corporations to overcome legal problems in the country they will do business in, these kinds of companies. Then the board decided for the protection of those buildings in their present state. It was widely debated and the Architects' Chamber and the City Planners' Chamber opposed the protection order. First they gave the job to Eren Talu, an architect from İstanbul. He said, it would be sacrilegious to destroy the main buildings of this factory and got out.[256]*

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[256] **R19:** Belediyeden evvel orası özelleştirme kapsamına alındı 2002 yılında. 2003 yılı Eylül ayında da fabrikanın üretimini tamamen durdurdular. O arada buranın özelleştirilmesi kararı ile ilgili bir plan çalışması başlatıldı. Birlikte plan hazırlayalım

R7: *As a result, when they are thinking about an old industrial facility that the city deems unfunctional and how to use that piece of land as large as this that has so much economic value, a contract is announced and a company called TürkMall gets it. Plans are made for the factory part to become a cultural center, a fine arts center but for the large land to be made into a mall. The city's affluent conservationist intellectuals, with the Architects' Chamber in the lead, file a law suit, saying that this is disproportionately based on shopping and economic gain and the State Council stops the bid. I believe that a short while later a decision will come from the council and if the power balance continues like this, the project will go on somehow. [...] I think the problem is that this is disproportional, they are disconnected from the city's intelligentsia and want to do everything themselves. I don't think there is a problem having to do with the essence of the project or the museum, but with style, relations and proportions but there are people with more knowledge about this than me.[257]*

FG5: *Farther along the Weaving Factory's land, there is a piece of forest land that belongs to the foundation toward our university. Now that place was allocated to a Dutch company called Multi-Türkmall by the Kepez Municipality to. The factory part in the front is going to be turned into a technology museum (or a modern arts museum). That land was leased to Multi-Turkmall for 49 years with the factory building on it. They will build a closed and then an open mall. They are going to build an open courtyard space with commercial establishments like in the shopping area in Kaleiçi. Two towers at the end s of the mall. One designed as a hotel, the other as a residence. These two towers are actually residences. A three level shopping mall in the front and two towers behind it. Then the open air shopping area like Kaleiçi, more fitting for the antique city culture and architecture and then there's a third step behind that,; they are thinking hospital tourism. That also has its own permanent shops. Something like IKEA and one of those typical chain supermarkets.[258]*

In October 2005, with the public pressure mentioned above, the 'Forum Antalya Leisure Park' to be built by the TurkMall company, brought about the demolition of the buildings in the

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ama öncelikle buranın sahiplenilmesi gerekiyor. Yani STK'lar Hasan Üstün Hocaya destek verdi herkes ve Kent Konseyi imza kampanyası başlattı. <u>İşte genelde böyle bir yem atıyorlar ses çıkmazsa devam ediyorlar, gürültü çıkarsa geri adım atıyorlar.</u> Bu da öyle oldu. 2004 Eylül-Ekim gibi protestolar güçlenince onlar da ihaleyi yapmaktan vazgeçtiler. Tabi Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı ve Kepez Belediye Başkanı bu işi başardık diye geldiler ve biz teşekkür ettik kendilerine. Özelleştirme kapsamının dışına çıkılmadan belediyeye devredildiği için bu tahsiste yine özelleştirme kurulunun onayına ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Hasan Üstün beni aradı işte "Buranın yıkılmaması lazım. Ne yapabiliriz?" diye. Öncelikle 'Koruma Kurulu'na başvuralım diye karar aldık. Şimdi bizim en büyük şansımız Hasan Hoca'nın o ara bu işe ayıracak zamanı vardı. Koruma Kurulu'nun karar verme süreci iki ay sürer dendi. İşte o arada biz ne yapalım diye düşündük. Dokuma'ya talip olanlar Hollandalı bir şirket, ağırlıklı olarak iş ve alışveriş merkezleri yapıyorlar. Multi-TürkMall isimli çok uluslu bir şirket. Hukuki sorunların üstesinden gelebilmek için çok uluslu şirketler kuruyorlar iş yapacakları ülkelerde bu gibi şirketler. O sırada Koruma Kurulu o binaların olduğu şekilde korunmasına karar verdi. Tartışmaların olduğu bu dönemde Mimarlar Odası, Şehir Plancıları Odası oranın koruma altına alınmasına karşı çıktı. Önce işi Eren Talu'ya vermişler, İstanbul'dan bir Mimar. O da demiş ki bu fabrikanın ana binalarını yıkmak kıyım olur ben bu işten vazgeçiyorum demiş.

[257] **R7:** Sonuçta kentin, işevini kaybettiğine karar verilen bir eski sanayi tesisinin ve en az onun kadar ekonomik kıymete/değere sahip bir arsa büyüklüğünü yeniden nasıl kullanılacağı düşünülürken bir ihale yapılıyor ve TürkMall adlı bir firma bu ihaleyi alıyor. Fabrika Bölümünün Kültür Merkezi bir Güzel Sanatlar Müzesi olacağı ama asıl büyük arsanın bir alışveriş merkezi olacağına dair planlama yapılıyor. Kentin önde gelen korumacı entelektüelleri, Mimarlar Odası başta olmak üzere bunun orantısız bir biçimde alışveriş ve ekonomik fayda temelli olduğunu düşünerek dava açıyorlar ve Danıştay ihaleyi durduruyor. Sanıyorum kısa bir süre sonra danıştaydan karar alınır ve eğer güç dengeleri de böyle devam ederse de proje bir şekilde devam eder. [...] Burada sanıyorum bir kıvam sorunu bir orantısızlık sorunu, kentin entelijensiyasından kopuk ben ihaleyi kazandım, ben her şeyi yaparım sorunu falan var. Bence projenin ya da müzeciliğin özüne dair büyük bir tartışma yok da yani daha çok daha çok üslup, ilişki ve oran alanında bir tartışma var. Ama bu konuda benden daha bilgili insanlar var.

[258] **FG5:** Dokuma Fabrikasının devamında bizim üniversitenin arazisine doğru giden vakfa ait ormanlık bir arsası var. Şimdi orası Kepez Belediyesi tarafından Multi-Türkmall adlı Hollanda menşeli bir şirkete ihale edilmiş. Öndeki fabrika kısmı bir teknoloji müzesi (ya da bir modern sanatlar müzesine) dönüştürülecek. O arazi içindeki fabrika binasıyla beraber 49 yıllığına Multi-Türkmall şirketine kiralıyor. Oraya kapalı bir alışveriş merkezi, sonra açık alışveriş merkezi. Kaleiçi'ndeki dükkanlara benzeyen bir sistemle açık avlulu bir açık alanda ticari mekanlar yapılacak. Alışveriş merkezinin bitiminde iki tane kule. Birtanesi otel diğeri rezidans olarak tasarlanmış. Şimdi bu iki kule aslında konut. Önünde bir alışveriş merkezi üç katlı arkasında iki kule. Sonra o avlulu Kaleiçi'ndeki gibi antik kent kültürüne, mimarisine biraz daha uygun alışveriş alanı sonra onun arkasında da bir üçüncü etap var orada da hastane turizmi düşünülüyor. Onun da kendine ait sabit mağazaları var: İkea gibi bir şey ve malum marketlerden biri.

Weaving Factory area handed over to the Kepez Municipality from the Turkish Privatization Administration.[259] Later, the Weaving factory, the project for which had been prepared by architect Eren Talu[260] to become one the world's best Museum of Modern Arts (MOM), was declared an 'Unmovable Cultural Entity' upon NGOs' petition dated 7 September 2005 by the Preservation Board.[261] Levent Eyuboğlu (*Dokuma Modern Art Museum Sculpture Symposium,* 2007: 2-3), the CEO of the multi-national developer company Multi Turkmall, explains the objectives of the Project[262] (Pictures 7.31; 7.32; 7.33; 7.34) that for this inactive factory and the land it occupies as follows:

> We, as Multi Turkmall, are determined to wake the sleeping giant which is located close to the center of Antalya, with the color of its buildings fading day by day, the grease of its machines and drying and its land becoming infertile. In and around the factory, where there is an intense greenery, there will be an urban park open to all Antalya citizens, a modern art museum, places for cultural and artistic events and areas where people can spend time. In some of the buildings that will be saved around the factory, workshops for presenting and teaching arts and crafts will be opened. Also within this area, places for symposiums, panels, demonstrations and exhibitions will be created for public use. In this 200 thousand square meter area, with its culture and art, with its museum and entertainment, with the green of its trees and the blue of its ponds, citizens of Antalya will inhale the air that they've been missing in the city. In the nearby area of 288 thousand square meters, a shopping mall inspired by the region's distinctive architecture will be built. Within the mall, there will be bazaars hosting word-famous brand shops, streets, squares and entertainment areas. All the investment will be made by local firms.

Eyüboğlu also claims that with this Project, which will provide employment for five thousand people, one of the world's biggest aquariums will be built in Antalya. According to the plan the textile factory will rejoin the city as a center of culture, art and commerce, meeting the requirements of both today and tomorrow. As all other projects spatially restructuring Antalya this investment is to attract the tourist to the urban life. FG5, who believes that with this project a shopping mall will be created in this space and not a cultural center:

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[259] See the news by Üstün, H. "Dokumaya Nasıl Dokunmalı?" *Birgün,* 15.10.2005.

[260] See the news by Akkır, E. "Dokuma Fabrikası Sanat Müzesi Oluyor" *Milliyet-Akdeniz,*, 01.04.2006.
[261] Hasan Üstün made a suggestion in the 15.10.2005 dated *Birgün* newspaper that involved the formation of a Weaving Work Group [1.Akdeniz University Environment Research and Practice Center, 2.Antalya Modern Education Foundation (ANTÇEV), 3.Antalya Chamber of Electrical Engineers, 4. Antalya City Museum Entrepreneurs' Foundation, 5.Antalya Chamber of Mechanical Engineers, 6.Antalya Art Foundation, 7. Antalya Artists' Foundation (ANSAN), 8.Antalya Landscapers' Chamber, 10. Foundation for the Protection of the Environment and Cultural Assets (ÇEKÜL), 11.METU Alumni Foundation, 12. Chamber of Medical Doctors, 13. Foundation for the Protection of Turkey's Nature, 14.TEKSİF Union Antalya Branch, 15.Local Agenda 21 City Council Tourism, Environment and Sports Working Groups]. The group made a press release on 22 September 2005 and said some of the following: "The Kepez Municipality has announced that it has given the 'Forum Antalya Leisure Park' contract planned on the Antalya Weaving Factory's 280 acre land to Dutch company MDC (AM-Amstelland MDC)'s company, TurkMall, its entrepreneur company in Turkey. The results of the tender, which was attended by only three companies, and the "advance project" of which had been presented by the Kepez Municipality to the press and profession chambers, was announced on the day it was given to TurkMall on 20 September, Tuesday toward midnight on the Kepez Municipality'a internet page with the title, "The Weaving [Factory] has been given to Antalyalites".

[262] See also the news "Antalya'ya akvaryumlu dev kompleks" *Sabah,* 31 Ağustos 2006 accessed on 10.05.2010 at http://www.arkitera.com/news.php?action=displayList&day=1&month=09&year=2006.

FG5: *Actually, if one wants to create 'culture tourism', the product should first of all be suitable for this goal. When you look at Multi TürkMall's project, you will see that it says Adana on one floor and Mersin on the other. They are repeating the same project. They keep adapting the same type project. They implement type projects in the various places they get contracts in. As if the structures to be designed for Antalya, Mersin and Adana -all Mediterranean cities- can be called a prototype. The architecture company doing the project is from Spain. They don't design new plans that suit this geography or this culture.[263]*

In Lefebvreian terms the whole are of the factory which was socially produced as *space of consumption* in the late 1950s had been exploited for the purpose and by means of production of consumer goods in *quantities* for 42 years. However, this old building left in the middle of the city and the 288 acres of green space around it are still an attractive investment prospect for investors. Regardless, this project presented as a cultural center project also to include a Museum of Modern Arts (MOM) to create a new attraction center in Antalya is actually a shopping mall project. [264] The earlier *space of consumption* is going to be transformed into *consumption of space* for the purpose of unproductive forms of consumption and by means of consumption of this charming space for the *qualities* consumers seek namely, cultural, artistic and entertaining *qualities*, and leisure and shopping practices, in this place the developer company has named 'Forum Antalya Leisure Park'.

One of the three basic strategies the city shareholders list in the *Presentation of the Antalya City Vision Kent First Report* as multi-centered decentralization through the transformation of spatially specialize areas into centers of attraction appears to be implemented in the Weaving Area, which remains within the boundaries of the Kepez Municipality.[265] Informant R18, speaking on behalf of the Kepez municipality says the following on this project:

R18: *The project we're trying to in the Cotton Textile Factory Area is a project for creating a city center. Not just for Kepez, but for Antalya. It's a 500 acre project, with a 300 acre city square. It is here that there is a City Museum. The Modern Art Museum and this is a project to give the city an identity by conserving all of the factory spaces and turn them into a city museum. Furthermore, in our project there is the world's third largest aquarium underground to*

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[263] **FG5:** Aslında oradaki adam gerçekten bir 'kültür turizmi' yaratmak istese ürettiği şey de buna uygun bir yapı olmalı her şeyden önce. Multi TürkMall'un bu projesine bakarsanız bir katında Adana diğer cephede Mersin yazıyor. Aynı projeyi tekrarlıyor. Tip projeyi burayı buraya uyarlıyor. Türkiye'nin çeşitli yerlerinde aldığı işlerde tip projelerini uyguluyor. Sanki Antalya, Mersin ve Adana için tasarlanacak yapılar tüm Akdeniz kentleri için prototip olarak kabul edilebilir mantığı. Zaten projeyi yapan mimarlık firması da İspanya'dan. Yani bu coğrafyaya bu kültürel dokuya uygun yeni mimari tasarım yapmıyor.

[264] In its official web-site the developer company describes Dokuma Project as follows: "Multi Turkmall's another big project in Turkey is Forum Antalya. A three-storey centre with both open air and covered areas, Forum Antalya will be opened early in 2009 and will be built on an area of 230,000 m². Designed as a small Mediterranean city, Forum Antalya will include a Modern Art Museum, a city park and centre, an aquarium, spaces for cultural activities and entertainment as well as an open air parking space for 4,000 cars. One of Turkey's popular tourist attractions, Antalya, will gain a brand new shopping centre of international standards with Forum Antalya. Expected to attract more than 20 million local and foreign visitors per year, the centre will be completed in early 2009. Situated in the Northern part of the city, Forum Antalya is connected to the highways to the East and West of Antalya. With the use of local and historic symbols, the shopping centre, will be built as Antalya's new city centre. Forum Antalya will be anchored by a large hypermarket, an international Do-It-Yourself store, a furniture shop, as well as international and national brands."
(http://www.multi-development.com).

[265] Here, it is important to note that both mayors of the AGM and the Municipality of Kepez District are from the same political party, (AKP).

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make it a center of attraction. Next to it, there will be residences, office buildings and movie theaters to support these and thus serve citizenship. But right now the project is idle, pending. Hopefully after the elections. It was a project we cared about, hopefully it will come into being. We don't foresee any problems right now. […] First of all, this project was going to change the city center. Second, it would help decongest Antalya traffic. Third, it will save it from having a single center. I think the greatest problem with cities is that they have a single center. There should be a few. Look at the big cities in the world, they all have a few centers. Like, go to Istanbul, Taksim is a center and so is Kadıköy.[266]

Kepez Mayor Erdal Öner says they have turned Kepez into an attraction with the infrastructure and supra structure investments they have achieved at the information meeting held by the Antalya Tradesmen and Artisans Chambers Union (AESOB), which brought together local administrators and chamber presidents and continues:

> The number of banks when we came into this position was two, now it's twenty. Five post offices and many private tutoring schools have opened. Large shopping malls are opening in Kepez. These investments show the economic liveliness in Kepez, proving it's a center of attraction. (http://www.kepez-bld.gov.tr/?syf=haber&d=1&id=1186, accessed on 12.06.2008).

The Weaving Working Group claimed that the Sculpture Symposium (Pictures 7.35; 7.36) held on 1-22 September 2006 on the Weaving Factory Space declared as an 'Unmovable Cultural Entity' "was a new illegal attempt concealed behind the art of sculpture" (*Ekspres,* 31.08.2006).[267] As Eyuboğlu, the CEO of the Multi Turkmall, admits too "the first step of the Dokuma Modern Art Museum would be a symposium." For him, the host of the International Sculpture Symposium would be the area where the museum would be set up. Again, some objections comes from informant R19:

> **R19:** *I think that holding a Sculpture Symposium there before the law suit against the Municipality is resolved is making a fool of people. It also involves completely ignoring the presence of NGOs. Doing something before this stain is removed is trying to forcefully do something people deem wrong.[268]*

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[266] **R18:** Dokumadaki yapmaya çalıştığımız burada bir kent merkezi yaratma projesidir, kent merkezi oluşturmadır. Yani sadece Kepez'in değil Antalya'nın kent merkezi. 500 dönümlük bir projedir bu proje, bunun içerisinde 300 dönümlük bir kent meydanı vardır. Bu kent meydanında işte kent müzesi vardır. Yine biraz önce sizin, modern sanatlar müzesi vardır ve bütün fabrika alanlarının korunarak buraların kent müzesi haline getirilerek kent kimliğinin kazandırılması projesidir. Bunun yanında bir cazibe merkezi olarak yer altında 40 bin metrekarelik bir, dünyanın üçüncü büyük akvaryumu vardır projemizde. Yanında da bunları destekleyici olarak rezidanslarıyla, iş merkezleriyle, sinemalarıyla yani kentliliğe hizmet edebilecek alanlar vardı. Fakat şu anda bu projemiz atıl durumda, beklemede. İnşallah seçim sonrası […] Antalya'ya bir, biraz önce söylediğim gibi kent merkezini değiştirecekti bu proje. İki, Antalya trafiğini rahatlatacaktı bu proje. Üç, tek merkezlilikten kurtaracak bir projedir. Bence şehirlerin en önemli sıkıntıları tek merkezli olmalarıdır. Yani birkaç merkez oluşması gerekiyor. Dünyadaki büyük şehirlere baktığınız zaman birkaç merkez var. Mesela İstanbul'a gidiniz Taksim bir merkezdir aynı zamanda Kadıköy'de bir merkezdir.

[267] See the news "Dokuma'ya Sert Tepki" *Ekspres,* 31.08.2006; See also the news "Dokuma Sanat Kokacak" *Kitle,* 22.09.2006; "Dokuma Heykellerle Renklendi" *Antalya Gündem*, 23.09.2006.

[268] R19: Belediye'ye açılan dava daha sonuçlanmamışken orada heykel sempozyumu yapmak adam kandırmak bence. Burada sivil toplum kuruluşlarını hiçe saymak da var tabi. Bu şaibe kalkmadan bir şey yapmaya kalkmak yanlış olduğu düşünülen bir şeyi zorla uygulamaya kalkışmak demek.

What should be first understood from Molotch's (1976) 'growth machine' thesis is that the pro-growth coalition typically brings together landowners and land developers—often those with concentrated investments in old or emerging business districts where potential land values are highest—and this coalition is typically reinforced by local utility companies, construction unions, news media, and even cultural organizations. MOAŞ, repeated the conciliatory attitude for the UTP developed for Kaleiçi and the surrounding area for the project developed in the Cotton Textile Factory area. The President of MOAŞ informant R21, gives the following explanation in reaction to the public criticism they received for their supportive attitude towards pro-growth coalition projects:

> **R21:** *The weaving factory was privatized. Then the architects' chamber said that they would sue if this place was revitalized, then we took it to Local Agenda 21, fought it out there and it got out of privatization. It was turned over to a company, 99,99% of whose shares belong to the Kepez Municipality. The Municipality was consulting with NGOs about what to do and finally they ended up giving the contract to a Dutch company, which I didn't think was right. Then we asked for an investigation into which of the buildings could be preserved and which had to be torn down with the preservation board. A journalist came out and said that this should be declared a historical site, the whole thing should be preserved. […] Then the chamber of architects and the Municipality gave each other ultimatum in front of the public. We said we'd build in the front and in the back, if the construction index was dropped from 1% to 0,50%, can't really remember the index right now, but we said if you decrease the index by half, we will sue you because you will have obtained it from privatization. So they decreased the index as per our request. Then the others asked for the whole space to be declared a historical site and we disagreed, saying what could be preserved should be preserved but that this could be structured as a sub-center of Antalya in Kepez. So we should preserve what we can but let's not make the whole area into a preservation area and leave the preservation council in a difficult position. But they disagreed with us.*[269]

> **R21:** *Look, there was a newspaper journalist […] who made suggestions about the weaving factory that I couldn't believe, he said it couldn't be done this way and that it should be done that way, he was angry. He said that this building and that building shouldn't be torn down […] But we say it like it is. We have [no part in] politics. We are not led by a political party. We do not belong to the AGM either. Bow we came out and said, "Friends, we fought for a long time and filed lots of law suits and look at what has become of the city. This term we are going to try and negotiate and compromise and see if we can't protect some spaces." Wow, this made everyone really angry. They said the architects' chamber was scared and so on. Then we came to the point where, we have filed thirty law suits against the Municipality but those who criticize us have done nothing. So we said,: "we are going to compromise, and file law suits as the last resort if we need to". But we came out of the negotiations with two gains. For example, we negotiated with the Konyaaltı Municipality and won back 60 thousand square meters of space, 60 acres for the city, the one that belonged to the Highways Directorate. […] [The Conservation Board], after completing its investigation, resolved that the buildings there, except for the administrative building, could be torn down. […] Despite the Board's decision about the weaving factory, we recommended that the building should be preserved in its entirety. […] The plan for the preservation of places previously resolved for demolition was approved by the board. Now the court has stopped the project because it has been put out to tender. A Modern Arts Museum is going to be built in the front anyway. The*

[269] **R21:** Şimdi bakın dokuma şöyle gelişti, dokuma özelleşti, dokumanın olduğu yer. Sonra mimarlar odası dedi ki burası özelleştirildiği takdirde dava açarız, ondan sonra yerel gündem 21'e taşıdık, gittik orda kavgasını dövüşünü yaptık, özelleştirmeden çıktı. %99,99'u kepez belediyesine ait bir şirkete devredildi. Belediye, sivil toplum örgütleri ne yapayım ne edeyim diye sorarken son dakika bunu çok da doğru olmayan bir şekilde bir Hollandalı firmaya ihale etti. Ondan sonra buradaki dokumadaki binaların hangilerinin korunabileceğini hangilerinin korunması gerektiği hangilerinin korunamayacağı konusunda koruma kuruluyla bir çalışma yapılmasını istedik. Bir gazeteci arkadaşımız çıktı dedi ki, burası olduğu gibi sit alanı olmalı ön tarafı, burada ne var ne yoksa hepsi korunmalı. […] Şimdi en son mimarlar odasıyla belediye kamuoyunda restleşti. Biz dedik ki burada ön tarafa arka tarafa yapacağız yapılar emsal %1 den %0,50'ye düşürürseniz, tam emsali şimdi hatırlayamıyorum, yarı yarıya düşürürseniz özelleştirmeden almış olduğunuz için size dava açarız. Onlarla yapılaşmayı bizim dediğimize çektiler. Bir dek mimarlar odası. Yani özelleştirmeden sonra yapı emsalini düşürdü. Sonra işte o arkadaşlar bütün alanın sit alanı olmasını istediler, biz de hayır, burada korunabilecekleri koruyalım, burası Antalya'nın Kepez'deki alt merkezi olarak yapılaşabilir. O nedenle de korunabilecekleri koruyalım, ama bütün alanı korunabilecekmiş bir hale getirip koruma kurulunu da zor durumda bırakmayalım böyle yapalım dedik. Ama arkadaşlar bizim yanlış düşündüğümüzü söylediler.

housing will be torn down. The main factory building will remain. [In the front] *there will be a shopping mall, but we can say that it is the best planned place in Antalya to date.* [270]

The protection of all of the buildings on the factory land that MOAŞ says is a victory as a result of the compromise does not seem like it will prevent this 288 acres of green space in the middle of the city from being turned into a shopping mall. An important but often overlooked aspect of Molotch's thesis was the claim that growth coalitions not only strive to create the material preconditions for growth but also to convince people of the importance of growth to their well being. Under leadership of the AGM, an observable elite organization (of Chamber-s of Commerce and others like MOAŞ, ANSIAD, Akdeniz University, etc.) actively supporting growth promotion by using the media and even the multi-level governance of state indicates the existence of growth machine in Antalya. In addition to these three indicators of the existence of growth machine, there are others who are not convinced with these growth tails of entrepreneurial projects and neoliberal policies in Antalya. Owing to this opposition group, in Eyuboğlu's (the CEO of the developer firm) words "the sleeping [green] giant close to the center of Antalya" still stays green.

Olympic Sports Stadium

Another important project to change the appearance of the city is the construction of a stadium in compliance with FIFA criteria, with 30 thousand spectator capacity, a closed gym with 10 thousand capacity and a 100 thousand m² commercial area to ensure annuity for the construction of this facility, in the area where the 100. Yıl Sports Facility serving amateur athletes lies behind the Falez and Sheraton hotels (Picture 7.37). During the AGM's 2004-2009 governance term, the right to use the 100. Yıl Sports Facility space, the property of which belongs to the Youth and Sports General Directorate, was granted to the ABŞS for 49 years. Following the allocation, the AGM made a change in the plans that changed 40,000 m² of the area to a commercial zone under the heading "central development axis", and planned for the central government to build a 30,000 seat stadium and a 12,000 capacity closed gym (Picture 7.38). According to MOAŞ, with this plan

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[270] **R21:** Şimdi bakın bir gazeteci çıktı […] dokumada benim tüylerimi diken diken öneriler getirdi, öyle olmaz öyle olur dedi, kızdı. Bunlar bunlar yıkılmamalı dedi. […] Ama biz bildiğimiz söyleriz. Bizim politikamız yok. Biz bir partinin güdümünde değiliz. Büyükşehir'inde (AGM) değiliz. Şimdi biz çıktık dedik ki: "Arkadaşlar biz uzun süredir kavga ettik, bir sürü dava açtık, kentte bu hale geldi. Bu dönem biz uzlaşabildiğimiz kadar uzlaşıp bir yerleri korumanın yöntemine bakacağız." Uuu herkes kızdı. Mimarlar odası tırstı da korktu da bilmem ne oldu da. Sonra öyle bir yere geldik ki, bu Büyükşehir Belediyesi'ne biz otuz dava açmışız bizi eleştiren arkadaşlarda tık yok. Yani biz dedik ki: "ya uzlaşacağız, en son dava açacağız" dedik. Ama biz iki uzlaşmadan çok karlı çıktık. Mesela, bir uzlaştık Konyaaltı Belediyesi ile 60 bin metrekare alan, 60 dönüm alan kentte katılmıştır, karayollarına ait olan alan. […] [Koruma Kurulu] araştırmalarının sonunda da oradaki binaların, idari bina dışında yıkılabileceği kararını verdi. […] Dokuma hakkında Koruma Kurulu böyle bir karar almış olmasına karşın, <u>biz bu binanın bir bütün olarak korunabileceğini önerdik.</u> […] Daha önce yıkılabilir kararı verilen yerlerin yeniden korunması bir vaziyet planı ile kuruldan geçti. Şimdi oranın ihaleye verilmesi nedeniyle mahkeme durdurdu projeyi. Ön tarafta Modern Sanatlar Müzesi yine yapılacak. Lojmanlar yıkılacak. Ana fabrika binası kalıyor. [Ön tarafta] Alış veriş merkezi ama Antalya'da bugüne kadar planlanmış en doğru yer diye düşünebiliriz.

change, another public property was taken away for the purpose of annuity (MOAŞ, 2007: 85). MOAŞ and the city's NGOs opposed the project for the following reasons:

> "The AGM's duties do not involve building stadiums; the facility suggested will be adjacent to an 800 bed capacity hospital and two large 5 start touristic resorts and dense residential areas; no investigation of the environmental impact has taken place; the plan is in violation of the Transportation Master Plan decisions and other relevant regulations; the project requires parking space to fit 5,000 cars, and 250 buses for a 30,000 spectator capacity stadium; and because it doesn't fit criteria such as the following: the parking area should not be more than 1,500 meters away from the stadium, the main road should be easily accessible, the buses of the two teams should be put in two separate parking lots…" (Sönmez, 2008: 43)

Mayor Türel, in the interview he gave on 18 September 2006 to *Hürriyet-Akdeniz* journalist Dursun Gündoğdu, explains the stadium project and why they wanted to build it inside the city:

> FIFA, UEFA and FIBA do not want investments made in sports facilities not in walking distance for the public, that are not on public transport routes, that are far from hospitals.

The 100. Yıl Sport Complex tender announced on 6 September 2006, which resulted in a huge controversy, was given to the company that had also won the Lara City Park tender.[271] After the announcement of the results, Mayor Türel said, "The tender was transparent, everything is legal"; while the MHP City President Akar said, "This tender was the rematch for the Lara City Park and we will take legal action to cancel this tender". The CHP City President Melli said, "This is a political annuity project".[272] Despite all objections from the people and the civil initiatives done by legal means the AGM has started the project. The contents of the AGM contract [273] are below:

> The tender covering the project prepared by the AGM involves; the construction of a 30,000 spectator capacity multipurpose football stadium compliant with UEFA criteria on 164,187 m² of the 246,251 m² of 100. Yil Sports Complex land that belongs to the Youth and Sports General Directorate; a gymnasium and an indoor Olympic sized swimming pool, each with 2,500 spectator capacity on the Foundations General Directorate's land in the *Kızıltoprak* Neighborhood. 40,000 m² will belong to the company.

As an example to UPPs the Olympic Stadium project is used as instrument of social control relates to the way 'growth machines' appropriate local sources of civic pride as part of their own legitimization. Like other UPPs, the Olympic Stadium project for the activities of local football

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[271] See the news "100. Yıl Spor Kompleksi ihalesi 500 bin YTL ile Tamince'nin" at (http://haberler.canim.net/37346_100.-y%C4%B1l-spor-kompleksi-ihalesi-500-bin-ytl-ile-tamince-nin.html, accessed on 29.03.2010)

[272] "100.Yıl'da fırtına!" *Milliyet-Akdeniz,* 13 Eylül 2007 at http://www.mimdap.org/w/?p=841, accessed on 29.03.2010.

[273] See also "Stad ve Salonu Fettah Tamince Yapacak !.." 06.09.2007, Guncel, http://www.antalyasporum.com/popuphaber.asp?hid=4288, accessed on 29.03.2010

"40,000 m² of the 246,251 m² of 100. Yil Sports Complex will belong to the company that wins the bid. The multipurpose arena format stadium with 30.000 spectator capacity compliant with UEFA criteria will be completed in 14 months, the 10,000 capacity gymnasium in 12 months, the Dilek Sabanci Sports Complex and the Indoor Olympic swimming pool facilities in Kiziltoprak will be completed in 8 months and delivered. The swimming pool in the 100. Yıl Sports Complex will be torn down immediately after the contract is signed, and the Dilek Sabanci Indoor Gymnasium will be torn down when the Kiziltoprak sports complex is delivered."

teams and other sports organizations is developed by the partnership of the local municipal governments and private sectors while annihilating the autonomy—*independency* in Pahl's word (see Chapter 2.2., and Chapter 3.3.2.)—of the managers, as controllers, planners or social workers, architects or education officers, even estate agents or property developers.

Karaalioğlu Park, City Museum and Bilbao Effect

As an urban spatial restructuring example, another change that took place during the AGM 2004-2009 governance term in Antalya was the integration of the historical AGM building in the Karaalioğlu Park (Picture7, the Matrimonial Office , the Silkworm School (Picture 7.39) and Deniz Restaurant buildings with Karaalioğlu Park and their transfer to the Antalya City Museum as 'display areas'. What is known today as the Karaalioğlu Park[274], was built on a swamp area with the efforts of Antalya Governor Haşim İşcan during World War II (1940-1945). The construction activities of the building of Karaalioğlu Park began in 1941. Çimrin (2007, v1: 580) describes how famous the park was when it was completed three years later, and that in April 1943 the president of the time, İsmet İnönü came to see Karaalioğlu Park and how Governor Haşim İşcan built Antalya in the war years. Çimrin also mentions that Governor Haşim İşcan dreamt of this park as a Mediterranean Fair.

During the 1999-2004 municipal governance term, the national level 'Antalya Historical Karaalioğlu Park Municipality Building and its Surroundings Urban Design and Preservation Project Competition,[275] which was opened by the AGM on 1 July 2002 under the coordination of MOAŞ, was concluded on 11 October 2002 (MOAŞ, 2004: 130-131). The design team that won first place described their design criteria:

> This project involves the regain of a damaged historical City Park and its surroundings in the Antalya city center back to the city. The general approach in the project is to bring out the existing physical and social potential rather than construct a brand new physical and functional city landscape. (http://www.yapi.com.tr/V_Images/haberler/haber_dosyalari, accessed on 03.03.2010).

The project writers suggested the continuation of the use of the spaces within the park's historical parts which had a place in the memory of the city within the framework of new arrangements. Within this context, the existing playground, tea gardens, Deniz Restaurant and the Wedding Hall would be given new functions. Later, with the project writers' consent, it was decided

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[274] "In this area, known as the İnönü Parkı from those days, there were a cement road 2 km long, a 3,500 m² square, three fountains, one squirting colorful water, three miradors, 30,000 m² of horticulture land, a 110 m long, 5 m wide pergola, 9 mosaic stairs, the sewage and a luxury electrical decoration made up of Neon signage, gnomes on the columns, and giant lamps shaped like tulips, presenting a fairytale-like glory." (Çimrin, 2007, v1: 549).

[275] The design team (Nurbin Paker, Hüseyin Kahvecioğlu; Yardımcı Mimarlar: Elif Çelik, Nil Aynalı, Birge Yıldırım), who explain the most distinctive aspect of the project as a contemporary approach to the concept of 'preservation' say that they interpret the preservation of a structure or the physical surroundings as an approach to 'preserving memory' http://www.yapi.com.tr/V_Images/haberler/haber_dosyalari, accessed on 03.03.2010.

that the Karaalioğlu Park projects would be integrated with the historical structures around it and be turned into the Antalya City Museum[276] (ATSO, 2007 20/237: 31). One of the three types of exhibition types in the Antalya City Museum (AKEM) Project, the 'permanent exhibitions' part in the Karaalioğlu Park would be displayed in the four buildings named above. In accordance with this decision, the opening of the museum was planned for 2010 in stages. In the first stage, the "Development of Culinary Culture in Antalya" exhibition would be in and around Deniz Restaurant (Picture 7. 44); "The Family and Marriage in Antalya over the Ages" exhibition was planned in and around the Matrimony Office (Picture 7.42). In the second stage, the "Antalya's Nature" exhibition to be in the Old Silk Worm Institute (Picture 7.39) and the "Future Perspectives for Antalya" exhibition to be at the old Agricultural House (Picture 7.40) were planned to be opened by the end of 2010. In the third stage, the "Antalya and Antalyalites from the Karain Caves until Today" Exhibition would be in the Public House (Picture 7.41) of the Museum and in the main sections of the Atatürk Sports Hall to be opened in 2011. In the fourth stage, after the moving of the Atatürk Stadium, the Guest Exhibition Hall, the parking lot and the Open Air theater would be opened in 2012 (http://www.antalyakentmuzesi.org.tr).

Today, the historical building still occupied by the AGM was built as the Antalya Public House[277] and the Republican People's Party, and was inaugurated on 13 July 1932 (Çimrin, 2007, v1: 361). As acknowledged by the winning project writers the Public House and the Ataturk House within the project area have been certified as 'unmovable cultural entities'.

Despite being a certified structure, it was recommended that the Agricultural House be preserved considering its place in the city's memory as a reference from the past. The winning project writers planed a socio-cultural use for this structure. To this end, the 'Silkworm School' founded in 1928 and the adjacent "Agricultural House built in 1934 as a Silkworm Station, where mulberry saplings were grown and education took place," were preserved as exhibition spaces under AKEM (Çimrin, 2007, v1: 540).

The AKEM, planned for the historical Karaalioğlu City Park shows parallel tendencies with the trend in the world regarding the founding of city museums. As discussing enormous amounts of literature about museums and museology would extend beyond the scope of this thesis, only brief information will be provided here about museums in Turkey and the development of museums.

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[276] Work on the museum, the idea for which was first conceived in 1998, gained impetus in 2004. In November 2006, the City Museum Project Preparation Center and the City Memory Center were opened to execute the work to establish the Antalya City Museum. The Antalya City Museum will be located in the buildings, annexes and the gardens in the Karaalioğlu Park still in use by the AGM after being restored and shaped with additional construction. This space, which will be turned over to the Museum, will be planned with maximum flexibility to allow for changing demands and needs in terms of "functions - space - activities".
 (ATSO, 2007 20/237: 31).

[277] "A Publichouse building replaced the Turk Oceği building in 1932, as it had in all other cities. The building, which has two levels, has an 800 seat thater on the lower level" (see Çimrin, 2007, v1: 360-370).

Without doubt, collection was the main reason to establish the museums which led foundation of current museums. Upon opening collections to the public in the eighteenth century in the West, brought about the need for systematic corporate approaches, in addition to the exhibitive and informative functions, and with the social, economic and political developments encountered in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, the museums entered a fast-changing development process. Today, within this process, museums aim at social totality with a visitor and communication based approach. In Turkey, museums' target primarily began with the protection of Turkey's rich historical and cultural heritage and the museums emerged as a "contemporary organization" as an indicator of westernization efforts in 19th century (Özkasım and Ögel, 2005: 96).

The founding and development of the Antalya Museum is unusual. On 25 March 1919 the Italians occupied Antalya. One or two archeologists who came to Antalya with the occupying forces started to collect the antique items found in the course of their exploration of the region and transporting them to the Italian Consulate. At that time educator Suleyman Fikri Bey opposed to the Italians who claimed they were doing this in the name of civilization. The small abandoned mosque next to the Tekeli Mehmet Pasha Mosque was rearranged and the foundation of the Antalya Museum was thus laid. When the Italians evacuated Antalya the works of art they had collected were transported to this little museum. After 1937 the Fluted Minaret Mosque was used as a museum. However, more and more ancient remains were being unearthed and exhibited (http://www.kultur.gov.tr). With the discussions of the modern museum approach in the West starting in the 1930-40s and spreading in the 1960s museums were founded in Turkey as well parallel to the approach in the west (Özkasım and Ögel, 2005: 97). Since 1972, the Antalya Museum on Konyaalti, serving in its present building, and reflecting the contemporary museum concepts of the 1960s, is one of Turkey's largest museums, with 14 exhibition halls and an open air gallery. It covers an area of 7000 m² and has 5000 works of art are exhibited. The Antalya Museum was awarded with the 1988 'European Council Special Prize'.

The Antalya City Museum, whose preparations were initiated by AGM under the consultancy and coordination of the Historical Foundation, has the support of NGOs comprising firstly the Antalya City Museum Entrepreneurs Association, then ATSO, ANSİAD, Akdeniz University, academics and Antalyalites. The main purpose of this formation is to bring to daylight Antalya's history left in the shadow of the sea-sun-sand, to contribute to and spread the citizenship and history awareness among Antalyalites through this education, communication and culture center (ATSO, 2007(237): 30-31).

Orhan Silier (2007: 1), who has also acted as the founding curator of the Antalya City Museum Project, points out that in recent years, many new city museums have opened up all over the world or the first generation city museums that cropped up between the late 19th and early 20th

century have renewed themselves with huge investments in terms of content and have moved to much larger spaces than in the past. The historical structures in the enormous land considered for the Antalya City Museum Project and the new museum building are in line with the new tendencies in city museums. During the field research, Orhan Silier states, "*The idea of city museums in Turkey came about as a new type of museum culture developed in the world between 93-95, when new city museums were being founded*" and provides the following information:

> **R7:** *I see my duty not as starting something brand new to materialize my dreams, this would be selfish, but as developing the best model possible with what is at hand and fulfilling existing functions, needs and longings. This overlaps with the structure of the city museum. I don't believe that the City Museum is a drawing board from some genius curator to try out his craze or his creativity; it should be an optimization and synthesis of the longings of the residents of the city, those running the city, its scientists and artists; it should ease negotiations, and bring together financiers, residents, experts and average people to bring out the commonalities and interact with the best city museum examples in the world. There are two groups of city museums in the world right now; city museums in the world are undergoing their most significant turning point. What I mean is: I have observed a transition from object oriented preservation and storage and display oriented curatorship to a narrative oriented curatorship—not that it excludes objects but— toward a more communicative and educational function and one that contributes to the development of social identities. And this is very clear in city museum curatorship.[278]*

To repeat Silier's words, "the presence of the sharpest transition in museums world from an object oriented, conservation, storage, and exhibition oriented curatorship to a narrative oriented curatorship that brings forth the function of contributing to social identity developments is taking place in the field of city museums" requires a different understanding of history. To explain this transition in Silier's (2007: 9) words again, a transition is observed in museum culture, from historiography '*other*'ing those from different races, peoples, religions and languages with various superiority claims; in opposition to scientific historiography, based on the rejection of universal values; racist or religious historiography," or ideological official historiography, to an approach shaped by civil history and oral history.

The Anne Frank Museum in Amsterdam, in my opinion one of the best narrative based museums, does not have many items on display. It is not just a narrative based museum, but one where the displays give the visitor a true 'sense' of the museum space, which consists merely of an apartment building. The 'sense' I get is that there is only a space and this is what is experienced. You

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[278] **R7:** Bireyselci kavramın yepyeni bir şeyi sıfırdan başlayıp birinin hayalindeki bir şeyi maddileştirmek değil, var olan işlevleri, ihtiyaçları, özlemleri en iyi modeli ve potansiyeli geliştirmek diye kendi görevimi görüyorum. Bu da zaten kent müzesinin yapısına da uyan bir şey. Kent Müzesi bir dahi kuratörün çılgınlıklarının veya yaratıcılıkların denenme yeri olarak değil bence; kentlilerin özlemlerinin, kenti üstlenenlerin özlemlerinin, kent üzerine çalışan bilim insanlarının, sanat insanlarının özlemlerinin optimizasyonu ve sentezi biçiminde kurulmalı ve tartışmayı kolaylaştırmak ve olabildiğince kaynak sağlayan insanlarla, kentte yaşayan insanlarla, uzmanlarla sıradan insanlar arasındaki buluşma noktalarını ortaya çıkarmak ve bunu dünyadaki en iyi kent müzesi örnekleriyle etkileşerek yapmak gerekiyor. Dünyada kent müzeleri şu an iki grup. Dünyada kent müzeleri; şu an müzeciliğin geçirdiği dönüşümü en keskin biçimde yaşayan müzeler durumunda. Bununla şunu kastediyorum: Eşya temelli, koruma ve depolama ve sergileme temelli bir müzecilikten anlatı temelli—eşyayı elbette dışlamıyor ama— bir müzeciliğe koruma sergileme depolama işlevlerinden çok iletişim, eğitim ve toplumsal kimlik gelişmelerine katkı işlevini öne alan müzeciliğe doğru dünya gelişiyor diye gözlüyorum. Ve bu çok keskin bir şekilde kent müzeciliğinde yaşanıyor.

get a true sense of that feeling of being imprisoned. Anne Frank has memoirs; you read them, try to understand them and feel ashamed. Then there are the accounts of those who witnessed those years, everything that transpired around Anne Frank, though not directly what she accounts in her diaries. You listen to those accounts, you watch and you feel them. Even though it is a foreign tongue, and you may not understand, you certainly feel the pain in their voices; and what happened in that apartment reminds you of itself in its form as a museum—even though you have never witnessed these events, the experience of being in the museum permanently implants Anne Frank's memories on your mind.

New City Museums, designed with a narrative based museum approach especially implemented in city museums, appear as spaces that – to brow terms from computer lingo- format the memory of the old city and the new city data is downloaded into the visitors' mind. Though Silier states at every turn that city museums were born of need, it is debatable whether this need is for producing tourism oriented *consumption of space* or for 'cities' starting to establish City Museums in an effort to prove they are. Informant R7 explains the founding reasons of the City Museum as well as the reasons why Antalya, and in fact, Antalyalites have a 'profound need' for a City Museum (see the Pictures 7.52; 7.53):

> **R7:** *I think there are a few reasons. First, there is <u>a visionary Mayor</u>, to take a project like this seriously. Second, a group of citizens have conceived of the idea of founding a City Museum Entrepreneurs Association for the last five-six years. Then this association carried this issue to the City Council's agenda, and the fact that The Historical Society was inspired by local historianism and brought the up topic of the city and this was discussed at ATSO, and another factor might be that Antalya, as a city that rapidly grew after the 80s, really needs a city museum. […]Antalya, like many cities in Turkey—these cities have other qualities—is actually a huge Tourism Town. Those people in this city who are a bit educated and want to look after its future want it to be more than just a big tourism town, not for it to lose this quality, but for it to have more. One of the new critical institutions they came up with that the city needs was a City Museum. There is a wide consensus on this. So no one is saying, what is the need? We already have an Archeology Museum and the one in Kaleiçi. They are aware that similar cities like Krakow, which also receives about 8 million tourists, has 39 museums. One and a half museums in Antalya is not enough. During the period when the museum tourism in Kaleiçi was just beginning to grow, it took on very important functions. A very small unit. I hope that the Suna İnan Kıraç Foundation in Antalya will decide soon and that a good Ethnographical Museum is opened in Antalya, which would make my job easier. I hope the project involving the Weaving Factory being turned into a Fine Arts Museum will work out. All of these are projects that will nurture each other, and cooperate; and these projects will be more necessary because the others exist. They will not compete, to the contrary… I think that to put the situation in Antalya correctly; there is something that TÜBA says: it is an issue of "<u>creating a culture sector</u>". There is a totality in the work that needs to be done for this purpose. It involves many things like making an inventory of cultural assets to the other end, developing cultural policies and discussion the philosophy but there is also the field of museums and a critical institution of this could be a city museum.[279]*

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[279] **R7:** Galiba birkaç sebepten. Bir tanesi, başında böyle bir projeyi ciddiye alacak kadar <u>vizyon sahibi bir Belediye Başkanı</u> olması. İki, kentli bir grubun beş altı yıldır Kent Müzesi Girişimciler Derneği diye bir dernek kurmayı akla getirmesi. Sonra bu derneği bu konuyu Kent Konseyinin gündemine taşıması, biraz Tarih Vakfı'nın yerel tarihçilik çalışmalarından esinlenerek kent müzesi konusunu gündeme getirerek ATSO'da bu konunun tartışılması gibi şeyler Antalya'yı çok hızlı 80lerden sonra birdenbire büyümüş bir kentte duyduğu Kent Müzesi ihtiyacının çok derinden hissetmesi galiba bir faktör. […] Antalya Türkiye'deki bir çok kent gibi—bu kentlerin başka özellikleri var—esas olarak büyük bir Turizm Kasabası. Bu kentteki biraz okumuş biraz kentin geleceğine sahip çıkmak isteyen insanlar bir büyük turizm kasabasından daha çok bir şey olsun bunu kaybetmesin ama başka şeyler de olsun istiyorlar. Akıllarına gelen kritik yeni kurum ihtiyaçları arasında Kent Müzesi bir ihtiyaç olarak gündemlerine gelmiş. Bu konuda yaygın bir konsensus var. Yani ne lüzum var zaten bir Arkeoloji Müzemiz var bir de Kaleiçi'nde müzemiz var demiyor kimse. Farkında ki insanlar 8 milyon turist, eşit sayıda

The issue of "creating a culture sector" that Silier speaks of is about the term 'value' used in an academic study ["Türkiye'de Kültür Sektörü: Yeni Bir Yapılanma İçin Stratejik Yaklaşımlar" (Culture Industry in Turkey: Strategic Approaches for a New Restructuring)] prepared by Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi (TÜBA)], is a very term easily transformable to the term 'value' used in the field of economics. Within the framework of this approach, which affirms the commodification of cultural values in the economic sense, cultural values are transformed into commodities through the culture industry and face the risk of losing their ability to carry cultural value. In response to what he thinks about such a risk, Informant R7 replies:

> **R7:** *I don't agree very much. Here's what I think. We live in a world with a single pole and rough forms of capitalism rule. Not just in terms of high culture, but in all fields of culture capitalism has huge impacts on the process of cultural production and its operation. The impact is also seen on Museums, and not surprisingly, the only lively area of curatorship in Turkey is Fine Arts Museums and a curatorship field where there are huge capital establishments. This concrete fact—when I say fact I don't mean to condone it, I mean it as a phenomenon or process—we need a culture that is not commodified within the underlying conditions and one that is not under the control of large capital; what we should do, and what I believe could happen, is to democratize the process, make it widespread, come up with alternatives, have discussions. Therefore, for example, it is not a solution to observe the negative effects of tourism and say "oh let's not have any more tourists come". The thing to do here is to try to influence the type of the tourism and to change it. One of the positive aspects of this could be, for example, to channel more resources towards culture more directly. This could also [benefit] the preservation of cultural heritage and nature.* [In the tourism field] *Just as we can't say 'Stop, don't come', I think the same is true in the field of museum curatorship and cultural production. It is necessary to take a stance in the processes today so that better alternatives can come about in the future and to make it more democratic and in response to most of the society's needs.[280]*

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turist gelen—yakınlarda ziyaret ettiğim için biliyorum—Krakov kentinde 39 müze var Antalya'da bir buçuk müze olması yetmiyor. Kaleiçi'ndeki müze turizmin henüz gelişmekte olduğu dönemlerde çok başarılı büyük işlevler yüklenmiş. Çok küçük bir birim. Antalya'da inşallah Suna İnan Kıraç Vakfı çok yakın zamanda karar verirler de Antalya'da iyi bir Etnografya Müzesi olması bu benim işimi de kolaylaştırır. İnşallah bu, Dokuma Fabrikası'nın Güzel sanatlar Müzesi olması projesi yeniden canlanır. Bütün bunlar birbirini çok iyi besleyecek, birbiriyle çok iyi paslaşabilecek projeler ve biri olduğu için ötekine daha çok ihtiyaç olan projeler. Birbirine rakip değil tersine… Bence Antalya'daki durum doğru terimlerle ifade edilirse; TÜBA'nın kullandığı bir terim "bir kültür sektörünün var edilmesi" sorunu. Bu doğrultuda yapılması gereken işlerin de bir bütünlüğü var. Kültürel varlıkların envanterinden başlayıp öteki ucunda kültür politikalarının geliştirilmesine ve felsefesinin tartışılmasına kadar bir çok şeyi içeriyor ama orada müze alanı da var ve o müze alanın önemli kritik bir kurumu da kent müzesi olabilir.

[280] **R7:** Çok öyle düşünmüyorum. Şöyle düşünüyorum. Tek kutuplu ve kapitalizmin hem de hayli kaba biçimleriyle dünyaya egemen olduğu bir dünyada yaşıyoruz. Sadece yüksek kültür anlamında değil kültürün tüm alanları anlamında kapitalizmin büyük bir etkisi var kültürel üretim ve onun yürüyüş sürecinde. Müzelerde de bunun etkisi görülüyor ve hiç de şaşılası olmayan bir biçimde Türkiye'de mesela müzeciliğin tek hareketli olduğu alan Güzel Sanatlar Müzeciliği ve büyük sermaye kuruluşlarının varlığının olduğu bir müzecilik alanı. Bu somut gerçeği—gerçek derken onu onaylamak anlamında söylemiyorum, bir process bir süreç olgu anlamında söylüyorum—bir yandan yaşarken onu hazırlayan koşullarda metalaşmamış bir kültür ve büyük sermayenin egemenliğinde olmayan bir kültüre olanak sağlamanın olabilirliği için yapmamız gereken şey; bu süreçler içinde olabildiğince sürecin demokratikleştirilmesi, yaygınlaştırılması, seçeneklerin üretilmesi, tartışmaların üretilmesi alanında başarılabilir gibi geliyor bana. O yüzden, mesela turizmin olumsuz etkilerini gözleyip 'aman turist gelmesin' demek bir çözüm olmadığı gibi burada yapılacak şey o turizmin türünü etkilemek, değiştirmeye çabalamak. Bunun bazı olumlu ögelerinden biri olarak mesela kültüre kaynak aktarmayı daha büyük çaplı ve daha doğrudan yapmak [olabilir]. Aynı zamanda kültürel mirasın ve doğal hayatın korunması bakımından da olabilecek şeylerdir. [Turizm alanında/field] Nasıl 'Durun gelmeyin' diyemezsek, müzecilik ve kültürel üretim alanında da aynı şeyi düşünüyorum. Yarın daha iyi alternatiflerin ortaya çıkması için bugünkü süreçlerin içinde var olmak ve onun daha demokratik ve daha toplumun büyük kesiminin ihtiyaçlarına cevap verebilecek şekilde gelişmesi gerekir.

In R7 terms, "Participating in today's processes so that better alternatives may come about tomorrow" in Bourdiean terms means occupying on the field as social agent. But for Bourdieu "*social agents are not 'particles* that are mechanically pushed and pulled by external forces,*"* like the "particles under the sway of forces of attraction of repulsion as in magnetic field." Rather, to Bourdieu (1986: 108), social agents are *bearers of* [species of] *capitals*, and depending on their *trajectory* and on the position they occupy in the field by virtue of their endowment (volume and structure) in capital, they have a propensity toward the *preservation* of the distribution of capital or toward the *subversion* of this distribution.

Antalya city MuseumProject Founding Curator Silier, with his high *cultural capital* as a professor has a wealth of knowledge, or *social capital* as one of the founders of the Historical Foundation has a social network especially in the field of curatorship, and *symbolic capital* as one of the people who worked for the İstanbul City Museum Project. As in Bourdieu's theory of *field*, the relationship between *position*s and *position-taking*s of informant R7, the mayor as an individual agent and other occupants as institutions in the field of culture industry is mediated by their dispositions, their feel for the game—*habitus*. During the game their *strategies* are a function of the convergence of *position* and *position-taking* mediated by their *habitus*."

In analytical terms, Bourdieu (Ibid.: 97) defines *field* as a network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions. In the field of culture industry, in Bourdiean terms, these positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their *occupants, agents or institutions*, by their present and potential situation (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of *species of power* (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.).

The Antalya City Museum Project is a formation whose budget is provided by the AGM and, as of the moment it opens its doors to visitors, it will take its position in the culture industry field and sell Antalya's collective cultural capital (collective cultural capital attached to Antalya) as a 'value' to its visitors. In this formation, which could be defined as a public-private partnership, the public part is the funder AGM. The private part is the Historical Foundation, an NGO. Informant R7, the founding curator of AKEM representing the Historical Foundation upon the AGM's own request comments on the content and budget of the project:

> **R7:** *Actually the budget right now is 25 million YTL* [circa 15 million USD]. *But I don't think it can be completed just with 25 million. I think this will increase by about 10% or 20%. When we were just looking at initial estimates, we weren't aware of the lack of material and research (staff). We thought it would be found but it is hard to find these things. We thought there were experts that could do this, but there mostly isn't so we had to do it the costly way and bring them in from the outside. That's why [it would be hard] with a budget of 25-30 million YTL; all of this is funded by the Municipality. I don't think it will happen this way. Some [needs to be funded by] the private sector, ATSO, ANSIAD and so on. Some sponsorships from national and international corporations. A small but*

important amount of contribution could be obtained from international culture organizations like the EU or UNESCO'. If the total of these achieve the creation of an autonomous establishment as it says in the first article here, I believe it would be a strong structure.[281]

The past ten to twenty years, however, have seen a dramatic change in the role, character, nature and design of museums and in museum visitors. In the late twentieth century, a growing number of museums have become centers of style and design, blockbuster exhibitions, corporate patronage, and cultural distinction. In addition, in the search for social distinction in a more populist age, marked by the expansion of a wealthy professional and managerial middle class, art and patronage of art museums have become powerful new sources of cultural distinction (Bourdieu, 1984). Today museums are more customer-oriented since they frequently have to rely more on admission charges, corporate sponsorship and other commercial activities than on shrinking public funding. Finally, given the success of some spectacular new and refurbished museums in attracting large numbers of visitors, and generating jobs and visitor spending, museums now have a growing role as 'tools' for urban regeneration (Hamnett and Shoval, 2003: 222).

It is obvious that the historical Karaalioğlu City Park will be spatially restructured with the winning project and the new arrangements to be made to turn it into the City Museum. All these projects which have been spatially restructuring the field of urban in Antalya mentioned above are indeed the social processes resulting in the production of the city were not distinctly urban, but endemic to capitalist society in Castells' understanding of city. As he (2000: 393) argues, "spatial transformation must be understood in the broader context of social transformation: space does not reflect society, it expresses it, and it is fundamental dimension of society".

The winning project (see Pictures from 7.46 to 7.51) writers of the 'Antalya Historical Karaalioğlu Park Municipality Building and its Surroundings Urban Design and Preservation Project Competition' recommended the building of a new AGM Building. To this end, the project writers suggested a smaller, accessible and a local administration structure integrated into socio-cultural uses, against the tendency to approach local administration structures in the cities' new development

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[281] **R7:** 25 milyon YTL [yaklaşık 15 milyon USD] bir bütçesi var bunun şu an. Ama bunun bu 25 milyon ile tamamlanabileceğini sanmıyorum. Bu %10 veya %20 civarında artacağını sanıyorum. Sadece ilk kestirimleri yaptığımız sırada eldeki malzeme ve araştırma (eleman) sayısının bu kadar az sayıda olduğunun farkında değildik. Bulunur diyorduk ama bulunur dediğimiz şeyler genellikle bulunmuyor. Bunu yapacak uzman vardır diyorduk o genellikle yok onun için hep daha pahalı ve daha dıştan yollardan bulma yoluna gittik. O yüzden yani 25-30 milyon YTL'lik bir bütçeyle; bu bütçenin tümünün Belediye tarafından karşılandığı bir bütçe. Sanıyorum böyle gerçekleşmeyecek. Bir miktar özel sektör ATSO, ANSIAD falan çevresinden. Bir miktar ulusal ve uluslar arası şirketlerden sponsorluk. Küçük bir miktar ama önemli olabilecek bir katkı kimi uluslar arası kültür kuruluşlarından AB'den veya UNESCO'dan vs destek alınabilir. Bunların toplamı eğer buranın ilk maddesinde yazdığı gibi özerk bir kuruluş olmaya da ulaştırırsa sağlam bir yapı kurulur diye düşünüyorum.

areas as large scale monumental structures.[282] However, a new location was found for the AGM building and construction commenced.[283]

Kaleiçi

Kaleiçi (Pictures 7.54; 7.55) was put under the protection of the Real Estate Antique Works and Monuments High Commission against irregular construction in 1967. With a protocol signed by the Ministry of Tourism, the Antalya Municipality and the Monuments High Commission in 1973, it was decided that the port and its vicinity would be expropriated and restored. The 'Kaleiçi Protection Oriented Planning Work' was begun in 1979 by the Department of Architecture at Middle East Technical University. The project undertaken through this work received the Tourism Oscar, the *Golden Apple Award[284]* [Awarded by FIJET][285] in 1984. Informant R6, underlines the success of the tourism infrastructure investments made in Antalya with government support and control in the beginning of the 1980s but for him, in later years, tourism investments were influenced by politics, leading to lack of planning, programming and foresight:

> **R6:** *After 1985, 1986, loads of people came here. Of course I mean just southern Antalya. Meanwhile the second stage of the project began: Belek. Expropriations, etcetera. Meanwhile the Yacht Marina was being built. The Marina Project in 84 won the international Golden Apple Award (the Oscars of Tourism)* [Awarded by FIJET] *as it is such an important project. The World Bank was behind it and the Tourism Bank was implementing it. The team working was serious politics weren't involved. That's why it was an award-worthy project. Hundreds of shops were identified down to their location in the marina. Shops that would suit Antalya's culture. A meatball restaurant, a traditional pastry shop, a fish restaurant. Over ninety houses were expropriated up there to provide lodging. But, alas, politics got involved and the Tourism Bank was taken out of the picture. Governors and Ministers took over. Believe me, I haven't been down to the marina in three years. To the marina that won the Golden Apple. This is what it is: politics.[286]*

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[282] The design team announced their primary principles as follows: "The creation of a structure with an architectural and aesthetic characteristic to be a strong symbol to represent the Metropolitan Municipality and to form a new image for the city." (http://www.yapi.com.tr/HaberDosyalari/Detay_antalya-buyuksehir-belediyesi-hizmet-binasi-mimari-projesi, accessed on 02.04.2010)

[283] See also the news "Başkan Türel dualarla atılan temel atma töreninde butona basarak harç koydu." http://www.antalya.bel.tr/tr/bel_guncel/haber_detay.cfm?sayfa=4629, accessed on 02.04.2010.

[284] "In 1972 the Antalya inner harbor and the Kaleiçi neighborhood was declared "a cultural and historical site" due to its unique nature" by the Real Estate Antique Works and Monuments High Commission. The Ministry of Tourism was awarded the Golden Apple tourism Oscar for its work on the restoration of the Antalya- Kaleiçi Complex on 28 April 1984 by the International Tourism Writers Association (FİJET) Today it is an entertainment center with its hotels, B&Bs, restaurants and bars." http://www.antalyakulturturizm.gov.tr

[285] The Fédération Internationale des Journalistes et Ecrivains du Tourisme known by its acronym, FIJET (pronounced FEE-jet), was formed in Paris, France, as an association of tourism writers, in 1954. Each year, FIJET presents its Pomme d'Or or Golden Apple, award for excellence. This award is presented to reward efforts in raising the level of tourism. The Golden Apple has gained great recognition over the years and always has a list of candidates vying for it. In 2005, the award was presented to the city of Split, Croatia. Other recipients included Nemrut Dag, Turkey (2003), Sharm El Sheikh (2002), Tyr, Lebanon (2001) and the Mol Lake District, Belgium (2000). http://www.fijet.net/?Info=FIJET_History 08.12.2009.

[286] **R6:** 85, 86'lardan sonra bir yığın insan buraya geldi, falan, filan. Tabii, Güney Antalya'yı konuşuyoruz sadece. Bu arada tabii projenin ikinci etabı başladı: Belek. Kamulaştırmalar, şunlar, bunlar. Bu arada buradaki Yat Limanı yapılıyor. 84'deki Yat Limanı Projesi, Uluslararası Altın Elma (Turizm Oskarı) Ödülü'nü kazanmıştır. 83'de Antalya Yat Limanı İşletmesi'ne,

With commercial life speeding up after 1981 and the appealing atmosphere, Perdahlı (2007: 44) says that the native inhabitants of the Kaleiçi Neighborhood jumped onto the development bandwagon. Parallel to this change, the real estate value in this area rose immensely, resulting in imbalance. By the time disappointed investors were replaced by other enthusiastic investors, the 'real estate blackmarketism' mentioned above by the Kaleiçi inhabitants had already begun.

Almost all Kaleiçi business owners said they were not able to make even half of what they had envisioned; meanwhile the number of one day visitors dropped dramatically. Today, Kaleiçi is a place where nearly all the natives have moved away, leaving behind no neighborly relations, where almost all buildings are commercial enterprises. The number of those settled in the neighborhood is dropping day by day without being replaced by others. According to Perdahlı, the most important reason why the Kaleiçi neighborhood is undesirable as a residential area is because "accommodation and survival needs and noisy and active entertainment functions clash". The Chairman of the KALEDER Board of Directors, Müfit Perdahlı (2007: 44) says that as of 2007 only 3% of those living in Kaleiçi are natives of Antalya As he mentions, it is no longer possible to say that 2,000 years of history has been sustained. Kaleiçi, as the center of where the city of Antalya was founded, is still considered by Antalyalites to be the most representative of Antalya, but it has all but forgotten what it symbolizes as Antalya's most important 'collective cultural capital', even 'collective symbolic capital'.

All of the informants, almost as if in unison, express their disappointment in the lack of preservation or abuse of Antalya's existing cultural heritage and the transformation of this heritage with a profit oriented approach. The only way to turn concerns that mistakes made will denigrate Antalya's multi-layered cultural heritage into actions which may bring about solutions only seems possible through funding being allocated to preservation and restoration projects. The informants, who see Antalya as its original location, the Castle District, commented thus:

> **R3:** *This city could have been a meeting point for cultures. That boat has sailed. Kesik Minare, for example, witnessed first Byzantine, then Seljuk, then, Ottoman and finally the Republic periods.*[287]

çünkü çok ciddi bir projelendirmedir, Dünya Bankası arkasındaydı, Turizm Bankası yapıyordu. Çok ciddi bir ekip yürütüyordu. Politika bulaşamıyordu. O nedenle Yat Limanı Altın Elma Ödülü'nü kazandı.Yat Limanında yapılan düzenlemelerle yüzlerce dükkan tek tek belirlenmişti, yerlerine kadar. Bu köfteci olacak; Antalya'nın kültürüne yaraşacak yerler. Antalya'da ne var? Börek çok yaygındır, böyle sabah kahvaltıda börek yenir. İki tane börekçi. İşte şu, şu mekan. Şu mekan köfteci ve piyazcı, şu balıkçı, şu bucu diye yüz küsur tane mekan tek tek planlandı. Bu güzelliği gören Ağa Han geldi talip oldu. Orada doksan küsur ev kamulaştırıldı yukarıda. İşte yatak açmak için. Ama ne yazık ki politika olaya bulaştı. Turizm Bankası'nı devreden çıkardılar. Valiler, Bakanlar kendi kafalarına göre işi yürüttüler. Ben, inanın üç seneden beri Yat Limanı'na inmiyorum. Uluslararası Altın Elma Ödülü almış Yat Limanına inmiyorum. Olay bu, politika bu işte. Politikacılık bu.

[287] **R3:** Bu kent kültürler buluşmasını gerçekleştirebilirdi. Kaçırdı o fırsatı. Mesela Kesik Minare, Önce Bizans sonra Selçuk sonra Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet dönemlerine tanık.

R22: *We stand before one of the greatest pieces of Antalya's cultural heritage: Kaleiçi. Is this [what] Kaleiçi deserves? Definitely not. Fixing the roads of Kaleiçi means landscaping Kaleiçi and illuminating it. If we are to restore Kaleiçi, the restoration of Kesik Minare and Hıdırlık Kulesi is also necessary. To be frank, unfortunately I don't see many restorations going on in Antalya. The restoration of historical works is crucial for Antalya. This would benefit the whole country, not just the city. It wouldn't just be Antalyalites who benefit; if Antalya benefits, so does Turkey.[288]*

R17: *The Castle District is important; that's where Antalya is. If it were me, I would make a law saying the Castle District is the place in the world most worth seeing. Kaleiçi is equivalent to Antalya.[289]*

R16: *In my terms as well, not much was done for the Kaleiçi. When it got commercialized, the storekeepers became pushy with the tourists. There are even those today that say the Kaleiçi has become a center for prostitution. There were serious restoration efforts in the 70s but they stopped towards the 80s. Then some people came and bought houses and turned them into commercial enterprises.[290]*

R17: *There are business people trying to make money in other ways. There are some sectors that are not worthy of the Kaleiçi. Once security is strengthened, the infrastructure built, I think some buildings no in keeping with the architecture of the Kaleiçi should be torn down. There were about 25. Most were built 10-15 years ago illegally.[291]*

Most of the inhabitants of the houses in the Kaleiçi, which is a 3ʳᵈ degree preservation site, are old and lack the funds to have their houses which are even older than they are professionally restored. Moreover, they are prohibited from doing repairs on their houses, considered historical artifacts, except for restoration. Therefore, when their houses become uninhabitable, or the business owners bother them overmuch with the volume of the music playing, they wither sell their homes or rent them out and move elsewhere. The empty houses are usually invaded by businesses or burned down and replaced with structures built that are not consistent with the *Kaleiçi*'s architectural style:

R17: *The Kaleiçi is very important. At least it has been preserved to some extent until now. The project for the restoration won awards but since then has been abandoned. Everyone with any authority in Antalya talks about doing something but it is an area whose problems have yet to be resolved. It is essential for Antalya It consists of four neighborhoods. The identity of the Kaleiçi must be taken into consideration while searching for solutions. Should it be an entertainment center? A shopping area or a tourism center? It may not be limited to one definition but there should be a goal. For this, especially local administrations must be bold. I don't see any other way out. I believe there are about*

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[288] **R22:** Antalyanın işte gördüğümüz en büyük kültür birasından bar tanesi karşımızda duruyor, Kaleiçi yani. Kaleiçinin yeterince hak ettiği bir yer mi, kesinlikle değil. Kaleiçinin yollarını yapmak, Kaleiçini düzenlemek, ışıklandırmak demektir. Kaleiçini yapacaksak, Kesikminareyi, Hıdırlıkkulesininde restorasyonlarının yapılması lazım. Antalyada ben şunu çok açık söyleyebilirim tarih eserlerin restorasyonu konusunda çok önemli çalışmalar göremiyorum maalesef. Tarihi eserlerin restorasyonunu Antalya için çok önemlidir. Antalya kazanırsa Türkiye kazanır. Sadece Antalyalı kazanmaz yani Antalya kazanırsa Türkiye kazanır.

[289] **R17:** Bir de Kaleiçi benim için çok önemli. Antalya orası. Benim elimde imkan olsa yeni bir yasa çıkarırım ve Kaleiçi'ni dünyanın en fazla görülmesi gereken yeri haline getiririm. Kaleiçi demek Antalya demektir.

[290] **R16:** Kaleiçi'ne dair benim yönetimimde de çok başarılı bir şeyler yapılamadı bir anlamda. Şimdi Kaleiçi Antalya'nın rahmi. Antalya buradan doğdu, oradan büyüdü. Kaleiçi ticarileşince orada yerleşen esnaf turisti rahatsız edecek düzeyde teşrifatçılık yaptı. Bu da turisti rahatsız eden bir durum. Afedersiniz bugün Kaleiçi'nin bir fuhuş yuvasına döndüğünü iddia edenler de var. 70'li yıllarda ciddi bir restorasyon yapılmıştı Kaleiçi'ne ama 80'lere doğru durdu. Sonra bir takım insanlar geldi ordan buradan oradan evler aldılar çoğu ticari işletmeye dönüştü.

[291] **R17:** Değişik Kaleiçi'ne uymayan, denk düşmeyen sektörlerin öne çıkıyor olması. Bu sektörlerin hemen yanı başında başka sektörlerin zorunlu olarak o sektörleri koruyabilme amaçlı o mekanlarda var olması. Güvenliğini sağladıktan sonra, altyapısını tamamladıktan sonra, dış cephe restorasyonları yapıldıktan sonra geriye Kaleiçi'nin mimarisine uymayan—25 tane falandı yanlış hatırlamıyorsam sonradan yapılmış—on sene on beş sene önce yapılmış kaçak hatta çoğu tescilli yapılmış çünkü o zaman koruma kurulu bu işin peşine pek düşmemişler.

110 buildings that burned down because they are over 100 years old. The owners are old as well and are disturbed by the loud music. It doesn't make sense that there are hotels near these bars and clubs either, since no one can truly rest nor reside in this area with the loud noise. This is where we need a radical decision. What will become of the Castle District? Then work must be begun.[292]

FG4: *Home owners in the Kaleiçi are bound. Either they stay there and pay to have the house restored or they move or they live in aging structures needing repair. No foundations or institutions are offering to pay, either. The houses turn into relics with disrepair once emptied or are burned down and a new one built in their stead. Thus, a part of history is disappearing.[293]*

R17, representing the Municipality of Muratpaşa District which includes the *Kaleiçi*, is at the top of the list of those trying to come up with solutions. R16, who is a former Head of the Antalya Greater City Municipality once suggested the state ownership of the *Kaleiçi* but was not able to implement this solution:

R17: *This job is too big to carry out using grants. Even laying cobblestones would cost a great deal. The infrastructure, the lighting and the restoration is a huge challenge. The solution would be to have the Ministry of Finance allocate funds to the Ministry of Tourism. First 100 trillion then increase this amount. If necessary this could be supplemented by the political party in power through the city directorates of the Ministry of Tourism. But they should announce what is to be done in a report. They could put out a contract themselves. They don't have to use middlemen. The municipalities don't have to do it; they could just be given the authority to oversee it. The restoration could be turned into a competition. The Ministry of Culture grants one festival [the Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival in 2006] with about 150 billion in funds. One rumor has it that they sent 4 trillion. The Castle District could be allotted a 100 trillion budget. The Film Festival would find sponsors somehow. The municipalities could generate funds. Other ways could be found as they always have. It isn't a big deal when there are problems with the festival but the loss of the Kaleiçi is a huge problem.[294]*

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[292] **R17:** Kaleiçi son derece önemli. En azından, bu güne kadar bir yere kadar korunabilmiş (RVG: Ilgaz Hocanın anlattıkları) Ödüllü bir proje ama ne yazık ki ödül aldığı yıldan beri ihmal edilmiş. Şu an Kaleiçi sorunlu. Antalya'da söz sahibi herkesin gündeminde olan ama ne yazık ki sorunlarına çözüm getirilemeyen bir bölge. Antalya için olmazsa olmaz bir yer. Toplam dört mahalleden oluşmakta. Bu sorunlar nasıl aşılır. En azından o bölgenin sorunlarını çok iyi bildiğim için çözüm ararken Kaleiçi'nin kimliğini ortaya koymak gerekir. Yani Kaleiçi bir eğlence merkezi mi olmalı? Kaleiçi bir alış-veriş merkezi mi olmalı? Ya da Kaleiçi turizm merkezi mi olmalı. Bu illa tek bir adla tanımlanmayabilir ama her ne ise hedeflenen kimlik kazandırılmalı. Bunun için de yerel yönetimler başta olmak üzere cesaretli davranmak gerekir. Başka bir çıkış yolu göremiyorum. Kaleiçi'nde bugün sanıyorum 110 tane yakılan bina var. Yakılıyor çünkü çok yaşlılar, 80-90-100 yaşında binalar var. Sahipleri de yaşlı ve Kaleiçi'nde şu an var olan eğlence gürültüsünden de rahatsızlar. (RVG: Handanın anlattıkları Kaleiçi'ne dair). Eğlence merkezleriyle birlikte bölgede oluşturulmuş oteller de birbiriyle çelişkili. Yüksek volumelu açık hava barları ve kulüpleriyle Kaleiçini ikamet alanı olmaktan hatta konaklama alanı olmaktan uzaklaştırıyoruz. Tam burada Kaleiçi'nin kimliğini ortaya koyabilecek radikal bir karar vermek lazım: Kaleiçi ne olacak? Ve bu karardan sonra yapılacak işlere başlanmalı.

[293] **FG4:** Yalnız bir de şöyle bir durum var Kaleiçi sakinleri için. Evleri birinci derece sit alanı. Evlerinden çıktıkları anda hiçi bir şey yapamıyorlar. Ya profesyonel anlamda restorasyon yapılması gerekiyor ki bunu karşılayacak imkanları yok ya da oturmaya devam edecekler o haliyle. Herhangi bir kurumdan ya da vakıflardan restorasyon için bir ödenek de yapılmıyor. Ama evlerin bakıma da ihtiyacı var. Evleri boşalttıkları andan itibaren restorasyon masrafının altına giremedikleri için evler harabeye dönüyor. Biri bir gece ya yakıyor ya da bina bakımsızlıktan yıkılıyor yerine yeni bir bina dikiliyor. Bir kısmı sırf bu sebeple evinden çıkmıyor bakım da yapamıyor. Sonuçta orada bir tarih, kültürel mirasın bir parçası giderek yok oluyor.

[294] **R17:** Ama bu iş kesinlikle hibe fonlarla gerçekleştirilemeyecek kadar büyük bir iş. Yani şunu söyleyeyim. Kaleiçi'nin sadece Arnavut taşıyla döşenmesi işi bile baya ciddi bir yekün tutuyor. Altyapısı, aydınlatması, restorasyonu baya büyük bir iş. Bunun çözümü şu: Maliye Bakanlığı bütçe ayıracak. Yani Maliye Bakanlığı, Turizm Bakanlığı'na pat ayıracak. Örneğin 100 trilyon ayıracak ilk etapta daha sonra bunu artırabilmesi koşuluyla. Ayrıca gerekirse Turizm Bakanlığı, İl Müdürlüğü'nce, gerekiyorsa kendi partisinin (AKP'yi kastediyor) belediyesi aracılığıyla kullandıracak. Ancak bu işin bütün projeksiyonunu, nelerin yapılacağını raporlamayla ortaya koyacak. Bunların ihalelerini kendi yapabilir. Bir aracı kullanmak zorunda da değil. Belediyeler yapmak zorunda değil. Belediyeler yalnızca denetim yetkisiyle donatılabilir. Mesela Arnavut taşı ihalesini bakanlık kendisi yapabilir belediyeler de denetimini yapabilir. Ulaşımı ihale edebilir. Restorasyonunu yarışmaya açabilir. Yani bir festivale işte 150 milyar falan gönderiyor Kültür Bakanlığı. Bir söylentiye göre de 4 trilyon gönderildi deniyor. Kaleiçi için 100 trilyon bütçe gönderilebilir. Film Festivali bir şekilde olur. Belediyeler kaynak yaratabilir. Başka

Apart from all of these debates, according to Erdoğan (2007: 15), the reasons why Kaleiçi could not be protected are public will and civil administration. Erdoğan says that problems erupted when TURBAN, which had been running operations of the region (Kaleiçi and the Marina) as an agent of public until the early 1990s, was left out. As mentioned above, TURBAN's success in the Kaleiçi Conservation Project as an implementer and operator was proven by the Golden Apple Award. While AGM, a public will on a local scale, intended to give pedestrians the opportunity to walk around freely in a secure area in the Kaleiçi pedestrianization project, and yet requested that cars be allowed to enter and leave so that not only the inhabitants but also the touristic enterprises in the region can fulfill their needs. Viewed from this standpoint, the way in which public will should be shaped appears as a problems. As a civil will made up of those residing in Kaleiçi business owners working there, or rather of the Kaleiçi neighborhood, KALEDER is aware that the only way Kaleiçi can become a touristic and cultural center of attraction is through the pedestrianization of the area

Erdoğan believes the role that the Conservation, Implementation and Control Office (KUDEB) founded within the AGM will play is crucial in terms of cooperating with the owners of the dilapidated real estates in Kaleiçi, consulting for restoration projects and creating loan opportunities as well as guiding and monitoring as a public will (Ibid.: 21). Informants R16 ve R12 believe that public will be more effective from the central government and the Culture and Tourism Ministry, and say the following about Kaleiçi:

> **R16:** *Kaleiçi could simply be made public property. The Ministry of Culture could do this but the real estate value of the area is high. I gave this a try when I was a member of parliament during Istemihan Talay's appointment in 95-99. Practices involving the Kaleiçi must be sustained. Policies change when municipal administrations change. They usually do things to look good to the public and so projects aren't sustained.[295]*

> **R12:** *For example, Kaleiçi is a place ignored for all these years. Something must be done in cooperation with the Culture and Tourism Ministry there. No projects involving it have been prepared. The revenues from tourism should be channeled towards cultural projects. Because the raw material of tourism isn't hotels, it is the natural and cultural heritage. This is the rationale behind sustainable tourism. more social responsibility projects carried out by businesses operating here.[296]*

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imkanlarını kullanabilir bugüne kadar kullandığı gibi. Ve çok büyük sorunlar ortaya çıkarmaz film festivali. Yani Festival dört dörtlük olmadığı zaman büyük olay değildir ama Kaleiçi kaybedildiği zaman büyük olaydır.

[295] **R16:** Kaleiçi'nin tamamının kamulaştırılması. Belki bunu Kültür Bakanlığı yapabilir ama emlak değeri çok yüksek o bölgenin. Ben Milletvekilliği yaptığım dönemde de restorasyonların yapılması için girişimde bulundum İstemihan Talay döneminde, 95-99'da milletvekilliği yaptım. Kaleiçi'ne dair uygulamaların süreklilik kazanması gerekir. Belediyeler zaman zaman yönetimlerin sık değiştiği kurumlar dolayısıyla politikalar da değişiyor.

[296] **R12:** Örneğin Kaleiçi, bunca yıldır ihmal edilmiş bir yer. Mutlaka Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı ile işbirliği içinde bir şeyler yapılmalı orada. Oraya dair hiçbir proje geliştirilmedi. Turizmde kazanılan paranın kültür projelerine aktarılması gerekir. Çünkü turizmin hammaddesi oteller değil doğal ve kültürel mirastır. Sürdürülebilir turizmin mantığı da budur. Daha fazla sosyal sorumluluk projeleri yapmalı burada iş yapan kuruluşlar şirketler.

Informants R12, R16, R17 think that Kaleiçi can only be restructured with a large budget that the central government will allocate through the Culture Ministry. The suggestion they make regarding "the transfer of the revenues made in tourism to cultural projects", can be explained as follows using a Bourdiean approach: The *economic capital* gained in one field, the field of tourism in this case, is reused in the protection of the city's *collective cultural capital* through its transfer to the *field of culture, or to* the *Kaleiçi* image represented with the Antalya brand (see Chapter 9) as the collective cultural capital and collective symbolic capital will be retransformed into *economic capital*. Among the fields such circular transformation of the *species of capital* is what R12 proposes as *sustainable tourism*.

As discussed in Chapter 9, efforts to have people conjure up *Kaleiçi* as the heart of Antalya instead 'sun, sea, sand', or strategies of branding 'Antalya' are *urban tourism* oriented strategies. The representation of the 'Antalya' brand with *Kaleiçi* , what the city elite also call strategic branding, means the sale of Kaleiçi as a cultural value (=Kaleiçi is for Sale).

Ironically, at the Art Festival in the *Kaleiçi* in 2003, an artist put up a board on the Clock Tower as his work, which read "The *Kaleiçi* is For Sale". With his work, the artist tried to get across the warning that the *Kaleiçi,* as one of Antalya's most important pieces of *objectified* 'collective cultural capital' (see Chapter 6) was being sold and leased, in other words had been commercialized and turned into economic capital. However, the message was misunderstood and received negative reactions especially from Antalyalites. FG1, a witness to that day, describes the irony of the incident:

> **FG1:** *Artist Gustav Herbert put up a board on the Clock Tower hoping to get the message across that this is your cultural heritage and it needs to be preserved. Everyone, even the so called intellectuals reacted..[297]*

With all of these negative developments mentioned above, *Kaleiçi* remains an area where even the natives are hesitant to go alone, let alone after dark, that they do not recommend to tourists due to safety reasons, where cement blocks have replaced old vernacular buildings long gone (Pictures 7.61; 7.62; 7.63; 7.64), where some old ones may be left to rot for this very reason and those standing frequently change hands, where commercial buildings always have 'For Sale' or 'For Rent' signs hung on the windows (see Picture 7.57; 7.58; 7.59; 7.60). *Kaleiçi,* the historic city center has been spatially restructured because of some classic inner city problems associated with migration and commercial gentrification of the vernacular houses through their sales. In order to attract the *hypertourists, Pos-tourists, urban tourists* or *niche tourists,* to this Old Town, called *Kaleiçi,*

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[297] **FG1:** Gustav Herbert adlı bir sanatçı Saat Kulesi'ne bir pano astı. Amacı da "şu kadar m2 lik alan sanatsal alan geri kalanı sizin kültürel mirasınızdır, kültürel mirasınıza sahip çıkın" mesajı vermekti. Bu panoyu gören herkes, üstelik okur yazar takımı bile "Kaleiçi satılıyor mu?" diye sanatçının işine tepki vermeye başladı.

As mentioned in the sixth chapter, among the informants, some have mentioned that the only way to preserve the *Kaleiçi* is to render it non-commercial with a radical decision. For Perdahlı too, the most effective solution to *Kaleiçi* problem in Antalya is encouraging people to dwell in Kaleiçi District so that the balance between residential and commercial units can be rearranged to keep *Kaleiçi*'s cultural identity alive. Perdahlı's other recommendations are listed below:

- The historical 'Arasta', known as the Castle Gate on the North Gate of the Castle should be restored to serve as a '*Kapalıçarşı*' (covered market or *Bedesten*);

- Kaleiçi should be taken into hand as a whole with the Kalekapısı, Balbey and Haşim İşcan neighborhoods and the entire area should be declared a cultural center;

- Real Estate owners should receive real estate, investment and restoration consulting and the business people should receive management and marketing support;

- The Marina should be made active regarding passenger transportation via the sea;

- All infrastructure services at Kaleiçi and the Gate should be completed;

- Suitable lighting should be installed to encourage nighttime shopping during the summer months;

- The permits of businesses should be checked along with their Antalya Commerce and Industry Chamber or Antalya Tradesmen and Artisans Chambers Association memberships;

- The area to be declared a cultural and art center should be closed off to traffic;

- The insect and vermin problem rapidly worsening in Kaleiçi should be resolved with due haste;

- Camera security systems should be increased;

- The municipality should increase the security measures to dispel beggars, street vendors and shoe cleaners who discourage tourists from coming (Perdahlı, 2007: 44).

The recommendations listed above seem more in line with increasing *Kaleiçi*'s commercial potential than protecting it. Very arguably, these suggestions will serve less to turn it into a residential area and more to turn into a safer historical shopping mall. Still, all of his recommendations had been applied by the entrepreneurial governance of the 2004-2009 AGM administration between harmonious with the neoliberal policies supported by the central government. As mentioned in subsection 2.2.2, being both destructive of existing local economies and conservative of traditional hierarchical, patriarchal, and exploitative structures, neoliberal governors imagine a city with commercialized and malled street life, suburbanized inner cities, private instead of collective consumption, invisible poverty and homelessness, controlled public spaces, and managed segregation on various scales (Keil, 2000).

With an increase in the use of camera security system Kaleiçi becomes a controlled public space. With some discriminative polices picking up the baggers and street vendors it is aimed to make the poverty and homelessness invisible. Needless to say, the commercialization of the *Kaleiçi* in the face of the undeniable commercial gentrification of the residential houses is completed with the

sterilization of the whole place with the measures recommended by Perdahlı above. As it is true for *Kaleiçi* case too, although neoliberal politics proposes the liberation of individual entrepreneurial freedoms it is often combined with the most conservative social policies politically possible: they are often anti-immigrant and always anti-marginal (Keil, 2000: 260; Harvey, 2006: 27).

Concluding Remarks

The urban spatial structure in Antalya is the result of the city's economic structure, social structure and the urbanization that has stemmed from it. It is a fact that the urban spatial structure in Antalya is shaped by the two dominant sectors in the region— "agriculture, which yields 2 billion USD and tourism, which yields 2-3 billion USD" per year (*Antalya Kent Vizyonu İlk Rapor Sunuşu,* 2008: 24)—. As in other coastal towns, the urban development in Antalya has only been definitive after the development of tourism, following tourism investments. Among those typologies mentioned in subsection 2.4.2, Antalya can be described both as a large historical city with the whole Pamhylia and as a place of purpose built integrated resorts city following the implementation of the GATGP. [298]

The urbanization of Antalya is a true model of tourism urbanization which is a city built or developed exclusively for tourists, meaning that their economies, politics, residential life, and built environments are different. Where 'industrial urbanization', for example, was accompanied by an infrastructure of production, such as factories, canals, and railways, 'tourism urbanization' is supported by an infrastructure of consumption made up of theme parks, casinos, hotels, convention centers, golf courses, and so forth (Mullins, 2003: 128).

In the 2004-2009 term municipal governance, while the growth coalition in Antalya was trying to develop strategies for becoming an *urban tourism* oriented *city of culture* they were also trying to become an *entertainment city* through efforts to build a Theme Park. When viewed from an urban cultural politics standpoint, the project to pedestrianize the historical city center, inherently for urban tourism purposes, can be defined as *Cultural Planning* or *Europeanization. Europeanization* as such is a cultural urban policy in which the policies adopted by European cities having been declared as ECOC are following. Antalya, in an effort to become a 'city of culture', is highlighting the city's collective cultural capital and trying to represent 'the historical center', or more accurately *Kaleiçi* with the 'Antalya brand,' which is to become the city's collective symbolic capital.

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[298] Page (1995; cited in Law 2002:4-5) in his book on urban tourism, recognized the variety of place types and presented a typology as follows: 1.Capital cities (e.g. London, Paris and New York) and cultural capitals (e.g. Rome); 2.Metropolitan centers and walled historic cities (e.g. Canterbury and York); 3.Large historic cities (e.g. Oxford, Cambridge and Vienna); 4.Inner city areas (e.g. Manchester); 5.Revitalized waterfront areas (e.g. London Docklands and Sydney's Darling Harbour); 6.Industrial cities (e.g. Bradford); 7.Purpose built integrated resorts; 8.Tourist entertainment complexes (e.g. Disneyland and Las Vegas); 9.Specialized tourist service centers (e.g. spas and pilgrimage destination areas); 10.Cultural art cities (e.g. Florence).

Efforts to represent Kaleiçi with the 'Antalya' brand are, in other words, by making Kaleiçi (which embodies the collective cultural capital of the Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Seljuk, Ottoman periods of today) the new image of 'Antalya' (reimagining Antalya with Kaleiçi), the collective cultural capital and symbolic cultural capital that attached to Antalya, which is intended to be transformed in the global market into a 'value' to represent a positive portrayal of city. However, by identifying Antalya with Kaleiçi, the city's image becomes a spectacle itself. In other words, the inner city, the Kaleiçi becomes the spectacle of *festival marketplace* through which it becomes a destination place attracting urban tourists and potential investors. In its nature, *festival marketplace* is the new way of packaging time and place as it is also the key feature of postmodern urbanism (see subsection 2.2.4). *Festival marketplaces* also provide a range of activities, including leisure, special events like film festivals and shopping. Most also have an aquarium, a convention center, four and five star hotel accommodation, theaters, restaurants and even a sports stadium. As discussed above, Antalya, aspiring to become a 'city of culture', is only missing a sports stadium and an aquarium to become a *festival marketplace*. What cultural policy literature also refers to as *Americanization,* or *festival market place,* is turning Antalya into an entertainment city as a second urban cultural policy followed. Antalya, which is trying to become *Europeanized* on the one hand and *Americanized* on the other, actually presents a very accurate representation of Turkey, as mentioned in Chapter 9.

Copying the 'Barcelona model' of restructuring associated with the preservation of historical inner city and of cultural heritage, with the Olympic Game Stadium, with the de-industrialization of the inner city, with the changes in transportation, and with the new image as the key strategies of the 'urban tourism' policies, Antalya is being repackaged to be re-presented in the global market. Similar to some *wannabe world cities,* the strategies for constructing a signature building for the Antalya City Museum to attract the visitors to a place near to the center is another side of the project. There are a number of well known example of the construction of new 'Flagship Museums' in terms of both their size and spectacular architecture in urban regeneration of cities like the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, the Getty Museum in Los Angeles, and the Tate Modern in the former Bankside power station in London (Hamnett and Shoval, 2003: 222).

Urban spatial restructuring, which appears as the change and transition of the built environment inside the city in Antalya, is a result of the shift towards UPPs in the urban planning approach, and from modern urbanism to postmodern urbanism. It has presented itself simultaneously with the results of the local election in April 2004; as transition from Urban Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism (shift in municipal urban governance) and transition from Social Progressive Urbanism to Neoliberal Urbanism (shift in urban policy). In short, it could be said that new urban policies are being created with the purpose of gaining annuity from city spaces.

A managerial urban governance, a more social progressive and modernist urbanism beside some Third Way Projects, and a more pluralist social learning and communicative model of planning during the social democratic mayor period from Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (the Republican People's Party, CHP) between the years 1999 and 2004 shifted into entrepreneurial urban governance, a neoliberal and postmodern urbanism, and strategic UPPs boosted by growth alliances during the liberal-conservative-islamist mayor from Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (the Justice and Development Party, AKP) between the years 2004-2009.

With these shifts in the subfields of urban governance, rather than being a city of culture Antalya is becoming a 'fantasy city' by which Hunnigan (1998; see subsection 2.2.4) describes a city offering pleasure and profit. For Hunnigan, 'fantasy city' is bounded and defined by six central features: *theme-o-centric*, *branded*, *operating day and night, modular*, *solipsistic*, and *postmodern.*

CHAPTER 8

RESTRUCTURING THE FIELD OF TOURISM:

FROM TRADITIONAL TO URBAN TOURISM

This chapter is devoted to the process of 'restructuring Antalya' in the field of tourism. To this end, first, the establishment of the tourism industry in Antalya is examined from a historical point of view; second, the development of 'mass tourism' and its social, economic and spatial impacts are scrutinized. Third, the search for niche tourism as the major aim of the growth machine alliance in Antalya is observed within the process of 'urban restructuring'.

8.1.   The Establishment of the Tourism Industry in Antalya

In 1959, a few years before the beginning of the 'planned period' (see subsection 4.2.1), the government of Turkey requested assistance from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP, Special Fund) in carrying out a pre-investment survey of the Antalya Region as a basis for a plan of balanced economic development. The Special Fund accepted this request, which was also welcomed by the FAO as being within the context of the general Mediterranean Development Project. The latter organization (FAO) was appointed by the Fund as Executing Agency, and *Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı* (the State Planning Organization, DPT) of Turkey acted as a liaison between the Project and the Government (FAO-UN, 1966: 1). [299]

Following the signing of the contracts, an attempt was made to outline a 'rational comprehensive development plan' for the Antalya Region based on the assessment of its natural resources and potential (see subsection 2.2.1 about comprehensive planning). Following a pre-survey for a regional developmental plan in the Antalya Region, reporters proposed the following:

> Agriculture, forestry and tourism can be developed at the desired rate only if the transport facilities are much improved, particularly the main long-distance highways, the port and the air connections. The program therefore places stress on improving existing roads rather than extending the network, but certain new connections are suggested. [...] The construction of

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[299] As it is stated in *Preinvestment Surveys of Antalya Region,* the Plan of Operation was signed by the Turkish Government, The Special Fund and FAO on 21 October 1960 and negotiations for the new contract were concluded in November 1963 and on November 22nd, the Operation Plan for the second project was signed (FAO-UN, 1966: 1).

the new seaport for Antalya should be accelerated as for as possible and the airport should be equipped to handle international traffic. (Ibid.: 18)

The establishment of tourism industry was proposed as one of the most important development strategies for the area (FAO-UN, 1966: 19). The reporters saw the natural and cultural potential in the region as an asset in its transformation into a tourism center for wealthier European vacation goers, who were looking further and further afield for new resorts (see also Lefebvre's argument about the transformation of European Mediterranean shores into holiday resort centers in subsection 1.1). Within this context, the development of air transport was also proposed in addition to the construction of a new port. In the general report prepared by UNDP and FAO, it was also advised that the Government of Turkey should take action at the international level to facilitate the mobility of foreign tourists.

As reporters have mentioned, in Turkey, in the 1960s, as in many developing nations, the public administration structure was not suited for the tasks generated by the pressures generated on the state by rapid economic development. They strongly advised the revision of certain relevant laws (Ibid.: 18). The reporters also proposed that steps should be taken in the direction of administrative decentralization, by transferring an appropriate amount of power from central to regional and local authorities (Ibid.: 28).[300] The establishment of a Regional Development Authority and a permanent Planning Group was also proposed to ensure the continuity of the planning and preparation of complete and integrated projects, and to provide the means for effective co-operation. This establishment for a 'regional development plan' would also serve to enlist wider participation and to link local activities with DPT (Ibid.: 30).

In their proposal for the Development of Tourism in the region for planning purposes, reporters advised that a distinction should be made among three categories of prospective tourist areas: a. areas reserved for luxury tourist business; b. areas to be equipped for tourists who want to stay for some time; c. areas to be equipped for transit tourists (Ibid.: 88). For category (a) it was advised by the reporters that the construction of luxury hotels and private villas should be planned. The development of luxury tourism was seen as a long-term objective, but immediate measures

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[300] The same report also makes five suggestions for policy issues requiring governmental decisions: namely, 1. Administrative and organizational issues (administrative decentralization; strengthening the technical services, establishment of regional authority and planning group); 2. Legal, financial and fiscal measures (enactment of land consolidation, the creation of legal provision for the declaration of tourism zones, simplification of tax procedures, the granting of permission to import second hand machinery with certain safeguards, the removal of import duties, and restrictions on mining equipment, the provision of foreign exchange for advertising and sales promotion abroad); 3. Improvement and development of the institutional structure; 4. Studies for geological surveys, epidemiological surveys, improving and modernizing seaports and coastal and deep sea services, improvement of environmental sanitation, agricultural program; 5. Investment decisions (FAO-UN, 1966: 28-34).

were suggested for the other two types of zones. For Category (b),[301] the area from Kemer north along to coast to Finike was thought appropriate.

The almost complete lack of information on the economics of the hotel trade in Turkey made it difficult for the reporters to present an economic justification for the investment proposals. Regardless, they proposed that great care needed to be taken by individuals and by credit granting institutions to investigate the probable *rentability* of any new hotel or motel before actually making any investments. (Ibid.: 94). In the *Preinvestment Surveys of the Antalya Region,* the reporters wrote the following about 'entrepreneurship in the Antalya region' at that time:

> A large class of adventurous and confident businessmen does not exist. The small entrepreneur encounters a formidable psychological barrier in the transition from 'working boss' to 'supervising boss' because this involves him in matters beyond his knowledge and experience. He is reluctant to seek bank loans which may be available to him. He has little sense of salesmanship or knowledge of markets and he is inclined to wait for customers rather than to seek them. Added to this is the tendency of workers to seek independence and a higher status and income by starting their own business after a few years of employment. Thus, the very small enterprises tend to proliferate rather than to grow into medium-sized units. There are also other factors such as the tax structure and certain regulations which, though admirably intended, hamper the growth of the smaller enterprises (Ibid.: 12).

As understood from the quotation above, in the early 1960s in Turkey, one could not talk about a 'capitalist entrepreneur' or a 'culture of capitalism' in society. The field research conducted in Antalya for the purpose of the thesis shows that no noteworthy businessmen came out of Antalya until the end of the 1980s. One of the interviewees, R3, believes that it is still hard to think up the name of any native Antalyalite entrepreneur investing in the tourism industry and says the following about the issue:

> **R3:** *Antalyalites have no idea what it means to actually earn money by working and how hard it is. But from Adana there is Sabanci, and from Kayseri others. Then there is Koç form Ankara. I am not even sure if there are small entrepreneurs from Antalya. Even if there are, they are probably second generation Antalyalites.*[302]

As an alien sector within the economic, social and cultural structure of Turkish society between 1960 and 1980, the tourism industry and tourism as a social phenomenon was hardly understood. Informant R6, who had also been involved in some part of the *Güney Antalya Turizm*

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[301] For this category, reporters suggested that plans should be made for the gradual construction of all kinds of facilities, mainly in the following three groups: 1. General services: Petrol stations, repair shops, parking lots, sanitary facilities, bath houses, information offices, travel agencies, souvenir shops, banks, exchange offices, guides and interpreters, and in some areas in the distant future even ski-lifts and yachting marinas; 2. Lodging and eating facilities: camping sites, youth hostels, rest-houses, vacation villages, motels, hotels, cabins in the mountains, holiday camps for tents, characteristic restaurants, and 'standard' restaurants; 3. Entertainment facilities: dance halls, cinemas with films in the original language, night-clubs (Ibid.: 88).

[302] **R3:** Çalışarak para kazanmak nedir? Bunun zorluğu nedir? Görmemiştir Antalyalı. Adana'dan bir Sabancı çıkmış, Kayseri'den başka girişimciler. Ankara'nın Koç'u ve diğerleri. Antalya'da en küçük bir işletmeci belki yenilerde var mıdır bilmiyorum. O da ikinci kuşak Antalyalı'dır muhtemelen.

Gelişim Projesi (South Antalya Tourism Development Plan, GATGP) in Antalya in the late 1970s, implies that the meaning of 'being a hotelier' in those years had some negative connotations and says the following about the 'tourism investors' and 'hoteliers' of the period:

> **R6:** *In the 80s, in 79 no one wanted these beautiful places that the Tourism Ministry offered. This is because there was no one who could do the job. There was no one who knew about tourism. Running a hotel is not everyone in Anatolia could do. It didn't exactly have a good reputation. People saw hotel owners or managers as … [equivalent of brothel manager]… (snickering…).*[303]

On this matter, it is suggested in the report that the infrastructural facilities should be provided by public authorities, and the costs should be considered as an investment to be repaid out of the tax revenues of the private establishments (Ibid.: 88). For instance, informant R24, who represents the capitalist investors in the tourism sector and is simultaneously involved in an NGO promoting Antalya to the world, says the following about the entrepreneurs investing in tourism in the region in the early 1980s.

> **R24:** *The investors here are mostly involved in textiles because when the subsidies were being given in Turkey in the 70s and 80s, contractors and textile people were in the forefront. They were the capitalist groups. The government contractors (who received premiums from the state, remember there were tax returns and export returns) were in the forefront.*[304]

> **R2:** *You know why we actually lost? Because the tourism sector doesn't have its own culture. It did not grow out of its own tradition. Tourism is a sector where capital that accumulated in other sectors was convinced that tourism is an appealing field to invest in. Wasn't tourism done with Money laundering in 1981? How quickly we forget this. Ozal said that everyone was to declare all of their wealth as of 1 January 1981 and pay 1% of it as tax. This money was laundered. Money literally flowed into Turkey. Then came the law about the coasts. The forests on the coasts were divided up. Then he said he would give people loans.*[305]

As a result, the reporters proposed the 'Regional Development Plan,' whereby Antalya would be developed into the 'largest tourist center' in the area (Ibid.: 93-4). For a 'detailed program'[306], it was also advised by the reporters that the regional offices of the Ministry of Tourism

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[303] **R6:** Bakınız 80'li yıllarda, 79'da turizm bakanlığının tahsise çıkardığı bu güzel yerlerde (talip yok?) Çünkü bu işi yapacak adam yok. Turizmi bilen adam yok. Otelcilik, öyle Anadolu'da herkesin yapacağı iş değil adama "bilmem ne" derler burada yani. "Turizmci"... "Otelci" (gülüşmeler)

[304] **R24:** Buradaki yatırımcı genelde tekstilci, çünkü Türkiyede 70'li yıllarda 80'lı yılların ortasından sonra teşvikler verilirken mütahitler ve tekstilciler öne çıktılar. Çünkü sermaye grupları bunlardı. Devlet mütahitleri (devletten prim alan, o zaman hatırlayın vergi iadeleri vardı, ihracat iadeleri vardı) ön plana çıktılar.

[305305] **R2:** Aslında biz neden kaybettik biliyor musunuz? Turizm sektörünün kendi kültürü yok. Kendi geleneğinden yetişmemiş. Turizm, başka sektörlerde birikmiş sermayenin cazip yatırım alanları olduğu konusunda ikna edilerek yapıldığı bir sektördür. 1981'de aklanan kara parayla yapılmadı mı turizm? Bunu ne çabuk unutuyoruz. 1981 yılının 1 Ocak'ından geçerli olmak üzere Özal bütün servetinizi deklare edin % 1'ni vergi olarak verin dedi. Bu kara para aklandı. Para aktı Türkiye'ye. Arkasından kıyı kanunu çıktı. Bu senin bu senin diye dağıtıldı kıyı ormanları. Arkasından ben size kredi veririm dedi.

[306] For the reporters, the development of the largest tourist center in the Antalya Region was possible through some measures, changes and services provided at the local level (FAO-UN, 1966: 94): "The Municipality, in <u>cooperation</u> with the appropriate organizations, should take care of the city. This goes beyond just keeping it clean and its services functioning smoothly. A <u>second center</u> should be developed around Alanya, and this might be a place with facilities for

and the Ministry of Reconstruction, in cooperation with the regional office of DPT, should prepare a detailed program for the development of tourism in the region. The detailed program was to include the following subjects: a. training courses for a cadre of tourism workforce, including guides, interpreters and travel agents; b. training courses for personnel of tourist facilities, for the staff of existing hotels and restaurants (reception desk officers, waiters, room boys and maids, as well as managers) and new establishments; c. a realistic campaign; d. promoting tourist-sport association; e. the preservation of attractive folkloric elements; f. zoning specific areas for specific kinds of tourist development (FAO-UN, 1966: 95).

8.1.1. Social Progressive Policies

Güney Antalya Turizm Gelişim Projesi, GATGP (South Antalya Tourism Development Project)

The first tourism enterprise in Antalya was founded in 1970 by *Akdeniz Turizm Şirketi* (the Mediterranean Tourism Company), called the Kemer Holiday Village with 620 bed capacity run by the Italian Valtur Company (see Picture 8.3). This holiday village was later overtaken by the French *Club Mediterranean* and was thereafter known as the French Holiday Village. In the 1970s, Antalya was left out of the railroad network, making highway transportation there a prerequisite. Therefore, the Highway E24, which connects Antalya to inner Anatolia and to Ankara and Istanbul, was transformed into a high standard road. (MOAŞ, 1996: 67). Antalya is still inaccessible by rail today, and remains a 500,000 bed capacity tourism destination which domestic tourists reach by way of driving and international tourists by flying.

In its essence, the GATGP involved the same implementation as the abovementioned Regional Development Plan for Antalya proposed by the UNDP. Between 1963 and 1983, as in all other sectors, Turkey adopted the policy of mixed economy in the tourism sector. To implement this policy, the Ministry of Tourism and Information was founded in 1963 (Ministry of Tourism and Information, 1981: 4). The *Güney Antalya Turizm Gelişim Projesi* (South Antalya Tourism Development Project, GATGP)[307], which was the most important Regional Development Project in

those who wish for a quieter environment or to stay for a longer duration. The area between those two towns should be developed intensively, with emphasis on Lara, Aspendos, Side, Manavgat and Sorcum.

[307] In the booklet, the *South Antalya Tourism Development Project-SATDP,* the development process of the GATGP is explained as follows (Minister of Tourism and Information, 1981: 9): "The project plan has been prepared by the combined efforts of the Ministry of Tourism and Information, the Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement and the Ministry of Forestry. The funding for part of the project and infrastructure requirements was supplied by the World Bank. The project aims to provide approximately 25,000 beds in the area. The project area covers the 75 km-long coast between Antalya and the Gelidonya peninsula. The whole area is within the Olympos-Bey Dağları National Park. The city of Antalya, which plays an important role in Turkish tourism, is also the regional tourist center of the project area. Kemer is a subsidiary town of Antalya within the project area, and is designed as a service town providing all the central and touristic infrastructure functions of the project. Beldibi, Kızıltepe, Güneydeniz and Tekirova Organized Tourism Development Areas are to be established with Kemer as their center. The project area's proximity to the existing airport, port, and city of

the planned period, was first prepared by DPT. In 1971, the responsibility for planning the development of tourism on a regional scale was transferred from the DPT to the Ministry of Tourism and Information (Ministry of Tourism and Information, 1981: 4). The Ministry commenced the preparation of tourism development plans for the coastal zone of the province of Muğla in 1972, and the revision of the Antalya Master Plan, originally prepared by the Scandinavian Planning and Development Association, in 1973 (Ibid.; *Antalya Kıyı Yerleşmeleri,* 1996: 67).

In the "Introduction" to the booklet, the *South Antalya Tourism Development Project,* the Minister of Tourism and Information stated in 1981 that "principally, the GATGP was planned to meet the infrastructural requirements of future touristic developments with a total capacity of 25,000 beds, as well as Public Services and residential sites within the Organized Tourism Development Areas, and to carry out all necessary arrangements for sound development."[308] The external financing needed for the implementation of the GATGP was provided by the World Bank in 1978.[309] Within the context of the GATGP, most regional assistance was devoted to the tourism sector, concentrating on specific places in the Antalya region and primarily investing infrastructures.

The *South Antalya Tourism Development Project,* GATGP, was put into practice towards the end of the Planned Period within the framework of a modern planning approach which took into account the factors mentioned above. With regard to the suggestions in the *Preinvestment Surveys of Antalya Region* (1966: 28-30), for the first time in Turkey, a Local Authority[310] (or RDA as its popular name today, see also subsection 4.2.2) was formed in Antalya to coordinate the activities of the investors for the GATGP in 1972. It is worth mentioning both because it is the first example of an 'organized tourism industry' and it is one of the first 'Regional Development Agencies' (RDA) as a semi-independent project with its headquarters in Antalya. "The implementation of the GATGP commenced in 1981" and was controlled by a 'local authority' established in Antalya (T.C. Antalya

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Antalya with good highway connection, coastline possibilities; forests reaching the shore and the existence of important antique centers were strong incentives in the planning of the area within the concept of the 'Organized Tourism Development Project'. The infrastructure enabling the development of the project site is at an advanced stage of application.

[308] See details of the aims and the scope of the GATGP in *Antalya İli V. 5 Yıllık Kalkınma Programı* (The Antalya Province the Fifth Five-Year Development Program), (T.C. Antalya Valiliği, 1986: 167- 169)

[309] The only legal basis for the GATGP, for which a 26 Million USD loan was taken out of the International Uluslararası Construction and Development Bank in 1976, was a 1/ 25,000 scale Landscaping Plan. The distribution of the tourism development among the development areas in the region was determined within the scope of the 'elective accumulation policy' according to this plan. According to MOAŞ, this type of an approach had several advantages in that it allowed for effective control over the environment, and decrease in infrastructure costs and the ease of the controlled guidance of development. The regions selected with this goal in mind were Beldibi, Göynük, Kızıltepe, Tekerlektepe, Kemer, Çamyuva and Tekirova, which were forest and agricultural lands (MOAŞ, 1996: 109).

[310] "An organization called the Antalya Regional Tourism Project Implementation Directorate under the Culture and Tourism Ministry was established to implement the project, or, in other words, "to assist in the planning and coordination of the project, solve problems on the spot and develop a 'business mode;' in the project implementation field and minimize the effects of pressure groups" (MOAŞ, 1996: 109).

Valiliği, 1986: 336). One of the interviewees, R6, who has been living in Antalya since the mid-1970s and working in various positions in the fields of tourism and culture, says the following about the GATGP and the development of tourism in Antalya based on his own experiences:

> **R6:** *There used to be a division in the Tourism Ministry called the South Antalya Tourism Development Project Directorate. That was the first directorate was the first in Turkey to be based in Antalya, not in the Ministry or in Ankara to have a serious staff. Some of that staff still remain in Antalya. They now have important positions in tourism.* […] *Within this project, we did amazing things in the culture city of Phaselis. We even did the underwater archeological surveys of Phaselis. Where should the diverse dive, where would they not damage the environment, etc. We calculated all of these and I had them comb the underwater parts in 1979-80 and we discovered the whole place.* [311]

> **R6:** *Tourism started without any infrastructure and very suddenly in Antalya. It started earlier compared to [other places in] Turkey but it was unprepared and uncontrolled. Ugly policies were dominant. They prevented the serious efforts and initiatives at the beginning of the whole thing. Why? Let me tell you based on my observations about tourism. Turkey's first organized tourism movement and projects started here. It was a large project extending from Beldibi all the way to Kemer, then 1st Stage and later 2nd Stage under the sponsorship of the World Bank. All the work, projects and plans were carried out by the World Bank. I happened to be involved personally in part of it. In the late 70s, early 80s. This project determined how many beds there would be in Antalya based on how many would be required by year. The support city here was Kemer. Predictions like Kemer's population being some number by 2000. This many in 2010. Even how many eggs would be needed daily for each year.* [312]

The GATGP's benefits were classified under three headings in the report of t*he Antalya Fifth Five-Year Development Program* (Antalya Valiliği, 1986: 332-333). The first of these were listed under socio-economic benefits: a) Additional funding was provided through external loans; b) A new employment field will be opened for 20,000 people; c) 200,000 people will be able to take daily trips for recreation and marine activities; d) 170,000 domestic and 170,000 international tourists staying an average of 10 days will create over 450 million dollars of foreign exchange revenues; e) The employment fields to develop due to tourism.[313]

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[311] **R6:** Turizm Bakanlığı'nda, Güney Antalya Turizm Gelişim Projesi Daire Başkanlığı diye bir birim var. O daire başkanlığı, Türkiye'de ilk kez Antalya'da merkezi olan (yani Bakanlıkta—Ankara'da değil—Antalya'da) ciddi bir kadrosu olan bir başkanlıktır. Bu kadrodan da hala bir kaç kişi Antalya'dadır. Turizmde önemli yerlerde görevlidirler, şimdi. […] Şimdi, bu projenin içinde, yumurtaya kadar detaylandırılmış kültür kenti Phaselis'te inanılmaz işler yaptık. Phaselis'in su altı arkeolojisini bile yaptık. Yani, Adamlar dalacaklar, nerede dalsınlar? Nerde zarar vermezler? Nereyi açabiliriz? Bütün bunlar hesaplandı ve ben 79-80 yılında su altını bile lime lime attım orada. Yani, her yeri tespit ettik.

[312] **R6:** Turizm çok altyapısız ve ani başladı Antalya'da. Erken başladı diyoruz Türkiye'ye göre ama Antalya'da çok hazırlıksız ve kontrolsüz başladı. Çirkin politikalar turizme egemen oldu. İşin başındaki o ciddi çabalara, ciddi girişimlere engel oldu. Neden? Turizmle ilgili gözlemlerimi de eskiye dayanarak söylüyorum bir miktar. Türkiye'nin ilk organize turizm hareketi Antalya'da başlamıştır. Türkiye'nin ilk organize turizm projesi budur. Beldibi'nden taa Kemer'e kadar I. Etap ve sonra II. Etap'ı da dolayısıyla uzanan büyük bir projedir. Dünya Bankası sponsorluğunda yapılan dev bir projedir. Bütün çalışmaları, planları, projelendirilmeleri Dünya Bankası kendisi yaptı. Ben tesadüfen bir miktar içinde bulundum. Yetmişlerin sonu seksenlerin başı. O projede güney Antalya'da yani Kemeri de içine alan bu projenin içinde Antalya'da kaç yatak olacağı belliydi. Bu yatakların ihtiyacı, yıllara göre belirlenmişti. Burada destek kent ... Kemer'dir. Kemer'in 2000'deki nüfusu şu kadra olacaktır, 2010'daki nüfusu şu kadar olacaktır. Bu turizm alanı içerisindeki, günlük yumurta ihtiyacı şu kadardır yıllara göre.

[313] The second group of benefits under the title Benefits for Investors are: a) Additional funding and incentive opportunities; b) Long term (49-year) leases on lands with completed infrastructure; c) educated labor force; d) Controlled, safe and well-maintained environment; e)Well-organized production systems to fulfill establishments' goods and service needs. The benefits in the third group are grouped under Benefits to the Local Community: a) High standard infrastructure and services (roads, water, electricity, communication, garbage collection and disposal, sewage, marina); b) Advanced level healthcare services; b) Irrigation facilities to increase agricultural production; c) Opportunity to take part in tourism activities (Antalya Valiliği, 1986: 333).

The first 'integrated tourism development projects' were realized along the Antalya coast and bed capacity increased to 75,000 with the South Antalya Tourism Development Project, to 40,000 with the Belek Tourism Development Project and to 35,000 with the Side Tourism Development Project. Thus, the tourist number, which had been 1,2 million in 1980, increased 14,5 times to 21 million in 2005 (DPT, 2007: 10). With the contribution of the regulations and incentives in tourism, the number of touristic facilities in Turkey increased from 165 in 1966, to 1,260 by the end of 1990 (İlkin and Dinçer, 1991: 45).

When the process of transforming Antalya into a 'tourism hub' is traced back; it is possible to see the actors, on whom Lefebvre placed great importance, socially produce a 'non-work place' with their *energy* deployed in time and space. These actors vary from national or multinational companies to banks, financial and governmental agencies and local agencies and so on, which in turn reproduce the capitalist social relations.

8.1.2. Flirting with Neoliberal Policies

After the Tourism Support Act was put into practice, especially after 1983-84, there was a dramatic increase in tourism revenues. With the incentives provided by this law and other general regulations, foreign investment was greatly encouraged. İlkin and Dinçer (1991: 44) state that the DPT must be contacted and the necessary permits obtained to establish the necessary partnership needed for tourism investments desired by domestic and foreign capital partnerships.

The "Tourism Support Act" is significant between 1982 and 2005 in terms of the encouragement and planning of tourism investments. This act not only allowed for 49-year leases of government lands by way of their declaration as tourism area and centers and the granting of zoning permits and approval, but also directed the qualifications of tourism facilities through classification and certification as well as allowing these facilities to pay for utilities at the lowered rates normally reserved for residences. (İlkin and Dinçer, 1991: 10).

Respondent R6 states that the Organized Tourism Development Areas in Antalya planned under the GATGP deteriorated with the abuse of the "Tourism Support Act", developed by the central government to encourage private investors for the political reasons below:

> **R6:** T*he budget* [for the GATGP] *was so huge. The World Bank gave the loan to the Turkish Republic. Some of it was for culture. The money to be spent on culture was put in the Antalya [branch of] Ziraat Bank. Because no order was received from the Ministry of Culture, and because none of the politicians or bureaucrats here knew about anything, the money was just left there—how absurd—and we paid the interest on that loan which was never even used. We discovered this by coincidence when we got the notification from the bank Phaselis is a [...] pilot area. The only pilot area in Turkey. [...] And since there was plenty of money, one day the politicians and governors came and said: How many beds are there here? Let's say we told them, 10,000. They disapproved and said we should increase it to let's say*

20,000. It was the beginning of the 80s. After that period the Motherland Party got involved. A governor said: the places we had reserved for eco-tourism and the coves started being ruined.[314]

By definition, 'neoliberal urban politics' is characterized by a combination of two kinds of politics: the neoliberal economic agenda of deregulation, deficit cutting and downsizing of urban government and the application of series policing measures for social control. In it essence, neoliberal doctrine deeply opposed state interventionist theories and theories of centralized state planning even more fiercely. Neoliberal politics also proposes the liberation of individual entrepreneurial freedoms; it is often combined with the most conservative social policies politically possible. 1983, the period of transition to a market economy, was when the government started withdrawing from superstructure investments and privatization began. Thus, market mechanisms stepped in; taking the pricing at touristic facilities off the government's hands and a new incentive system was put in place. Incentives such as the allocation of public lands, tax exemptions, and long-term low interest loans were contingent on obtaining support documentation from the DPT, and investment documentation from the Ministry of Tourism. Under this system, 18 allocation lists were announced between 1983 and 1997; and 297 investors were permitted to build touristic lodging facilities with a total of 95,178 beds in 139 tourism development areas (Ibid.). These years witnessed an increase in the tourism investments by private investors, while the central government continued the necessary infrastructure investments within a modern planning approach.

That tourism depends on labor-intensive technologies is significant in that it creates employment. For example, according to data, only the number of people employed at hotels and restaurants approached 135,000 at the end of 1989 (İlkin and Dinçer, 1991: 29). Çakır (1999: 69) defines 'employment' as the utilization of the labor factor in production when other production factors are not taken into consideration. Additionally, he maintains that tourism directly results in employment with the income from the first phase of the touristic consumption and in second degree employment with the re-spending of the income. Therefore, parallel to the development of tourism, the increase in touristic facility investments raises the demand for labor force, which increases also due to the seasonal nature of tourism when demand is even higher (Coltman, 1989: 227). Coltman (1989: 226) divides the employment effect of tourism into two: direct and indirect.

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[314] **R6:** Paramız o kadar çoktu ki, Dünya Bankası krediyi vermiş Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, bunun bir miktarı işte kültürle ilgili, Kültürle ilgili birimi Antalya Ziraat Bankası'na yatırmışlar. Kültür Bakanlığı'ndan bir emir gelmediği için, bir haber gelmediği için, burada da siyasilerin ya da bürokratların olayla hiç bir ilgisi olmadığı için o para Antalya Ziraat Bankası'nda kalmış—işin vahametine bakınız—Dünya Bankası ile yapılan anlaşmaya göre kullanılmayan paranın faizini ödedik. Biz tesadüfen bunu keşfettik. Ve de Ziraat Bankası'ndan bir de faizle ilgili haber gelince. Phaselis […] Pilot bölgedir. Türkiye'deki tek pilot bölgedir. […] Para da bol olduğu için. Gün oldu, siyasiler, valiler geldi, dediler ki: Burada ne kadar yatak var? Atıyorum, 11 000 diye. Öyle şey mi olur dedi Vali. O dönem 80'li yıllar falan Kenan Evren olayın üzerinde çok duruyordu. O dönem kapanınca işte ANAP giriyor devreye, bir Vali diyor ki kaç yatak var burada? İşte şu kadar "Yav diyor 20 000 yapın bu 10 000'i. İşte o eko-turizm dediğimiz olay için ayrılmış olan yerler, şunlar, bunlar, koylar yavaş yavaş talan edilmeye başlandı.

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The labor-intensive style of working in the sector increases the direct effect of tourism on employment. The seasonal nature of tourism means that businesses that operate during certain months of the year employ not only permanent but also seasonal staff, increasing indirect employment during times of increased demand according to the length of the season.

Interviewee R11, who was representing the *Akdeniz Turistik Otelciler ve İşletmeciler Birliği* (the Mediterranean Touristic Hoteliers Association, AKTOB) as chairman and the interest group of capitalist investors and hoteliers, as well, as the owner of a Holiday Village in Kemer, mentions the following about the seasonal employment in the tourism industry:

> **R11:** *We have a bed capacity of about 550. Our facility covers 42 acres of land. We are a seasonal facility. We usually open mid-March / early May and close early or mid- November. The number of staff varies according to how full the capacity is. The permanent staff we have even during the winter season is about 50. Our staff* [working at his Holiday Village] *can be divided into three of the maximum 210 staff, 1/3 is permanent, and another 1/3 is those we can not do without. We usually expect and hope they will return. The final 1/3 is those we don't mind changes in. Thus, we want to keep 2/3 of our staff. But as in every commercial enterprise aiming to make a profit, it is not possible to keep everyone on permanently. We are open about 8 months. There is nothing our staff could do for the rest of the year during the 4-month closed season in this area. However, some may be able to get temporary jobs, I don't know. This is one of the sector's main problems.[315]*

While the members of AKTOB do not have any concrete suggestions for alternative employment creation during the four off-season months, interviewee R11 says that they are expecting tax regulations by the central government to encourage full employment to ease workers' problems during this dead season in the future:

> **R11:** *Unfortunately, there are no alternatives at the moment. Not much potential apart from tourism. There needs to be another sector like tourism, which doesn't seem possible. There is a serious agriculture sector. But this is a problem in all of Turkey; there is no turn-over among sectors nor any planning or organization of sectors that could be integrated. Therefore this is out of hands; the politicians must work on this. Even with arrangements for only this sector the employment levels around these parts could be improved. This is what we've advocated for years. Especially to make sure that in sectors like ours with the seasonal nature of the work, we would like to keep the experienced and skilled workers on for the winter period. Maybe the tax burden could be changed on employment —especially in the winter— then these people would have more job opportunities. Then with the expenses of the businesses, they could stay open during the winter. It may seem like tax would be lost this way, but they could save on unemployment premiums and these people would work year round. None of the political parties in power have attempted any such thing.[316]*

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[315] **R11:** Burada yaklaşık 550 yatak kapasitemiz var. 42 dönümlük bir arazi üzerine kurulu tesisimiz. Biz sezonluk bir tesisiz. Genelde sezonu Mart ortası Nisan başı açarız Kasım başı ya da ortasına kapatırız. Aşağı yukarı yazlık çalışan personel sayımız sezon ve doluluk seyrine göre değişir. Kış sezonu kapattığımız zamanda da daimi kadro 50 kişi civarındadır. Bizim kadromuzu üçe bölünmüş gibi düşünmek gerekir. Maksimum 210 olan kadromuzun 1/3'ü daimi, ikinci 1/3'lük kadromuz genelde vazgeçmeyeceğimiz kadromuzdur. Genelde tekrar gelmesini beklediğimiz ve umduğumuz bir kadromuzdur. Üçüncü 1/3lük kadromuz ise bizim için çok fazla değişmesinde mahsur görmediğimiz kadrodur. Dolayısıyla kadromuzun 2/3'ünü elimizde tutmak isteriz. Ama ticari faaliyet gösteren her işletmede olduğu gibi amacı kar etmek olan bu işletmede kapalı olan dönemlerde bu grubun tamamını elimizde tutmak mümkün olmuyor. Aşağı yukarı 8 ay açık kalan işletmemizde çalışan bu insanların kalan 4 aylık kapalı sezonda bölgede yapabilecekleri başka bir iş yok. En azından bölgede çalışabilecekleri bir yer yok. Ancak geçici birtakım işler yapma şansı olanlar varsa bilemiyorum. Genelde bu sektörün temel sıkıntılarından birisi bu.

[316] **R11:** Yok şu anda turizm dışında maalesef başka bir alternatif alan yok. Turizm dışında genelde çok fazla potansiyel yok. Turizme yaklaşmış ya da yaklaşan başka bir sektör yaratmış olmak lazım. Bu da çok mümkün görünmüyor. Antalya'da ciddi bir tarım sektörü var. Ama buradaki yapılanmalarda Türkiye'de genelde böyle bir sıkıntı var; sektörler arasında geliş-geçişlerin sağlanamadığı bir yapılanma var Türkiye'de. Birbirleri ile sinerji yaratabilen, birbirini destekleyen birbiriyle

According to İlkin and Dinçer, 1980-1990 was when the tourism in Turkey developed at the 'fastest' pace. In this period, bed capacity increased from 56,000 to 173,000, and the number of visiting tourists went up from 1.2 million to 5.3 million. R11, who experienced this period first hand since the 1980s as a tourism lodging manager and also acted as the president of the Mediterranean Touristic Hoteliers Association (AKTOB) during the period when the field research for this dissertation was being conducted, says the following about this 'rapid' development of mass tourism in the tourism sector and its consequences:

> **R11:** *For example, in 1988, there were 3-4 facilities in the Kemer area. There weren't many facilities in general in Antalya, looking at the bed capacity in 1984. Countries like ours, who are dealing with economic issues, who have not quite become developed and not become wealthy must find a way out. Tourism is actually a good way out for our country. "In countries like ours, we need 'a lot of' everything because in a country growing so quickly where the population is increasing at such a pace, Because we are obliged to <u>quickly train, quickly develop, quickly employ and quickly enrich</u> our people. To do this <u>we needed a rapid growth in tourism</u>. When this took place, the focus was on mass tourism to achieve these goals. Twenty years ago, the number of tourists coming was 1 million and is now 20 million. <u>It wasn't possible to achieve these numbers with luxury markets</u>. But mistakes were made during this process. One of these is, as you have mentioned, the fact that we were not able to develop various boutique fields at the same time. However, we have great potential to develop this area, as well. Cultural values, historical values, natural values. Turkey is a rare country where four seasons can be experienced simultaneously/I wish we could manage everything. We, as a sector, have also made enormous mistakes. We did not have a broad view. We are also slaves to the circumstances. We got carried away in a circle of more investment, more employment, more guests, more profit and so on. But, as someone who has served this sector, I dream of managing a very different kind of facility. I dream.[317]*

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ilişkilendirilmiş alanların yaratılması, planlaması ve organize edilmesi konusunda Türkiye'de ciddi sıkıntılar var. Onun için de bu bizlerin çok dışında; siyasilerin de yapacağı işler var aslında. Sadece bizim sektörümüz için bile yapılabilecek bir takım düzenlemeler bile aslında buradaki istihdam sayısı makul seviyelere getirebilir. Biz yıllardır hep şunu savunuyoruz; kış dönemi için özellikle bizim gibi mevsimlik işçilerle çalışan sektörlerde/işletmelerde, deneyimli ve belli bir mesleki beceri kazanmış insanların tekrar sektör içinde kalabilmesini sağlamak adına, istihdamın üzerindeki vergi yüklerinde belli düzenlemeler yapılabilirse —özellikle kış dönemlerinde—o zaman bu insanların çalışma olanakları biraz daha artar. İşletmelerin maliyetlerinde bu düzenlemeler sonucu, işletmelerin büyük bir bölümü kışın da işletmelerini açık tutabilirler. Bu yolla da belki birazcık vergi kaybı olmuş gibi görünebilir ama diğer taraftan işsizlik primlerinden tasarruf edebilirler, ve böylece bu insanlar ful istihdam ile çalışacaklardır. Bu konuda hiçbir siyasi iktidar döneminde bu yönde bir çalışma hayata geçirilmedi.

[317] **R11:** Biz faaliyete geçtiğimizde 1988'de Kemer Bölgesinde toplamda üç dört tane tesis vardı. Antalya genelinde çok fazla tesis yoktu. 84 yılındaki yatak kapasitelerine bakarsanız. Şöyle bir şey var. Bizim gibi ekonomik sıkıntılarla uğraşan, gelişmişliğini tamamlayamamış bir yandan da zenginleşememiş ülkelerin kendilerine bir çıkış yolu bulması lazım. Turizm aslında bizim ülkemiz için iyi bir çıkış yoludur. Buradaki kurgu bilerek ya da bilmeyerek yaratılmış bir kurgudur çünkü bizim gibi ülkelerde her şeyin 'çok'una çoğuna ihtiyacımız var. Çünkü bu kadar çok hızlı büyüyen bir ülkede, nüfusu çok hızlı artan bir ülkede; insanlarımızı hızlı eğitmek, hızlı geliştirmek, hızlı istihdam etmek ve hızlıca bir şekilde zenginleştirmemiz lazım. Onun içinde turizmde hızlıca bir şekilde büyümeye de ihtiyacımız vardı. Hızlı büyüyünce de ister istemez gidişat kitle turizmine yöneldi bu sayılara ulaşmak için. Bundan 20 sene önce ülkemize gelen turist sayısı bir milyonken bu süreç içinde 20 milyona ulaştı. Lüks marketlerle bu sayıya ulaşmanız mümkün değildi. Ama bu süreç içinde yapılan hatalar oldu. Bu hatalardan biri de sizin de bahsettiğiniz gibi butik adı altındaki farklı alanları da aynı paralelde geliştiremedik. Ancak bu alanı geliştirebilmek için de büyük potansiyelimiz var. Kültürel değerler, tarihi değerler, doğal değerler olarak. Türkiye, dört mevsimin ender bir şekilde aynı anda yaşanabildiği ülkelerden bir tanesi. Bütün bunların hepsini keşke becerebilseydik. Sektör olarak bizim de çok ciddi ve büyük hatalarımız var. Biz de çok geniş açılı belki bakamadık. Biraz önce söylediğim kurgunun biz de tutsağı olduk diyebiliriz. Çok yatırım, çok istihdam, çok misafir, çok gelir gibi bir çarkın içinde hepimiz kapılıp gittik. Ama bu sektöre emek vermiş birisi olarak tabiki ben şahsen çok farklı bir tarzda tesis işletmeyi yaratmayı düşlerim, hayal ederim.

R24, another tourism investor and hotel manager, as well as being the ATAV president, emphasizes the importance of planned tourism investments and underlines the problems encountered in this period, when planning decreased:

> **R24:** *Without this perspective, investors automatically saw everything in terms of profit and they disregarded everything we had been saying for many years about environmental issues and planning. I mean that they applied pressure for their own investments but not for environmental concerns. They did not see the need for extensive development in the surroundings as in an overall movement towards development. They acted for their own short term interests. And they saw their problems with the government as affecting only themselves. Those in Spain are the complete opposite. All the investors in Spain get organized and act in cooperation. And they form a pressure group on the government. They have the government do the planning or they do it themselves, but they ensure the contribution of the government. And they act in accordance with a project. In Spain, you can act only within the pan when deciding where to establish a facility. This is why, for example, there are more 5 star resorts in just Antalya than there is in all of Spain, including its islands.[318]*

8.2. Dead End of Mass Tourism in Antalya

The tourism policies implemented in Turkey, and especially, are based on the Sea, Sun, Sand (3S) trinity, which targets 'mass tourism'. However, sufficient research on issues like how many tourists from how many countries might visit, which region they might prefer, what kind of facility they might opt for (inn, motel, hotel with how many stars), while establishing tourism policies in Turkey during the mass tourism related efforts, how much they will spend, and on what kind of activities. In the late 1970s, when the GATGP was put into practice and even in the mid-1980s when mass tourism was first encountered, mass tourism oriented hotels kept popping up to meet this demand. The demand in those years seemed endless, with the excitement generated by the numbers of international tourists. In summary, until the mod-1990s, tourism policies in Turkey were taken up only in their economic dimensions, diminished to a mass tourism policy without alternatives and nature and culture did not factor in any of the plans. Informant R11, also a tourism investor and hotel manager, states the following about how the planned approach during the implementation of the GATGP benefited the region:

> **R11:** *We are not actually utilizing a natural value that exists here. We are turning it into a product by processing it with human efforts, and selling it in a package. It is, in fact, necessary to refrain from upsetting the natural balance, protect it, and focus on maintaining it for the sake of the coming generations. When we don't foresee these, we lose the raw material for tourism. This region has undergone a more planned development than anywhere else in Turkey, and I am not saying this just because I do business here. […] For example, the first water purification facilities and waste*

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[318] **R24:** Bu bakış açısında olmadıkları için yatırımcılar otomatikman sadece kar amaçlı baktılar olaya ve ordan bizim uzun yıllar konuştuğumuz yani planlama, çevreyle ilgili sorunları göz ardı ettiler. Yani onlar kendi yatırımlarını için sadece baskıcı oldular ama çevreyle ilgili baskıcı olmadılar. Yani çevre gelişsin, topyekün bir turizm hareketi başlasın diye görmediler. Bunlar kısa metrajlı dolayısıyla bir bakış açısının neticesi olarak öznel hareket ettiler. Ve bireysel bu olaylarla ilişki kurdular. Devletle olan problemlerini bireysel olarak gördüler. İspanya'dakiler tam tersidir. İspanyada herkes örgütlü olarak yatırımcılar hareket ediyor. Ve devlete baskı grubu oluşturuyorlar. Yani planlamayı devlete yaptırtıyorlar, veyahutta kendileri yapıyorlarsa yapıyorlar ama devletin katılımını mutlaka alıyorlar. Ve bir proje dahilinde hareket ediyorlar. Yani siz İspanyada nerde nereye tesis açacağınızı planlamadan o plan içinde ancak yapabilirsiniz. İşte bu nedenledir ki, bir örnek vereyim size, sadece Antalyadaki beş yıldızlı tesis sayısı tüm İspanyadaki, adalarda dahil olmak üzere tüm İspanyadaki tesis sayısından fazladır.

factory was founded in this region. The region has a special status in history, taking it into account within the context of the GATGP; it is structured around the cooperation of the public and private sectors. Unfortunately, that structure has changed over the years with the new laws, but I still believe that that philosophy remains. If you want to do this business in a <u>sustainable</u> way, you can never ignore the nature aspect. The main foundation of your product is the environment anyway; your sea, sun, mountain, sand and forests. The people working here are turning these resources into a product.[319]

As discussed in subsection 1.1, in Lefebvre's theory of space, *spaces of consumption* are the regions exploited for the purpose and by means of the production of consumer goods in *quantities* and services as well, and the *consumption of spaces* are the regions intended for the purpose of unproductive forms of consumption and by means of consumption of space for the *qualities* consumers seek: namely, sun, sea, snow via tourism and leisure practices. However, as in the case of Antalya case, as well, *spaces of consumption* were exploited for the production of the *consumption of spaces* to which some unique *qualities* were socially attributed.

During the rapid development of mass tourism in Antalya, the sustainability dimension of tourism investment was sometimes disregarded. Following the transition to a market economy after 1983, the investors who took advantage of land allocations and tourism endorsements during this period were observed by R24 to be investors who had accumulated capital previously through textile export tax returns, and who had had nothing to do with tourism. It is thus that R24 opines that this group of investors did not know how tourism investments we supposed to be made and ignored the principles of 'sustainable tourism', thereby making massive mistakes:

> **R24:** *Because they were not* [really] *tourism investors, they only got into the business to make as large a profit as possible. They did not look at it from a tourism point of view; they did not see the future.[320]*

The *Theory of sustainable tourism and regulation theory* falls short of completely explaining the careless exploitation of nature in Antalya, though the forests were protected by law. In its nature, the concept of 'sustainable tourism' emphasizes community-based planning which connects the de-commodification of mass tourism to specific targets of ecologically motivated tourism (see

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[319] **R11:** Çünkü biz burada var olan bir doğal değeri kullanıyoruz aslında. Onu bir şekilde insan emeğiyle işleyerek bir ürün haline getiriyoruz, bir ambalaj içinde satıyoruz aslında. Dolayısıyla doğanın dengelerini bozmayan ve doğanın dengelerini koruyan ve bizden sonraki nesillere de bırakılabilecek bir doğayı düşünerek turizmcilik yapmak gerekir. Bunları öngörmediğiniz zaman bunları dikkate almadığınız zaman turizm endüstrisinin hammaddesini yitiririz. Türkiye'de yani ben bu bölgede iş yapıyorum diye söylemiyorum ama burası en planlı gelişmiş bölgelerden bir tanesi. […] Mesela Türkiye'de ilk su arıtma tesisleri, çöp fabrikası bu bölgede kurulmuştur. Bu bölgenin özellikle GATGP kapsamında ele alındığında özel bir statüsü vardır geçmişte; kamu ve özel sektörün birlikte hareket ettiği bir yapısı vardır. Maalesef o yapı zaman içinde değişti çıkan yasalarla birlikte geride kaldı ama o felsefe yine de devam ediyor bence. Biraz önce tanımlamaya çalıştığım şekilde bu işi yapmak istiyorsanız, bu işi sürdürülebilir bir şekilde yapma istiyorsanız işin çevre boyutunu hiçbir zaman göz ardı etmemeniz gerekiyor. Sizin ürününüzün temel dayanağı temel kaynağı, çevre zaten; deniziniz, güneşiniz, dağınız, kumunuz, ormanınız. Burada çalışan insanlar bu kaynağı ürüne dönüştürüyor.

[320] **R24:** Bunlar turizimci olmayınca, bunlar sadece olaya bu hareket içinde en fazla ne kadar değer kazanılabilir buna girdiler. Turizm bakış açısıyla buna bakmadılar, geleceği görmediler. Bir an evvel yatırdıklarını geri alıp ve bu da iyi bir değer elde etmeyi amaçladılar. Bunun yanında turizimci 80'li yıllarda, bizim turizme başladığımız zamandı, profil olarak, imaj olarak çok farklı bir yapıdaydı.

subsection 2.4). Above all, *sustainable tourism* is the first *regulation theory* after mass tourism because it is characterized not just by a voluntary ethical commitment, but also by coded rules within the legal regulations of national states applied at municipal and regional planning levels. Instead, what is observed in Antalya is the regulations put in place by the central government for un-sustainable tourism—see subsection 7.2 about *Lara Kent Park* and *Vakıf Çiftliği*.

MOAŞ claims that the sale of the public lands to the leasers for "endorsing tourism" meant the closing off of the Antalya coast to the public. MOAŞ also states that the 2634 numbered 'Tourism Support Act', which went into effect on 12 March 1982, and the resolution to allocate forest lands as the extension of the same law, are the main reason Antalya's historical and natural values were damaged. According to them, with the implementation of this law, even the real tourism investors as the advocates of 'sustainable tourism'[321] were not able to prevent the destruction of the forests and the uncontrolled pillaging of the coasts (MOAŞ, 2007: 60). Another significant threat that accompanied the 'Tourism Support' Law was that whenever the country was at an economic dead-end, these lands allocated for leasing were the first to be transformed into revenue through sale. All governments tried to sell the lands on which operational tourism facilities were built to their owners without regard to the lease duration. In May of 1996, even though the government made such a resolution, it had to abandon this under the pressure of the public.

The AKP government, which came into power following the 2002 general elections, once again tried to sell state lands leased to tourism investors through official edicts (MOAŞ, 2007: 60). Even though the Constitution[322] states that shores can not be sold and that forests as natural values are under protection, most resorts on the coasts have been built upon 'lands allocated from forests'**[323]** (see Picture 8.1. and Picture 8.2.).

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[321] The influence of Habitat II, which took place in 1996 in Istanbul, led to discussions of 'sustainability' not only in architecture, but also in regional development and tourism (in the 7th FYDP 1996-2000 focus on sustainable and balanced development).

[322] The 43rd Article of the Third Section titled Public Interest of the Turkish Republic Constitution states: "The Shores are under the power and protection of the State. The interest of the public is first priority when benefiting from the sea, lake and river shores and the shorelines surrounding them." Article 169 of the Turkish Republic Constitution states: "The State makes the necessary laws and takes measures for the protection of forests and enlargement of spaces. New forests are created in lieu of the ones burnt down, and no other agricultural or animal husbandry activities may take place here. The State is responsible for monitoring all forests. The ownership of State forests can not be transferred. State forests are managed and operated by the State. These forests can not be owned through statute of limitations and can not be the topic for right of way for anything other than public interest. No activities that may damage forests are allowed."

[323] See the news article, "Minister of the Environment and Forests, Veysel Eroğlu, answers the written query request put forward by CHP Antalya MP Hüsnü Çöllü regarding the allocation of Belek forests for tourism purposes and the cutting of 500,000 trees." *Hürriyet*, 3 January 2008,
 http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/7958064.asp?gid=48&sz=73792
Minister of the Environment and Forests, Veysel Eroğlu stated, "The protection rights to 16 million 372 thousand m² of the Belek forests, which cover 17 million 600 thousand m², was transferred to the Culture and Tourism Ministry as per the 8th article of the 2634 numbered Tourism Support Act." According to the information obtained from Eroğlu, 10 permits were granted for the construction of golf and lodging facilities in Belek, 93 % of whose forests were allocated for tourism, covering an 8 million 876 thousand m² section. Of these, 6 were completed and opened for business, and the golf facilities were completed of 4, but the lodging facility constructions are underway. CHP Antalya MP Hüsnü Çöllü, however, states

The allocation of state lands suitable for building tourism resorts on in the Antalya area since 1982 has resulted in the *monopoly rent*s defined by Harvey as the first category. The first category of *monopoly rent* arises because social actors control some special quality resource, commodity or location which in relation to a certain kind of activity enables them to extract *monopoly rent*s from those desiring to use it. In this circumstance, "the monopoly price creates the rent" (Harvey, 2001b; 2001: 395). Agreeing with this argument, it can be asserted that in the case in which the commercial investors or the hotelier are willing to pay a premium for the land in Antalya. It is not the land, resource or location of unique qualities which is traded but the commodity or service produced through the use of those unique qualities attributed to the land.

Saying that the number of five star resorts only in the Antalya region is 230, R24 states that the construction of so many five start resorts is the main reason Turkey has lost value in the tourism market. He believes that Turkey has lost a category, its good reputation in the international market and that it is unfair that such top notch service is provided for such little money. Similar to R24, R17 believes that the demands of the tourists visiting Antalya are below a five star quality, and suggests that the tourism services need to be diversified to remedy this injustice first, and that tourism policies need to be developed for the niche market, and finally criticizes the tourism policies of the central government:

> **R17:** *This is the result of the central government's incorrect policies. Local governments also made policy related mistakes. For example, the uncontrolled approach of the Ministry of Tourism approved build-operate-transfer system damages the ecologic balance. For example, there was a very rapid period involving the allocation of forest areas, beaches and historical sites. It is easy to see the future repercussions. Commerce dominates this process involving the intensification of the city and damaging natural areas. The goal is not to protect nature but to use it but nature is never protected in the meantime, sue to financial concerns. This goes as far the polluting and even extinction of natural areas and rivers. I hope that the inhabitants of the city share these concerns I have.[324]*

It is understood from informant R11's statement that the tourism facility investments and operations differ from those in Marmaris, for instance, or Istanbul since the planning stage has resulted in the resorts clustering in small 'islets' relatively far from each other and the city center.

> **R11:** *Tourism started here around a gathering in the Side, Alanya area. Then the government took a look from above and initiated central plans. They created this place from scratch. Then Titreyen Lake, and in the 1990s, Belek was*

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that while the figures provided by the Culture and Tourism Ministry regarding the number of trees cut being 11 thousand 400 trees, Eroglu's statement confirms the claims made by environmentalist groups that 500 thousand trees were cut in the forests of Belek.

[324] **R17:** Bu turizmin merkezi hükümet nezdinde yanlış politikasıdır. Yerel yöentimlerin yanlış politikasıdır. Mesela Turizm Bakanlığı onaylı yap-işlet-devret mantığının işleyişindeki kontrolsüzlük bu ekolojik dengeyi bozacak taktiklerdir. Örneğin orman alanlarının, plajların, sit alanlarının tahsisi ile ilgili çok hızlı bir dönemden geçildiğini biliyorum. Bunun ileriye dönük neler ortaya koyabileceğini şimdiden öngörmek olanaklı. Yani bir takım olumsuzlukların neler olabileceğini bilmek gerekir. Kent yoğunluğunu artırıcı, doğal sit alanlarını yok eden anlayışın rtaya konulduğu bu süreçte ticaret hep egemendir. Yani turizm doğalı korumak değil doğayı kullanmayı hedef alan bir şey aslında ama kullanırken korumayı pek başaramaz hep ticari kaygı vardır. Kullanırken doğal orman alanlarının, sit alanlarının hatta nehirlerin yok olmasına kadar gidebilir. Bu konuda duyduğum rahatsızlıklar, yaşadığımız sıkıntıları kentte yaşayanların da farkında olması.

lost over time. But the city remains unaware of what is happening around them. Therefore, you can not really expect any other kind of development here. Then there's Kemer. Even the Kemer region covers a 80 km shoreline. There are physical and geographic islands (clusters) in this region. There are Beldibi, Göynük, Kemer Merkez, Kiriş Mahallesi, Çamyuva, and Tekirova. On the other side, the latest developments are around Lara, Kemer Ağzı, Kundu, Belek, Boğazkent, Gündoğdu, Çolaklı, Kumköy, Side, Titreyen Göl, Kızılot, all the way to Alanya. There are small islets.[325]

The 'satellite holiday village clusters' defined as 'islets' by informant R11 are presented as tourism products in different places on the Antalya coastline; however, the products offered are almost identical. In Antalya, where diversification in tourism products is the issue at hand, the ultimate product offered in the resorts, despite the number of stars and high service quality is not very clear. Informants R11 and R2 say the following on this matter:

R11: *We can not offer anything. This is the main problem. When people travel abroad or to a different country, they seek certain things. People are actually after the alternative. They want to taste something new and different, to experience the pleasure in this. Most of the pre-research on the people coming here also points to this; most want to meet a different culture. They want to get to know the locals. But unfortunately, this rapid growth* [in the tourism industry] *caused us to create an <u>abyss between the areas with the facilities and those without</u>. In the same vein, we weren't able to ensure the same visual development. One side of the road is one world and the other side is a different world. And the mechanisms to establish communication between the people here and the ones there do not work properly. There are actually differences in standards. Here you offer people a very different set of services, a different life; but life outside of here is very different. The buildings, the individual life standards, we provide all of this to foreign people who have this kind of a life style where they come from. In fact, we usually offer them more than their regular life standards.*[326]

R2: *The tourism concept needs to be saved from between the road and the sea. This is where tourism has usually gotten stuck in Antalya; where it was built. Wherever you look, it is not just true for Antalya. Pamukkale, Kapadokya, everywhere but Erzurum; tourism is stuck between the highway and the sea. What about the other side of the road? Nothing! Even golfing areas are built below the road. This kind of luxury doesn't exist anywhere else in the world. We are cutting down forests and making golf resorts. Even though spaces are offered by Manavgat, they still do it this way!*[327]

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[325] **R11:** Şimdi burada ilk turizmle ilk başlangıç; Side, Alanya taraflarında bir çekirdeklenme ile başlamış. Sonra devletin buraya üstten bir bakışı ve merkezi planlamayla turizm gelmiş. Burayı yaratmış sıfırdan hiçbir şey yokken. [70lerin sonunda hazırlanan GATGP] Arkasından Titreyen Göl, 1990larda Belek ve kademe kademe gitmiş. Ama hala şehir, bu etrafındaki gelişimden haberdar değil. Dolayısıyla burada başka türlü bir gelişimi beklemeniz de mümkün değil. İşte Kemer var. Kemer Bölgesi bile 80 kmlik bir bant. Fiziki ve coğrafi olarak bu bölgede de adacıklar var kendi içinde. Beldibi, öynük, Kemer Merkez, Kiriş Mahallesi, Çamyuva, Tekirova var. Öbür tarafa baktığımız zaman en son gelişen bölge Lara Kemer ağzı, Kundu, Belek, Boğazkent, Gündoğdu, Çolaklı, Kumköy, Side, Titreyen Göl, Kızılot, Alanya'ya doğru gidiyor. Noktasal anlamda parça parça adacıklar var.

[326] **R11:** Hiçbir şey sunamıyoruz. Esas sorun da burada. Söylemeye çalıştığım şey şu: İnsanlar bir ülkeden başka bir ülkeye gittiklerinde ya da bir şehirden başka bir şehre gittiklerinde aradıkları bir takım şeyler var. İnsanlar bir farklılığın peşinde aslında. Farklı bir şeyi tatmak, onun yarattığı hazzı deneyimlemek isterler. Buraya gelen insanlarla yapılan ön araştırmaların çoğu da bunu söyler aslında; çoğunun farklı bir kültürle de yüzleşmek arzusu olduğudur. Buradaki lokal insanları tanımak ve görmek de isterler. Ama maalesef [turizm endüstrisindeki] bu hızlı büyüme süreci içinde biz tesislerin bulunduğu alanla tesislerin dışındaki alan arasında ciddi bir uçurum yarattık. Aynı paralellikte, aynı görsel gelişimi sağlayamadık. Yolun altı başka bir dünya yolun üstü başka bir dünya. Ve buradaki insanlarla dışarıdaki insanları iletişime geçirecek mekanizmalar çok sağlıklı bir şekilde işlemiyor. Yani aslında standard farklılıkları var. Burada çok farklı bir hizmet sunuyorsunuz insanlara farklı bir yaşam sunuyorsunuz ama dışarıdaki yaşam buradan çok farklı bir yaşam. Oradaki yapılaşmadan tutun, bu insanların yaşadıkları ülkelerdeki var olan bireysel yaşam standartları biz burada [tesislerde] sağlıyoruz. Hatta onların yaşam standartlarının üstünde bir hizmet bile sunuyoruz çoğu kez.

[327] **R2:** Turizm olgusunu yol ile deniz arasından kurtarmak lazım. Turizm Antalya'da yol ile deniz arasına sıkıştı. Orada yapılandı. Nereye bakarsanız bakın, bu sadece Antalya'ya özgü değil. Pamukkale lekesi, Kapadokya lekesi, Erzurum'daki o küçük lekeyi bir tarafa bırakın turizm, yol ile deniz arasındadır. Karayolu ile deniz arasındadır. Peki, yolun üstü yok. Golf

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On the coast line from Alanya to Kemer, the 'islets' where 'clusters of holiday villages' have been built in the corridor between the highway and the sea, identical, fit-for-all products serving mass tourism are offered. Therefore, even though the star quality is high, Antalya mostly receives tourists whose income is below 6,000 Euros (See Table 8.1.) and those who prefer 'all inclusive' package tourism deals since Antalya offers products similar to those already found in the global tourism market.[328]

Antalya, with its natural beauty and 650 km long coast line, has the potential to produce various products in the 230 five star resorts scattered along the shores; yet is selected by the same buyer. Informant R11 says the following about this situation, which can not be simplified as lack of promotion and advertising:

> **R11:** *Unfortunately this was always our ideal. MY colleagues who also presided over AKTOB had similar dreams. But none of us were able to make a difference. This is how we envision Antalya. Antalya is a very interesting place. It is a city with a 650 km long coastline, almost like a country. The Spanish mainland coastline is 1000 km. Most of the tourism in Spain is on the islands. Same in Greece. Not in the mainland. In Antalya, tourism consists of <u>islets</u> formed by resorts. Some are next to a beach, some a mountain, forest, the sea or antique cities. All of these make for incredible wealth and diversity. The nice thing is that if things had gone the way we wanted them to, we could have created a giant whole which combines all of these, diversified but not competing, and thus complementing and completing each other with this diversification; this would have been ideal. Then as someone visiting from Germany, if you wanted to rest under the sun, you would go to Side. If you wanted to engage in athletic activity, you would go to Belek, where there are golf resorts. Or if you wanted a wild nightlife, you would go to the discos in Kemer. If you wanted to go hiking in the mountains, you would go to Olympus.[329]*

Looking at the examples cited by AKTOB President R11, it is seen that possibilities exist for offering various recreational tourism products. Regardless, the 'all inclusive' system, where it is

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alanları da yolun altına yapılıyor. Dünyanın hiç bir yerinde böyle bir lüks yoktur. Ormanları keiyoruz golf sahası yapıyoruz. Halbuki Manavgat ırmağı boyunda yer veriliyor ama yok böyle yapılıyor.

[328] In 2008, the Tourism and Hotel Management Vocational School of Akdeniz University, AKTOB Mediterranean Touristic Hoteliers and Managers Union, and ICF Airports Antalya Airport co-implemented a project called "Antalya Area Tourist Profile Investigation" (2008), in an effort to identify the profile, expectations, satisfaction and loyalty of international tourists visiting the Antalya area. In total, 10,393 tourists responded to the questionnaire, which took place in July-October of 2008. The questionnaire was used at the Antalya Airport on tourists leaving at the end of their holidays. The findings of the investigation indicate that 34,8%, a significant portion, of the respondents earn less than 6,000 Euros. The percentage of those earning between 6,000 and 11,999 Euros is 20,1%. Another noteworthy group in terms of yearly income among the participating tourists were those making 30.000 Euros or more, with 17,2%. Those with income between 18.000 and 23.999 Euros comprised 8,2%, and those earning between 24.000 and 29.999 Euros were 8,3%. This data shows that over half of the respondents (54, 9%) make less than 12.000 Euros a year.

[329] **R11:** Maalesef bizim hep idealimizdi bu. AKTOB'da benden önce başkanlık yapmış arkadaşlarımızın da hayaliydi. Benim de hayalim aslında ama böyle bir farklılık yaratamadık. Biz Antalya'yı şöyle hayal ediyoruz. Antalya çok enteresan bir yer 650 km kıyı uzunluğu olan bir il neredeyse bir ülke yani bir ülke gibi. İspanya ana kıtasında 1000 kmdir. İspanya'nın turizmin ağırlığı adalardadır. Yunanistan ha keza öyledir. Ana kıtada yoktur. Antalya'ya baktığımız zaman tesislerin bulunduğu adacıklardan oluşuyor turizm. Kimisi kumsal, kimisi dağ, orman, deniz, kimi antik kentlerin yanında. Bütün bunların hepsi inanılmaz bir zenginlik ve çeşitlilik sağlıyor. Güzel olan, bizim hayal ettiğimiz gibi olabilmiş olsaydı; bütün bunları güzelce harmanlayan, birbiriyle rekabet eden değil birbirinden farklılaşmış ve farklılaşırken de sahip oldukları özellikleri ön plana çıkartıp bu özellikleriyle de birbirini bütünleyen, tamamlayan kocaman bir büyük bütün yaratabilseydik ideali buydu aslında. O zaman siz Almanya'dan gelen birisi olarak dinlenmek mi istiyorsunuz güneşin altında Side'ye gidecektiniz. Spor mu yapmak istiyorsunuz? Belek'teki golf sahalarının olduğu tesislere gidersiniz. Ya da çılgın gece hayatı mı istiyorsunuz? Kemer'deki diskolara gelebilirsiniz. Dağda yürüyüş mü yapmak istiyorsunuz? Olimpos'a çıkarsınız.

always the same kind of tourists who demand it has made distinctions invisible. Almost all of the actors in the field of tourism criticize it on the one hand, but end up embracing it when their chances of competing in the international market decrease. As for the reasons of this situation, R11 says the following:

> **R11:** *This means that we have not been able to underline the differences. We have not been able to create packaging that would emphasize these differences or make products involving different concepts more visible. Therein lies the problem. All of this wealth exists here. But we have not been able to turn them all into products. Actually there are, in fact, difficulties in doing this. You can not just up and climb these mountains. The paths are not apparent, there are no plateaus. There are no guides to lead you up there. The channels from which to get help when necessary are not organized. There is the famous Köprülü Canyon (Creek) where rafting is done, but everybody there goes there. Even there, there are these kinds of problems. The place where they do rafting and the restaurants are hideous, but despite this, you get 300-400 thousand visitors there* [per season].[330]

The tourists that come to Antalya and stay at the 'satellite holiday village clusters' are entertained, through uninspired and repetitive animation activities as well as 'Turkish Nights', parodies of Antalya or Turkish culture which could be conceptualized as 'staged authenticity'. As discussed in subsection 2.4 under the name of *relational theory,* two theories were developed during the 1970s and 1980s: the theory of 'ritual inversion' and the theory of 'staged authenticity'. For r*elational theorists* 'experiencing difference' is the central issue in tourism sociology. In their understanding, the theory of 'ritual inversion' is expressed through the overturn of daily habits: idleness versus work, nude body versus covered body, tanned skin versus pale skin, and so on. Industrialized mass tourism satisfies this motivation for seeking authenticity through the organization of spaces characterized by 'staged authenticity'; but today, not all tourists seek authenticity.

Another issue commonly criticized by especially the city tradesmen is the fact that tourists do not leave the hotel grounds with the spread of the 'all inclusive' system. Of the tourists who participated in the "Antalya Area Tourist Profile Investigation" (2008), 87% leave the grounds of the resort they stay in for some reason. The Informant views obtained from the field research for this dissertation are as follows:

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[330] **R11:** Demek ki bunu belirginleştirememişiz. Bu farklılıkları vurgulayan, farklı konseptleri içeren ürünlerin algılanmasını kolaylaştıracak ambalajlar yapamamışız. Sıkıntı burada aslında. Bu zenginliklerin hepsi burada var. Ama bu zenginliklerin hepsini ürüne dönüştürememişsiniz [ya da böyle bir ürün var ama metalaştırıp pazara ambalajlayıp sunamamışsınız]. Ürüne dönüşememe nedenleri arasında bir sürü sıkıntılar var. Şimdi bu dağlara çıkıp yürümek isteseniz yürüyemezsiniz. Yollar belli değildir, ova noktaları yoktur. Orada size rehberlik hizmeti verecek adamlar yoktur. Başınıza bir şey geldiğinde ulaşılabilecek kanallar belirsizdir. Bilinen Köprü Çayı vardır Rafting yapılan ama orada herkes oraya gider ama orada da bu belirsizlikler vardır. Gidin orada rafting yapılan ortama bakın, restoranlara bakın tam bir rezalet ama buna rağmen günde 300-400 bin kişi ziyaret eder [sezonda].

> **R13:** *Once they get off the planes, they are bussed to the holiday villages, stay there maybe five days, and are taken back to the airport and packed off. They are sent off in the easiest, cheapest way possible without any promotion of the country or the city.*[331]

> **R15:** *They started with the all inclusive system. Hotels even put jewelers, shoe stores, carpet shops etc in their hotels so the tourists wouldn't leave. Maybe that's how they make their money, I don't know since I am not involved in tourism. They don't even let the tourists leave the group, like herding a flock of sheep; they stay at the hotel, they are taken all together to the carpet shop and the jewelers and so on. I don't know how much of what I've heard is true, but agencies apparently get money per head whether or not the tourists buy anything from these carpet and jewelry shops. I mean 10 or 20 dollars in commission.*[332]

Antalya, as a tourist destination is visited mostly for touristic reasons, according to the afore mentioned research. The findings point to the fact that 74,2% of the visitors come for a holiday / fun (Table 8.2). The same investigation shows that the accommodation type preferred is mostly the 'all inclusive' type. 81,7% of the respondents stated a preference for staying in Antalya within this system. (Table 8.3). The 'All inclusive' system also seems to be an important factor in tourists' decision to visit the Antalya area. The President of MNG Holding Tourism Group, Hüseyin Baraner,[333] in his 2004 speech published in ATSO (Antalya Commerce and Industry Chamber)'s monthly publication, said that due to the individualization tendencies in Europe and the whole world, tourists are not as interested in package programs anymore, and that the market share of all sales in Europe have dropped to 44%, but that this rate continues at 90% (*Vizyon* 18/202, 2004: 9).

R11, the owner of an establishment with the 'All inclusive system' and one where families with children abound, states that the establishment owners do not usually want the tourists to leave the compound, the justification being the safety of the environment inside the resort. From this perspective, the resort managers who guarantee bed sales and the risk averse incoming tour operator managers to avoid taking risks in terms of the travel insurance of the tourists they bring perpetuate the 'All inclusive' system.

> **R11:** *This is what we want. The people who come here come on holiday come for two reasons: First, they want to get away from the stress of their daily lives, their work, and go back refreshed. Second, they want to experience the pleasure of doing this on a safe environment, lie under the sun and swim in the sea and discover something new.*[334]

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[331] **R13:** Hava alanından indikten sonra otobüslerle tatil köyüne götürülüyorlar, tatil köyünde beş gün kalıyorsa, tatil köyü dışını hiç görmeden tekrar otobüslerle hava alanına getirilip paketlenip gönderiliyorlar.

[332] **R15:** Bizim turizmcimiz bunu yarattı. İşte her şey dahilleri ortaya koymaya başladı. Bir ara oteller gelen turisti dışarı çıkarmamak için kendi otelinin içine kuyumcuyu, ayakkabıcıyı, halıcıyı bilmem neyini falan koydu. Sonra, bizdeki bilmiyorum belki de turizmci olmadığım için oradan kazanıyor bu adamlar, yani gelen gurubu güvercin sürüsü gibi hiç ayırmıyorlar birbirlerinden, işte otelde kalıyorlar, halıcıya gönderiyorlar, oradan çıkarıp efendim kuyumcuya götürüyorlar, bilmem ne yapıyorlar. Duyduklarım ne derece doğru bilmiyorum ama bu dediğim halıcı ve kuyumcudan yolcu alışveriş yapsın ya da yapmasın kişi başına bir para alıyorlarmış. Yani, işte on dolar, yirmi dolar, bilmiyorum.

[333] Owner of WOW Hotels

[334] **R11:** Biz onu isteriz. Buraya gelen insanlar iki amaçla tatile geliyor. Birincisi, var olan normal yaşamları içindeki stresli ortamlarından, iş ortamlarından uzaklaşıp bir anlamda bir anlamda kendilerini yeni süreçte tekrar tazeleyip geri dönüyorlar. Diğer bir neden de bütün bunları yaparken güneş altında dinlenip denize girerken bugüne kadar görmedikleri karşılaşmadıkları farklı bir keşifte bulunmak da insanlara ayrı bir haz verir.

R1: *The tourists who come to town don't leave their hotels. The tradesmen who ripped them off back when they did go into the city might remember doing this. The agencies did not pay insurance. We were constantly collecting tourists from hospitals and jail. Naturally, tourists, the agency that brings them and the guide don't want to go into town to avoid such problems. If I were an agency, I would also safely drop off tourists at a hotel, feed and entertain them and then take them back to the airport and send them off. Actually, it is those complaining right now that caused this problem in the first place. Instead of just saying "Welcome" to tourists walking by, they forced the tourists into their stores, overcharged them for goods, 30% of which turned out to be fake. These are the tradesmen I am talking about. In fact, an office called "fake good" [335] sales was established in the Antalya Chamber of Commerce. [336]*

R1: *So if the demand is such, if you can't sell your goods very well, tourists on welfare checks can come, get off the plane with 50 Euros in their pockets. They have already been guaranteed the fulfillment of all their needs at all inclusive hotels. In fact, they go home with the 50 Euros still in their pockets. But such is the demand. If you can't market your product well, especially if problems arise from insurance, in a country where agencies are tired of the constant problems, the agency will say "I have too many problems here, I'll bring this kind of tourist here and that will be the group you get. [337]*

A tourist going to Spain on vacation, for example, can be assumed to have dreams of seeing an arena and listening to Flamenco, a tourist coming to Antalya would dream of what is limited to the offer, it can be described with the statement, "I will get into the hotel, eat for free, drink until I drop, swim in the sea, get a tan and return". However, it is certainly true that such a tourist group exists in the global tourism market, one that only demands this. "Antalya is home to not only the best hotels in Turkey, but in the world,"[338] says R23 and goes on:

R23: *It is not an exaggeration to say that if a tourist is going to go somewhere for ten days, stay and return home after resting, they don't have a better alternative than Turkey, even Antalya. But if you go to Barcelona, you have to see the city. That's a different issue altogether. Maybe you want to go to Paris and see the museums or drink wine next to the river Seine, that's different. [339]*

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[335] See the news "Cesur ve Örnek 11 Esnafımız: Antalya esnafı, halka ve turiste güvenli satış için önerilen belgeyi istemedi. 27 bin esnaftan sadece 11'i 'Tüketiciyi Koruma Garanti Belgesi' aldı" *Hürriyet-Akdeniz*, 11.08.2006.

[336] **R1:** Şimdi kente gelen turist otelden çıkmıyor. Zamanında çıktığında şimdi ağlayan esnaf zamanında kente inen turisti nasıl kazıkladığını da hatırlıyordur. Acenteler sigorta parası ödemediler. Sürekli hastaneden, hapishaneden turist topladık. Doğal olarak turist de, turisti getiren acenta da, rehber de bir daha sorun yaşamamak için kente inmek istemiyorlar. Ben de acenta olsam turisti güvenli bir şekilde otele bırakırım orda yedirir içirir eğlendiririm bir de giderken uçağa bindirir gönderirim sorun yaşamamak için. Bu durumu yaratan şu anda bu durumdan kimler şikayet ediyorsa onlar aslında. Kapının önünde gezen turiste "Hoşgeldiniz" demekle yetinmeyip zorla turistleri dükkanlarına sokup fahiş fiyatlara üstelik de sattıkları malın %30'u sahte çıkan esnaftan söz ediyorum. Hatta bunun Antalya Ticaret Odası'nda "sahte mal" satışı ile ilgili bir büro kuruldu.

[337] **R1:** Yani talep bu yöndeyse, burada malınızı çok iyi satamıyorsanız, işsizlik maaşıyla turist gelir, uçaktan iner, cebinde 50 Euro parası vardır bütün ihtiyaçlarının karşılanacağı garanti edilmiştir zaten "her şey dahil"le girer otele. Hatta o 50 Euroyla da döner. Ama talep bu yönde. Siz de malınızı iyi pazarlayamıyorsanız, özellikle sigortadan kaynaklı, acentaların sürekli problem yaşamaktan bıktığı bir ülkede acenta der ki: "ben burada çok sorun yaşıyorum buraya şu grup turist getireyim" der o grup turist gelir.

[338] See also the news piece, "3 Antalyalites in 500 of the World's best hotels" *Ekspres*, 19 Eylül 2006

[339] **R23:** Hiç mübalağasız, hiç arttırmasız. Hiçbir turist eğer sadece bir yere gidip on gün yatıp geri dönecekse, on gün kalıp geri dönecekse, dinlenmeye geliyorsa Türkiye'den daha iyi bir alternatife sahip değildir. Ha, ama siz Barselona'ya gidersiniz kenti gezeceksiniz, o ayrı bir şey. Paris'e gideceksinizdir, müzeleri gezeceksinizdir bilmem Sen'in kenarında şarap içeceksinizdir, o ayrı bir şey.

Looking at the architectural design of the resorts in Antalya, we see that historical and local elements have been utilized in most, but only in form. There are distinct styles of design among tourism resorts designed in Antalya in different periods, even if the architect was the same. Clear examples are Tuncay Cavdar's 1991 design for the a resort in Belek, the 1986 design of the one in Side and his 1973 design in Kemer (Valtur Holiday Village, Picture 8.3.) The former designs have a Mediterranean coastal village style twist, while the latter ones exhibit more eclectic clustering characteristics.

The architectural space in the resorts designed increasingly in postmodern styles after 1990, is no longer a traditional "place", nor the "any place" that modernism aspired to, but "every place". There, it feels like one has walked through time, from one place to another, from one time to another time faster than reality, and the estranged and cynical pieces of today and tomorrow are experienced all at once. (Altun, 2005: 136).

In the 2000s, a design approach aiming to underline differences in a highly competitive field is apparent. In this period, the resort designs exhibit minimalist approaches endeavoring to combine the pure, radiant form of Mediterranean architecture with modern architecture, as well as the offer of unlimited luxury and comfort to guests in order to create a difference.

Another tendency developed in Antalya to create a difference has been to build 'theme hotels'. The number of resorts aiming to offer the consumer a fairytale and entertainment world in copies of popular images like that of *Topkapı Palace*, *Kremlin Palace* are rapidly increasing. The message given by these designs can be summarized as "If you can't go to these places, we'll bring them to you". In the twentieth century, large shopping malls, parks arranged around certain themes, video passages, the area around the airport, with the "tourist bubble" concept, the visual invasion of advertisements and so on. The concept of the 'tourist bubble' is like a theme park in that it provides entertainment and excitement, with reassuringly clean and attractive surroundings (see subsection 2.4.2.)

In Kundu, a part of Antalya that was until recently a swamp, the first of the themed hotels was first conceived by MNG Board Member Mehmet Nazif Günal. This process, which started out with the intention of attracting customers' attention and broadening the market by creating a difference, the WOW (World of Wonders) Resort Hotel Chain owned by MNG first opened *Topkapı Palace* (Picture 8.10; Picture 8.11), then *Kremlin Palace* (Picture 8.4 to Picture 8.9), and later *Venezia Palace* and *Titanic Hotel* (Picture 8.14) in the same area. Hasan Sökmen,[340] the architect of Topkapı Palace and many other theme hotels in Antalya states:

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[340] See the news "Sihirbaz Mimar" *Hürriyet,* 24.05.2009; See also the news İpekeşen, E. "Vegas'la başlayan hayal dünyası sahillerin çehresini değiştiriyor" *Hürriyet-Ankara,* 24.05.2009 See also the news by Akyol, C. "Topkapı Sarayı ve Titanic'ten sonra şimdi de Concorde uçağı otel oluyor" *Hürriyet-Pazar,* 12.12.2004, accessed on 27.04.2010 at http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=280461

"In Las Vegas, the architectural theme is the creation of a visual show.... Although it has been practiced in the US for over 50 years, themed hotels are a new trend in Turkish tourism. Themed hotels benefit the promotion of first, the region and secondly the country. They become well-known much more quickly and extensively; themed hotels advertise themselves… Resort tourism is characterized by adventure. Here, theme is an element of entertainment. Naturally, the customer sees an entertaining hotel, in other words, the theme puts a smile on the customer's face…" (Hasan Sökmen as cited in Altun, 2005: 137).

These hotels, which are copies of well-known architectural structures designed for other reasons, have been proliferated as *simulacra* in order to diversify a monotype product with the 'All inclusive' construct, which offers a monotype tourist a monotype touristic product in Antalya. 'The most basic 'theme' referred to in 'themed hotels', which are the product of an eclectic cross between morphological and temporal references, is "Providing a palatial lifestyle and making people feel like they are in a palace". However, R5 and R15's statements clearly show this theme is not the most correct reference:

> **R5:** *For a European, especially a German, waking up in nature and eating an orange picked off a tree is an incredible pleasure, one like no other. We have lost this; we don't even notice it* [anymore]. *Because we haven't done this in a long time ourselves. As long as vacation to us means swimming in the pools of luxury hotels, this is what we think European tourists want. Europeans have had enough of this. Picking a lemon off a tree and squeezing its juice into his salad is an experience we can't even imagine for* [a European tourist]. [341]

> **R15:** [There is] a *place called Güzdere. Water flows from a valley in the Taurus Mountains. It's an incredibly beautiful place.* [...] *We went swimming there in the rocks carved into pools. A German lady was painting there and her husband was swimming. I went to talk with them asked if they liked Turkey. She said, "It's so beautiful, amazingly so, but you are covering it in cement. It is a beautiful, absolutely beautiful place, but you are covering it with cement". Then she said, "Look, I am so rich that even the beds in your five star hotels are not as comfortable as my own, as my own bedroom. I had been dreaming of a very different Turkey. And I wanted to have stones digging into my back as I made love to my husband" I will never forget those things that woman told me.* [342]

As understood, *nothing learned from* Las Vegas (see subsection 2.2.4 about Postmodern architecture and urbanism), the fact that Las Vegas has created its own city identity by bringing together various geographic locations as well as entertainment and gambling, and being what is far nearby and exporting Europe and its culture, or the Egyptian Pyramids to the US can be justified by this desert town's lack of cultural and architectural references. However, it is hard to find a logical justification for mimicking the *Topkapı Palace*, *Kremlin Palace*, the *Venetian Palace* or *Titanic Hotel*, a

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[341] **R5:** Şimdi bir Avrupalı için özellikle bir Alman için doğanın içinde uyanmak ağaçtan bir portakal koparıp yemek olağanüstü bir tat, olağanüstü farklı bir şey. Biz bunu kaybettik, bunu fark etmiyoruz. Çünkü kendimiz de nicedir bunu yapmıyoruz. Bizim için tatil, lüks otellerin havuzunda yüzmek anlamına geldikçe Avrupalı turistin de bunu istediğini zannediyoruz. Avrupalı buna doymuş. Onun için dalından kopardığı limonu salatasına sıkmak bizim hayal edemeyeceğimizin ötesinde bir deneyim.

[342] **R15:** Güzdere diye bir yer. Torosların vadisinden su akıyor. İnanılmaz güzel bir yer. [...] Biz orda işte yüzüyorduk, işte böyle oyulmuş kayalar havuz şeklinde falan. Bir Alman hanım da resim yapıyordu, eşi de yüzüyordu. Yanlarına gittim, merhabalaştık falan, işte Türkiye'yi beğenip beğenmediğini falan sordum. "Çok güzel yani inanılmaz güzel bir yer ama betonlaşıyorsunuz" dedi. Sonra "Bakın, ben o kadar zenginim ki sizin burda beş yıldızlı otelinizde bile benim yatağım, yatak odamın rahatlığı yoktur. Ben hayalimde çok daha değişik bir Türkiye'ye geldim. Ve istedim ki bulunduğum yerde kocamla sevişirken sırtıma taş batsın. O bayanın söylediklerini hiç unutmuyorum.

tragically sunk ship Antalya, which should be putting forth its sea, sun, nature, cultural and historical qualities especially on the coasts.

Although the profiles of the domestic and international tourists demanding these hotels seem to differ from each other, the results of the study indicate that almost all of the informants hold that some of the tourists who come demanding 3S are from lower income groups lacking European culture, getting by on unemployment checks. Informant R19 describes Antalya's current tourist profile as follows:

> **R19:** *The tourist that comes here lacks enough culture to seek the local culture, anyway. They lack European culture and brought here for very low prices. The investors here are cognizant of this. They build the Kremlin Palace. Tourists pay a pile of money to stay at a copy of the Kremlin, where they've never even been. In the same process of change, there are people in Turkey who lack culture, but have money that get pleasure out of staying there. The customers there are mostly Turkish not international. I one took my guests there. At the hotel, they welcome you with a rendition of the traditional* Mehter March *that would horrify you. Men with huge mustaches take your suitcases; it's a comedy* (laughing). *They are trying to market a pseudo culture.*[343]

> **R1:** *Russian tourists, for example, do not have any money problems. They go downtown, do shopping; they spend lots of money and even stay in the 3,000 dollar suites. If they make the same mistakes with the Russian tourist that they made with Europeans, they won't go downtown either. If the agencies have problems, they won't bring them. No one wants problems with commerce.* [344]

As a representative of AKTOB, which has 330 members in Antalya, R11 disagrees with these claims and states that European tourists cover a wider spectrum of society:

> **R11:** *A society is shaped like a pyramid. The top part has a group of 5%, then there's a larger group in the middle. European tourists coming to Turkey are always those in this large section. There are doctors, engineers and excellent carpet layers. In European countries, the carpet layer and the doctor don't have very different incomes but they may have different expectations. The doctor might demand to see the local culture, but the carpet layer might get pleasure from drinking until he drops at the holiday village. They may have different life styles even if there aren't huge differences. Also, the cream of the crop from that 5%, the artists, musicians, high level executives used to come in the 1980s. They still come but they don't come here. They rent a yacht in Göcek, as does Prince Charles. A musician might rent a villa in Belek for 10.000 Dollars.* [345]

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[343] **R19:** Zaten Antalya'ya gelen turistin kendisinde buradaki kültürü arayacak kültür de yok. Yani buraya gelen turistin kendisi zaten Avrupa kültüründen yoksun çok ucuza getirilen insanlar. Buradaki yatırımcı da bu durumu çok iyi yakalamış. Kremlin Sarayı yapıyor adam otel olarak. Adamın yıllarca hiç içine girmediği önünden bile geçemediği bir Kremlin Sarayı'nın kopyasında kalabilmek için dünyanın parasını veriyor. Aynı değişim sürecinde Türkiye'de hiçbir kültürü olmayan sadece parası olan bir grup insan da Topkapı Sarayı Otelinde kalmaktan mutlu oluyor. Topkapı'nın müşterisi yabancıdan çok yerli. Ben bir misafirlerimi götürmüştüm, insanın tüylerini ürperten Mehter Marşı'yla falan karşılıyorlar. Pala bıyıklı adamlar valizleri alıyor falan komedi yani. (gülüşmeler) Yapay oluşturulan kültür (taklidini) pazarlamaya çalışıyor.

[344] **R1:** Rusya'dan gelen turistte para problemi yok mesela. Onlar şehre de iniyorlar, şehirde alışveriş yapıyorlar, para da harcıyorlar hatta 3000 dolarlık suitte kalıyorlar. Eğer problem yaşamıyorsa geliyor, yaşarsa gelmiyor. Eğer Rus turiste de zamanında Avrupalı turiste yaptıkları yanlışları yaparlar sa onlar da inmez şehre. Acenta problem yaşarsa getirmez o zaman. Kimse ticarette problem yaşamak istemez.

[345] **R11:** Bir toplumdaki genel yapıya baktığımız zaman hani piramit gibi derler ya. Yukarıdaki o en sivri yerde %5lik bir grup var ve ucu iyice sivrileşti. Aşağı doğru genişleyerek inen dilimler var. Türkiye'ye her zaman ortadaki bu büyük dilimin içinden gelir Avrupa'dan gelen turist. Bu büyük dilimin içine baktığınız zaman; mühendis de var, doktor da var, çok iyi halı döşeyen usta da var. Yani bu halı döşeyen usta ile doktorun geliri arasında uçurumlar yok gelirleri açısından Avrupa ülkelerinde. Ama beklentileri ayrı olabilir. Doktor yerel kültürle yüzleşmeyi talep edebilir belki ama halı ustası tatil köyünde sızana kadar içmekten zevk alacaktır. Yaşam tarzları farklı olabilir gelirleri arasında büyük farklar olmasa da. Bunun dışında o üstteki kaymak tabakasındaki sanatçılar, müzisyenler, üst düzey yöneticiler falan 80lerde de geliyordu bugün de geliyor

According to the results of the "Antalya Area Tourist Profile Investigation" conducted in 2008 52% of the respondents are bachelor's degree holders (Table 8.4.). Looking at the responses of those who answered the question about their job, a large part of the tourists are civil servants (31.5%) or workers (30.7%). These groups are followed by students with 17%. 2.9% of the respondents said they are unemployed (Table 8.5.). This research also shows that Russian tourists have the lead with 43%.[346] After Russia come German tourists with 12.5%. Tourists from the Netherlands are third with 7,6%.

We find out from the information provided by AKTOB president R11 that, in Turkey, there are hotels with a total bed capacity of about 700 thousand that are certified by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and that the rest have municipality certification. The statutes state that only those certified by the ministry are able to become AKTOB members. Moreover, in the Antalya area, there is a second, similar association called *Alanya Turizm İşletmecileri Birliği* (the Alanya Tourism Enterprises Association, ALTID). AKTOB, with the over 200 thousand bed capacity it represents, is the largest organization in Turkey among 15-16 others (see the emergence new actors in the field of tourism in neo-*Liberal Period* in subsection 4.3.2.2). R11, who says all of Antalya has a total bed capacity of 500 thousand and that since this figure is much higher than the demand, some hotels remain vacant even during the summer season and says, "the 2006 annual [filled capacity] average was around 50%, and the seasonal average was about 70%". As discussions being in Antalya, where there is excess supply in the number of lodging facilities and bed capacity, about whether limitations should be brought to investments in new resorts Antalya, the president of AKTOB, R11, as one of the most important representatives of the sector, says:

> **R11:** *This is exactly what we are saying. First the differences in standard must be eliminated; especially those certified by the municipality and the Ministry. We believe the necessary legal changes will be made. Once this is done, investments should be encouraged in complementary fields to support the existing resorts instead of new resort investments. There is already a serious bed capacity. What is important is to ensure better promotion for this capacity, and accelerate investments in fields that will o enrich this product and thus increase its competitive power in the international arena. And if it's a limitation that's necessary, so be it.* [347]

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ama tabi ki buraya gelmiyor. Onlar da Göcek'de yatta kalıyorlar. Prens Charles da oraya geliyor. Müzisyen geceliğine 10.000 Dolara Belek'te villa kiralıyor.

[346] See also the news "Otel doldu 'Allah Rus'tan razı olsun' dedi" *Hürriyet,* 20.04.2008

[347] **R11:** Bizim söylediğimiz de bu zaten. Antalya'da 500 bin yatak kapasiteli tesis var. Öncelikle hızla tesisler arasındaki standart farklılıklarının ortadan kaldırılması lazım. Belediye Belgeli tesislerle Turizm Bakanlığı Belgeli tesisler arasındaki standart farklılıkları ortadan kaldırmak lazım. Bununla ilgili yasal düzenlemelerin yapılacağına inanıyoruz. Bunun hayata geçirileceğine inanıyoruz. Bu yapıldıktan sonra ilk önümüzdeki kısa vadede konaklama yatırımlarından ziyade, mevcut var olan tesisleri destekleyici yan alanlara yatırım yapmayı teşvik etmek lazım. Bizim bölgemizde aslında ciddi bir yatak kapasitesi oluşmuş durumda. Önemli olan bu yatak kapasitesinin daha iyi pazarlanmasını sağlayacak, bu ürünü de zenginleştirecek, derinleştirecek alanlardaki yatırımlara hız verip uluslar arası alandaki rekabet gücünü de bu şekilde arttırmak lazım. Biz öyle görüyoruz. Bir sınırlama gerektiriyorsa da bunun adı sınırlama olsun, yani konaklama yatırımlarının.

For instance, the President of the *Turizm Yatırımcıları Derneği* (the Tourism Investors' Foundation, TYD) Murat Dedeman, stated in the speech he made following the election of the foundation's new board, that they were against new investments especially in and around Antalya and advises that tourism should be diversified instead..[348] A more harsh suggestion comes from the TURSAB President Başaran Ulusoy: "It is crazy to build new resorts in Antalya".[349] As the controversy over the limitation to resort investments in Antalya, the city has been witnessing the seven start and *de lux* resorts of foreign investors. Here, the emergence of foreign investors in the field tourism coincides with the rise of the second category of *monopoly rent* in Antalya. As Harvey defines, in this second case, "the land or resource is directly traded upon as when prime real-estate sites are sold to multinational capitalists and financiers for speculative purposes." *Monopoly rent* of this sort can be extended to ownership of works of art which can be and increasingly are, bought and sold as investment. It is the uniqueness of Picasso's work for instance or the uniqueness of the sites in Antalya (like Lara Park, Vakıf Çiftliği, Kaleiçi, etc) forms the basis for monopoly price. Yet, as Harvey argues the two forms of *monopoly rent* often intersect.

Harvey (2001b; 2001: 396) identifies two contradictions specific to the second category of *monopoly rent*. First of all, while uniqueness and particularity are crucial to the definition of 'special qualities' the requirement of tradability means that no item can be so unique or so special as to be entirely outside of monetary calculations. In Harvey's understanding, a Picasso has to have a money-value as do archeological artifacts. Similarly, *Döşemealtı* Carpets of the Turcoman Nomads have to have a value like Byzantian or Seljukian historical buildings, ancient monuments like the Hadrian Doors, the House of St. Nicholas, and the experience of rafting down *Köprülü* Canyon, being in Kaleiçi or on top of the mountains at Beydağları in Antalya. Secondly, many items may not even be easy to trade upon directly. The contradiction here is that the marketing itself tends to destroy unique qualities More generally, to the degree that such items or events are easily marketable and subject to replication by forgeries, fakes, imitations or simulacra, the less of a basis the provide for monopoly rent. In this respect, the replication of the *Kremlin Palace*, *Topkapı Palace* or *Dolmabahçe Palace* neither makes Antalya a unique place nor increases its *monopoly rent*.

During the field research, ATSO president R22, representing most of the capitalists, believes that these highly luxurious resorts built by foreign investors will increase the monetary value of Antalya in the world tourism market (Picture 8.12; Picture 8.13). Informant R22 believes that these new facilities will receive in demand with a wealthier European tourist profile:

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[348] See the news "Turizmde yatırım hedefi 15 milyar Dolar" *Hürriyet,* 28.05.2007.

[349] See the news "Antalya'da yeni otel yapmak delilik" *Radikal,* 05.01.2007
http://www.arkitera.com/h13612-antalyada-yeni-otel-yapmak-delilik.html, accessed on 21.04.2010

R22: *Very new. Like the Mardan İstanbul Palace Hotel[350] worth nearly 650 million Dollars, currently being built in Antalya. It's in the Kundu region. It will be one of the world's [best]. This is very important. Even though I have traveled the world, I have not found any hotels matching the quality of those in Antalya. […] It's important to balance the supply and demand. If you have 500 thousand beds, if they stay open six months and closed six months, this won't work. Everyone will compete to lower the prices. And frankly. The wealthy don't go to places where there are low prices. But today, we see that as places like Rixos, Mardan İstanbul Palace are opened—and these are not cheap—we will see <u>distinctions</u> appear over time.[351]*

Although increasing the comfort, luxury and star level of resorts seems like a solution for reaching wealthier tourist demands, the contents of the product in fact remain the same; the sun-sea-sand trio is offered, but offered to the world tourism market for heftier prices. The total amount tourism investments made as of the end of 2006 in the Antalya region was 8-10 billion, while, as of 2007, foreign investors started making billion dollar investments.[352]

Informant R11 points out that despite the problems in the current situation in Antalya in the tourism field, a sector of this size requires the central government to make new arrangements and local actors in the field to facilitate its restructuring if it is to maintain its competitive edge,:

R11: *We have to accept that in Turkey—let's face it—the central government, especially the Ministry of Tourism, played a great role in the development of tourism, like a locomotive. For Antalya was where the Ministry made the largest number of land allocations. This is the first planned region. Therefore, the central government has played an important part. It was in this way that land allocations and special loan opportunities were provided as incentives to Turkish entrepreneurs. […] This sector has reached about 40 billion dollars in investments—when we look at the total investments made by public and private sectors. Just the accommodation oriented investments in the Antalya Region have reached 8-10 billion Dollars. This is a very serious investment and [until the second half of the 2000s], there is very little foreign investment. This has happened through 95% of domestic capital. This, we bear the responsibility of carrying this investment into the future.[353]*

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[350] See the news "Milyar Dolarlık Otele çok ünlü konuklar: Hollywood Antalya'da" *HaberTürk*, 08.05.2009
"1,4 milyar dolara otel yaptı, yemek takımına 25 milyon Euro yatırdı" *Hürriyet,* 23.05.2009.
http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/11709458.asp, accessed on 21.04.2010; "Sharon Stone: İsmailov bu abideyle krizde istihdam yarattı" *Hürriyet,* 24.05.2009; "Richard Gere: İsmailov Vakfımıza bağış yaptığı için geldim" *Hürriyet,* 24.05.2009 accessible at http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/11713657.asp, accessed on 21.04.2010; Yaşin, M. "Yıldızların ötesinde, hayal tatilleri" *Hürriyet-Seyahat,* 12.07.2009.

[351] **R22:** Yani çok yeni mesela şu anda aşağı yukarı tahmin ediyorum değeri 650 milyon dolarlık Mardan İstanbul Palaceoteli yapılıyor Antalyaya. Kundu bölgesinde yapılıyor bu otel. Dünyanın sayılı otellerinden bir tanesi olacak bu otel. Bu çok önemli. Ben dünyanın bir çok yerini gezmeme rağmen Antalyadaki otellerin kalitesini göremiyorum yani. […] Arz talep dengesini çok iyi ayarlamanız lazım. Sizin 500 bin yatağınız varsa, altı aylık açık kalıyorsa, altı ay kapalı kalıyorsa bu iş yürümez. Herkes birbirine girer fiyatı düşürmek için. Düşük fiyatın olduğu yerde de zengin insan gelmez açıkcası. Fakat bugün, şunu da görüyoruz ama, şunu da görüyoruz artık Rixos, Mardan İstanbul Palace gibi oteller açıldıkça—ki bunların da satış fiyatları hiç de düşük değil—yavaş yavaş bir <u>ayrışma</u> başlayacaktır.

[352] See the news "Observer: Milyoner Cennetine dönüşen Antalya yeni Dubai" *Hürriyet,* 01.06.2009, accessible at http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/11713657.asp

[353] **R11:** Türkiye'de—şunu kabul edelim bir kere, büyük bir gerçek bu—turizmin hızlı bir şekilde bir lokomotif gibi gelişmesinde merkezi otoritenin özellikle Turizm Bakanlığı'nın büyük bir katkısı vardır. Çünkü Antalya'nın şöyle bir özelliği vardır; Turizm Bakanlığı'nın geçmiş yıllarda yapmış olduğu arazi tahsislerinin en fazla sayıda olanı Antalya'dadır. İlk planlı bölge buradadır. Dolayısıyla, merkezi otoritenin turizmin hareketlenmesinde Antalya'nın özel bir yeri vardır, özel bir bakış açısı vardır. Dolayısıyla bu girişimde merkezi hükümetin katkısı çoktur. Bu şekilde; Türkiye'de özel teşebbüsü özendirmek için arazi tahsisi ve özel kredi imkanları sağlanarak yatırımcılar özendirilmiştir. […] Bu sektör, aşağı yukarı 40 milyar dolarlık bir yatırım hacmine ulaşmış bir sektördür—kamu ve özel sektörün birlikte yaptığı yatırımların toplamı olarak bakıldığında. Antalya Bölgesi'nde sadece konaklama amaçlı yatırımların hacmi de 8-10 milyar dolara ulaşmıştır. Çok ciddi bir yatırımdır ve bu yatırımlarda [2000li yılların ikinci yarısına kadar] yabancı sermaye hemen hemen yok gibidir. %95 oranında bu ülkenin öz sermayesi ile yapılmıştır. Dolayısıyla bu yatırımı geleceğe taşıma sorumluluğumuz vardır.

Informant R11 also states that the turn over time for tourism resort investments in Antalya used to be shorter, and that today, with the increase in the number of resorts and the fact that they offer a single type of product for cheap in the international market, the turn-over time has now reached 10-12 years. Investments still made in the tourism sector rapidly losing its competitive power results in new debates in this field, which sometimes exhibits inconsistencies. For instance, the bomb that went off in the Antalya city center in August, 2006 went off in the middle of Turkey's tourism center.[354] FG4 ve R24 make striking comments about the unexpected negative developments in the tourism field:

> **FG4:** *There is only tourism here. Tourism is extremely inconsistent: One good year followed by a bad year. One terrorist related event occurs and the tourists don't come. America invades Iraq, so tourists don't come. Therefore the people working in the tourism sector, especially the small businessmen constantly worry about what will happen next year. There is no continuity in businesses, either. Owners change every year. So do the workers. All of the workers, from the animation teams to the others, they stay at a bed and breakfast type of place. Every year they meet new people and the next year they go to a different place. Due to the flexibility of the working hours, a sense of solidarity or even friendship does not develop. Even if the name of a hotel stays the same, you may not get the same service there the year after.* [355]

> **R24:** *But consider the general conjuncture of Turkey, its general geopolitical* [characteristic]. *If there are new events happening every day; both the external factors like terror across the border, our neighbors' problems, [and internal such as] our business related problems, the political inconsistencies they all make an impact. Tourism is not something you are forced to do; you want to be comfortable at a destination of your choosing at a special time in your life. You have dreams. Tourism is based on dreams. You dream, where can I have a peaceful vacation this summer, how can I get away from all the stress and find peace of mind? You make a choice to fulfill the image in your mind. Finances are of course very important to you as a consumer. But you don't want risks where you go. Your first priority is* <u>safety</u>. *You don't want to risk yourself.* [356]

Informant FG4, who has worked in the tourism sector for years talks about the cancelled bookings and what happened subsequently in the sector following the bombing in Antalya. Informant R7 has striking views on the issue:

> **FG4:** *Germans make the greatest number of cancellations when there is a terrorist related incident. Then they turn to the Russian tourists. When there is a terrorist incident, it's not only the hotels that empty out. The bookings for later*

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[354] See the news "Antalya'da her yer ay-yıldızlı bayrak: Vatandaş terörün izlerini bir gecede sildi" Hürriyet, 30.08.2006.

[355] **FG4:** Burada yalnızca turizm var. Turizm o kadar istikrarsız ki: Bu sene iyi seneye kötü. Terör oluyor, gelmiyor turist. Amerika Irak'a giriyor, buraya turist gelmiyor. Bu nedenle turizm sektöründe çalışan insanlarda da şey var: Bu sene yaptım yaptım, seneye ne olacağı belli değil. Bunun tedirginliği var küçük işletmecide. Bir süreklilik de yok işletmelerde. Her sene sahibi değişiyor. Çalışanlar da öyle. Çalıştıkları otelde animatöründen tutun da diğer görevlilere pansiyon gibi bir yer gösteriliyor. Çoğu orada tanışıyor seneye başka bir yerde. Dolayısıyla çalışma saatlerinin esnekliği nedeniyle aralarında bir dayanışma, bir arkadaşlık falan da sözkonusu değil. Bir otelin adı bile aynı kalsa bir sonraki sene oradan aynı hizmeti alamayabilirsiniz.

[356] **R24:** Ama Türkiyenin genel konjöktörünü düşünün genel jeopolitiğini düşünün. Bu ülkede her gün yeni bir takım dalgalanmalar oluyorsa; hem dış çevresiyle, yani sınırlarımızın ötesinde terördü, işte efendim komşularımızın problemleriydi, iş problemlerinizdi, siyasi istikrarsızlığınızdı, bütün bunlar hepsi tesir ediyor. Turizm, çünkü zoraki yapılan bir iş değil, sizin rahat edebilmeniz için dünyada çalışırken, kendinize ayırdığınız çok özel bir günde gitmek istediğiniz bir destinasyon. Hayal ediyorsunuz siz. Turizm hayal üzerine kurulu. Siz peşin hayal ediyorsunuz. Ben bu yaz tatilimi nerde huzur içinde geçirebilirim, ve nasıl stresten uzak olabilirim ve nasıl huzur bulabilirim diye. Kafanızdaki imajınızı gerçekleştirebilmek için bir seçim yapıyorsunuz. Bunda ekonomi de çok önemli tabi, cebinizdeki para da çok önemli bir tüketici olarak. Ama gideceğiniz yerde risklerin olmamasını istiyorsunuz bir. Birinci sırada <u>güven,</u> hiçbir şekilde kendinizi riske atmak istemiyorsunuz.

are also cancelled. There are other policies involved; it's not just tourism policies. Business owners hope to get through this year under such unstable circumstances and pray things improve for the coming year.[357]

R7: *At least hotel owners and the tourism businesses think about how they can increase their revenues. Another group of people here say "No, we want fewer tourists. Us Antalyalites used to have a lifestyle that we lost to tourism" They are right. What tourism should be, what should be interesting to the tourists should be "the sharing of a life style with its past, present and future as a traveler passing through". They say, "It's not attracting tourists to 4 or 5 star hotels that are the same around the world". Antalya is among the largest five cities in Turkey. When there is a bombing in one of these five places—anywhere in Turkey—, when there is a serious conflict in Antalya, a rough period when the rates will fall from 80-90% to 20% and hotels will be sold to tourist for peanuts and close after a few years will take place.[358]*

8.3.   Search for Niche Tourism

Since there is no universal tourism experience which is true for all tourists at all times, the tourism industry has transitioned from "one-size-fits-all" *mass tourism* to *niche tourism*. Limiting the type of tourists that visit upon observing the difficulty the industry is experiencing instead of complaining about how the tourism industry, the backbone of Antalya's city economy, has turned into "all inclusive" mass tourism during certain seasons brings to mind the Turkish saying "He who goes to Dimyat for rice loses the bulgur at home". What the actors in the tourism field in Antalya are trying to do seems to be retaining *mass tourists* on the one hand, but reaching *niche tourists* by creating product variety as a strategy. Of the informants aware of the gravity of the issue, during the field research ATSO president R22 and R13, a representative of the foreign investor company operating the Antalya Airport International Terminal 1, provide the examples below:

R22: *Here's what needs to be done: We do tourism according to the temperature of the sea water; as the sea water warms, the number of tourists increases and decreases when it cools As Antalya, we don't want to be limited by this. We want everyone to earn a share from the 9 million visiting tourists. Therefore, we want to make high quality tourists spend money, which means we have to attract tourists to the city center. We have to make them shop.[359]*

R13: *We are not talking about eliminating this* [mass tourism] *because this how we make a living. What can we do? Maybe we'll turn our hotels into boutique hotels. Make different investments Value gold resorts more. People*

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[357] **FG4:** Mesela terör olaylarından dolayı en fazla rezervasyon iptalini Almanlar yapıyor. Hop hemen Rus turiste dönüyorlar. Bir terör olayı olduğunda sadece oteller boşalmıyor daha sonraki rezervasyonlar da iptal oluyor. Başka politikalar da var işin içinde yalnızca turizm politikaları ile bitmiyor iş. İşletmeci de bu güvensiz ortamda bu seneyi çıkarayım seneye Allah Kerim diye iş yapıyor.

[358] **R7:** En azından otelci ve turizmci grup için gelirimizi nasıl arttırabiliriz yanı da olan bir şey. Burada bir grup insan "Hayır turist daha az gelsin. Biz Antalyalıların burada bir yaşam tarzı vardı biz onu yitirdik turizmle" diyenler de var. Çok doğru bir şey söylüyorlar. Turist gelecekse de turist için ilgi çekici olan "geçmişi, bugünü ve geleceği ile bir yaşam tarzının bir gezgin olarak paylaşılması" olmalı. "Yoksa dünyanın her yerinde olan 4 yıldızlı 5 yıldızlı olan otellere turist çekmek değildir" diye bir şey söylüyorlar. Antalya Türkiye'nin en büyük beş şehrinden biri. Beş yerde bomba atıldığında— Türkiye'nin herhangi bir yerinde—Antalya'da önemli bir çatışma olduğunda bomba atıldığında doluluk oranı % 80-90lardan %20lere düşecek ve otellerin 3 kuruş 5 paraya yabancılara satıldığı ve bir ara birkaç yıl kapılarını kapattığı bir körleşme dönemi yaşayacak.

[359] **R22:** Yapılması gereken olay şu: Yani biz deniz suyu sıcaklığıyla turizm yapıyoruz; deniz suyu ısındıkça turist sayısı yükseliyor, deniz suyu sıcaklığı azaldıkça turist sayısı düşüyor. Biz Antalya olarak bunu deniz suyu sıcaklığına bağlı kalmak istemiyoruz. Şehrin turistten, bu dokuz milyon gelecek olan insandan herkesin belirli kesiminin pay almasını istiyoruz. Bunun için zaten istediğimiz yüksek kaliteli, belirli para harcayacak, turiste para harcatmamız gerekiyor bunun içinde şehir merkezine turisti çekmemiz gerekiyor. Alış veriş yaptırmamız gerekiyor.

should be able to come here for a kidney transplant or to make their faces more attractive. The number of tourists we can bring with conventions may provide a quarter of the sun-sand-sea tourism. Another advantage is that this kind of tourism would not be limited to the season like the sun-sand-sea tourism. 80% of the foreign tourists come within a period of 6 months. The other 6 months should bring convention tourism, culture tourism, health tourism and so on, but these tourism products just have not developed enough. If these were developed, the beds empty during off season could be filled. Furthermore, Antalya's most important revenue source is tourism. Most of our international flight passengers; or at least a significant portion of these passengers, are tourists. The sun-sea-sand tourism has turned into one which appeals to lower economic level tourists. In Turkey, we will always utilize the sun, the sea and the sand in this kind of tourism. Our facilities are still new and modern but they need to diversify and other activities need to be started in the city, near the city, one to five kilometers around the hotels. These could be arcades, themed parks, hiking tours, culture tours and even convention and religious tourism, even though these two won't bring in too many tourists and thus fill in the gaps around the sun-sand-sea tourism. [360]

In fact, debates concerning the diversification of the tourism in Antalya have been going on since the 1990-2004 municipal governance period. For example, Informant R16, the previous AGM president, underlines the necessity for the spread of tourism in Antalya currently stuck between the sea and highway to especially the inner regions. Another type of tourism Informant R16 finds important is ski tourism. Though the season is not very long, he believes that the ski resort in *Saklıkent* needs to be revived during the alternative season. The golf resorts that first opened in 1994 as another type of tourism meet the demand of tourists of a different profile. 'Golf tournaments'[361] are held in the Belek Region[362], which has begun to draw golfers' attention worldwide with its golf fields covering at least a thousand acres. Moreover, these golf resorts, which provide employment opportunities for the inhabitants of villages nearby, are a social space for Turkey's well-known business people and celebrities.[363]

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[360] **R13:** Bunu [mass tourism] kaldırmaktan bahsetmiyoruz çünkü bu işten para kazanıyoruz. Ne yapacağız? Otellerimizi butik otel tarzına çevireceğiz belki. Daha farklı yatırımlar yapacağız. Golf tesislerine daha fazla değer vereceğiz. İnsanlar böbrek ameliyatı olmak için buraya gelebilmeli ya da yüzünü güzelleştirmek için buraya gelebilmeli. Onun dışında kongre için getireceğimiz turist sayısı şu andaki deniz, güneş, kum turizminin belki dörtte birini sağlayacak. Bir başka avantajı var, deniz, güneş, kum turizminde sezonla sınırlı değil. Altı ayda %80'i geliyor Antalya'ya gelen yabancıların. Kalan altı ayda kongre turizmi, kültür turizmi, sağlık turizmi, vs. turizmi gibi turizm ürünleri geliştirilmeli ama bir türlü gelişmedi. Bunların gelişmesi durumunda atıl kalan yataklarında, atıl kapasitenin de kullanılmış olacaktır. Bunun dışında da özellikle Antalya'nın şu anda en önemli gelir kaynağı turizm. Dış hat yolcu sayımızın ya da toplum yolcu sayımızın belli bir kısmı hep turist. Turistleri, deniz, güneş, kum turizmi ki bugün çok düşük gelirli insanların geldiği bir turizm haline döndü. Türkiye olarak bu deniz, güneş, kum zaten elimizde var onu kullanacağız, o kalacak. Tesislerimiz hala yeni ve modern tesisler ama bunun dışında çeşitlendirmek anlamında şehir içerisinde, şehir yakınlarında, otelin çevresinde bir km, beş km uzağında başka aktivitelere başlamak yapmak gerekiyor. Bunlar oyun salonları, temalı parklar, yürüyüşler, kültür turları, her ne kadar çok sayıda insan getirmeyecekse de kongre ve dini turizmler vs. çeşitlendirip, deniz, güneş, kum turizminin etrafını doldurmak gerekiyor.

[361] See the news "Turnuva dualarla açılacak: Dünya Rotary Golf Şampiyonası Belek'te 1Mayıs'ta başlıyor. Açılışta İmam, Haham ve Papaz dua edecek" *Milliyet-Akdeniz*, 1.04.2006; See also "1 milyon Euro'luk golf turnuvası 600 bin turisti Antalya'ya çeker" *Hürriyet,* 09.05.2008 accessible at http://www.antalyabusiness.com/index.php?mod_id=3020&tur=3&hbr_id=2057

[362] "Belek Bölgesi Akdeniz sahillerinde Antalya ilinin 30 km doğusunda yer almaktadır. Belek 23 km uzunluğunda sahili olan, 2210 ha'lık orman alanı içerisinde 35 adet 5 yıldızlı otel ve tatil köyü, 3 adet 27 delikli, 3 adet 18 delikli golf sahası ve kulübü ile yaklaşık 35,000 yatak kapasitesine sahiptir" (Bataklıktan Doğan Cennet, 2005 *Vizyon*, 19/214: 28-31).

[363] See the news by Terzi, Ş. "Belek'in Caddy'leri İngilizce konuşuyor ayda 800 Euro kazanıyor" *Hürriyet-Pazar*, 16.04.2007 accessible at http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=6244848, accessed on 27.04.2010; See also "Golfçülerin Antalya Çıkaması" *Hürriyet-Magazin*, 30.10.2008.

According to MOAŞ (2007: 66), eco-tourism[364] and culture tourism, which are the most significant alternatives to mass tourism, are the fields that most need to be prioritized in Antalya. However, "it is understood from the results of the "Antalya Region Tourist Profile Investigation" (2008) that the percentage of tourists who visit the historical, natural, cultural or art sites in and around Antalya during the vacation time they spend in the Antalya region is not very high (Table 8.7). The Informants formally interviewed during the field research and those spontaneously interviewed have generally reminisced about how the tourists visiting Antalya at the end of the 70s and beginning of the 80s, with their higher cultural sophistication level and higher spending potential, were vastly different than the mass tourists visiting today; and that they used to go downtown to meet the city culture of Antalya and experience it. The results of the "Antalya Region Tourist Profile Investigation" (2008) verify the observations of the informants. A large percentage, 60%, mention in the study that they have not visited the city center during the time they spent in the Antalya area.

Türel, eight months before he was elected the president of AGM, while he was still the president of ATSO, points out that it is wrong to focus only on the 3S (sun-sea-sand) tourism to meet especially the expectations of the city tradesmen in the field of tourism for "the tourists staying at the holiday villages to come downtown". In this context, Türel recommends coming up with a solution through the cooperation of the city shareholders, as do the entrepreneurial mayors of entrepreneurial cities who follow neoliberal policies (see also urban renovation and pedestrianization of city center for the sake of urban tourism in subsection 7.2.1):

> It is simplistic to say, "The holiday village customers should be brought downtown for shopping". Our cities and our shopping centers should become tourism products themselves ad create and attract their own tourists. The time has come to bring forth the concept of 'urban tourism' Urban tourism is based on the cities own elements such as architecture, culture, history, entertainment, art, conventions and fairs, shopping, and sports. The tourists come to town for these, walk around the city and shop. We must take into consideration that this type of tourism is different than sea tourism. We can not just see the issue in terms of expectations for the sea tourism customers to come to the city. What we must do is to directly market the tourism opportunities in the city center domestically and internationally (Türel, *ATSO Dergisi,* 2003: 3).

In May 2004, two months after Türel was elected as AGM Mayor, the popular Turkish newspaper *Milliyet* published a fourteen page supplement called *Business Antalya*. This supplement virtually outlined the strategies in the fields the Mayor, incidentally a very experienced journalist himself, would prioritize during his five year governance term. The topics covered in the aforementioned supplement are, in fact, many strategies employed by the municipal governance and growth coalition during the 2004-2009 municipal governance period, and include Antalya's goal of

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[364] See "Alternatif Turizmin Yeni Adresi; Eko Park" (2005) *Vizyon*, (19) 211: 12-13.

being number one in Mediterranean tourism, its tourism being not only about 'sun-sea-sand' and the abundant cultural riches, the focus on convention and festival tourism and the promotion of cultural and art related activities, branding Antalya and the strengthening of Antalya's image, which is already its brand, the investments in resorts despite the crisis.[365]

However, in the summer of 2006, when the field research for this doctoral dissertation was initiated, the information gathered from the informants does not yet point to any concrete products produced for 'urban tourism' —apart from the internationalization and restructuring of AGOFF (see subsection 6.2)—as an alternative to the mass tourism in Antalya, which stands at an "all inclusive" impasse.

> **R19:** *They have been in power for three years including this year* [2006]. *Similar debates went on during the previous administrations as well. Tourists don't come into [the city of] Antalya. I believe that the tourists are the same as well. If you were one of those tourists, what would you do if they planned an outing and put you on a bus and dropped you off in front of Kalekapısı, here? First you would get angry with the tour guide for bringing you out here, where it's covered with cement, under the scorching sun. You would regret you had come in the first place. There are no special fields in Antalya to reflect that culture and appeal to people. Even in the restaurants there is no traditional Antalya [dish]. Even the souvenir shops don't sell anything made in country.[366]*

> **R6:** *Good tourists* [implies niche tourist or urban tourist] *has no access to that culture. We have destroyed it, there's nothing left for them to see. In Antalya they now take tourists to shopping malls. To [*the supermarkets like*] Gima, and Migros and they brag about this. So is that where a good tourist would go? To Migros? That's where the ad tourist goes. And so the city is wailing about how no one comes to the city center. The Chamber of Commerce and Industry takes 'measures' [367] and such, but nothing happens. It used to be that good tourists would hang out around downtown. They would show at the jewelers', the shoe store and the others. Now you have destroyed these.[368]*

Informant R6 makes a nostalgic outburst and R19 is realistically critical. Other informants, with their comments below, try to come up with ideas for creating new tourism products for tourists who demand an introduction to the city's local culture, who are safely and comfortably mobile within the city, who shop, and who participate in the art and culture activities in the city as

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365 See the news by Taş, D. "Hazinenin üzerindeyiz farkında değiliz" *Milliyet-Business Antalya*, 10.08.2004; Taş, D. "Hedef: Akdeniz'in bir numarası olmak" *Milliyet-Business Antalya*, 10.08.2004; Taş, D. "Rehber kardeşlerin şirketi OTİ 10 tane 3 yıldızlı otel alacak" *Milliyet-Business Antalya*, 10.08.2004; Taş, D. "Krize aldırmayan 'Çılgın Türk' yeni çılgınlık peşinde" *Milliyet-Business Antalya*, 10.08.2004; see also "İçinde yunuslar yüzen 60 milyon dolarlık yatırım" Milliyet-Business Antalya, 10.08.2004.

366 **R19:** Bu yıl [2006] da dahil üç yıldır yönetimdeler. Bundan önceki yönetimlerde de aynı tartışmalar devam ediyordu. Turist Antalya'nın içine gelmiyor. Turist de eskisinin aynısı bence. O turistin yerinde olsanız sizi otelden bir program yaparak çıkarıp otobüsle şu Kalekapısı'nın önünde bıraksalar ne yapacaksınız? Tur rehberine kızarsınız her şeyden önce ben burada 40 derece sıcakta betonun üzerinde ne yapacağım diye. Geldiğinize geleceğinize pişman olursunuz. Antalya'nın içinde o kültürü yansıtacak, insanı çekecek hiçbir özel alan yok. Lokantalarında bile Antalya'ya özgü bir şey satılmıyor. Yerelde üretilen hiçbir ürün satılmıyor hediyelik eşya mağazalarında bile.

367 See the news "Cesur ve Örnek 11 Esnafımız: Antalya esnafı, halka ve turiste güvenli satış için önerilen belgeyi istemedi. 27 bin esnaftan sadece 11'i 'Tüketiciyi Koruma Garanti Belgesi' aldı" Hürriyet-Akdeniz, 11.08.2006.

368 **R6:** İyi turist [implies niche tourist or urban tourist] o kültüre ulaşamıyor. Yok ettik çünkü her şeyi göreceği bir şey kalmadı. Yani, Antalya'da şimdi turistleri alıp alış-veriş merkezlerine götürüyorlar. Gima'ya götürüyorlar, Migros'a götürüyorlar ve bununla övünüyorlar. Yani, iyi turist şimdi Migros'a gider mi? Kötü turist gidiyor oraya. Şimdi şehir de inim inim inliyo.., diyor ki: "Bize kimse gelmiyor şehir merkezine." Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası[368] önlemler alıyor, şu oluyo.., bu oluyo.., yok. Eskiden iyi turist şehirde dolaşırdı. Yani alış-verişini kuyumcudan yapardı, şuradan yapardı, terlikçiye giderdi, şuna giderdi, buna giderdi. Şimdi, onları yok ettiniz.

spectators or performers; who are in short 'urban tourists'. These informants believe this should be done instead of looking for ways to bring downtown the mass tourists who arrive in 'all inclusive' package tours and stay in the so called 'tourist bubble' in holiday villages:

> **R11:** *You can not just do culture tourism in a country or city* [without any effort]. *The culture there has to be turned into a product. Like a basket; one that is in the store window.*[369]

> **R22:** *Some things need to be done for this* [to be achieved]. *Some efforts are being made but there is still no real connection between the Kundu area with its 35 thousand beds and the Antalya downtown area. The cab drivers there still do not let in any other cab drivers. He wants the customer to himself. You would have to pay 300 Euro to get from there to the city center; impossible. We need to lay the groundwork for this. Along with the Kundu area, Belek area and Kemer area. A tourist should be able to show an ID card and get out of his hotel in Kundu and pay 1 Euro to come to the city center. And return at his leisure after walking around. And there has to be things in the city center to attract tourists. One major opportunity to make use of in this respect is Kaleiçi.* [370]

During the 2004-2009 period, under the leading agency of the AGM, the city share holders, who aimed to produce diversified tourism products in the field of tourism first started a growth coalition to develop 'urban tourism' strategies (see also subsection 7.2.1), as seen in the agendas of ATSO's monthly meetings, and the monthly publication, *Vizyon* Magazine. ATSO, which is not active only in the field of tourism, but all commercial and industrial fields within the city's economy, is seen as the most important element of the growth machine formed for the growth oriented urban restructuring process following the election of their previous president Türel as AGM president. During this new period, in October 2005, ATSO, as an active actor in Antalya, a city with aspirations of becoming one of the world's entrepreneurial cities, and where neoliberal policies were followed, organized a 'Search Conference' for its own assembly members in celebration of the centennial anniversary of the Turkish Republic, in which the vision for the year 2023 would be discussed. The basic goals established by the end of this event for 2023 were: 30 million tourists; 35 billion dollars in tourism revenues; becoming a world leader in Agriculture, becoming a city of universities, museums and festivals (ATSO, 2005, "Cumhuriyet'in 100. Yılı" *Vizyon*, 18/205: 22-27).

In this period, with a subversive actor, Menderes Türel, is the first citizen of Antalya, i.e., the AGM president, the formation of a growth machine for 'urban restructuring' is apparent not only in the field of tourism, but also art and culture (see Chapter 6), urban space (see Chapter, 7),

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[369] **R11:** Bir ülkede ya da bir kentte durup dururken kültür turizmi yapılamaz. Oradaki kültürün de bir ürün haline getirilmesi gerekir. Yani sepet, vitrinde duran bir sepet gibi.

[370] **R22:** Bunun için neler yapmamız lazım. Yani bir şeyle uğraşılıyor ama hala 35 bin yatağı olan Kundu bölgesiyle Antalya şehir merkezinin hiçbir çaplı bağlantısı yoktur. Hala ordaki taksici dışardan taksiciyi hiçbir şekilde içeriye sokmuyor. Ben taksiyle götürüm diyor. 300 Euro'ya bir kişinin ordan 100 Euro verip taksiyle şehir merkezine gelmesi gerekiyor, yok böyle bir şey yani. İşte bunun için alt yapımızı hazırlamamız lazım. Kundu bölgesiyle, Belek bölgesiyle, Kemer bölgesiyle beraber. Kundu'dan otelinden çıkıp, kartını gösterip 1 euro verip şehir merkezine gelebilmeli, şehir merkezinden de istediği saatte gezip dönebilmeli. Ve şehir merkezinde de turisti cezbedecek bir şeyler olabilmesi lazım. Bunun için en büyük şanslardan bir tanesi Kaleiçi.

economy (see Chapter 9). This is clearly seen in the message broadcast from the official AGM web site during Türel's presidency:

> We aim to bring Antalya up to the level of European cities like Barcelona, Paris and London. The way to do this is to increase Antalya's brand value. We will do whatever it takes to become a world brand in tourism. We have initiated a 100 trillion investment to this end. "Our goal is to make ANTALYA a world city" (http://www.antalya.bel.tr/tr/bel_baskan/projeleri.cfm, 11 March 2008).

The report prepared by Brandassist and Interlace Invent for the Antalya Greater City Municipality and the Antalya Chamber of Commerce and Industry entitled, *Antalya Manifesto; City Brand Strategic Plan*, (2008), on the one hand reflects the common view of the city's 24 shareholders[371] (see appendix); on the other hand it reflects the growth oriented coalitions of the influential urban elite. The recommendations directed towards the tourism field in this report are led the creation of alternative products to 'all inclusive' mass tourism such golf tourism targeting Europe's older (55+) population, as well as 'health tourism' [372] The report also recommends appealing to this older European population, with their wealthy and their high expectations of quality of life as a permanent residence and not just for short term vacationing. "We must become a city that can do health tourism,"[373] says ATSO Assembly Member Odman Ertekin, and points out that Turkey's cost advantage in this respect, as well as the subfields of new medicine in which there is specialization such as dialysis, ophthalmology, organ transplants, oral and dental health, in vitro fertilization, need to be promoted to the target audience (ATSO, 2006, *Vizyon* 20/217: 51). The development of new housing projects to fulfill the needs and expectations of this target group was also suggested.

Secondly, the creation of an 'Antalya Card' by the city shareholders is recommended to build a bridge between the existing 'all inclusive' system and the other opportunities Antalya offers in the tourism field. It is also advised that public transportation be included in the scope of this card. Of the informants, those representing tourism, commerce and industry in Antalya, namely R11, R22, R23, share the view that resolving the crisis of the 'all is inclusive' dead end in Antalya, "70% of whose economic structure is based on tourism," seems to mean resolving many problems in city.

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[371] Of the 24 city shareholders who stated their opinios in the *Antalya Manifesto; Şehir Marka Stratejik Planı*, (2008), 8 have been formally interviewed in-depth within the scope of the field study of this dissertation. The views of Menderes Türel and Hüseyin Çimrin have been obtained from written materials.

[372] See the news "Talya Göz turist de getiriyor" *Hürriyet-Akdeniz*, 11.08.2006; See also the news by Tüzün, H. "Turist hem tatil yapacak hem tedavi olacak" *Radikal*, 28.05.2007. http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=222461, accessed on 27.04.2010; See also the news "Norveç'in Yaşlıları Antalya'ya: İskandinav ülkelerinde faaliyet gösteren Scandinavian Life Center (SLC) şirketi ile Norveç Hükümeti, yaşlı Norveçlilerin bakım, tedavi, rehabilitasyonunun Antalya'da yapılması için anlaştı" *Hürriyet*, 04.10.2008.

[373] ATSO, (2007) Ertekin, O. "Sağlık Turizmi Yapabilen Bir Kent Olmalıyız" *Vizyon* (20) 217: 51.

In the words of R11, tourism is a "generator" industry for Antalya. It stimulates other fields such as construction and construction materials, but especially air transportation.

> **R11:** *Tourism is actually just like a generator. The proverbial energy you produce spreads to other fields and stimulates them. In the field of production, that is. For example, a very rapid construction period is being experienced. In Antalya. The whole construction sector in Turkey is lured here in terms of construction as well as the development of the production of construction materials.[374]*

The structure of the field of tourism which is one of the most vital sub-fields in Antalya's field of economy broadens with a series of intertwined sub- and perhaps super-fields such as transportation, information, travel agencies, banking, promotion, accommodation, hospitality, culinary arts, entertainment, sports, culture, art and city spaces. Hence, the process of 'urban restructuring' in Antalya to resolve the crises in the field of tourism has spread toward other fields, namely the field of urban planning and design, the field of art and culture, and finally to the field of economy with the hope of becoming a 'world city'. In actuality, the visible acceleration in the 'urban restructuring' process, which aims to develop 'urban tourism' in Antalya and encompasses the fields mentioned above, could be explained with the fact that the municipal government and the central government are composed of the same political party (AKP) as pointed out by some informants.

> **R11:** *I believe that Antalya has always been a city observed carefully by central governments due to its leading position in tourism. There may be problems stemming from the local administrators and the central government having different political views, but <u>Antalya has always had a special position in the eyes of central governments</u>.[375]*

> **R24:** *Let's talk a bit about its past. Until today, there was always a different party's, CHP's contributions on a social democratic path along this whole coast line where tourism is strong. But there is a changing trend in all touristy areas and that is towards AKP, the party in power. This change and these different expectations might be due to Turkey's structure. Because if you are a municipality at odds with the central government, this means you profit less from this. Of course, the increase in the investments in Antalya especially during this period, this air of change, in other words this transition from town to city was only possible with support from Ankara, as well. But this would not be happening solely through Ankara's assistance. <u>There were locals who wanted this change who contributed to this.</u> That's why we see so many large investments in Antalya, also in the culture field, not to mention major changes even in the AGOFF, which has been held for over 40 years in this period. These are not all Ankara's doing, regional will also plays an important role.[376]*

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[374] **R11:** Yani turizmin şöyle bir özelliği var. Turizm tıpkı bir jeneratör gibidir aslında. Sizin ürettiğiniz enerji bir anlamda dağılıyor başka alanlara ve o farklı alanları da harekete geçiriyor. Yani üretim anlamında, mesela çok hızlı bir inşaat süreci yaşanıyor Antalya'da. Bütün Türkiye'deki inşaat sektörünü buraya çekiyor. Hem yapım anlamında hem de inşaat sektöründe kullanılan malzemenin üretiminin gelişimi anlamında.

[375] **R11:** Sanırım Antalya turizmdeki bu öncü konumundan dolayı merkezi hükümetlerin önemle izlediği bir kent olmuştur her zaman için. Genelde buradaki yerel idarecilerin merkezi hükümetle aynı siyasi görüş içinde olup olmamalarından kaynaklanan sıkıntılar olabilir ancak Antalya <u>her zaman için merkezi hükümetler için özel bir yere sahip olmuştur.</u>

[376] **R24:** İsterseniz biraz geçmişinden bahsedelim. Bütün bu sahil bölgesinden turizmin hüküm sürdüğü bölgelerde ağırlıklı olarak tabi ki farklı bir siyasi partinin yani CHP ağırlıklı sosyal demokrat çizgide kazanımları vardı bugüne kadar. Ama bütün turizm bölgelerinde de görülen bir değişim var, o da AKP'ye doğru, yani iktidar partisine doğru bir kayma var. Burda ciddi olarak Türkiyedeki yapıdan da kaynaklanıyor olabilir değişim, beklentiler. Çünkü eğer merkezi hükümetten ayrı bir belediye iseniz bundan daha az nemalanıyorsunuz demektir. Tabi Antalyanın özellikle bu dönemde çok büyük yatırımlar içine girmiş olması, bir kabuk değiştirmesi, yani kasabalıktan kente geçiş yapması kuşkusuz Ankara'nın desteğiyle de olmuştur. Ama bu sadece Ankara'nın desteği ile olacak şey değil. <u>Buradaki bölgesel olarak bu değişimi isteyenler oldu ki onlar da buna katkıda bulundular.</u> Onun için bu dönemde Antalyada çok büyük yatırımlar yapıldığını, kültürü yatırımlarının da yapıldığını, kırk yılı aşkın yıldır yapılan Altın Portakal festivalanın bile kabuk değiştirdiğini görüyoruz. Bunlar hep Ankaranın işleri değil, bu aynı zamanda bölgenin kendi insiyatifiylede olan olaylar.

R20: *Yesterday there was this thing. A promotional reception in honor of the fourth year of the municipality, or something. I mean, has anyone ever heard of such a thing? Instead of explaining what they have been up to for four years, they talked about how the prime minister visited 20 times. Every day some minister visits, the prime minister visits, the president visits. They care a great deal. Maybe this is a policy geared toward destroying CHP's last bastion. It's as if should they get Baykal out of the picture here, they will rule all over Turkey. I think this is why Antalya is important.* [377]

R23: *Now the central government and Antalya. Antalya. Everyone keeps saying how important this is! Antalya has always received a part of the funds. This has increased in the last couple of years. The investment amount from the central budget per capita has increased in Antalya. And that is a public hospital, a new courthouse building and the like. A few roads, etcetera. […] Don't be fooled. Most of our taxes are in Istanbul. Most of Antalya's tourism yields are taxed outside of Antalya. If that would change, the tax revenues in Antalya would increase drastically.* [378]

R23: *Our local administrators get a share from the central government because of our taxes. But we are shortchanged. Because the taxes are paid there* [Istanbul or Ankara]*; they look at how much tax is paid and provide funds accordingly. This is wrong. Antalya should be granted special status. Because nine million people come here. The population increases in the summer and decreases in the winter. How many people is the municipality going to build sewage and purification systems? That's why Antalya deserves more. And you can't make Antalya shine with the typical investments made in typical cities.* [379]

The stakeholders seem impatient to develop 'urban tourism' in Antalya. Hence, they dwell on the short-term impacts of the Urban Propaganda Projects (UPPs) instead of taking into consideration the long-term, permanent effects of strategic planning. As described in subsection 2.2.1, the UPPs were generally developed though the partnership of the local municipal governments and private sectors. In Boyle's words, *strategic projects* —no matter what they are called, 'civic jingoism', 'local boosterism', 'flagship projects', 'urban spectacles', 'hallmark events' or 'place promotion'— are typically represented in terms of efforts made by local elites "to refashion collective emotion and consciousness within cities in order to legitimate political projects that function primarily in their interest" (Boyle, 1999: 55). R23, who represents ANSIAD, virtually speaks on behalf the growth machine expecting further support from the government regarding the development of UPPs:

R23: *Antalya needs projects with more vision. For example, a fast train is necessary between Antalya and Alanya as soon as possible. The inner city transportation is sometimes inadequate depending on the municipality, Antalya needs help. This is how tourists will come downtown. Even if Turkish Airlines loses money, there need to be direct flights*

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[377] **R20:** Dün şey vardı. Belediyenin dördüncü yılı tanıtma kokteyli mi ne öyle bir şey vardı. Yani hiç böyle şey görülmüş müdür? Dört yılda ne yaptıklarını anlatacaklarına, yirmi defa gelmiş en az başbakan onu anlattılar. Her gün bir bakan burda, başbakan burda, cumhurbaşkanı burda. Çok önem veriyorlar. Belki de CHP'nin son kalesini de yıkma politikası bu. Yani Baykal'ı buradan indirebilirlerse, sanki bütün Türkiye'ye hakim olunacakmış izlenimi var. Bence Antalya'nın önemi buradan geliyor.

[378] **R23:** Ha, şimdi merkezi hükümet ve Antalya. Antalya. Herkes de bu önemi ifade ediyor! Eskiden beri de Antalya belli bir parayı alır. Son yıllarda da arttı. Son bir iki yıldır arttı. Merkezi bütçeden aldığı yatırım payı, kişi başına düşen Antalya'nın arttı. O da devlet hastanesi, yeni adliye binası falan filan gibi bir iki yatırım, işte bir iki yol tamamlandı falan.

[379] **R23:** Şimdi neden, vergilerimizden de dolayı merkezi hükümetten bizim yerel yönetimler pay alıyor mesela. Ama eksik alıyoruz biz. Çünkü vergi orda veriliyor, Antalya'nın vergisine bakılıyor belediyelerin, ona göre para veriliyor. Bu yanlış. Antalya bir kere özel bir statüye sahip olmalı, yani mevcutman. Çünkü buraya dokuz milyon insan geliyor. Yazın nüfus 500 bin olan bir yere kışın nüfus düşüyor 200 bine. Belediye kime göre yapıyor, kime göre oraya kanalizasyon yapılacak, arıtma yapılacak. O yüzden Antalya bence daha fazlasını hak ediyor. Ve Antalya'ya klasik kentlere yapılan yatırımlarla Antalya'yı parlatamazsınız.

from the important cities to Antalya. After a while of investing in this, Antalya will be revitalized. For example a wealth Englishman, German or one from Dubai wouldn't be able to find a flight here if they wanted to come. You do VIP tourism. More money from the central budget needs to be allocated for the promotion of the Antalya city center. You can't just look at the population in Antalya and how much tax is collected there and do the same thing done for a city in Central Anatolia. Antalya makes invisible contributions that can not be calculated by Ankara to Turkey, to the Turkish people. These are very important and not unknown to Ankara… Take Cannes as an example. Cannes has amazing yacht tourism, Antalya has only one marina. If they built twenty more places to tie up a yacht, because there aren't hardly any. How can Antalya make do with only one? How can this single marina bear the weight of the slogan More than Mediterranean*? […] Antalya and the municipality needs more support. The central government increased the investments it made here in the last year, but a half percent increase just isn't enough.*[380]

Harvey (2006: 44-48) isolates four main elements of neo-liberalism for a state. First, *privatization*, which always follows the corporatization and commodification of public assets, has been a signal feature of the neo-liberal project. Moreover, the commodification of cultural forms, histories and intellectual creativity through tourism entails wholesale dispossessions. According to Harvey, the strong wave of *financialization* as the second major element of neo-liberalism, which set in after 1980, has been marked by its speculative and predatory style. The third element of neo-liberalism, *the creation, management and manipulation of crises* on the world stage has evolved into the fine art of deliberative redistribution of wealth from poor countries to the rich. As Harvey considers, the *state* as the fourth element of neoliberalism as a *prime agent* of redistributive policies, reversing the flaw from upper to lower classes as it occurred during the era of social democratic hegemony.

8.4.   The Antalya Airport as the Global Product of Tourism

In the 1960s, in the *Preinvestment Surveys of the Antalya Region,* it is also recommended that the airport and airport facilities in Antalya should be planned and developed as soon as possible to ensure direct flights from Western Europe. The installation of an Instrument Landing System (ILS), together with appropriate marker beacons, was called for (FAO-UN, Vol. 3, 1966: 81).[381] In the

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[380] **R23:** Antalya'nın daha çok vizyon projelere ihtiyacı var. Antalya-Alanya arasına mesela bir hızlı tren koyacaksınız, bunu bekletmeyeceksiniz. Antalya'nın kent içi ulaşımı için belediyenin imkanları yetiyor yetmiyor, bilmem ne oluyor, Antalya'ya yardımcı olacaksınız. Bu turist Antalya'nın merkezine böyle gelecek. Türk Hava Yolları zarar da etse Antalya'ya önemli metropollerden direkt sefer koyacak. Belli bir süre buna yatırım yapacaksınız sonra Antalya'yı hareketlendireceksiniz. Mesela bir İngiliz'in zengini, bir Alman'ın zengini, bir Dubai'nin zengini Antalya'ya gelse, gelecek uçak bulamıyor. VİP turizm yapacaksınız. Antalya'nın kent merkezinin tanıtımı için merkezi bütçeden daha fazla para ayrılması lazım. Yani siz Antalya'ya Antalya'nın nüfusu şu, şu kadar da vergi topluyor, hadi bakalım İç Anadolu'daki bir kent de bunu böyle yapıyor, bu kadar para verelim diyemezsiniz. Bir kere Antalya'nın görünmeyen ve Ankara tarafından hesap edilemeyen katkıları var Türkiye devletine, Türkiye milletine. Bunlar çok önemli saptamalardır aslında Ankara tarafından bilinir de… Mesela diyorsunuz Cannes. Cannes öyle bir yat turizmi yapıyor ki, Antalya'nın bir tane yat turizmi var. Yirmi tane de Antalyalılar yaparsa yat bağlayacak yer yok Antalya'da. Antalya'da bir tane küçücük yat marinasıyla Antalya olur mu? More than Mediterranean sloganını bu yat limanı kaldırır mı? […] Yani Antalya'nın desteklenmesi lazım, belediyesinin de daha çok desteklenmesi lazım. Son bir yılda merkezi hükümet buraya yaptığı yatırımı da arttırtı ama öyle yüzde yarım falan arttırmayla olmuyor.

[381] Within the context of transformation, the reporters explain the physical and geographical conditions of the region in the late 1950s as follows: "The region has five small seaports in Antalya, Alanya, Finike and Kaş. Cargo handling facilities are elementary and even the port of Antalya is suitable for handling only small coasters. Larger ships must remain outside and discharge into lighters. The construction of a new port near Antalya was started in 1964. One airport near Antalya

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beginning of the 1980s, the Antalya province had the capacity to be transformed by main roads and high ways, as well as sea and airways (*Antalya İli V. 5 Yıllık Kalkınma Programı,* 1986: 181). The construction of the Antalya Airport, which had been used as a Military airport until the 1970s, began in 1973 with the purpose of serving the general public. Its capacity reached 2,500,000 with the terminals built in the 1980s. In 1985, the Antalya Airport terminal had the capacity to serve three million passengers a year (Ibid.: 302). Today, it has become one of the major sea ports and the second major airport in Turkey.

"*If it weren't for the Antalya Airport, Antalya wouldn't be Antalya,*" says informant R15, and would appear to be correct, since tourism, the most dominant industry in the city, would not be able to develop if not for the Antalya Airport. Similarly, informant R14 says following: "*99% of the tourists visiting Antalya come by airway the economy for Antalya opens up here. Any investments made in the Antalya airport are justified; this is a huge necessity.*" Without the Antalya airport, which is a 30 minute drive away from the city center, the Isparta Airport, an hour and a half away and the *Dalaman* Airport, five hours away, would not serve the same purpose, and Antalya would probably not have become the tourism destination it is today. The Antalya Airport, where flights go to and from many European cities as well as İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir in Turkey is a lifeline for the city and provides about 9,000 people with employment[382].

The Antalya Airport International Flight Terminal 1 was built by the State Airports Administration (DHMİ) under the first build-operate-transfer project during Turkey's transition to neoliberal policies, when international terminal design and operations were new to Turkey.[383] As seen in this project, the 'state', played an active part in the implementation of neoliberal policies as a prime agent itself, through the mediation of DHMİ. Informant R15, who also represents the

connects the region with Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. In the period 1960/61 to 1963/64 passenger and cargo traffic by air increased greatly. […] Present facilities can cope with this increase, but development of air transport and the airport are essential if the tourist trade is to play its part in the region's economy. Package holidays and charter flights alone can overcome one of the main obstacles—the high cost of the flight journey to Antalya by regular services and the long duration of travel by other means. Airport development will require no great investment since there is already an adequate runway with a bearing of 50 tons, single wheel load" (FAO-UN, Vol. 1, 1966: 13). Reporters say that the total cost of an ILS would be between 52,000 dollars and 130,000 dollars at that time (in 1960).

[382] According to the information obtained from the Antalya Airport Domestic Flight Terminal Manager as of December 2006, there are over 2,500 employees working in the Domestic Terminal. There are 5,000 employees in Antalya International Terminal 1, 30% of whom are seasonal; and about 2,000 employees in the Antalya International Terminal 2 (ATSO, *Vizyon*, 2006, 20/217: 30-33).

[383] "The Fraport-IC İçtaş Holding consortium won the 2007 contract for the operation of three airport terminals in Antalya and won the right to run the operations until 2024. The Antalya Airport Terminal building, is the first 5 million capacity building following extensive research on how new terminals can be added so that eventually it will serve 40 million passengers in the future. It was especially requested in the bid specifications that the arriving and departing passengers reach the structure from the existing road grade. Therefore, the resolution of the passenger, luggage and service transportation issues called for a lot of research and an original solution was found. As the Antalya Airport is mostly a tourism oriented airport, the new terminal building was thought to need an architectural quality and not just the characteristics of a well oiled machine, as in most new airports today. The goal was for the building to be proportionate with Turkey's position in the modern world, mature and unostentatious, and provide a positive and lasting first and last impression for visiting tourists" (http://arkiv.arkitera.com/p303, accessed on 20.03.2010).

Antalya Airport Directorate, a unit under the DHMI, which operates the Antalya Airport Domestic flights terminal, has served for the state many years in the field of airport operations, and believes the build-operate-transfer models implemented in this field have yielded positive results:

> **R15:** *Good call. The transition of the government to this kind of model has been good for the government and the function. Because it was getting difficult to deal with the red tape. We could never have finished the construction system nearly as quickly. They are professional teams.[384]*

It took about three years for the "privatization" law to go into effect, thereby allowing the Antalya International Terminal 1 to be built as the first build-operate-transfer model terminal in Turkey.[385] The terminal commenced operations in 1998 and had a capacity of five million passengers per year. The Assistant General Manager of the company that won the contract and was operating the terminal in November 2006, during the time of the field research, Informant R13, says the following about the process:

> **R13:** *A Turkish company* [Bayındır İnşaat] *won the bid. It was contracted out in 1993 but because the privatization law wasn't in effect then, and the governments changed so often, the construction was only able to start in 1996. From 1993 to 1996 only the permit was obtained. Then the construction period of 24 months was completed in 20 and the terminal was opened on April 1ˢᵗ 1998. At the time,* Bayındır *Construction was the first private enterprise to operate a terminal in Turkey. Fraport was the consultant. There was not a clause in the List of Specifications mandating a foreign partner but there needed to be an expert. In this context, a consulting agreement was signed with Fraport. Fraport had no shares in 1998; they were only consultants. Then they bought 50%, and then some more, and finally in the last few years they became almost full shareholders. Within a period from 2004 to 2005, Fraport bought all of the shares. Right now, it is a corporation, all of whose shared are owned by a foreign company despite having been founded in Turkey in accordance with Turkish trade laws. Fraport is Europe's second largest terminal operator.[386]*

Informant R14, interviewed within the scope of the field research in November 2006, who was at the time the general manager of the company operating International Terminal 2, says that Explosive Detection System (EDS) was utilized in the Antalya Airport before anywhere else in Turkey in line with DHMI's request following the events of September 11ᵗʰ, 2001. The Chairman of

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[384] **R15:** İsabetli bir olay. Devletin bu tür yap-işlet-devrete geçmesi hem devlet açısından hem de işlevi açısından çok güzel oldu. Çünkü artık bir devlet olarak belirli bürokrasinin yüzünden kaldıramıyorduk olayları. Bu kadar hızlı bir inşaat sistemini yapamazdık. Onlar profesyonel ekipler.

[385] See the news "3 ayda 30 kere Ankara'ya gittim" *Hürriyet*, 15.04.2007, http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=6337438, accessed on 29.04.2010

[386] **R13:** Bu terminalin ihalesi yapıldığında bir Türk Şirketi [Bayındır İnşaat] tarafından bu ihale kazanıldı. 1993 yılında ihalesi yapıldı ama özelleştirme yasasının o dönemde olmaması, hükümetlerinde çok sık değişmesi, gidip gelmesi nedeniyle 1996 yılında inşaata başlandı. 1993'ten 1996'ya kadar ancak inşaat izni verildi. 24 ay olan inşaat süresi 20 ayda tamamlandı ve 1 Nisan 1998'de hizmete açıldı. O dönemde, Türkiye'deki ilk özel sektör kuruluşuydu terminali işleten Bayındır İnşaat. Danışmanı da Fraport. Şartnamede yabancı bir ortak zorunluluğu yoktu ama bu işi bilen bir uzman danışman zorunluluğu vardı. Fraport'la yapılan danışmanlık sözleşmeside bu çerçevede karar verilmiştir. 1998'de hiç hissesi yoktu Fraport'un, sadece danışmandı. Sonra %50'sini, sonra bir miktarını daha, geçtiğimiz yıllara kadar kısmen tamamına hissedar oldu Fraport. 2004'te başlayıp 2005'te sonuçlanan bir sürede Fraport hisselerin tamamını aldı. Şu anda Türk ticaret hukukuna göre kurulmuş, Türkiye'de kurulmuş bir anonim şirket olmakla beraber hisselerinin tamamı yabancı bir şirketin elinde olan bir şirket. Fraport Avrupa'nın ikinci büyük terminal işletmesidir.

the Board of the company operating the Antalya Airport International Terminal 2 from 2004, when they undertook the construction and operation, until September 2009 states that they "are a global player in the field of terminal operations.[387]

The companies operating the two Antalya Airport International Terminals after establishing a consortium, and together with the Domestic Terminal, have won the right to running operations together until 2024.[388] This airport, a witness to many firsts in Turkey, aims to be not only a source of prestige, but also to provide standard services in line with the universal rules of airline operations. This airport is also open to technological improvements while staying faithful to its architectural design even in the event that new terminal buildings are added. Since tourism cannot be reduced only to social activity; it is relationally linked to a wide variety of objects, machines, systems, texts, non-humans, bureaucracies, and to changes in aviation technology and the management of airport terminal building in time. As an ordering it organizes a complex meshed collaboration of humans and non-humans and creates ordering effects. *Tourism as an ordering* (Franklin, 2004; see also subsection 2.4.) means that tourism is always on the move, ordering new places but also by enrolling new objects and by becoming subject to other orderings. Informant R14 and R13 express how tourism orders in the field of terminal management:

> **R14:** *We usually work with standards in aviation. These standards are set by civil aviation or DHMİ. Or, to take it further, there are some international or supra-national institutions. They identify the rules, which outline operations. So there really isn't a way to make huge differences in the services, with the exception of more quality elements, more smiles, fewer mistakes, but the rules are already set and we must work within those rules; we have no choice.[389]*

> **R13:** *Whether it's the cheapest or the most expensive tourist, they will pay us the same amount. But if there are lots of high socio-economic level visitors, then we might have to make changes in terms of VIP terminals and business branches that might serve that profile.[390]*

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[387] See the news "Terminal İşletmeciliğinde Global Bir Oyuncu Olduk" *Hürriyet,* 24.12.2006 http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=5668392&tarih=2006-12-24 accessed on 29.04.2010

[388] "The right to the operation of three terminals is valid until 2024: International Flight Terminal 1 / Domestic Flight Terminal: 17 years; International Flight Terminal 2: 15 years. This contract gives, a new common entrepreneurial company, Fraport IC İçtaş Antalya Havalimanı Terminal Yatırım İşletmeciliği A.Ş. (founded on 20 May 2007), and the right to operate the International Flight Terminal 1 / Domestic Flight Terminal as of 14 September 2007 and include International Flight Terminal 2 among its operations as of 2009. ICFs field of activities involve the VIP and CIP terminals and all other related facilities. The Internatioal Terminali 1 was operated by Fraport between 1 April 998 and 13 September 2007 and is the first bulild-operate transfer project in Turkey. The Domestic Terminal was previously operated by Devlet Hava Meydanları İşletmesi (DHMİ). International Terminal 2, has been operated by Çelebi and IC since April 2005" (http://www.icfairports.com/tr/page.aspx?k=36, accessed on 05.03.2010); See also the news "Fraport: Antalya'nın turizm köprüsü oluruz" *Hürriyet*, 15.04.2007, http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=6337438, accessed on 29.04.2010

[389] **R14:** Biz havacılıkta genellikle standartlarla çalışırız. Bu standartları da sivil havacılık veya DHMİ belirler. Veya daha ileri gideyim bazı uluslar arası hatta uluslar-üstü kurumlar vardır. Onlar kuralları belirler, o kurallar çerçevesinde çalışılır. Yani bizim burda yer hizmetlerinde farklılık yaratmak demek kalite, birkaç kalite unsuru, güler yüz, az hata yapmak gibi orda farklılıklar getirebilirsiniz ama ana hatlarıyla kurallar zaten belirlenmiştir, o kurallar çerçevesinde çalışmak zorundayız, başka şansımız yok.

[390] **R13:** En ucuz turistte gelse aynı parayı ödeyecek bize, en pahalı turistte gelse aynısını ödeyecek. Ancak şimdi şu olur, çok sayıda işte üst düzey gelir grubuna sahip turist sayısı artarsa onlara hizmet verecek özel VIP terminalleriyle belki bir miktar o profile hizmet edecek iş kolumuzda değişiklik yapmak durumunda kalabiliriz.

Thus, aviation technology and consumer demand shape the architecture of airport terminals as much as do the airline industry and government regulation. In Horwitz's words airspace is a zone of strict enforcement where international regulations define rules of sovereignty and degrees of control in horizontal and vertical layers. The social theory of transit and tourism, particularly related to airports, may not have caught up with the loss of life and the loss of perceived safety that occurred on September 11, 2001 (Horwitz, 2007: 93). With regard to the theory of 'tourism as an ordering' an airport can reasonably be portrayed as a 'global product'. Based on the universal rules of aviation technology and the sanctions for the safety measure, an airport as a commodity serves its users who have more or less the same 'global culture' of tourism or 'tourism culture' having its own distinctive way of behaving different from their domestic lives; as tourists.

Concluding Remarks

Antalya is one of the first destinations that pop into one's mind within the context of tourism, tourism investment, or even when planning a holiday. Both foreign and Turkish tourism investors are attracted to the region because of its historical treasures and natural beauty together with untouched shores and translucent seas. Pursuant to the law on the permission of the lease for 49 or 99 years and of construction in the forest areas along the coastal line set forth by the central government in the early 1980s, tourism investment both in the city and along a 640 km shoreline resulted in hundreds of licensed establishments built by this date.

This chapter aimed to highlight one particular dimension in Antalya's political economy in the field of *tourism*. In this chapter, ultimately, I argue that Antalya's vision of becoming a *tourism capital* is predicated upon overcoming the decline in the tourist profile in spite of its cultural heritage since antiquity, immersed in its natural beauty with long sea shores in a number of ways: through urban development policies and cultural policies for strategic tourism imagining. In terms of policy, the field research shows that beside the *mass tourists* coming to simulacra proliferated as tourist bubbles on the 'islets', Antalya has outlined clear goals to develop 'urban tourism,' which would attract its own *hypertourist* willing to spend lots of money. Another strategy pertains to transforming Antalya into a 'health center,' whereby middle class pensioners from Europe are expected to come for treatment and therapy, and for holidays during winter season. This strategy may also result in employment opportunities for another group of skilled laborers in the health service and industry in Antalya.

What distinguishes 'urban tourism' from 'traditional tourism' is the way in which an offer has been packaged and marketed. Thus, cities have shifted from being centers of production to centers of consumption. Here, leisure enjoyment and pleasure are produced, packaged, marketed

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and consumed. Beside the urban regeneration through the implementation of a *cultural planning* at the neighborhood level around the traditional city center and Kaleiçi, restructuring strategies in the field of art and culture via the transformation of the AGOFF into an international festival (see chapter 6), Antalya yearns to become a regional tourism hub for culture and convention, entertainment and events. Other flagship projects or UPPs like the construction of an Olympic stadium in the city center, a city museum, a city park, building a Modern Art Museum (MOM) in the Cotton Textile Factory in the Kepez District are conceived to revitalize not only 'dead' seasons but also 'dead' places in the city centre for cultural purposes (see Chapter 6 and Chapter 7).

With the new focus on the culture industry's film business and the health services mentioned above, it is expected by the members of the growth machine that a related strategy will encourage new investments from both the public and private sector, and even at the international level. In order to achieve its goals, Antalya has been collaborating with İstanbul as a tourism partner in some cultural events and festivals. As defined by Costa and Martinotti (2003), the term 'collaboration' is a process of joint decision-making among relatively autonomous, key stakeholders of inter-organizational community tourism. Rather than concerning itself only with 'competition' among cities, *collaboration theory* can be considered as a regulatory system with local institutions and firms that are the constitutive agents of the 'growth machine' in cities as the governing coalitions for crisis aim at socio-spatial restructuring the city center or revalorizing the inner cities beside urbanization based on the tourism controlling the land economy.

As discussed in subsection 1.3.1, the term 'restructuring,' which means the system's attempt to resolve the crises has shifted from economic to 'urban restructuring'. With this shift at the global level, local governments have been promoted as major actors of urban, social and economic change. As observed in Antalya, these interest groups comprising a "growth coalition" under AGM as the leading agency seek to mobilize the powers of the local government in order to structure an environment conducive to growth. From an entrepreneurial standpoint, the stake holders in the field of tourism, through their common interest in absolute growth and the enhanced profitability of properties, are united overall with the intent of restructuring Antalya so that it allows for 'urban tourism'. Thus, cities have pursued growth not because they had to, but because those who controlled their politics used them for this purpose. As understood from the quotations of the interviews, one can argue that in addition to the 'urban elite' comprising the 'growth machine' in Antalya, the central government has become the most important player in all fields during the process of restructuring Antalya.

CHAPTER 9

RESTRUCTURING THE SUB-FIELDS IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMY:

FROM LOCAL TO GLOBAL ECONOMY

In this chapter the process of restructuring Antalya is analyzed in the major subfields of economy. To this end, the fields of agriculture, commerce and industry are chosen as the major subfields in Antalya's field of economy beside tourism (see Chapter 8) and culture industry (see chapter 6). Then the strategies developed by the growth machine in these chosen fields are examined. It is argued that the strategies for broadening the resource and market hinterland of Antalya on the way to being at least a *city region* are concentrated on transforming Antalya into a *city of culture* by capitalizing culture.

9.1. An Economic Development Overview

In its early years since the society had already experienced a new structuration with the adverse effects of the First World War and the War of Independence, the Turkish Republic was struggling to reinforce its independence, and maintain and strengthen its existence. After all, it employed policies to ensure the spreading of the population via the population exchanges (see subsection 5.3) and intensify investments by state hand in certain chosen region (see 4.2.1).

After 1950, Antalya also started joining the ranks of the industrial cities during this rapid development process with the textile, oil, ferro-chrome and battery factories built one after another (Tuncer, 2009). There was significant increase in cotton production, one of the most important raw materials of the day, with the spread of agricultural machinery within the framework of the Marshall Aid plan. This way, Antalya and *Hatay* joined *Çukurova* and the Aegean in the 1950s –especially in the second half- in terms of primary cotton producing areas (*Türkiye'de Pamuk İpliği ve Pamuklu Mensucat Sanayii,* 1958: 27). On a similar note, work was underway to establish the 'Antalya Thread and Cotton Weaving Factory' to take advantage of the cotton in the Antalya plains in 1954. This factory, thought up also as a way of remedying the unemployment in the city, was brought to life by

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collecting 6 million in capital from 700 entrepreneurs, even given the difficult times. With the joining of *Sumerbank*, *Antbirlik* and other banks, the company, most of whose shareholders were farmers and merchants with 4 million 450 thousand Lira was founded on 4 April 1955, with a total capital of 11 million the Antalya Weaving Industry Turkish Inc. was founded (Üstün, 2006). President Celal Bayar and Prime Minister Adnan Menderes were present at the foundation ceremony on 5 January 1956, an event which was in the local newspapers with the heading "The most joyous gift of 1955 to Antalyalites" (Çimrin, 2005: 167; see also *Antalya Gazetesi*, 1 Ocak 1955). The construction of the Antalya Cotton Textile Factory of Sümerbank began in 1955. The factory went into production in 1961 and was closed in 2003.

In Antalya, as the administrative and commercial center that used to be based on agriculture, industrialization began in the 1950s with the first factory that processed agricultural products such as the weaving industry, and following the 1980s, an economic structure developed based on tourism related industry and service functions (see Chapter 8). Today, Antalya is the largest city and the regional center in terms of geographic size and economic development in the Western Mediterranean Region comprising the cities of Antalya, Burdur and Isparta (*Çevre Düzeni Planına Doğru,* 2006: 16). Antalya is in 7th place in the country in terms of development (Ibid.: 17).

According to the State Planning Organization's research dated 1982 entitled 'The Ranking of Residential Centers'[391], the cities Antalya, Isparta and Burdur near Antalya were defined as 4th tier centers. According to this, the entire city and the *Bucak* district of Burdur are included in Antalya's 4th tier area of influence. However, Antalya's economic structure which changed and improved with the developments in tourism investments and regional infrastructure efforts after 1985 resulted in demographic, economic and spatial changes in the city and brought about 5th tier functions.

Due to intensified and specialized tourism and the sectors that developed around tourism in the region, Antalya has become a highly specialized 'regional center' in the region and the country. With stronger transportation links to its surroundings, the economic relations with the city residences have developed and the 5th tier goods and services demand in this region and the coast

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[391] Some new arrangements were made concerning the State Planning Organization's research dated 1982 entitled 'The Ranking of Residential 16 functional regions. As a result of these arrangements, it was recommended that 18 regional centers and cities to be under these regions be identified. After the suggestion was reviewed by the Prime Ministry, a request dated May 20, 1982 was sent to all ministries for the reorganization of rural institutions and the decrease of the number of regions so that they would coincide with the 18 regions and regional centers The regions identified are as follows1.İstanbul: İstanbul, Edirne, Kırklareli, Tekirdag, Kocaeli, Sakarya; 2.Bursa: Bursa, Çanakkale, Balıkesir; 3.İzmir: İzmir, Manisa, Usak, Aydın, Denizli, Mugla; 4.Eskisehir: Eskisehir, Kütahya, Afyon, Bilecik; 5.Antalya: Antalya, Isparta, Burdur; 6.Konya: Konya, Nigde; 7.Ankara: Ankara, Çankırı, Çorum, Bolu; 8. Adana: Adana, Içel, Hatay; 9.Kayseri: Kayseri, Nevsehir, Kırsehir, Yozgat; 10.Gaziantep: Gaziantep, Adıyaman, Sanlıurfa, Kahramanmaras; 11.Diyarbakır: Diyarbakır, Siirt, Mardin; 12.Elazıg: Elazıg, Tunceli, Bingöl, Malatya; 13.Van: Van, Hakkari, Bitlis, Mus; 14. Erzurum: Erzurum, Agrı, Kars, Erzincan; 15.Sivas: Sivas, Tokat; 16.Samsun: Samsun, Sinop, Amasya, Ordu; 17.Trabzon: Trabzon, Gümüshane, Giresun, Rize, Artvin; 18. Kastamonu: Kastamonu, Zonguldak. (See Tunbul, 1991: 16-18). However, "during the rearrangement work conducted in December 1983, many regional organizations deemed unnecessary and useless were eliminated" (TODAİE, 1991: 169).

line has made its way to Antalya. Public investments have also served to improve the qualities of the city as a regional center. The regional administrative offices of public institutions such as the General Directorate of Highways, *İller Bankası* (Bank of Provinces), Village Works, and the State Waterworks have elected to have their office in Antalya. The 5th Tier Residential Center functions of Antalya, which is in the middle of a development process based on tourism and agriculture, are as follows:

- Tourism and service investments based on (domestic and international)
- Port and Free Zone (domestic and international)
- Airport (domestic and international)
- University and hospital (regional)
- Regional administrative offices of public institutions (regional)
- Organized industry zone (regional and city level)
- Central, social, cultural and commercial functions (regional and city level)
- Small industry sites (regional and city level) (MOAŞ, 2006: 17)

Especially since 2002, in line with its goal of becoming an EU member, Turkey has accelerated its efforts towards harmonization with the acquired rights implemented by the EU at the regional level. Considering the importance the EU places on the regional development policies in addition to national development levels in its member countries, solutions to regional scale problems are also sought. With this goal, regional statistics and analyses have become necessary. Thus, the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics (NUTS), which had been put on the National Agenda, was completed under the coordination of the State Planning Organization Undersecretariat and the leadership of the State Statistics Institute to fulfill this need (see also subsection 4.2.2). According to the "NUTS 2 Level Regional Development Research Report" prepared by Yüce (ATSO, 2006, Vizyon, 20/217: 37) for the Antalya Sub-Region, the region encoded "TR61-NUTS 2 Level" within the scope of the Decree of the Council of Ministers[392] encompassed the cities Antalya Isparta and Burdur. The two other cities in the region were found to have similar development rates below Turkey's average, while in Antalya the development rate was above the country's average rate and higher than other cities in the region (Ibid.: 38).

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[392] The cabinet decision concerning countrywide NUTS definition for the purposes of collecting and improving regional statistics, analyzing the socio-economics of the regions, determining the framework of regional policies and forming a database allowing comparison compatible with EU NUTS was announced in the official gazette dated 22 September 2002 numbered 24884 and put into practice. "The number of NUTS level 3 scope Statistical Regional Units is 81, which are at the city level. NUTS 2 level Statistical Regional Units were determined by grouping NUTS 3 level neighboring cities as 26 Regions. NUTS 1 level Statistical Regional Units comprise 12 NUTS 2 level city groups.

9.2.   Restructuring the Major Sub-fields in the Field of Economy: Agriculture, Trade and Industry

The Field of Agriculture

In Antalya, with its wealth of natural resources, 19% of the land is arable (MOAŞ, 2006: 17). Agriculture within the city limits of Antalya has been established as a solid and viable sector. 54% of the city's total area is forest land, in half of 20% of which irrigated agriculture takes place. Antalya includes 545 villages, 107,000 farmer families and 70,000 businesses, all of which put it a nationally prominent position in terms of agriculture. The annual agricultural production in Antalya is worth about 2 billion USD (MOAŞ, 2007: 63).

As of 2004, although Antalya is home to 1,6% of Turkey's arable lands, it contributes about 4.3% to the country's economy with its ecologic conditions and immense agricultural potential (Utku, 2004, *ATSO Dergisi,* 18/193: 4). According to Utku, while the share of agriculture in the GDP in Turkey overall is 13.9%, this value is 20.7% in Antalya.[393] With the exception of low tunnels, there are 433,578 decares of covered agriculture area (greenhouses) in Turkey, 32% of which covers 139,620 decares is in Antalya (see Table 9.1). For example, 15.7% of the total tomato production in covered and open fields in Turkey takes place in Antalya.[394] Moreover, sheep and goat as well as cattle are raised in the area. In the coastal districts, trout, tuna, bream, sea bass and shrimp are cultivated. Informant R22 makes the comments below regarding Antalya, which is deserves the right to its reputation 'the Agricultural Capital':

> **R22:** *The capital of Agriculture is actually Antalya. Today, 86% of the covered agriculture in Turkey takes place in Antalya'. Especially, tomato production. 2 million tons of tomatoes are produced. We produce as much as Greece does. But the problem is that we are only able to export 7% of the tomatoes we produce. This needs to be dealt with. Antalya hold great promise for the near future in terms of agriculture, especially modern green housing and technological green housing.* [395]

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[393] Utku (ATSO, 2004, 18/193: 4) classifies the agricultural production in the Antalya Region in 5 sub regions: 1.Kaş, Kale, Finike, Kumluca Region (citrus fruit groves on the coast line, greenhousing, apples and olives in the plateau region, occasional camellia type viticulture); 2.Kemer, Serik, Manavgat (open field, covered vegetable and decorative plants; sesame and corn as secondary products; citrus fruits, pomegranates and olives); 3.Alanya, Gazipaşa (bananas on the coast line, covered vegetable production; flower bulb production such as Galanthus, Eranthis, Anemone in the plateau region) 4.Elmalı, Korkuteli (grains and fruit production, cut flowers, very little anis and sugar beet, open field ecological agriculture practices were first carried out in this region; animal husbandry) 5.İbradı, Akseki, Gündoğdu (as a place where technical agriculture is at a minimum, it has the most suitable soil for organic agriculture; animal husbandry and viticulture takes place).

[394] See the news "Türkiye, Antalya'yla 'Dünya Sebze Ligi'nde ilk Dörde Yükseldi" *Hürriyet,* 08.12.2007.

[395] **R22:** Tarımın da başkenti aslında Antalya. Bugün Türkiyedeki örtü altı tarımın %86'sı Antalya'dadır. Özellikle domates üretimi. 2 milyon ton domates üretimi yapılıyor. Yunanistan kadar domates üretiyoruz biz. Fakat sıkıntımız, ürettiğimiz domatesin ancak %7'sini ihraç edebiliyoruz. Bunların sorunlarının çözülmesi lazım. Tarım yönünden de Antalya önümüzdeki dönemde özellikle modern seracılık ve teknolojik seracılık konusunda da isminden çok fazla söz ettirecek bir şehir.

In Antalya, where intensive agriculture is carried out, there are three grain factories and a total of 614 factories that process agricultural products. Furthermore, there are 47 packaging facilities that package processed agricultural products. There are many wholesale market houses in the center and many in the districts. For instance, the AGM's own wholesale market house, which is in downtown Antalya, 484,445 tons of vegetables and 112,913 tons of fruit were processed only in 2002. In 2003, 15 % of Turkey's total fruit and vegetable export originated from Antalya and 71% of this was to European countries (ATSO, 2004, Antalya İhracatçı Birlikler, *ATSO Dergisi,* 18/194: 6). With the modern greenhouses started recently, this rate went up to 18.84% in 2005 (Doğmuş, 2006, *Vizyon,* 19/226: 37). According to Doğmuş, thanks to the modern greenhouses of the entrepreneurs from Antalya who succeeded in integrating geographic, climate related and cheap labor advantages with technological developments, Antalya exported 48,318 tons of fruit in 2005. Mentioning that Turkey's greatest competitor in covered agriculture is Spain, Antalya Chamber of Agricultural Engineers President Halil Ordu, states that Turkey has come in at number four in vegetable production in 2006 because of Antalya.[396] According to the 2008 Turkish Statistical Institution data (TUİK), ranks first in terms of Antalya, botanical/herbal production. In 2009, the president of ATSO, Çetin Budak, reported that the city's botanical production was valued at 4.4 billion TL, which corresponded to 7.7% of Turkey's agricultural production.[397]

Informant R23 mentions that about 2,000 decares of the total 3,000 decares of modern greenhouses in Turkey are in Antalya. He also says that state of the art technology is utilized at these greenhouses, and that careful consideration of agricultural pesticide codes results in productions below residue limits. As the number of producers transitioning to 'modern agriculture' in Antalya increases, attendance in international agriculture fairs where new technologies and products are promoted also increases. Antalya has been hosting international level agricultural fairs for the last ten years. For instance, in 2005, the 6th Annual International Greenhouse, Agricultural Equipment, Horticulture and Technologies Fair (Growtech-Eurasia) took place with 271 participants in attendance. In 2006, however, the event drew 93 international participants from 17 different countries and a total of 313 attendees. (Mortan, 2006, *Vizyon,* 19/226: 50). Mortan holds that the most striking participant group in the increased participant rate is the "group of 59 seedling and seed producers, who are the igniters of change." Mortan also points out the significance of the 36 consulting and 25 research establishments within the context of R&D in agriculture. The same fair in 2008 was attended by a total of 390 companies, 118 of which were foreign.[398] Another fair organized in Antalya which has become somewhat of a tradition is the "Fresh Fruits, Vegetables,

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[396] See the news "Türkiye, Antalya'yla 'dünya sebze ligi'nde ilk dörde yükseldi" *Hürriyet,* 08.12.2007.

[397] See the news "Turizmin ve tarımın Başkenti olduk" *Hürriyet-Akdeniz,* 07.12.2009.

[398] See also the news "Antalya Tarım Fuarına İlgi Büyük" *Hürriyet,* 25.11.2008.

Logistics and Technologies Fair," or "Fresh Antalya", which has been held since 2007 (ATSO, 2007, *Vizyon,* 20/231: 34).

European wholesalers who import from all over the world have established the condition of the EUREPGAP certification[399] since 2004 for all goods they put on their shelves (Antalya İhracatçı Birlikler, 2004, *ATSO Dergisi,* 18/194: 6). The agricultural production in Antalya generally takes place in mom and pop type establishments usually covering 3-4 decares of land. Thus, it is difficult for each family to cover the expense of EUREPGAP certification and monitoring amounting to about 3,000-4,000 Euros and utilize modern production techniques. The solution presented by the Antalya Exporters Association for this issue is for the 'Producers' Associations' to get EUREPGAP certification together (Ibid.: 7). Especially after EU countries lowered the agricultural pesticide residue limitations on the fresh fruit and vegetable production toward the end of 2001, the agricultural producers in Antalya have sought solutions. They have made demands for the residue limitations in Turkey to be made compliant with those in the EU. They have also been making an effort to eliminate doubts about residue during the export stage by having their agricultural products at the Antalya City Control Laboratory since April 2002 (Ibid.: 9). Later, the Western Mediterranean Agricultural Research Laboratory (BATAL) was established under the partnership of the Kumluca Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Kumluca Trade Market and the Kumluca Chamber of Agriculture (Aytekin, 2004, *Vizyon,* 18/201: 14-16).[400] The control laboratories founded to ensure a more controlled production of agricultural products that were returned when especially the 'residue' values were higher than the official limits of the countries they imported them to. No doubt, this process has also served to raise the awareness of the producers.[401] R3, who observed the process first hand says:

> **R23:** *There have been products that were sent back. This is because of the <u>residue</u> problems. The chemical wastes or residue remaining on the produce has been above the limitations. This is called residue. It used to be that each EU country and Russia had their own maximum values that they announced. When the produce is analyzed and the values come out as higher than these limits, they refused to buy the produce from Turkey. I think that <u>controlled agriculture is extremely important for Antalya</u>. Controlled agriculture where technology is utilized, the products are tracked, from the production until the consumption, from the sowing of the seeds onwards, where greenhouses and covered agriculture is monitored, modern technological greenhouses are produced where the climate is controlled, heating is possible, moisture is*

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[399] Antalya Exporters Associations: "A product which has EUREPGAP certification means providing necessary to documentation proving: 1. It does not contain unhealthy chemical, microbiological or physical residues; 2. It was produced without polluting the environment; 3. It did not negatively impact other living things during its production; 4.The agricultural laws of the consumer's country were complied with during the production" (2004, ATSO, 18/194: 6). See also "EUREPGAP (European Wholesale Sector Good Agricultural Practice Standards) is a system which determined the minimum standards in the agricultural products grown in country or imported sets voluntary standards for the certification of production processes of agricultural (including aquaculture) products by the wholesalers in EU member countries to ensure the consumption of health agricultural products in their country (ATSO, 2007, *Vizyon*, 20/235: 44-47).

[400] "BATAL, cost 1,600,00 USD except for the interior of the building and the landscaping. The analyses performed in the laboratory, which has received ISO 9001-2000 certification, will be valid around the world with the ISO 17025 certification received as of the end December 2004" (Aytekin, 2004, *Vizyon,* 18/201: 14-16).

[401] See the news "Analizsiz tarımsal üretim yapılmamalı" *Hürriyet*, 07.12.2009.

monitored and controlled production is possible in these greenhouses ; this will save Antalya. One reason the diseases and harmful substances are too much in our produce is because the technology we use in our greenhouses is outdated; the temperature, moisture and cold is not controlled. This is why you can't avoid disease, which results in the excessive use of more pesticides and chemicals. These problems are few or nonexistent in greenhouses with technological investments.[402]

Yıldırım (2007, *Vizyon,* 20/231: 27) states that closely monitoring Turkey's two most important fresh fruit and vegetable markets, namely the consumer trends in the EU and Russia and the suitable products is a prerequisite for agricultural production. In line with this prerequisite, the ATSO EU Information Office organizes tours for the greenhouse operators in the region to be introduced to new agricultural technologies and learn about practices in the EU (2008, *Vizyon,* 21/242: 18).

Another educational tour organized by ATSO is the 'Soilless Agriculture (Hydroponics) Tour'. Peter Klapwifk, an expert in agriculture from the Netherlands, commenting that greenhouses that practice hydroponics and implement good agricultural practices are referred to as 'factories' all around the world and said the following during the promotional tour:

> Water and energy resources in the world are dwindling. We need to use these resources correctly. In the future, traditional greenhouses are going to disappear and only these are going to be left standing. You should become experts on your products. Some producer in France is producing 10 gram tomatoes and selling a kilo for 10 Euros. You should produce the product you can produce and sell according to your region. (2008, *Vizyon,* 21/242: 19).

In the *Antalya Manifesto; City Brand Strategic Plan* Report (2008: 26-27), it is recommended that the 'sun-made Antalya tomato' can be branded as a product with a geographic marker using controlled agriculture methods in modern greenhouses in Antalya, where at least 300 days of the year are sunny. According to this report, the 'Antalya Tomato' should be branded as the 'sun-made Antalya Tomato', much more than the 'Holland Tomato', which has become a brand despite being ripened under artificial light.

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[402] **R23:** Valla geri dönen mallar var tabi yani. Bu residue problemlerinden dönüyor yani meyvelerin sebzelerin, ürünlerin üzerindeki kabul edilebilir sınırların üzerinde çıkan kimyasal madde atıklarından, artıklarından dolayı dönüyor bunu adına da residue deniyor işte. Avrupa Birliği ülkelerinin eskiden ayrı ayrı Rusya'nın da ayrı ayrı ilan ettikleri maximum residue değerleri vardı. Bunun üstünde bulursa analiz yaptığı zaman yurtdışında, Türkiye'den giden malları refuse yani reddediyorlardı. Türkiye'de tabi tarımda organik tarım değil de Antalya için bence kontrollü tarım çok önemli bir olgudur. Kontrollü tarım teknolojinin kullanıldığı ve ürünlerin izlenebilirliğinin olduğu, üretimden tüketime kadar olan safhada, tohum atımından izlenebildiği ve seraların, örtü altında tarımında kontrol edilebildiği, ikliminin kontrol edilebildiği, yani ısıtma sağlanabilen, nemi kontrol edilebilen teknolojik seraların imal edilmesi ve buralarda kontrollü üretim yapılması Antalya'nın kurtuluşu olacaktır. İşte bütün bu hastalıkların, zararlıların çok olmasının bir sebebi kullandığımız seraların teknolojilerinin eski olması, içerde ısının, nemin soğukluğun kontrol edilememesidir. O yüzden de hastalıktan kurtaramıyorsunuz, hastalıktan kurtaramadıkça da çok ilaca yükleniyor üreticiler, çok fazla ilaçlama yapıyor. O yüzden de hep bu sorunları yaşıyoruz, oysa teknolojik yenilikleri kullanan seralarda teknolojik yatırımlarda bu tür sorunlar çok azdır hatta yoktur diyebilirim.

Agricultural Engineer Baki Karacay says that the total agricultural land in Antalya is one fifth of that in all of the Netherlands, makes the following comments regarding the necessity of agricultural development:

> When we take into consideration that the Netherlands' agricultural exports are over 50 billion USD, the agricultural export potential of Antalya, whose natural conditions are more suitable for agricultural production, shows that it should become 'a base for agriculture export (Karaçay, 2006, *Vizyon*, 19/224: 25).

Karaçay claims that to distinguish the agricultural development in Antalya, agriculture needs to be carried out as a professional business activity just like the main sectors of industry, trade and tourism. According to Karaçay, agricultural development is a crucial and strategic issue which needs to be dealt without becoming tied to rural like and rural services (ATSO, 2006, *Vizyon*, 20/220: 34, 36). The Antalya Agriculture Master Plan prepared by the Antalya City Agriculture Directorate offers entrepreneurs wanting to make agricultural investments in the city important opportunities under the heading, 'Agricultural Industry Projects' (ATSO, 2004, 18/195: 6). The plan is for facilities to be set up by private enterprises to receive technical support from the City Agriculture Directorate.[403] This plan, which generally aims to improve agricultural production in the region and support industrial investments in terms of processing agricultural products, is also geared towards establishing new employment areas.

ATSO President Özgen says that they contacted the government and relevant ministries[404] with the purpose of getting 'industry' status for modern greenhouses, and claims that Antalya will become more appealing to capitalists considering investing in the region, should Organized Agricultural Specialization Zones be established with industry status (ATSO, Özgen, 2007, *Vizyon*, 20/230: 41). Antalya is not only endeavoring to attract cultural capital in the culture and art field, with dreams of becoming a runaway production center of film-making, or even in the field of tourism, but in agriculture as well:

> We need to bring foreign capital to Antalya in the same way. The most pressing issue right now is Organized Agricultural Zones. ATSO is constantly pushing for this issue. Just as for hotel owners in the tourism sector, we want Organized Agricultural Zones to be established and land granted to

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[403] The projects concerning facilities to be established by the private sector with support from the Agriculture City Directorate as follows: 1.olive processing and olive oil production; 2.cultivated mushroom processing facility; 3. citrus fruit and pomegranate juice process facility; 4. banana ripening and packing facility; 5. the opening of an international decorative plant auction house; 6. off-shore tuna fish production; 7.bream and sea bass production in web cages; 8.Trout production ; 9. process facility for walnut and almond *sucuk*; 10.vegetable processing industry; 11.medical and aromatic plant processing facility; 12. classification, packing and cooling facilities; 13.vegetable seed production facility; 14.rady sapling production; outdoor decorative plant sapling production facility; 15. Covered cut flower production; 16.hydroponics practices; 17.soil sterilization with vapor (for the EUREPGAP protocol); 18.organic product production facility; 19.reinforcing air transport (for cut flower export) (ATSO, 2004, 18/195: 6-11).

[404] "Minister of Industry and Trade Coşkun said that the Agriculture and Village works Ministry comes to mind but that Organized Industry Zones are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Industry and Trade, and added that they had signed a protocol with the Agriculture and Village works Ministry to take the strides in agriculture that have been taken in industry. Minister Coşkun, said, 'we have taken on this responsibility. Now we are quickly establishing many Specialized Organized Industry Zones based on agriculture, stock farming, and milking" (ATSO, 2007, *Vizyon*, 20/230: 41).

investors. Because the most important problem of the sector is land (Bağdatlıoğlu, 2007, *Vizyon,* 20/229: 19).

In large Turkish cities and in some European cities, a determined consumer mass that follows especially organic agricultural products has developed in recent years. Within the framework of the Antalya Agricultural Master Plan, several goals have been established such as the spread of user and environment friendly production systems geared toward reestablishing the natural balance in the ecological system lost due to incorrect practices. Another goal is taking advantage of the increasing commercial value of organic produce to increase farmers' revenues through the establishment of Antalya as a brand in organic agricultural production (Tarım İl Müdürlüğü, 2004, *ATSO Dergisi*, 18/195: 11). The views of three informants on organic agriculture, namely R11 who represents resort operators in the tourism field, R15 from the transportation and tourism fields and R24 from the tourism and promotion fields are in line with the Agricultural Master Plan:

> **R11:** *An industry related to the warehousing of agricultural products produced in Antalya should be developed. Even the tourism facilities need this. Antalya is an important intensive agriculture, modern agriculture and greenhouse production center in Turkey.*[405]
>
> **R15:** *So, if they move towards organic agriculture, I think they would make much more money, more than from tourism. Organic agriculture is something the whole world is going into.*[406]
>
> **R24:** *Organic agriculture. There are lots of good developments in Antalya regarding organic agriculture it's not enough of course. The other day when I went to Saklıkent, I saw that there were those doing organic agriculture really well. I have a very experienced friend in Elmalı who does organic agriculture, markets his product really well, and is knowledgeable.*[407]
>
> **R23:** *Organic agriculture is not that widespread. Just in recent years we see that it has started in some types of fruit. We know that some fruit orchards are trying to comply with organic agriculture rules and entering the process of getting certified. Not that there is a whole lot of production. At the shore, but it's impossible. The only chance on the Mediterranean is by the shore, these Taurus Mountains offer some God given products like natural grown oregano and sage, which can just be collected naturally and organically and processed, other than that, it's hard.*[408]

MOAŞ (2007) underlines the necessity of incentives for investments high end technology in the agriculture sector. According to MOAŞ, measures must be taken in the field of agriculture not

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[405] **R11:** Mesela Antalya'da üretilen tarım ürünlerinin saklanması ile ilgili sanayi geliştirilmeli. Bu bir anlamda buradaki turizm tesislerinin de ihtiyacı olan bir şey. Antalya; intensif tarımın, modern tarımın, seracılığın yapıldığı önemli bir merkezdir Türkiye'de.

[406] **R15:** Yani, bizde organik tarıma yönelirlerse bence çok daha, turizmden daha çok para kazanılır. Organik tarım artık bütün dünyanın yöneldiği bir olay.

[407] **R24:** Organik tarım. Yani organik tarımlada ilgili Antalyada çok iyi gelişmeler var. Yeterli mi, değil tabi. Saklıkenttte, ben geçenlerde çıktım, müthiş organik tarım yapanlar var. Elmalı'da da organik tarım yapan, ürününü de çok da güzel pazarlayan, bilinçli, bu konuda da hakkaten çok deneyimli bir arkadaşım var.

[408] **R23:** Organik tarım o kadar yaygın değil. Sadece son yıllarda bazı meyvecilik türlerinde başladığını görüyoruz. Bazı meyve bahçelerinin organik tarımın gereklerini yerine getirmeye başladığı ve sertifika almak için gerekli sürece başladıklarını biliyoruz. Öyle çok çok aman aman bir üretim yok. Sahilde ama bu imkansız. Sahilde tek şansı var Akdeniz'de, bu Toroslar'da Allah vergisi bazı ürünler var, doğal olarak yetişen kekik gibi, adaçayı gibi, doğal toplama yoluyla bunlar organik toplanıp işlenebiliyor ki yapanlar var, onun dışında çok zor.

only in Antalya, but in the whole country to prevent the agricultural population from migrating to the cities; otherwise, 200,000 Antalya villagers, who constitute 40-45% of the city population, will migrate to cities, halving the existing agricultural population. However, within the scope of the general policy of the central government in compliance with the EU structural adjustment policy framework especially since 2004, in other words the policy of "decreasing agricultural population and increasing efficiency"—unless this policy is changed—migration in the Antalya region from rural parts to the cities will be inevitable. The added value to be gained from agriculture might increase with improvements to result in efficiency and focusing on innovative, large, viable local projects like 'organic agriculture' (MOAŞ, 2007: 64).

Antalya has a climate and soil suitable for not only producing fresh fruits and vegetables, but horticulture, plants used for oil and fuel and even tropical fruit on the coasts One fourth of the cut flower raising lands are in Antalya (Utku, 2004, *ATSO Dergisi,* 18/193: 5). Antalya exports 95% of the cut flowers produces intensively in the central district. As air transportation of fresh cut flowers is costly, trucks are preferred. However, due to the long duration the flowers must travel as well as customs related problems, the quality of the flowers declines. The Antalya City Agriculture Directorate recommends efforts for the allocation of cargo planes or lowered air transport costs to prevent the loss of quality caused by land transportation. Otherwise the 'Antalya Flower' might lose its reputation in the international market if it is not transported to the consumer quickly or loses any of its quality (2004, *ATSO Dergisi*, 18/195: 11).

Turkey's most important export markets are the Netherlands and Britain. Of the total cut flower imported in 2003 worth 29.5 million USD, 26,8 million USD worth originated from Antalya.[409] 65% of Turkey's total indoor plant imports also take place in Antalya. In the next five years, 200 million dollars worth of imports and 100,000 new jobs are targeted in the 'cut flower' sector[410]. Tekin and Çakmur (2007, *Vizyon,* 20/229: 15) list the main problems in the sector after underlining the necessity for the elimination of obstacles in the way of these sectors: the lack of diversity in the import oriented products the lack of organized agricultural zones, the high cost of energy, the lack of import auctions, the high cost of transportation and the high percentage of Value Added Tax.

Informant 23, who manages a company raising ready saplings, and operating and exporting vegetable seed production stations says that they export mostly to Greece, Pakistan and the Netherlands, and adds that they sell seeds and saplings to all over Turkey:

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[409] See also the news "Ruslar'a Gerbera, İngiliz'e Spray Karanfil, Ölüler Günü'ne Çelenk" *Milliyet-Business Antalya*, 10.08.2004

[410] Commercial cut flower production in Turkey started in the 1940s in and around İstanbul, after which Yalova became an important production center. The flower seedlings planted over 60 acres in 1985 in Antalya's Kadriye Region in partnership with national and İsraeli companies, have turned into a sector today that covers about 4000 acres of production land and exports to 50 for oever 40 million dollars.

R23: *We have two stations, one belongs to İstanbul Tarım' (*Istanbul Agriculture). *There they cultivate seeds. [...] We call it a seed station. It could also be called a farm, no problem. A place where agricultural activities take place. Seed cultivation activities and sees production takes place there. Also experiments are conducted for seeds we cultivate or those we will import and need to check for their adjustment to the region. In our second facility, which is a separate company, İstanbul Fide Üretim Ltd. Şirketi (*Istanbul Sapling Production Inc.*), which is a company we invest in but a separate entity. There the seeds bought from us or in the market from other companies are sown, using high technology of course and made into saplings. They are marketed to producers, municipalities, landscapers and vegetable producers as ready saplings.*[411]

In the field of agriculture, multi-national companies, especially those who focus on the production of hybrid vegetable seed production, choose Antalya as the location of their head offices. Therefore Antalya is not only an agricultural production center due to its fertile soil and climactic conditions, but also with the fact that it is the operational center for many companies investing in the field. Informant R23 says the following on this matter:

R23: *In Turkey, the city where hybrid vegetable seeds are used the most is Antalya. Antalya is Turkey's greenhouse center. Therefore the fresh fruit and vegetable warehouse of Turkey is also the production center. That's why our work should naturally be done in Antalya. In our sector, there used to be predominantly Istanbul companies in the hybrid vegetable business, but now there are fewer. In fact, multinational seed companies also have company headquarters in Antalya. American seed companies, Dutch seed companies and their centers, main offices in Turkey are in Antalya. Forty of the sixty plus sapling companies in Turkey are also in Antalya. There are some in the Aegean region, in Adana and in Bursa, in three other cities, but there are not many of them there.*[412]

Especially supportive of the development of modern and controlled agriculture in the region are ANSIAD, founded through the cooperation of industrialists and businessmen in Antalya and ATSO, whose members consist of the commercial enterprises and industrialists in Antalya. The two NGOs worked together to prepare the 'Market Halls Act' and stress its importance for Antalya's fresh fruit and vegetable producers. Informant R23, comments on their hopes about the passing of this law, its contents and the institutionalization of family farming:

R23: *The law concerning market halls in Turkey, fresh fruit and vegetable trade was reorganized. Because this is not a liberal system in Turkey. You produce your fruits and vegetables and you are obligated to sell them at the market*

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[411] **R23:** İki tane istasyonumuz var, bir tanesi İstanbul Tarım'a ait bir istasyon. Orda tohum ıslahı gerçekleştiriliyor. […] Tohum istasyonu diyoruz biz ona. Çiftlikte denilebilir, hiçbir mahsuru yok. Tarımsal faaliyetlerin devam ettiği yer. Orda tohum ıslahı faaliyetleri devam ediyor, tohum üretimi devam ediyor. Ayrıca ıslah ettiğimiz veya yurt dışından ithal edeceğimiz tohumların bölgeye uyum denemeleri yapılıyor. İkinci tesisimizde, o ayrı bir şirket, İstanbul Fide Üretim Ltd. Şirketi, o söylediğim gibi, bizim yatırım yaptığımız bir şirket ama tamamen ayrı bir organizma. Orda da bizden ve piyasadaki diğer tohum firmalarından satın alınan tohumlar ekiliyor, tabi burada üst, yüksek bir teknoloji kullanılıyor, fide haline getiriliyor. Üreticilere belediyelere, peyzajcılara, sebze üreticilerine hazır fide satılıyor.

[412] **R23:** Türkiye'de hibrid sebze tohumunun en yüksek kullanıldığı il Antalya. Türkiye'nin seracılık merkezi Antalya. Dolayısıyla yaş meyve, sebze deposu Türkiye'nin, üretim merkezi aynı zamanda. O yüzden bizim işimiz zaten doğal olarak Antalya'da yapılmalı. Bizim sektörümüzde, hybrid sebze tohumları konusunda faaliyet gösteren İstanbul firmaları vardı ağırlıklı olarak ama çok azaldı artık eskiye nazaran. Ağırlıklı olarak zaten çok uluslu tohum firmalarının da, yabancı tohum firmalarının Türkiye'deki şirketleri Antalya'da yerleşiktir. Amerikan tohum firmalarının işte, Hollandalı tohum firmalarının Türkiye'de kendi yapılanan kısmının merkezi, genel müdürlüğü Antalyada'dır. Türkiye'nin atmış küsur tane fide firmasının kırk küsur tanesi de yine zaten Antalyada'dır. Kısmen Ege'de, Adana'da ve Bursa'da, bizim dışımızda üç vilayette daha bunları görüyoruz ama orda sayıları çok çok az.

halls. I can't draw up an invoice and sell to you. [For example, there is no minimum price like in hazelnuts, either] *No there are no minimum prices, everything happens on a daily basis. There is a very old law that's hard to explain. A law that was made thinking the producers are the villagers, and not real tax payers, whereas today, agricultural businesses are subject to institutional tax or income tax. Agriculture is now seen as an economic activity, families are starting companies.*[413]

A new entrepreneurial model in the agricultural field in Antalya, though a unique one, is the 'cricket production farm'. The pet shops in Europe demand 300 thousand crickets a week to feed to their iguanas, lizards and turtles. However, the cricket farm operators are only able to provide 100 thousand, and say that they aim to increase their capacity by modifying their facilities. (ATSO, 2007, Vizyon, 20/235: 23).

Another issue worth mentioning in the agriculture field in Antalya is the *Quercus Suber L.,* also known as the 'Oak Cork Tree'. Natural cork is obtained from this tree which grows in the European and African countries around the Western Mediterranean between 34-45 north latitude. This cork is used in many fields such as fishing, construction and office supplies, particularly the wine industry. Turkey imports most of the cork required for its recently growing wine industry, and the other cork related industrial areas from Spain and Portugal (ATSO, 2007, Vizyon, 20/217: 55). Informant R1 remembers the gradual decrease in the number of cork trees that used to grow even in the downtown area twenty one years ago:

> **R1:** *There are trees that cork for wine bottles are made from called "cork trees". They are grown in Antalya. There were some behind our TRT building. They were almost cut down. We called in the Forest [ministry] people and saved them. They were put under protection.*[414]

Forestry Engineer Halil Sarıbaşak of the Western Mediterranean Forestry Research Directorate recommends increasing the number of cork trees raised in suitable areas in the region. This way, not only will dependence on external cork sources decrease, but new employment areas will also be created, increasing production, which in turn would enable the export of cork form the region.

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[413] **R23:** Türkiye'de haller yasası, yaş meyve sebze ticareti yeniden düzenlendi. Çünkü Türkiye'de liberal değildir bu sistem. Meyve-sebzenizi üretirsiniz illa hale götürüp satmak zorundasınız. Ben size fatura kesip malımı veremem. [Örneğin fındık gibi bir taban fiyatı da yoktur] Hayır taban fiyatı da yoktur her şey günlük oluşur. Yok işte, böyle pek izah edilemeyecek bir kanun var, çok eskilerden kalma. Üreticilerin, köylü olduğu düşünülerek, yani gerçek usulde vergi mükellefi olmadığı düşünülerek çıkmış bir kanun. Oysa günümüzde tarımsal işletmeler artık kurumlar vergisine tabi veya gelir vergisine tabi. Tarım bir iktisadi faaliyet olarak algılanıyor artık, aileler şirketleşiyor.

[414] **R1:** Şarap mantarlarının yapıldığı "mantar ağacı" vardır. Antalya'da yetişir. Bizim TRT Binasının arkasında vardı. Neredeyse keseceklerdi. Ormancıları çağırdık, kurtardık. Koruma altına alındı.

The Fields of Industry and Technology

The city share holders' strategies detailed above to create employment, produce added value and for branding are also employed in the other subfields in the economy field in Antalya. During the 1999-2004 municipal governance period in Antalya, as restructuring debates were taking place in the field of tourism especially in terms of diversifying tourism (see subsection 8.3), the restructuring of the field of economy was also a widely debated issue. A study by ATSO's Education and Research Unit called "a new structure for a new vision of Antalya" aimed to develop strategies through the identification of the conjuncture by sector as well as the structural problems (2002, *ATSO Dergisi*, 16/175: 22). This study underlined "the necessity to integrate the city center with tourism through cultural promotion and commerce" (Ibid.: 24). The study also claimed restructuring in the field of industry would only be possible through forging a partnership among industrial enterprises, while emphasizing controlled production and branding in the restructuring of the field of agriculture.

It is observed that industrial investments were also spurred in Antalya since the early 2000sin parallel to the tourism investments. Süleyman Demirtaş, the manager of the Antalya Organized Industrial Zone (AOSB) states that in this zone, where only facilities not polluting the environment are allowed, there was an increase in ancillary tourism industry facilities in 2006. He also mentions that work is underway to create new fields and that 170 companies are on the waitlist for building their facilities in the zone (2006, Vizyon, 20/220: 50). The ATSO representative informant R22 makes comments in line with this information:

> **R22:** *As for industry, there is one in Antalya. There is a good clean industry in Antalya. Today there about 125 facilities in Antalya's Organized Industry Region and 8,000 people are employed there. Moreover, 150 more plots are going to be added and that will make a total of 300 facilities. And the employment will be about 16 thousand here. Also, the Antalya Free Zone is a very special Free Zone. There are 40 domestic and internally partnered yacht producers there. The free zone is third in world yacht production. Last year 40 yachts were produced and exported from the free zone. This year in the first quarter we produced 20. With the orders placed in 2008, 80-90 private yachts. The added value of this immense. Produced and exported. In this way, the free zone is crucial for Antalya.[415]*

The Antalya Free Zone[416], which covers 544.000 m² of land, 12 km to the Antalya city center, 25 km to the airport and adjacent to the port area (ASB), commenced activities on 14

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[415] **R22:** Sanayiye gelince Antalya'da bir sanayi var. Antalya'da temiz sanayi var. Antalya'nın Organize Sanayi Bölgesi'nde bugün aşağı yukarı 125 tane tesis var ve sekiz bin tane istihdamı var. Bunun yanında daha 150 parsel daha ilave gelecek, bununla birlikte 300 tesis olacak. Aşağı yukarı istihdamda 16 bin kişiye çıkacak burada. Bunun yanında Antalya Serbest Bölgesi çok özel bir Serbest Bölge. 40 tane yabancı ortaklı ve yerli yat üreticisi var. Dünyanın üçüncü yat üreticisi durumunda serbest bölge. Geçen yıl 40 tane tekne üretip ihraç etmişiz serbest bölgeden. Bu yıl ilk üç ayda 20 tane üretmişiz. 2008 yılında alınan siparişlerle beraber 80-90 tekne, özel yat yani. Katma değeri çok yüksek bir olay bu. Üretilip ihraç edilecek. Serbest bölge bu yönden Antalya için çok önemli.

[416] "Free Zone work which started in Turkey in 1927 with the 'Free Zones Act' were only realized in the 1980s with the export based growth model" (ATSO, 2004, *ATSO Dergisi*, 18/197: 14); "After the passing of in Turkey the Limited Free

November 1987. The operation of this zone, whose land and infrastructure expenses were covered by the state and superstructure was done by investor companies, was handed over to the private sector. For this purpose, ASB Operator Inc. (ASBAŞ) was founded, with 36% state owned and 64% privately owned shares (ATSO, 1999, *ATSO Dergisi*, 13/149: 18; 2006, *Vizyon,* 20/223: 13). At first the ABS functioned as a Free Trade Zone. Then, with the increase in production activities and increased demand, it started to serve as a Free Production Zone (ATSO, 1999, *ATSO Dergisi,* 13/149: 19). For instance, in 1996 the number of active enterprises there were 15, but went up to 28 in 2002. Similarly, in 1995 the number of companies in the Organized Industrial Zone was 28 and jumped to 64 in 2002. In terms of transportation, it was recommended that the Antalya ports become more functional both to support the ASB better and to develop Courvoisier tourism.

Since 1999, all kinds of non-polluting production activities, particularly in the fields of electronics, optics, food and garments take place in the ASB, as well as the retail of production related raw materials, intermediate materials and goods manufactured, their storage, branding, packaging, labeling, display and maintenance. (ATSO, 1999, *ATSO Dergisi*, 13/149: 19-20).[417] As of 2004, 76% of the 433.985 m² investment area of the total 607,130 m² has been allocated for investors. In these areas, there are 20 textile companies with international operations, 9 yacht and boat companies actively working in production, and other companies engaged in production, procurement and retail activities in the medical sector, in the cable and electronic goods sector as well as the agricultural sector. The total number of workers employed here is 3,700 (ATSO, 2004, *ATSO Dergisi*, 18/197: 16).

ASBAŞ General Manager Fikri Bayhan underlines the efforts made towards environment friendly production and trade in line with Antalya's tourism tradition. He states that luxury boat manufacturers have also been active in the region as of 2006, in addition to those mentioned above (ATSO, 2006, *Vizyon,* 20/223: 13). According to Bayhan, 3,500 direct employment positions have

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Zones Law numbered 3218 in 1985, 17 Free Zones have commenced service in various locations Free Zones are a part of the Turkey Customs Region, where a product not in free circulation is not subject to any customs can not be put in free circulation, can not be used or consumed unless otherwise indicated in the customs laws. They are considered to be outside the Turkey customs region in terms of the implementation of export taxes, and trade policies and ticaret politikası önlemlerinin ve foreign exchange laws; these are places where a freely circulating product has been put into a free zone, thereby benefiting from the opportunities available from the export of the object. The official website of the Turkey Prime Ministry Customs lists the active free zones in Turkey and the year they were established 1) Mersin Free Zone (1987); 2) Antalya Free Zone (1987); 3) Aegean Free Zone (1990); 4) İstanbul-Atatürk Airport Free Zone (1990); 5) Trabzon Free Zone (1992); 6) İstanbul-Leather and Industry Free Zone (1995); 7) Eastern Anatolia Free Zone (1995); 8) Mardin Free Zone (1995); 9)Istanbul Stock Exchange International Stocks and Shares (1997); 10) İzmir Menemen Leather Free Zone (12.03.1998); 11) Rize Free Zone (26.04.1998); 12) Samsun Free Zone (20.03.1998); 13) İstanbul Trakya Free Zone (Çatalca) (06.03.1998); 14) Kayseri Free Zone (01.11.1998); 15)Europe Free Zone (01.06.1999); 16) Gaziantep Free Zone (05.07.1999); 17) Adana Yumurtalık Free Zone (1998); 18) Bursa Free Zone (2001); 19) Denizli Free Zone (2002); 20) Kocaeli Free Zone (2001); 21) TÜBİTAK Marmara Research Center (2002)" (http://www.gumruk.gov.tr/tr-TR/ticareterbabi/Sayfalar/SerbestBolgeler.aspx, accessed on 08.05.2010.)

[417] "The Antalya Free Zone contains companies active mainly in production, purchase and sale, storage, installment, uninstallment, repair and maintenance, leasing as well as gibi as banking, insurance, engineering, accounting, transportation and agencies" (ATSO, 1999, *ATSO Dergisi*, 13/149: 19-20).

been created in the zone, which is an important center of investment for domestic and international investors and has reached a saturation rate of 99%. He goes on to say that efforts to come up with new sectors that will be in harmony with the city of Antalya and that ASB is moving towards becoming a center of luxury boat production. As of 2006, construction is underway for of 12 of the 25 production companies, of which 10 have foreign capital, 13 companies manufacture boats, and 5 are active in procurement and sales as well as ancillary industry. From 2000 to 2006, 60 boats with lengths varying between 12 and 40 meters have been put to sea. It is foreseen that the employment in boat production operations which was 700 workers in 2006 will soon reach 2,000. The number of production companies in 2008 increased to 34, and the number of boats manufactured has increased to 130, with 1,700 workers employed.[418]

Today, some Free Zones which are able to go further than the typical activities become 'techno parks' by producing state of the art technological products with high added value and specializing in their production and related services. Regardless of the increase in the number of manufacturers and yachts manufactured in the field of ultra-luxury yacht production field, ABS has not yet succeeded in becoming specialized, or a fully functioning techno park. However, as in other cities, a cooperation endeavor between the industry and the university which might pave the way for the establishment of techno parks in Antalya is in place. On September 17, 2004, the Akdeniz University West Mediterranean Techno city Inc.[419] was founded under the partnership of Akdeniz University, ATSO and companies among which are those active in the fields of agriculture, industry, information, software and health (ATSO, 2004, *Vizyon,* 18/203: 12). Furthermore, in 2006, Akdeniz University West Mediterranean Techno city Inc. entered an agreement of cooperation with Endosan Inc., a company specializing in Cogeneration/Trigeneration Power Plants, for the establishment of an Energy Techno park. Endosan Inc. General Manager Erol Özgenç says the following about the significance of the Energy Techno park Project, planned to commence operations in 2007, with

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[418] See the news "Antalya, 8 yılda 130 ultralüks yat ihraç etti" in the dayly newspaper *Hürriyet* 31.07.2008 http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=9551421 (accessed 22. 02.2010)

[419] The work areas of the Akdeniz Akdeniz University Western Mediterranean Technocity have been determined as; Advanced Agricultural Technologies, Seed Refinement, Tohum Islahı, Advanced Food Technologies, Medical Technologies, Biotechnologies, İleri Material Technologies, Energy Technologies, New Production Techniques, Yeni Üretim Yöntemleri, Regional-Sectorel Development Plans, Quality Improvement Systems, Information and Software Technologies. The president of the University at the time, Mustafa Akaydin said that developed countries prioritize technological investments and that the Technocity is like an industry without a smokestack. "If we can sell what we produce here, we could join the ranks of other countries. This will be appealing at the international level as well. Technocities mean the incorporation of universities, so they are a risk. But we have taken that risk." (http://www1.akdeniz.edu.tr/iletisim/akdeniz/pivot/entry.php?id=92, accessed on 10.05.2010)

regard to Antalya's plans of becoming a health tourism destination by specializing in 'medical technologies'[420]:

> The most important goals of the power plant are to put an end to the problems that the University Medical School, ER and other health units consuming high amounts of electricity due to power cuts, low/high voltage and contaminated energy, and to produce uninterrupted, clean energy. (ATSO, 2006, *Vizyon,* 20/217:26).

ATSO, the second most important component of the growth oriented coalition in Antalya, formed under the leadership of the AGM, points out that Antalya based companies are not only among Turkey's best tourism, agriculture and trade businesses, but that industrial establishments are also starting to get in the List of Turkey's Top 500 Large Industrial Establishments (2007, *Vizyon*, 20/235: 18-19). During the field study, ANSIAD representative R23 says:

> **R23:** *But an industry that can't be ignored has developed in Antalya' in recent years. Construction material producers, paint producers, furniture producers. Now that I think of it, there are window producers, chemical substance producers, and detergent producers. So there's a great variety. So when tourism developed in Antalya, and when construction developed, and trade developed, it brought industry along with it. Of course tourism is a very sensitive sector. When Antalya is based only on tourism, if there is a bomb somewhere, Antalya will be paralyzed. So Antalya can't put all its eggs in one basket. Now this is a city of almost 3 million. The city center's population has already exceeded 1 million; now imagine that if something happened to the tourism; everyone would be left without a job. […] But there are such companies who are very strong in export. There are companies in Antalya that are second or third in Europe in their fields for example, there is a furniture producing company called AGT; if I'm not mistaken they are in the top 500 and not low on the list, either. Adopen is in the top 500, Ado group in Antalya. They produce windows and export them.[421]*

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[420] Akdeniz University, in the 2008 Administrative Activity Report stated that the Antalya Technocity is priority. The same report stated that in the Antalya Technocity there were about 30 companies operating in fields like advanced material science, medical and biological technologies industrial automation and agriculture, with the majority in the software sector; and that 20% of the the Technocity companies are foreign companies. The following information is mentioned in the report: "As a result of being a technocity that speaks the language of the prvate sector, 14 of Technocity's partners are from the private secotr and 2 of these are among Turkey's top 500 companies. The goal of the Antalya Technocity is to utlize this advantage and become one of the important international technology centers on the Mediterranean basin with the next 10 years. Efforts are underway to form the Mediterranean Technocities Association as a natural condition of this. Serious strides have been taken towards this in the meetings with France and Italy. The Antalya Technocity, which is an important medical and biological technologies and medical technology, is making efforts to continue the same success in the field of information technology by forging international cooperation. Moreover, Antalya Technocity, as the technocity with the largest number of private partnerships in Turkey is also working to export its expertise in the fields of establishing and managing a technocity." (http://www1.akdeniz.edu.tr/nisan2009x.pdf, accessed on 10.05.2010).

[421] **R23:** Ama Antalya'da yabana atılmayacak bir sanayi gelişti son yıllarda. İnşaat malzemesi üretenler, boya imal edenler yani mobilya imal edenler. Şimdi düşünüyorum, pencere imal edenler, kimya, şey, kimyasal madde imal edenler, deterjan imal edenler. Çok çok, yani çok karma yani Antalya'daki işte bu turizmin inşaatın bu kadar genişlemesi, burada ticareti bu kadar büyütünce mecburen sanayiyi de getirdi. Tabi turizm bir de çok hassas bir sektör. Antalya sadece turizme dayalı olarak bir yere gittiği zaman, bir yere bir bomba düştüğü zaman Antalya felç olur. Antalya, yani yere birkaç noktadan basmak zorunda. Şimdi üç milyona giden bir kent olmuşsunuz burada. Kent nüfusu, kentin merkezi bir milyonu çoktan geçmiş, şimdi düşünün turizmde bir şey oluyor herkes işsiz. […] Ama öyle firmalar var ki ihracatı da çok kuvvetlidir. Kendi türünde Avrupa'nın ikincisi, üçüncüsü olan firmalar var Antalya'da. Mesela AGT diye mobilya üreten bir firma var kendi türünde yanılmıyorsam ilk 500'de ve ciddi sıralarında ilk 500'ün. Adopen, ilk 500'de, Ado grubu Antalya'da. Pencere imal ediyor, ihracat yapıyor.

The city share holders complain about the fact that Antalya is not getting the funds it deserves from the budget because the Turkish and international companies investing in Antalya are listed under Ankara or Istanbul tax offices, except for companies founded in Antalya[422]:

> **R23:** *I think that the tax collected in Antalya is about 3.3% of all the taxes paid in Turkey According to 2006 results. But don't forget that the Antalya tourism sector doesn't pay taxes in Antalya. The headquarters of most of these hotels are in Ankara or İstanbul. Mostly in these two cities. And they pay their taxes there.* […] *Antalya produces 3.3 percent of the GNP. Over 13-14 billion dollars. It uses that much of its electricity as well. But it collects less tax. It doesn't collect the same proportion of the taxes. The reason for this is the* <u>incredible dominance of İstanbul</u> *but also that the taxes for Antalya's tourism taxes are collected in İstanbul and Ankara. Don't be fooled; most of our taxes are in İstanbul. The taxes for the tourism revenues in Antalya are paid outside Antalya. If that changed, Antalya's tax income would really increase. Local administrations get a share from the central government because of our taxes.* <u>But we don't get as much as we should</u>*. Because the taxes are paid there* [İstanbul or Ankara]; *they look at the Antalya municipalities' taxes and pay accordingly. This is wrong. Antalya should be given special status because 9 million people come here. The population increases in the summer and drops in the winter. The municipality has to work accordingly, build a sewage system [according to these numbers] and purification system. This is why I think* <u>Antalya is entitled to more.</u> *And you can't make Antalya shine with the typical investments made in different cities.[423]*

> **R2:** *1/3 of Turkey's tourism revenue is generated in Antalya but the tax base is not in Antalya. All of the [companies'] tax departments are in İstanbul or Ankara. The money does to the İstanbul revenue office and is reflected onto the budget of the İstanbul municipality. But our municipality collects the trash of the business here, we pave the roads, our coasts get contaminated, and the taxes go to Istanbul. I once did a calculation for this. If some of the money that goes to Istanbul would stay here, if you channeled half of that into culture, you could do amazing things.[424]*

> **R14:** *Now here, they are right about that, because the headquarters of the companies, the companies in most of Turkey are usually either in İstanbul or Ankara. Therefore their tax departments are always in İstanbul or Ankara, mostly in İstanbul though. So taxes always to go İstanbul. Part of the work or actually most of it happens in Antalya, so he's right. But this law could be changed by the central government. The government can make the change and have them pay taxes here.[425]*

> **R1:** *This is true. It's not the [companies] that are responsible for this. This is because of the government. I would do the same if I were a hotel owner. You have to look at this from both perspectives. If I were a hotel owner, I wouldn't*

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[422] See also ATSO (2007) "Antalya 2 veriyor 1 Alıyor" *Vizyon*, (20) 229: 28-29.

[423] **R23:** Antalya aşağı yukarı şu anda Türkiye'de toplanan toplam verginin yanılmıyorsam, 2006 yılı sonuçlarına göre 3,3'ünü falan veriyor, Türkiye'de toplanan verginin. Ama unutmayın ki Antalya turizm sektörü Antalya'da vergi vermiyor. Yani, bu otellerin çoğunun merkezleri İstanbul'dadır, Ankarada'dır. Ağırlıklı olarak bu iki kenttedir. Ve vergilerini orada veriyor. […] GSMH'nın yüzde üç küsurunu üretir Antalya. 13-14 milyar doları geçti. Elektriğinde bu kadarını kullanır. Ama verginin daha azını toplar. O oranda vergi toplanmaz. Bunun sebebi bir <u>İstanbul'un korkunç ağırlığı</u> ama iki Antalya'nın turizminin vergisinin İstanbul'da, Ankara'da toplanması. Bakmayın İstanbul'dadır bizim vergimizin çoğu. Antalya'da oluşturulan turizm hasılasının vergisi Antalya dışında verilir. O değişsin Antalya'da, Antalya'nın vergi gelirleri acayip artar. Vergilerimizden dolayı merkezi hükümetten bizim yerel yönetimler pay alıyor mesela. <u>Ama eksik alıyoruz biz.</u> Çünkü vergi orda [İstanbul'da ya da Ankara'da] veriliyor, Antalya'nın vergisine bakılıyor belediyelerin, ona göre para veriliyor. Bu yanlış. Antalya bir kere özel bir statüye sahip olmalı. Çünkü buraya dokuz milyon insan geliyor. Nüfus yazın artıyor kışın azalıyor. Belediye kime göre yapıyor, kime göre oraya kanalizasyon yapılacak, arıtma yapılacak. O yüzden <u>Antalya bence daha fazlasını hak ediyor.</u> Ve Antalya'ya klasik kentlere yapılan yatırımlarla Antalya'yı parlatamazsınız.

[424] **R2:** Türkiye'nin turizm gelirlerinin 1/3'ü Antalya'dan kazanılır ancak bu gelirin matrahı Antalya'da değildir. Hepsinin vergi daireleri İstanbul ya da Ankara'dadır. Para İstanbul defterdarlığına yatıyor ve İstanbul Belediyesi'nin bütçesine yansıyor. Halbuki buradaki işletmenin çöpünü bizim belediyemiz topluyor, asfaltını biz döküyoruz, bizim kıyılarımız kirleniyor, vergisi İstanbul'a gidiyor. Bunun hesabını yapmıştım ben bir ara. İstanbul'a giden paranın bir bölümü burada kalsa onun yarısını kültüre ayırsanız inanılmaz şeyler yaparsınız.

[425] **R14:** Bizim burda, şimdi o konuda haklılar, çünkü şirketlerin ana merkezleri, geneldeki Türkiye'deki ana merkezleri ya İstanbuldadır, ya da Ankarada. Dolayısıyla vergi daireleri hep İstanbulda veya Ankarada, ağırlıkla İstanbul ama. Dolayısıyla vergiler hep İstanbula akıyor bu durumda. İşin bir kısmı veya büyük bir kısmı Antalya'da gerçekleşiyor. O nedenle doğru söylüyor. Ama bu tabi kanun var değiştirebilirler, merkezden. Hükümet böyle kanun değişikliği yapıp, vergileri buraya ödettirebilirler.

keep my books here. Because when your annual revenue is one million dollars, you are put in the large company category. For example, [an airline company] is visited every day by inspectors Why? Because there are very few large companies and this is one of the bigger ones. If their books were in Istanbul, there would be many more other large companies. If they were inspected this year, they wouldn't get inspected next year. You could be a portfolio selected randomly, or one that is one out of five that are visited regularly. This is because of the government. Here they care about revenue of one million dollars, but that same government doesn't care about the same amount in İstanbul'.[426]

Informant R12, who is the manager of a travel agency dealing with tours with their head office in Antalya, says that they were established in Antalya because more tourists come to Antalya than to Istanbul and continues, "*This is the right place. The largest number of tourists come here Antalya is the center of tourism. Good thing there is Antalya. Antalya provides the most suitable environment for us to do business in. What more could it do?*"[427]

The Antalya Airport International Terminal Operations Inc. moved their company headquarters from Istanbul to Antalya in 2004 upon ATSO's request for companies carrying out activities in Antalya despite having head offices in other cities to "Invest taxes in Antalya". The company has paid a record amount of taxes in the field of tourism and transportation for past three years (ATSO, 2004, Vizyon, 18/1999: 26). Informant R13 from this company says:

> **R13:** *We helped channel some of our taxes to the Antalya Municipality by moving the company headquarters here, and we aim to contribute to the development of the region's economy and development with subsequent sponsorships.*[428]

Stating that 75% of the companies engaged in the tourism sector in Antalya have headquarters outside the city, ATSO Board of Directors Chairman Kemal Özgen goes on to say, "because these companies pay taxes in other cities, Antalya municipalities suffer great losses in terms of the funds granted through the Bank of Provinces according to the taxes collected". Özgen hopes that the Antalya Airport International Terminal Operations Inc.'s decision will serve as an example for other companies. Furthermore, he claims that if 100 or 500 companies, particularly those in the tourism field, do the same, the tax revenues currently at one quadrillion will increase by a few quadrillion TL, and that Antalya's true tax potential will be brought forth.

Most of the informants' responses refer to İstanbul. Additionally, the city elite who give quotes to local magazines such as *ATSO Dergisi, Vizyon, Portakal, and Tourism Today* usually compare

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[426] **R1:** Doğrudur. Bunun sorumlusu şey [şirketler] değildir. Bu tamamen devletten kaynaklanıyor. Ben Otel sahibinin yerinde olsam aynısını yaparım. Masanın iki tarafına bakmak gerekir. Ben de otelci olsam defterlerimi burada tutmam. Çünkü burada yıllık cironuz bir milyon dolar olduğu zaman büyük firma sınıfına giriyorsunuz. Mesela [bir hava yolu firmasına] her gün müfettiş gidiyor. Niye? Çok az sayıda büyük firma var onların içinde bu en büyüklerden biri. İstanbul'da olsa defterleri, bir sürü büyük firma var. Bu sene denetlense bile seneye tesadüf etmez. Aradan çekilen dosya olmak var bir de zaten beş tane dosya var sırayla denetleyelim demek var. Bu devletten kaynaklanıyor. Burada bir milyon dolar ciroyu önemsiyor, aynı devlet İstanbul'da bu rakamı önemsemiyor.

[427] **R12:** "Burası doğru yer. En çok turist buraya geliyor. Antalya turizmin merkezi. İyi ki Antalya var. Antalya bizim iş yapmamız için en uygun ortamı yaratıyor. Daha ne yapsın?"

[428] **R13:** Şirket merkezinin Antalya'ya taşınmasıyla vergilerimizden bir kısmının Antalya belediyesine aktarılmasını sağlamıştık, peşinden gelen sponsorluklarla da bölge ekonomisine ve bölgenin gelişimine katkı sağlamayı hedefliyoruz.

Antalya to Istanbul. What is more, the active and influential nature of the Istanbul companies that do business in Antalya but pay taxes in Istanbul broaden the scope of informant R3's comment, "Istanbul has power over all of the culture and art activities in Antalya". The affluence of Istanbul is apparent not only in the art and culture field, but in the fields of economy, municipal governance, even in the development of UPPs (Urban Propaganda Projects) (see the discussion about the nomination of Antalya as a European Capital of Culture in Chapter 6). Antalya, in the eyes of the city share holders, is a city that is compared to Istanbul and that has to mimic Istanbul if it is to become a global city. This argument is supported by the fact that the administration of the UPPs developed within the last five years has been handed over to agencies from Istanbul (see the discussions about the City Museum Project and restructuring process of the AGOFF organized by the agencies from İstanbul in Chapter 6). The views of the informants on the influence of Istanbul over Antalya, the perception of İstanbul and the meaning of İstanbul are as follows:

> **R23:** *Oh, there was a* [seed] *company I worked for before called İstanbul Tohumculuk. Later we got together and founded İstanbul Tarım A.Ş. We had made a name for our company before as İstanbul Tohumculuk. We thought we could express ourselves better with the name İstanbul Tarım in this region. Because the name Istanbul is always popular in Anatolia.[429]*

> **R18:** *Actually, Antalya is exactly the same as İstanbul right now. We have [people from] all 81 cities. But there's a distinction; İstanbul is also the center of finance. I mean the financial center of Turkey's and this region's. Antalya is no finance center. Antalya is primarily a holiday destination and an inhabitable place; it gets migrants, usually over a certain age. So mostly retired pensioners come here to rest to vacation, well, for tourism. Some come due to agriculture. We get migration in agriculture and tourism. We don't get any for finance or financial investments.[430]*

> **R17:** *The İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality is like an older brother to the Antalya Metropolitan Municipality. But if you go on the street and ask people, "who organizes the AGOFF?" you probably won't find anyone who knows it's an organization group from Istanbul. I mean, they would say, "Isn't there anyone in this town that could do this that they have to have Istanbul do it?" This is not a point of interest for the people living here. They only care about at whether their garbage is collected, the mosquitoes and the traffic and so on.[431]*

> **R20:** *In the media they talk about the AGM like they are doing projects that will benefit the public immensely, and I think these are all an incredible ad campaign. Just six months after* [Menderes Türel] *was elected, I went to Istanbul on a trip. I went into a stationery store around Sultan Ahmet and the man said,: "Menderes Türel is going really good, they are doing good work." Really! I thought, wait a minute, it's only been ix months since the man was elected,*

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[429] **R23:** Ha, bizim, daha önce çalıştığım bir şirket vardı, onun adı İstanbul Tohumculuktu. Daha sonra o firmanın sahipleriyle birlikte İstanbul Tarım A.Ş.'yi kurduk birlikte. Biz İstanbul Tohumculuk olarak isim yapmış bir firmaydık daha önce. Bu bölgede İstanbul Tarım dersek daha rahat ismimizle kendimizi ifade edebiliriz diye düşündük. Çünkü Anadolu'da İstanbul adı her zaman prim yapar.

[430] **R18:** Valla, İstanbul'un aynısı şu anda Antalya. 81 ilin 81'i de var bizde. Ancak arada şöyle bir ayrım var; İstanbul aynı zamanda finans merkezi. Yani Türkiye'nin ve bu bölgenin finans merkezidir. Antalya bir finans merkezi değildir. Antalya öncelikli olarak bir tatil mekanıdır ve yaşanabilir, insanların genelde bu dediğimiz göçlerde zaten belli bir yaşın üzerindeki göçler. Yani emekli olmuş insanlar, buraya insanlar dinlenmeye, tatil yapmaya, işte turizm. Bir kısımda göçler tarım vesilesiyle geliyor. Tarımda ve turizm alanında aldığımız göçler. Finans alanında, finans yatırımı anlamında bir göç almıyoruz.

[431] **R18:** Antalya'da bir, kent merkezini değiştirecekti bu proje [Dokuma Modern Sanatlar Müzesi Projesi]. İki, Antalya trafiğini rahatlatacaktı bu proje. Üç, tek merkezlilikten kurtaracak bir projedir. Mesela İstanbul'a gidiniz Taksim bir merkezdir aynı zamanda Kadıköy'de bir merkezdir.

there's nothing to see yet. How did you know? I think this news is imposed from İstanbul and that <u>Antalya is being manipulated from İstanbul</u>.[432]

"We must carry our approach to production from 'the traditional to the future', "the local to the global', and from 'imitation to creativity,'" says ATSO Assembly member and ATSO Agriculture Commission president Hamdi Güneş (2007, *Vizyon*, 20/234: 21), which comes across as an apt summary of the fundamental strategies of the urban restructuring process, which became more observable in Antalya after 2004. As demonstrated by the data from the field research, and particularly from the statements of AGM, ATSO, ANSİAD, City Council and other non-governmental initiatives, the city shareholders making up the 'growth machine' formed in Antalya, as in other cities that aspire to become a *creative city* to attract global capital, believe that the key to development is public-private partnership (Özgen, 2007, *Vizyon*, 20/234: 24). The public-private partnership, which is the basis on which *Neoliberal* urbanism is founded, results in the birth of entrepreneurial cities under the leadership of municipal administrations. As discussed in subsection 4.2, the post-1980 period bears in mind with the 'Approval of the Neo-Liberal Policies'. Şengül (2003: 155) calls this period, the 'urbanization of capital', during which municipalities became one of the important actors in the transformation of the urban government to a more entrepreneurial model. ANSIAD representative informant R23'ün says the following about the post-1980 business environment and businessmanship in Antalya:

> **R23:** *Turkey, as you know drew a new path for itself with Özal. He shifted the country from a mixed economy towards a market economy. And activities to broaden the economy began through the private sector. During that time, as you know, we had our internal ideological struggles with the coup in 1980, and at one point, being a businessman, tradesman, factory owner, industrialist was taken the wrong way in Turkey. These weren't good people; they work only for their own benefit; they would call them compradors, maybe you remember. Of course, Turkey didn't have a well established business world, we were amateurs. After 1983, lots of commercial activity began, and investment moves, so businessmen started multiplying. Businessmen actually didn't know how to share with the community, or to become organized, but if you don't have a lobby, you are nothing; you aren't even a sector, no lobby, no power. After all of these, a businessman concept began developing in Turkey. After 83, things eventually [started developing] in Anatolia —as you know TÜSİAD is older but it represents a different capital group. The businessman concept started developing with the growing economic activities in Anatolia and with the improving Anatolian capital. The reason they came together was that the need arose to solve their problems in cooperation. It was in this context that ANSİAD was established in 1990 in Antalya as well, even though there wasn't much of an industry in Antalya back then. The industry in Antalya actually developed after 1990. In 1990, it was foreseen that this would be the direction of things, so a group of businessmen in Antalya founded ANSİAD. This is the founding goal. To benefit businessmen, regulate the relationship between the central government and the public, ensure communication and to make relevant*

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[432] **R20:** Basında AGM'den halkın hakikaten müthiş yararlanacağı projeler ortaya koyuyormuş gibi bahsediliyor ve ben bu konuda korkunç bir reklam yapıldığına inanıyorum. Daha altı ay olmuştu [Menderes Türel] seçileli, İstanbul'a gitmiştim bir geziye, orda şeyde, Sultanahmet civarında bir kırtasiyeye girdim, kırtasiyeci dedi ki: "Menderes Türel çok iyi gidiyor, çok güzel şeyler yapıyor." Ya! dedim, durun bir dakika ya, adam seçileli daha altı ay oldu daha bir şey yok ortada. Nerden bildiniz? Bence İstanbul'dan empoze ediliyor bu haberler ve <u>Antalya İstanbul'dan manipule ediliyor</u>.

explanations when called for. But there was another important thing; in those times, you had to do something about the education training and etiquette of the businessmen, more so than now.[433]

Informant R23, from ANSIAD, is of the opinion that the changing profile of the businessman in after 1990 in Turkey caused the business world to undergo changes as well. With more bachelor's degree holders in the business world, he states, the traditional businessman identity was replaced by one making more use of technology and questioning decisions more with his knowledge about the field and cultural capital. Informant 23 points out that in the face of this trend, the education level of businessmen from Antalya, especially in the newly developing field of industry since 1990, has become even more important to ANSİAD:

> **R23:** *Administrative units, from concentration techniques to speed reading to teamwork and computer use. This is the 1990s we're talking about, 18 years ago. Of course there was the matter of education. First ANSIAD was founded, then ANTEV (Antalya Education Foundation). When ANTEV was first founded, it was with ANSIAD in the lead. The goal was to have training activities for businessmen. But of course a generation changes every twenty years. Now the need for education has risen again, but the educational needs of the day are different. Compared to back then, ANSIAD's training and education needs have changed. It was because of these needs that ANSIAD was founded. It has 137 members. We're thinking that we might have a membership of 160 at first. There are people from all sectors, a mixed structure. There has never been an ideological bigotry. It has principles, after all. It believes in a market economy, and in a secular-social Turkey. It acts in accordance with these principles. As I said, it has been in close contact with governments. They have always been able to relay their problems to them.[434]*

As mentioned above Antalya was chosen as one of the 26 regions defined as NUTS 2 level Statistical Region Units. ANTEV, mentioned above by R23, believes the need will arise for many

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[433] **R23:** Türkiye, biliyorsunuz Özal'la birlikte yeni bir yol çizdi kendisine. Karma ekonomiden birazcık daha pazar ekonomisine doğru yörüngeyi kaydırdı Özal. Ve özel sektör üzerinden gelişme, ekonomiyi büyütme faaliyetlerine başladı. O esnada da tabi biz biliyorsunuz, 80 darbesine içerdeki ideolojik problemlerimizden çekişmelerimizi yaşadık, hatta bir dönem de iş adamlığı, tüccarlık, fabrikatörlük, sanayicilik, yanlış algılandı Türkiye'de yani hani bunlar pek makbul adamlar değildir, hep kendilerine çalışırlar, komprador denirdi biliyorsunuz o zamanlar. Tabi Türkiye'nin oturmuş bir iş alemi yoktu, acemisiydik o işin. 83'ten sonra da birden bu büyük bir ticari faaliyet, yatırım hamlesi falan başlayınca, iş adamları çoğalmaya başladılar. İş adamları da aslında toplumla paylaşmayı bilmiyorlardı, örgütlenmeyi bilmiyorlardı, ama lobiniz yoksa hiçbir şeysiniz, lobiniz yoksa sektör değilsiniz, lobiniz yoksa gücünüz yok. Bütün bu anlayışlardan sonra Türkiye'de bir iş adamı konsepti oluşmaya başladı. 83 yılından sonra da ufak ufak Anadolu'da—biliyorsunuz TÜSİAD daha eskidir ama TÜSİAD daha farklı bir sermaye grubunu temsil ediyor. Anadolu'da da gelişen ekonomik faaliyetlerle birlikte ve gelişen Anadolu sermayesiyle birlikte, bir iş adamı olgusu oluşmaya başladı ve bunların bir araya gelme ihtiyaçları, sorunlarını birlikte çözme ihtiyaçları doğdu. İşte bu süreçte 1990 yılında Antalya'da da—ki Antalya'da o yıllarda doğru dürüst bir sanayi de yoktu—ANSIAD kuruldu. Antalya sanayisi aslında 1990'dan sonra oluşmuştur. 90 yılında bu işin böyle gideceği de öngörülerek Antalya'da bir grup iş adamı ANSİAD'ı kurdular. Kuruluş amacı budur, iş adamlarının menfaatlerini sağlamak, kamuoyuyla, merkezi hükümetle iletişimi tanzim etmek, iletişimini sağlamak, gerektiği zamanlarda gerekli açıklamaları yapmak üzere kurulmuştur. Ayrıca bir önemli şey daha vardı, o dönemlerde bu döneme nazaran iş adamının eğitimi ve bilgisi, görgüsü içinde bir şeyler yapmak gerekiyordu.

[434] **R23:** Yönetim birimleri, konsantre etkileme teknikleri, hızlı okumadan tutun da takımı oluşturmaya, bilgisayar kullanmaya kadar. 1990'lardan bahsediyoruz, 18 yıl öncesinden. Tabi eğitim meselesi de var işin içinde. ANSIAD kuruldu arkasından ANTEV (Antalya Eğitim Vakfı) kuruldu ve ANTEV ilk kurulduğunda ANSIAD'ın önderliğinde kuruldu. İş adamlarına yönelik eğitimler hedeflendi. Ama tabi yirmi yılda bir jenerasyon değişikliği de oluyor. Şimdi, eğitim ihtiyacı olmakla beraber o günün eğitim ihtiyaçları biraz kabuk değiştirdi. O güne nazaran ANSIAD eğitim verme ve eğitim alma noktasındaki ihtiyaçları değişti. Ama bütün bu ihtiyaçlardan dolayı ANSIAD kuruldu. 137 tane üyesi var. Aşağı yukarıda bu üye sayısı işte 160 olalım diyoruz ilk etapta. Bütün sektörlerden arkadaşlar vardır, karma bir yapısı vardır. Hiçbir surette ideolojik bir bağnazlık içinde olmamıştır. Ama netice itibarıyla ilkeleri vardır, Pazar ekonomisine inanır, laik-sosyal Türk devletine inanır. Bu ilkeleri doğrultusunda devam eder gider. Söylediğim gibi, hükümetlerle çok yakın teması olmuştur. Her zaman gidip sorunlarını iletebilmiştir.

capable leaders in the development, implementation and guidance of regional development plans and strategies with the cooperation of Regional Development Agencies and the public and private establishments in all regions under the coordination of DPT. To this end, ANTEV has organized the ANTEV-Leadership Development Program in order to "support the professional and sectoral leaders that Antalya will need to maintain its competitive edge into the future" (ATSO, 2006, Vizyon, 19/224: 32-33).

One of ANSIAD's core beliefs is that "development and progress are only possible through innovation". ANSIAD was founded in 1990 to contribute to the establishment of a 'new businessman culture' in Turkey, which transitioned to a market economy after 1980. This new businessman was envisioned as one adaptable to the changing conditions of the business world, who could communicate the problems of the sector to the central government, asks questions, is critical and open to innovations. ANSIAD President Ali Rıza Akın states in the preface of the *Innovation Guidebook* they published, that they have proclaimed 2008 as the 'ANSİAD Competition with Innovation Campaign Year" for the purpose of "establishing an awareness of innovation". Akinci states their wish for "the culture of innovation to spread in the country starting from the businessmen". From his words, it can be understood that they refer to the concept of 'innovation' as more than just a new product or service, and rather as "implementation of a new process, a new organizational method".

Schumpeter first used the term 'innovator' in his 1911 published work, *The Theory of Economic Development,* which was translated into English in 1934, and defined it as "the driving force behind development." Referring to de Bruin (2007: 94) a distinction between 'entrepreneur' and 'inventor' can provide further illumination on the difference between the creative entrepreneur and creative artist because for Schumpeter (1991: 413), 'the inventor produces ideas' while it is the entrepreneur who 'gets things done'. Schumpeter makes clear that it is the entrepreneur, rather than the inventor, who perceives the opportunity, namely the possibilities for making profit, and is the catalyst in the utilization of scientific discovery and invention toward this end (see also subsection 2.1.3).

Like ANSIAD, which takes the concept of innovation to mean a 'denominator of an ongoing process', ATSO believes in the power of innovation in industry, trade and in the business world. "Innovation primarily means change," says ATSO, who invited an expert from the 'Turkish Patents Institute - Innovation Support Services' in 2007 to inform its members on this issue. During the event, the expert stated, "Innovation is a risky process [but] it is good for competition. An innovation is not an invention or creativity rather, it is thinking up new things and doing new things" (ATSO, Yılmaz, 2007, Vizyon, 20/237: 6-10) and was followed by the ATSO President Kemal Özgen, who advised ATSO members that they would "strive to be innovators without

trepidation." (Ibid: 11). ATSO and ANSİAD seem determined to ensure that the culture of innovation is embraced by the city share holders in the fields of industry, trade and tourism, and in this way, to facilitate a consensus to develop strategies to for growth oriented urban restructuring. The Chairman of the ATSO Board Kemal Özgen claims in his article entitled, "All economic models have their winners and their losers" that this economic model being implemented, which they find innovative, is accelerating growth in Antalya. (ATSO, 2007, Vizyon, 20/237: 2-3). Özgen, while trying to support his argument by providing figures related to growth and employment attributes the "increase in the problems experienced in Antalya recently despite the record growth rate" to "the structural changes the Turkish and Antalya economies are undergoing". It is clear from the title of Özgen's article that in Antalya, where there are rapid shifts from a local economy to a global economy, from urban managerialism to urban entrepreneurialism, from Third Way Urbanism to neoliberal urbanism, and from urban planning to UPPs, should the actors in various fields remain conservative actors and fail to learn the rules of the new game in the restructured fields, if they are not able to keep up with this change, this innovation, they will not be able to play in the field and they will become the 'losers'. The 'winners' will be the subversive actors who change the rules of the game, restructure the fields and play by the new rules (see also subsection 1.3.3).

As discussed in subsection 2.1.3, the two terms innovative city and creative city are sometimes interchangeably used in the literature. From the late 1980s onwards, due the changes in several fields of 'urban' as a general field of power, 'being creative' thus seemed like the answer to every problem in cities. Since the creative industries represent one of the most important areas of the twenty-first century's global economy, the 'creative city' notion become an ongoing process "a journey of *becoming*, not a fixed state of affairs" (Landry, 2006: 63). This is similar to what ANSİAD takes the concept of innovation to mean a 'denominator of an ongoing process' or what ATSO believes 'innovation primarily means change'.

Harvey ([2001]; 2001: 402-3) argues that *urban entrepreneurialism* has become important both nationally and internationally in recent decades. By this, he means that the pattern of behavior within urban governance that mixes together state powers (local, metropolitan, regional, national or supranational) and wide array of organizational forms in civil society (chambers of commerce, unions, churches, educational and research institutions, community groups, NGOs, and the like) and private interests (corporate or individual) to form coalitions to promote or manage urban/regional development of some sort or other. The role of this urban entrepreneurialism in relation to the neo-liberal form of globalization is also important with regard to local-global relations and the so called space-place dialectics.

The first messenger of the 'innovation' and 'change' process in Antalya was Menderes Türel, who had been the ATSO president until he was elected in the 2004 local elections as the

AGM Mayor. During only in his first week in office, Türel made the statement, "I am going to pave the way for the private sector" and signaled that the change would take place through an entrepreneurial municipality. As mentioned in subsection 2.2.3., the shift to *entrepreneurialism* in urban governance in the globe first reared its head during a colloquium in 1985. The participants of the colloquium finally argued that "urban governments *had to be* much more *innovative* and *entrepreneurial*, willing to explore all kinds of avenues through which to alleviate their distressed condition and thereby secure a better future for their populations" (Bouinot, 1987 cited in Harvey, ©1989m, 2001: 346).

9.3. Aspirations of Becoming a World City (Global City-Region)
9.3.1. A Trade and Port City since the 1st Century BC

Antalya was founded as a port city and remained a commercial center until the mid sixteenth century. Following the conquest of Rhodes by the Ottomans in 1522, Antalya lost its importance in the international trade of Indian spices (see subsection 5.1). Since then, though the volume of commerce has gradually decreased, Antalya has always benefited from its ports. Especially after the foundation of the Free Zone in 1987 the Antalya port started to regain its importance. As argued in subsection 6.1.1, since its foundation, as a 'commercial city', Antalya has naturally established a 'culture of commerce'. As one of the *embodied* 'collective culture(s) of capital', the 'culture of commerce' can also be identified as the 'collective commercial capital' of Antalya related to its infrastructure, distribution networks of storage and transport, as well as social network of marketing.

The inadequate functionality of Antalya's ports, which were the reason the city was founded in the first place, despite the developing industrial fields there and especially the ASB, has been a debated subject in the fields of industry and trade since the beginning of the 2000s. Informant R14 and R23 comments on this are below:

> **R15:** *I would prioritize sea transport. This is very inadequate in Antalya. In terms of passenger transport.*[435]
>
> **R23***: The Marina issue. How can a Mediterranean city not have a marina? We should have such a marina that people should say "we saw Antalya and we saw its marina". People should come here for foreign and expensive yacht tourism. For example, a little more money needs to be allocated for the promotion of Antalya. Especially for the city center.*[436]

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[435] **R15:** Deniz ulaşımına önem verirdim. Antalyada bu çok zayıf. Yolcu taşımacılığı açısından

[436] **R23:** Marina meselesi, Akdeniz kenti ya, marinasız olur mu? Bizim öyle bir marinamız olması lazım ki yani, ya Antalya'yı gördük, bir de marinasını gördük demek lazım yani. Yabancı ve pahalı yat turizmi için insanlar buraya gelmeli. Örenğin Antalya'nın tanıtımı için birazcık daha fazla para ayrılmalı. Özellikle kent merkezi tanıtımı için.

> **R14:** Here's *something that comes to my mind, but again it's related to tourists. We have a port here, its dead. It's not being operated completely. It could be utilized for logistics, transportation, cargo transportation and passenger transportation. That could be livened a bit. The <u>Celebi-Global partnership</u> just got it. So there's hope there, I hope it happens.* […] T*hey* [Çelebi Global] *are going to operate the port, just the way they are running the airport. The port is idle right now, it isn't very popular. But actually a place like Antalya could become a transit port for many countries with its convenient location..*[437]

The partnership that Informant R14 speaks of is the one forged in 2006 between Global Investments and Çelebi Group to establish the Mediterranean Port Operations Inc. together[438]. This corporation obtained the right from TMSF to operate the port for 22 years. As of June 2009, when the Global Investments and Çelebi Group and the Antmarin consortium[439] started running operations the port has been offering service around the clock (ATSO, Güngör, 2009, *Vizyon*, 22/256: 22).[440] Güngör has stated that the passenger entrance project will commence in December 2009 with an eye to ensuring the safety of travelers and offering better service for Courvoisier tourism.

In parallel to the discussions concerning the rejuvenation of the Antalya port through cargo transportation, another topic widely discussed by the city share holders in the field of economy here is the revitalization of the commercial activities through fairs. In 2007, for instance, Antalya was the second most exporting city after İstanbul. The Turkish Exporters Union President Oğuz Satıcı points out that apart from agriculture and industrial products, Antalya also exports service and vacations and says the following:

> Antalya combines our country's natural beauty with service efforts and offers it to the use of all world citizens. In this context, tourism is an export product of the highest added value and again in this context, this city is the remedy for the deficit. It is proof for how Turkey can use one of its greatest capitals to grow sustainably. Antalya is most certainly a world city with the nearly 10 million guests it hosts (ATSO, 2007, Vizyon, 20/233: 36).

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[437] **R14:** Şöyle bir şey aklıma geliyor ama yine turistle bağlantılı. Burada bir liman var, liman ölü, tam işletilemiyor liman. Hem lojistik açısından, taşıma, kargo mal taşıma, hem de yolcu trafiği olan bir liman olabilir. O hareketlendirilebilir. O nu da zaten <u>Çelebi-Global ortaklığı</u> aldı yeni. Dolayısıyla da orda bir umut var, inşallah olur diyorum. […] Onlar [Çelebi Global] orada limanı işletecekler, nasıl hava limanı işletiliyor orda da limanı işletecekler. Şu anda çok atıl durumda liman, çok gözde değil. Ama aslına bakarsanız Antalya gibi bir yer bir çok ülke için transit liman haline gelebilir, konumu itibariyle uygun bir yerde.

[438] See also the news "Terminal İşletmeciliğinde Global Oyuncu Olduk" *Hürriyet*, 22.12.2010 accesseible at http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=5668392&tarih=2006-12-24 accessed on 13.05.2010.

[439] "Akdeniz Port Administration Inc**.** that has won the concession tender of the Turkish Government to operate the Port of Antalya for 22 years commencing from 31 October 2006, is a joint venture company of Antmarin which owns 20% of the shares along with Çelebi Holding and Global Investment Holding whom have 40% stake each. Providing specialized marine services with self-designed and built equipment, such as prevention of sea pollution, building and operation of waste receiving facilities as well as physical floating security barriers are some of the unique capabilities of the group at the southern Turkish coasts" (http://www.antmarin.com.tr accessed on 13.05.2010)

[440] "The Middle East Antalya Port Management Inc. Deputy General Manager Tamer Güngör: After the operating rights were transferred to them in 2006 by the Savings Deposit Insurance Fund (TMSF) 10 million dollars were invested in 2007 and 2008 in the port. Two 100 ton and 60 ton and six 10 ton cranes were bought or leased for the port to enable experdited service." (ATSO, 2009, *Vizyon*, 22/256: 22).

One of these fairs organized to promote Antalya not only as a natural beauty and tourism destination, but as a center of agricultural, industrial and other service related fields and the domestic and international businesses active in these fields in the international market was the 'Western Mediterranean Basin Industry and Trade Fair,' the first of which took place 12-16 May 2004. This fair was organized through the cooperation of the Foundation for the Development of the Western Mediterranean Economy (BAGEV) and Antalya Fair and Investment, Inc. The participant list for the opening ceremony[441], made apparent the effort to form a 'regional joining of the forces' among the central government, local municipal governments and representatives of the private sector. In fact, the Minister of the Interior, who made the first speech of the opening event said, "This is the first time we are demonstrating the Joint Regional Forces" (ATSO, 2004, *ATSO Dergisi*, 18/197: 19).

New fairs were organized in Antalya following the BAGEV fair which had taken place in 2004 in the Antalya Expo Center with the intention of helping the countrywide promotion of the companies and brands active in the Western Mediterranean Region; ensuring integration of the region's economy into the Turkish and world economies, or in short, forming "a regional power"[442]. During the opening ceremony of the BAGEV Industry and Trade fair in 2004,[443] Özgen, speaking as the Chairman of the ATSO ve BAGEV Boards, stated that their primary goal was to internationalize this fair and initiate the establishment of a 'World Trade Center' (WTC) in Antalya. Two years later, on 6 September 2006 Antalya was the third city to join the WTC network after İstanbul and Ankara as a branch of the İstanbul Center. Özgen spoke during the opening ceremony of the İstanbul World Trade Center (WTC) Antalya Branch organized at the Antalya Expo Center, and said that the WTC Antalya would contribute to developing fairs in Antalya, support the city's promotion to international communities (ATSO, 2006, Vizyon, 19/224: 11).

Another speaker at the ceremony, the İstanbul Greater City Municipality Mayor Kadir Topbaş stated that with this center, Antalya would become the center for twenty cities, from Aydın to Eskişehir, and from Muğla to Denizli; and that it would have the backing of all of these cities and

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[441] The opening ceremony held at ANFAŞ Expo Center the fair and led by the Minister of the Interior wa attended by the Antalya Deputy Governir of the time, the Afyon Governor, Burdur Governor, AGM Mayor, Kepez Mayor, the presidents and other representatives of the Antalya, Burdur, Afyon, Isparta Chambers of Commerce and Industry (ATSO, 2004, *ATSO Dergisi*, 18/197: 18).

[442] 1-5 Septermber 2004, IRF Fairs, Mother & Kid Fair, Antalya Glass Pyramid; 16-19 September 2004, Master Fairs, Glass and Glass Technologies, Antalya Expo Center; 23-26 September 2004, Master Fairs, Milk and Milk Technologies Fair, Antalya Expo Center; 13-15 October 2004, Antalya Agriculture City Directorate, Organik Agriculture Fair, Antalya Glass Pyramd; 22-28 November 2004, AFT Fairs, Food 2004 Fair, Antalya Glass Pyramid(ATSO, *Vizyon,* 2004, 18/203: 16).

[443] The İstanbul World Trade Center Antalya Branch opening ceremony was attended by the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipalty Mayor, İstanbul Trade Center Chairman of the Board, Antalya Governor, AGM Mayor, President of the İstanbul Chamber of Commerce, industrialists and businessmen (ATSO, 2006, *Vizyon*, 19/224: 11).

contact millions of businessmen in the WTCs, which have 300 branches in total. Topbaş, mentioning that the world has become a global village, continues:

> While competition in trade takes place only at the national level in the fields that companies are active in, today, sectors have to compete with similar sectors on the other side of the world. We must also take our place in the midst of this competition. In a world where everything changing and developing at an immense rate, where there is global competition, we are compelled to join in. In the past, individual companies carried weight, but today there are multi-national corporations. Trade has grown so much that being in contact with other companies in the world and partnering with them has become a necessity. In an environment where there is international competition, capitals have started to merge (ATSO, 2006, *Vizyon*, 19/224: 11).

A glance at the participants of the WTC Antalya Branch opening ceremony, provides a context for R17's comments above, saying "*İstanbul is like an older brother to the Antalya Greater City Municipality*" and to informant R20's comments "*Antalya is being manipulated from İstanbul*".[444] The Antalya city elite are not only aware of this situation, but they also seem to eagerly look forward to collaborating with the agencies in Istanbul. From ATSO President Özgen's words, we understand that Antalya is grateful to Istanbul:

> Today we are a model of cooperation between İstanbul and Antalya. This cooperation is worth dwelling on. Today, the two cities that promote Turkey the most are İstanbul and Antalya. The unity and solidarity that İstanbul displays, within itself and with other cities like us, brings about most beneficial results. The center we are opening is one of these results. […] The opening of the Antalya Branch of the İstanbul World Trade Center, has been made possible with the great support of Mr. Kadir Topbaş [İstanbul Metropolitan Mayor], Mr. Murat Yalçıntaş [İstanbul Chamber of Commerce President] and the TOBB [Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey] administration. It is my duty to express my appreciation to them (Ibid.).

Although the urban elites in Antalya—whether at the individual or institutional level—hope that Antalya will become a global center, at least in the eastern Mediterranean Region, with the result being that Antalya will becoming the satellite city or the backyard of Istanbul. In reality, the power elites from Istanbul or from the transnational capitalist class have been manipulating the decisions on Antalya.

Efforts to develop fair organizations in Antalya do not only aim to turn Antalya into a trade center again nor to promote it internationally. The fairs in Antalya are organized during the dead season and not during the intense 3S tourism period from May to September. For example, there are fairs in 18 different fields held at the Antalya Expo Center between 5 September 2007 and 5

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[444] See also the news "Mayor Turel goes to Dubai: Antalya's Greater City Municipality Mayor Menderes Türel, is going to Dubai as the guest of the UAE President and Dubai Emir, Sheikh Muhammed bin Rashid Al Maktum. The only Turkish guests invited to the European-Arab Cities Forum held on 10-11 February 2008 in Dubai with the theme "New Dialogs for Development" were Antalya Greater City Municipality Mayor Menderes Türel, Ankara Greater City Municipality Mayor Melih Gokcek and Antalya Greater City Municipality Mayor Kadir Topbas."
(http://www.antalya.bel.tr/tr/bel_guncel/haber_detay.cfm?sayfa=5785, 8 February 2008.)

June 2008.[445] Only in 2007 Antalya managed to host nearly 30 fairs in various fields, and comes in at fourth place among the cities hosting the most events after İzmir, İstanbul and Ankara. Fairs undoubtedly play a very important part in forming economic, commercial, social and cultural bonds among countries, institutions and companies. Turkey has taken great strides in the field of fair organizations in the recent years and the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey have made new arrangements concerning the fair sector (ATSO, 2007, *Vizyon*, 20/233: 10).

The city share holders who aim to develop urban tourism through the organization of fairs and conventions prioritize the subjects of the business world such as industry and trade in the fair organizations. In line with these priorities, the Mediterranean Business Partneria[446], he first meeting of which took place between 15 and 18 May 2008 at the Antalya Expo Center was expected to host about 300 company representatives from 44 countries (ATSO, 2008, *Vizyon,* 21/242: 11).

Another sub-field which underwent restructuring efforts in Antalya during the 2004-2009 municipal governance period was the field of jewelry. To this end, the 'Antalya-Heart of Gold' Campaign (Pictures 9.1; 9.2; 9.3) organized by the World Gold Council (WGC), ATSO ve the Turkish Association of Jewelers (TAJ) was started to as a cooperation among all of the establishments in the region's tourism field in addition to those in the tourism field (ATSO, 2006, Vizyon, 20/220: 14). ATSO President Özgen says that Antalya is the greatest retail point in jewelry, that the city is home to over 2,000 jewelers and underlines the rapid development in the gold jewelry craftsmanship (Ibid).

Turkish jewelers, went from a domestic oriented structure from the time planned tourism began in the mid-1980's to tourist oriented retail in the Closed Bazaar in Istanbul and Kuşadası, and to Antalya in the late 1980s (ATSO, Tanır, 2006, *Vizyon*, 20/220: 16). According to Tanır, even on those years when production techniques were far behind where they stand today, gold jewelry was sold at low prices due to the low production costs. Upon its introduction to Western European tourists' high purchasing power, retail in Turkey in the field of gold accessories and jewelry gained impetus. Thereafter, from the mid-90s onwards, with the start of tourism activities with countries called the Russian market, the variety in the retail jewelry in the Antalya region increased.

Şahin (2008: 388) conducted a field research on those employed at gold production workshops, retail jewelry store owners, and sales representatives in Antalya between 2003 and 2008. Based on her data, she states, "leading professionals in the field follow the national and international

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[445] See also the news "Fuarlarına 2 milyon ziyaretçi getirdi" *Hürriyet-Akdeniz,* 07.12.2009.

[446] "Mediterranean Business Partneria, which was organized for the first time in Anatolia with the goal of becoming one of the largest organizations in the field, has been defined as "a matchmaking program which will enable the sharing of information and experience needed by SMEs during their institutionalization and while engaging in national and international" (ATSO, 2008, *Vizyon,* 21/242: 11; see also http://tabkiel.com/turkce/details.php?typ=news&idx=7, accessed on 13.05.2010).

jewelry fairs to understand the demands of the sector newly developing with tourism and to meet its needs and put out high end accessories in their store windows." Şahin, claims that the jewelry sector in Antalya is directly linked with the local dynamics of the city. The ending of the retail jewelry sales at the ASB upon a public request supports Şahin's argument. According to Tanır, the retail jewelry sale practice at the ASB, where there are no customs limitations, and no added value would be created, has brought the jewelry sector in Antalya to the point of extinction. With the withdrawal of the tourists from the city center and their staying at satellite holiday village clusters without leaving them has caused the retail jewelry stores to move to the coast and even inside the holiday villages (Şahin, 2008: 389).

The promotional meeting for the 'Antalya-Heart of Gold'[447] campaign was held in Antalya on 18 May 2006. At the meeting, ATSO President Özgen pointed out that Turkish jewelry making has become a world brand, and that the campaign intends to promote Antalya, inspire trust in consumers and thus branding in the gold sector. Furthermore, maintaining that this branding will make a great contribution to branding tourism, Özgen says that the goal of the 'Antalya-Heart of Gold' campaign is to help the association of the Antalya brand with 'gold' (see Picture 9.2). Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who attended the meeting, said the following:

> Antalya's gold has gained worldwide recognition just like its sea and its orange. Therefore, the 'Antalya-Heart of Gold' project is a very fitting and correct campaign. This project was initiated with the purpose of making gold jewelry one of Antalya's symbols. We will also support this campaign which is also backed by the World Gold Council (WGC) and ATSO (ATSO, 2006, *Vizyon,* 20/220: 15).

Pointing out that the most jewelry sales to tourists take place in Turkey, the World Gold Council (WGC) Turkey Representative Murat Akman says that sales of 4 billion dollars in jewelry sales is the target for the ten years the 'Antalya-Heart of Gold'[448] campaign is expected to run (ATSO, 2006, Vizyon, 19/224: 47). The 'Antalya-Heart of Gold' campaign, which aims to contribute to the promotion of Antalya through its association with 'gold', was introduced to Turkish and foreign guests from the sector on 21-25 March 2007 at the İstanbul Jewelry Show (see Picture 9.3) organized in Istanbul (ATSO, 2007, *Vizyon*, 20/230: 46). Saying that this campaign, which fundamentally targets gold jewelry export, is project geared towards "safe shopping in the

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[447] "The World Gold Council (WGC), ATSO and the Turkish Association of Jewellers (TAJ) prepared the 'Antalya-Heart of Gold' campaign, which was introduced to the public on 18 May 2006 at a ceremony with the participation of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan' at the Rixos Premium Belek Hotel" (ATSO, 2006, *Vizyon*, 20/220: 14).

[448] "WGC Turkey Representative Murat Akman stated that the 'Antalya-Heart of Gold' campaign is a first in the world, that the jewelers who participated in the campaign were given plaques in the first stage, and in the second stage, tourists making 100 Euro purchases from campaign member jewelers will be able to participate in a lottery, with the grand prize of a car and a holiday" (ATSO, 2006, Vizyon, 19/224: 47); See also "Kampanyaya katılan kuyumculardan Nisan-Haziran 2007 tarihleri arasında altın takı alan turistler arasında Milli Piyango gözetiminde 23 Haziran 2007'de gerçekleştirilen ilk çekilişin talihlileri son model otomobil ve beş yıldızlı otellerde birer haftalık tatillerle ödüllendirilmişlerdir" (ATSO, 2007, *Vizyon*, 20/233: 13).

jewelry sector for tourists", WGC Turkey Representative Akman invites all jewelers to join this chain of quality (see Figure, 9.1). Akman makes the following comments:

> Turkey makes about 100 tons of jewelry sales to tourists. Having overtaken Italy and Dubai in this respect Turkey is now in first place. Antalya alone makes over one third of these sales. (ATSO, 2008, *Vizyon,* 21/242: 13).

ATSO President Özgen, during the campaign's raffle ceremony, remarked, "I hope that our other sectors, such as the housing sector, will be able to do what has been done in the jewelry sector. One day, we should present our international guests with an apartment in a raffle" and suggests reviving the housing and real estate sector in Antalya in the same way (ATSO, 2007, *Vizyon*, 20/233: 13). The comments made by informants R15 and R19, however, are very striking:

> **R15:** *That's continuing at a fast pace as well. I mean, about 4-5 years ago I heard there were 74 thousand apartments waiting to be sold. I don't know how many have been sold or not.[449]*
>
> **R19:** *Right now a very large area in the Lara region in Antalya has been declared a tourism site. I think that the profile of the city and its people is going to change very quickly and this will influence the architecture. There are investments made here geared towards Russians, not just for touristic resorts, but the residential areas are also going to be built for wealthy buyers. Surely it won't be the Russians' or our average citizens who will live in those buildings worth hundreds of millions of dollars. Who's going to live there then? Not European tourists. They will be some Russians wearing suits and ties who have bodyguards. In a short time new social spaces will be made in the new city that is built there. This is going to change Antalya social life completely, because social spaces will be built to fulfill the social needs of the new resident profile. In a very short time, if things continue like this, it seems like a new Antalya will be created like the 1960s and 70s. And this is on the east side of Antalya, behind the themed hotels. People shy away from talking about this subject freely as well because they don't want to offend Russian capital even if it is dirty money. What you call Russian capital is dirty money. There are hundreds of villas being built as we speak. The ones who will buy these are also Russians.[450]*

Concrete examples of restructuring strategies for the restructuring of the economy field in Antalya such as the rejuvenation of the Antalya Port, developing the fair sector, supporting the gold accessory and jewelry sector with a campaign that associates Antalya with 'gold', could be seen as the strategies for becoming a trade center once again to attract global capital for a city that has aspirations of becoming a 'world city'.

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[449] **R15:** O da çok hızlı bir şekilde devam ediyor. Yani ben yaklaşık 4-5 sene önce duyduğum bir istatistikte 74 bin daire vardı satılmayı bekleyen. Ne kadarı satıldı, ne kadarı satılmadı bilmiyorum.

[450] **R19:** Şu anda Antalya'da Lara Bölgesi'nde çok geniş bir alan turizm alanı ilan edildi. Bana göre Antalya'nın kent profili ve insan profili kısa süre içerisinde değişecek ve kentsel mimariyi de etkileyecek bu değişiklik. Buraya Ruslara yönelik yatırımlar yapılıyor yalnızca turistik tesis değil, konut alanları da çok paralı bir alıcıya göre yapılacak. Şimdi yüz milyonlarca dolarlık o binalara herhalde Rusya'nın ya da bizim sade vatandaşımız gelmeyecek. Yani kim gelecek ki oraya? Avrupalı turist de gelmeyecek. Bir takım kravatlı, takım elbiseli body guardlı Ruslar gelecek. Kısa sürede orada kurulan yeni kentte yeni sosyal mekanlar da yapılacak. Bu Antalya'nın tüm sosyal yaşamını da değiştirecek, çünkü yeni insan profilinin sosyal ihtiyaçlarını karşılayacak sosyal mekanlar yapılacak. Kısa süre içinde bu gidiş böyle devam ederse 1960ların 70lerin Beyrut'u gibi ikinci bir Antalya yaratılacak gibi görünüyor. Bu da daha çok, Antalya'nın doğu tarafında bu temalı otellerin arka tarafında. İnsanlar bu konuyu çok rahat konuşmaktan da çekiniyorlar çünkü kara para da olsa Rus sermayesini küstürmeyelim diye çekiniyorlar. Rus sermayesi dediğin kara para. Şu anda inşaatları başlamış yüzlerce villa var. Bunları alacak olanlar da yine Ruslar.

As elaborated in subsection 2.3.2, the concept of 'world city' was first coined by Peter Hall in 1966. In his further studies he conceptualizes high-level 'world cities' which can be distinguished by a degree of concentration of four particular clusters of advanced services (Hall, 2001: 61-62). The first appears as the center of the c*ommand* and *control functions* full of with some governmental and international agencies beside the headquarters of major private corporations. The second concentrates on f*inancial and business services* ranging from commercial services such as accountancy, law, and advertising to public relations, management consultancy, and architecture, civil engineering, fashion and interior design. The third has the chance with t*ourism services* for both the leisure and business varieties. And recently, cities in which c*ultural and creative industries* including the live performing arts, museum and galleries, and the print and electronic media are the big business capitalize culture to intimate the 'world cities'.

With regard to the findings of the field research, Antalya had concentrated on tourism services for leisure purposes till the end of 1990s. However, being a tourism hub for leisure purposes does not make Antalya a 'world city'. Instead, Antalya can be regarded as one of the "*Wannabe World Cities*" (Short, 1999: 43). Coming with the new millennium, the field of tourism in Antalya has been restructured toward the tourism services for business and cultural purposes (see Chapter 6 and Chapter 8).

In the recently popular slogan and description, 'Antalya as a World City', the intent is not a global center where global decisions are made, policies are created and the finance and science worlds are controlled. Any city has always existed with its hinterland. In the Hellenistic era, Antalya or for those times better to say Attaleia's resource and market hinterland was surrounding the south Anatolia including Pergamum near the Aegean Sea, and Antioch (Antakya today). In the Roman period, Attalia's hinterland was enlarged as one of the dominant naval and commercial centers of Byzantine Empire including Istanbul, Trabzon, and Byzantine Mediterranean in the south-west. Seljukians further broadened the diameter of Adalia's hinterland with their newly constructed caravan routes and caravanserais whilst repairing the old ones to encourage and increase the flow of goods across Anatolia. Once the Ottoman conquest of Egypt and of Rhodes led to the opening of a direct sea route from Alexandria to İstanbul, Adalya's hinterland began to shrink because of the commercial shift that had the trade routes bypassing Antalya. Since then Antalya's hinterland had been its surrounding villages and towns just for food exchange till the implementation of the South Antalya Tourism Development Projects in the late 1970s.

Like Friedman's 'world city hierarchy', Hannerz (2000), Thrift (1986) and King ([©1990] 1991) identify world cities within a rank order in three categories (Thrift, 1986: 61; King, [©1990] 1991: 15). First, are the *truly international centers* (New York, London, Paris, Zurich) containing many head offices, branch offices, and regional headquarters of large corporations and representative

offices of many banks. Second are the *zonal centers* (Singapore, Hong Kong, and Los Angeles) serving as important links in the international financial system but responsible for particular geographic zones rather than world-scale business. Finally, the *regional centers* (Sydney, Dallas, Chicago, Miami, and San Francisco) host to corporate headquarters and foreign financial outlets but not essential links in the international financial system. Within a rank order which Thrift identifies, Antalya has the chance to be a *regional center* or *city region* in small scale with its hinterland including western Mediterranean region in Anatolia in the field of agriculture but to some extend some European and Russian cities through exporting agricultural products. This is also true for the field tourism through which Antalya has been exporting tourism services. Informant comments supporting the argument that Antalya could become a small regional center or a city-region are given below:

> **R12:** *When we consider Antalya as a city, the trade life in that city, the production has to be formed within a certain network of relationships. If we are to speak of a global city, first there's Bursa before Antalya. The fact that foreign capitalists come to Antalya as investors doesn't mean that Antalya is a global city. Antalyalites are actually people who work with soil no matter how nomadic. Antalya, to a certain extent is a small scale regional center, with its hinterland as Burdur and Isparta. Maybe İstanbul* [is a global city]. *Antalya is a living space that can exist with its surroundings. Antalya is a city that hasn't dealt with its own growth. A city that doesn't think it has accumulated enough interest from its surroundings. There isn't even any investment in the city in Antalya.*[451]

> **R13:** *What does Antalya's hinterland include? Again that depends on where you look at it. If you are looking at it in terms of our own resources, or tourism, we can speak of a hinterland from Muğla' to Mersin. When you look at the cities Antalya nurtures, as we said before, you could talk about a hinterland all the way to İstanbul.* […] [Antalya's becoming a global city is] *a weak possibility that requires a lot of work. The only think we can say for Antalya's global capital is tourism investments. There actually isn't a serious global capital apart from tourism investments. Both in terms of tourism investments and non- tourism related investments it is not possible to speak of a serious global capital.*[452]

> **R13:** *Antalya is not a global city actually. It depends on who you compare it with. It is about to come to a certain position in Turkey, that's true. It is one of the most popular cities after İstanbul. It is a city more important for tourism than İstanbul. Because we host over 40% of the number passengers all by ourselves. In the last four years, we have had more international travelers come here than Istanbul. It is known in Europe as a certain center. There are tons of people in Russia that don't know Turkey but know Antalya. But is it a global city as of today? No. If you look at it from a perspective of is Antalya known; we can extend this hinterland to Europe, to all of Central Europe and part of Russia'.*[453]

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[451] **R12:** Antalya'yı kent olarak ele aldığınızda o kentteki ticaret yaşamının, üretiminin belli bir ilişkiler ağı içinde şekillenmesi gerekir. Türkiye'de küresel kentten bahsedeceksek Antalya'dan önce Bursa var. Antalya'ya yabancı sermayedarın yatırımcı olarak gelmesi Antalya'nın küresel bir kent olması anlamına gelmez. Antalya'lının kendisi toprak insanıdır aslında ne kadar göçer olursa olsun. Antalya belli bir yere kadar küçük ölçekli bir bölgesel merkezdir, hinterlandı Burdur ve Isparta olan. Belki İstanbul [küresel kenttir]. Antalya çevresiyle beraber var olabilen bir yaşam alanıdır. Antalya kendi büyümesini hazmedememiş bir kent. Çevresinden de yeterince nemalanamadığını düşünen bir kent. Kente yapılan yatırım bile yok Antalya'da.

[452] **R13:** Antalya'nın hinterlandı neyi kapsar? Yine nerden bakacağınıza göre değişir o. Kendi kaynaklarımız açısından ya da turizm açısından bakarsanız Muğla'dan Mersin'e kadar bir hinderlanddan sözedilebilir. Antalya'nın beslediği iller açısından bakarsanız daha önce konuştuğumuz gibi İstanbul'a kadar bir hinterlanda bahsetmek mümkün. […] [Antalya'nın küresel kent olması] Çok çalışma gerektiren zayıf bir ihtimal. Antalya'da küresel sermayeden bahsederken söyleyebileceğimiz tek şey turizm yatırımları. Turizm yatırımları dışında ciddi bir küresel sermaye Antalya'da yok. Hem turizm yatırımları açısından hem de turizm dışı yatırımlar açısından Antalya'da ciddi boyutta bir küresel sermayeden söz etmek mümkün değil.

[453] **R13:** Antalya küresel bir kent evet değildir aslına bakarsanız. Kimle kıyasladığınıza bağlı. Türkiye'de belli bir noktaya gelmek üzeredir, doğru. İstanbul'dan sonra en popüler kentlerden birisidir, doğru. Turizm için İstanbul'dan daha önemli bir kenttir. Çünkü yolcu sayısının %40'ını biz tek başımıza ağırlıyoruz. Son dört yıldır İstanbul'dan daha fazla yolcu sayımız

According to MOAŞ, the basic characteristics that will make Antalya a 'world city' are those which must be taken into consideration during the Antalya Landscape Plan work those once again identified by MOAŞ. MOAŞ believes that the Antalya Landscape Plan needs to be under the coordination of the Governor's office, and be prepared in collaboration with the AGM and the City Private Administration. The topics to be taken into consideration during the planning stage and those oriented towards the creation of employment and growth are as follows (MOAŞ, *Çevre Düzeni Planına Doğru,* 2006: 45):

1. Antalya does not need new housing areas. It is projected that Antalya's population in 2015 will be 1,600,000. 32% of this population will be the working population and Antalya needs the founding of new businesses that will provide about 400,000 people with employment.
2. There is no need in Antalya for new tourism areas or investments to increase bed capacity. There is a need for spaces functioning in the fields of culture, recreation, sports, parks, fairs, entertainment and trade to support existing resorts and other tourism activities.
   a. All kinds of culture, art, recreation, education and agriculture activities should be supported to make Antalya a national and international culture, education, higher education, eco-tourism, conference tourism, sport tourism and health tourism center;
   b. The region's specialization, diversification and year round tourism activities should be supported. The service and trade sectors should be supported;
   c. The efforts underway to become a center for the production fields of the information age called Silicon Valley or Techno city or Techno park should be supported and the establishment of new ones endorsed.

It is claimed that the topics above outlined in MOAŞ's recommendations will make Antalya a 'world city'. Almost all of these were somehow tried between 2004-2009, especially after 2006 with increasing speed under the leadership of the municipal governance and with ATSO's open support. Each topic has been detailed in the empirical chapters of this dissertation between the sixth and ninth chapters (issues such as runaway film production centers and a creative industry; urban renewal and urban tourism; public-private partnership and entrepreneurialism; growth oriented innovative industry and world city; etc.). The field research shows that the strategies developed by the growth machine is not to transform Antalya into a 'world city' or 'global city' rather the strategies are to transform Antalya into a *city of culture* via restructuring various fields that are at the same time more applicable strategies to broaden the resource and market hinterland of Antalya on the way of being at least a *city region.* The urban elite comprising growth machine in Antalya hoping with 'world city' ideology have been transforming Antalya into a *city of culture* just because they are convinced by the global ruling class with an assumption that "creative centers tend to be the

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var bizim, dış hat yolcu sayımız. Avrupa'da belli bir merkez olarak tanınmaktadır. Rusya'da Türkiye'yi tanımayıp Antalya'yı tanıyan tonlarca insan vardır. Ama küresel bir kent midir, bugün itibarıyla hayır. Antalya'nın tanınırlığı, bilinirliği açısından bakarsanız; Avrupa'nın, Orta Avrupa'nın tamamına ve Rusya'nın da belli bir bölümüne kadar bu hinterlandı genişletmek mümkün.

economic winners of our age" (Florida, 2005: 36). The following quotations display the opinions of the interviewees about the concept of 'world city', 'global city' and 'city of culture' with reference to Antalya:

> **R14:** *Antalya; when you go abroad, no one understands when you say you are Turkish, but when you say you are from Antalya, they say: "Ohh, Antalya!" They know Antalya better.[454]*

> **R17:** *Antalya is a city known all over the world. Wherever I go, when I say I am the mayor of Antalya, people know Antalya. They may not know Ankara, but they have heard of Antalya. But it is a separate issue that Antalya is known in the world. Different than being a World City." [455]*

> **R23:** *Well of course Antalya could be considered a global city but not a World City. I take global city to mean is it known around the world. But I don't think this is enough to be a World City.[456]*

> **R19:** *Besides all of these, <u>Antalya is the only city that is truly globalizing.</u> Antalya is not much different than other cities in Turkey in terms of urban architecture. Bad zoning policies and incorrect urbanization exists here as well. The reasons for global actors to come here is that Antalya has a natural and cultural structure. That the infrastructure related to tourism is mostly complete. As a future reason, it is that Russian investors are coming. They lean primarily towards tourism investments. As far as I understand, Antalya will become the Russian capital's money laundering center.[457]*

> **R14:** *Russians mostly invest in places like hotels. Other than that I haven't heard of them making very big investments. They partner up with a Turk, they own hotels or open agencies. But <u>these don't make Antalya a global city</u>.[458]*

> **R12:** *How do we take Antalya? The city center or with its surroundings? Antalya's surroundings are different. Antalya is a serious destination but you wouldn't look at this in terms of the city center. Because those that come to the airport come for the surroundings not the city center. In that sense, Antalya itself is not a global city. I think Antalya is not even a city. <u>Antalya is a place that is integrating with global economy</u> but it can only do this with its surroundings. About 7.5 million tourists come. There are many foreigners that work in the tourism sector—I mean with the surroundings.[459]*

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[454] **R14:** Antalya zaten, yurtdışına çıktığınızda ben Türküm dediğinizde kimse bakmıyor, Antalya'dan geliyorum dediğinizde: "Aaa Antalya!" diyorlar. Antalya'yı daha çok tanıyorlar.

[455] **R17:** Antalya, dünyada tanınan bir kent. Nereye gidersem gideyim, Antalya'da Belediye Başkanıyım dediğim zaman herkes Antalya'yı tanıyor. Ankara'yı bilmiyorlar belki ama Antalya'yı duymuşlar. Antalya'nın dünyada tanınan kent olması başka bir şey ama. 'Dünya Kenti değil' bakın "dünyada tanınan kent olması."

[456] **R23:** E tabi, Antalya küresel bir kent kabul edilibilir, ama dünya kenti demeyim. Küreselleşen dünyada Antalya'nın küreselleşmeden kasıt şu bence, yani daha çok 'bilinirlik' dünya üzerinde bilinirlik. Ama bilinirlik dünya kenti olmaya yetmiyor bence.

[457] **R19:** Bütün bunların yanında <u>Antalya gerçek anlamda küreselleşen tek kent</u> Kentsel mimari olarak Antalya'nın Türkiye'deki diğer kentlerden fazla bir farkı yok. Yanlış imar politikalarıyla yanlış kentleşme burada da var. Buraya gelen küresel aktörlerin buraya gelme nedenleri Antalya'da doğal ve kültürel yapının mevcut olması. Bugüne kadar turizme ilişkin altyapının büyük çoğunlukla tamamlanmış olması. İleriye dönük olarak Rus yatırımcılarının gelecek olması. Turizme yatırımlarına yöneliyorlar öncelikli olarak. Benim anladığım kadarıyla Rus sermayesinin bir kara para aklama merkezi olacak Antalya.

[458] **R14:** Ruslar daha çok otel gibi yerlere yatırım yapıyorlar onun dışında ben Rusların çok da büyük yatırım yaptığını duymadım. Bir Türkle ortak oluyorlar, otel sahibi oluyorlar veya acenta açıyorlar. Ama <u>bunlar Antalya'yı küresel kent yapmaz.</u>

[459] **R12:** Antalya'yı nasıl ele alacağız. İl merkezi mi, çevresiyle beraber mi? Antalya'nın etrafı başkadır. Antalya ciddi bir destinasyon merkezi ama Antalya il merkezi olarak bakamazsınız bu duruma. Çünkü Antalya'nın çevresi için gelir Antalya havaalanına gelenlerin çoğu. Bu anlamda Antalya'nın kendisi küresel bir kent değildir. Bana kalırsa Antalya bir kent bile değildir. <u>Antalya, küresel ekonomiye entegre olmakta</u> olan bir yer ama bunu çevresiyle birlikte yapabiliyor. 7.5 milyon civarında turist geliyor. Çok sayıda çalışan yabancı var turizm sektöründe—çevresiyle birlikte kastediyorum.

R23: *The fact is that Antalya is a small town. It wasn't an important location for the empire either. But İzmit was different. It was the Ottomans' second largest city. I mean İstanbul was the largest city in the Ottomans but İzmir was the second and Thessalonica. Yes,* <u>İstanbul is a world city</u> *because it has been home to a few empires, emperors have lived there. But what is there in downtown Antalya? But in İstanbul there is a palace, two palaces, three palaces, there is the Hagia Sophia, Sultan Ahmet, Süleymaniye, Fatih mosque, so there are places built for rulers and sultans, the Hagia Sophia was built for Justinian, the East Roman Emperor, he stood by as they built it; he told them to build it. What is there in Antalya that would make it a world city? But one day when you go to Paris, or Prague you can sense that it is a world city.* <u>Antalya is certainly not a world city</u>. *It can't be. This would be a mistaken claim, whoever says this would be shooting his mouth, in my opinion. But it could be a Mediterranean city, but Antalya could never ever be a world city, in my opinion.*[460]

R19: *It's not only Antalya that's trying* [to be a city of culture]. *This is true in trade, too. They are trying to accomplish this through fairs. [ANSİAD]) has a plan like this for 2023, I don't know if you've seen it. Local actors don't prepare it, I think the central government has a role because the international dimensions are also important because Antalya has built up a certain infrastructure. For example, the transportation is easy, all modes exist instead of rail. You can host your guests even in the city center in expensive hotels.* <u>But all these won't make Antalya a 'city of culture'</u> *because it's not Istanbul (Byzantine), it's not İzmir (Ancient Greece), it's not Bursa (Ottomans), it's not Konya (Seljuks). It has historical sites from antiquity. In some areas there are remnants of Seljuk architecture heritage but this is not true for the city center of Antalya. The Antalya region is a place civilization flourished but there was nothing in the center until the 1970s. Tourism came into the picture with the first five year development plan.*[461]

R23: *But you may be able to make Antalya a 'city of culture'. Cannes is also a city of culture. Is Cannes a world city? No. But it is a city of culture. Antalya could be like Cannes, like Nice. Maybe. Cannes holds a few important organizations, it has a very popular film festival, and let's see, important yacht races, all the yacht people know Cannes very well. You are good at a few things, you have a good urban governance, you have a clean city but Cannes highlights one thing: its Mediterranean-ness. Cannes is a Mediterranean city. I think Antalya should also emphasize its Mediterranean-ness. A city of the Mediterranean.*[462]

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[460] **R23:** Netice itibarıyla Antalya küçük bir kasaba. İmparatorluk açısından da ehemmiyetli bir yer değildi. Ama İzmir öyle değil. İzmir Osmanlı'nın ikinci büyük kenti. Yani İstanbul birinci büyük kent Osmanlı'da ama ikinci büyük kent de İzmir ve Selanik. Evet, <u>İstanbul bir dünya kentidir</u> çünkü birkaç imparatorluğa ev sahipliği yapmıştır, imparator yaşamıştır orda. Peki ya Antalya kent merkezinde ne var? İstanbulda ama bir saray var, iki saray var, üç saray var, bir Ayasofya var, Sultan Ahmet var, Süleymaniye var, Fatih camii var, yani padişahlar adına, sultanlar adına yapılmış eserler var, Ayasofya var, Justinyan yaptırmış, Justinyan kim Doğu Roma'nın imparatoru, başında durmuş yaptırmış, bunu yapın demiş. Antalya'da ne var ki dünya kenti olabilecek? Ama bir gün bir Paris'e gittiğiniz zaman, bir Prag'a gittiğiniz zaman orda bir dünya kenti havası alıyorsunuz. <u>Antalya asla bir dünya kenti değildir</u>, olamaz. Bu yanlış bir iddia olur zaten, her kim bunu söylerse bence boş bir laftır. Ama bir Akdeniz kenti olabilir ama Antalya asla, Antalya asla bence bir dünya kenti değildir.

[461] **R19:** Sadece Antalya çalışmıyor buna [kültür kenti olmaya]. Bu ticarette de böyle. Fuarcılıkla falan bunu getirmeye çalışıyorlar. Şeyin (ANSİAD'ın) böyle bir çalışması var 2023 yılına dair elinize geçti mi bilmem. Yerel aktörler hazırlamıyor bunu bence merkezi hükümetin de rolü var bu işte çünkü bunun uluslararası boyutları da önemli bunun çünkü Antalya'nın bu konuda belli bir altyapısı oluştu. Mesela ulaşımı kolay, demiryolu dışında bütün ulaşımlar var. Mesela kent merkezinde bile standardı yüksek otellerde ağırlayabilirisiniz konuklarınızı. <u>Ama bütün bunlar Antalya'yı bir 'kültür kenti' yapmayacak</u> çünkü bir Istanbul (Bizans) değil, bir İzmir (Antik Yunan) değil, bir Bursa (Osmanlı) değil, bir Konya (Selçuklu) değil. İşte ilkçağdan kalma bir antik ören yerleri var. Belli bölgelerde Selçuklu mirası var ama Antalya kent merkezini düşününce bunu pek söyleyemeyiz. Uygarlığın yeşerdiği bir yer Antalya Bölgesi ama Antalya kent merkezine bakarsanız 1970lere kadar Antalya'da hiçbir şey yok. İlk beş yıllık kalkınma planında turizm devreye girmiş.

[462] **R23:** Ama Antalya'yı 'kültür kenti' yapabilirsiniz belki. Cannes da bir kültür kentidir. Cannes dünya kenti mi? Hayır. Ama Cannes bir kültür kenti. Ben, Antalya bir Cannes olabilir, Antalya Nice olabilir. Olabilir. Yani bu bir şey, , Cannes birkaç tane önemli organizasyon yapıyor, film festivali var çok popüler, efendime söyleyim çok önemli yat yarışları yapılıyor Cannes'da, dünyada tüm yatçılar Cannes'ı çok iyi biliyor. Birkaç konuda iyisiniz, iyi bir kent yönetiminiz var, temiz bir kentiniz var ama Cannes bir şeye vurgu yapıyor, Akdenizlilik. Akdenizliliğe vurgu yapıyor. Akdeniz kentidir Cannes. Antalya da bence Akdenizliliğe vurgu yapmalıdır bana göre. Akdeniz kenti.

R14: *Now not with İstanbul, but we can compare it with other cities on the Mediterranean. Like Monaco, Barcelona or Cannes. It can be compared with places like these. Antalya could have been like Cannes, but I don't know if that capacity exists anymore.[463]*

R24: *I believe in the benefits a city can reap from tourism, in the importance of culture for a city, I know that living in a city is not easy, that anyone who breathes there owes the city and I believe that people need to have a social conscience. Therefore in the pieces I wrote, I mentioned what a culture city requires, and in fact, how İstanbul has set a goal for 2010 and achieved it - the project of becoming a city of culture, I said that Antalya needs to have a similar goal.[464]*

The 1996 MOAŞ report entitled *Antalya Coastal Settlements* recommended that the description 'world city,' used often by the city shareholders be replaced by the definition a 'world culture city,' where agricultural areas are protected; history, nature and culture are emphasized; and one which is supported by the tourism in which all peoples of the world engage in cultural exchange" (MOAŞ, *Antalya Kıyı Yerleşmeleri* [*Antalya Coastal Settlements*], 1996: 122). However, the fact that the 'city of culture' proposal, which started appearing in the publications at least after 1996 of an important NGO such as the Antalya branch of the Chamber of Architects, though not in any academic dimensions, was reiterated more often after the 2004 municipal election can be attributed to the improving urban restructuring conditions within the framework of this big scenario. Until this date, Antalya was governed for many years in line with social democratic traditions.

In the 2004-2009 municipal government period, the municipality tried to take advantage of being from the same political party (AKP) as the central government to garner support from the government in order to realize its projects under the 'city of culture' scenario. The AGM mayor during the 2004-2009 municipal government period had served as the president of ATSO, which has hundreds of members active in the fields of industry and trade in Antalya, immediately prior to becoming mayor. This mayor accelerated the restructuring in Antalya towards becoming a 'city of culture' through entrepreneurial urban governance with his businessman identity. To put in the words of Bourdieu, he took position in the field of urban governance with his high *social capital* as the president of ATSO allowing him to access the social network of business world; with his *cultural capital* as a native Antalyalite; and with his *symbolic capital* as the member of an affluent family known for their ties to Prime Minister Adnan Menderes from the Democrat Party. During the game in the field of urban governance his strategies were mediated by his *habitus*.

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[463] **R14:** Şimdi İstanbul gibi değil de, Antalya'yı Akdeniz bölgesindeki bir takım kentlerle kıyaslayabiliriz. Yani işte bir Monako gibi, bir Barcelona ya da Cannes gibi. Bu gibi yerlerle kıyaslanabilir. Cannes gibi olmak, Antalya için olabilirdi de, o kapasitede vardı ama şu anda bilmiyorum.

[464] **R24:** Bir kentin bir turizmden alacağı faydayı, bir kültürün kent için ne kadar önemli olduğu ve bir kentte yaşamanın kolay bir bedelinin olmadığı, bunun herkesin burada her nefes alanın, o kentte, bunu bir borç olarak geri ödemesi gerektiğine ve böyle bir sosyal bilince kavuşması gerektiğine inanıyorum. O açıdan da yazdığm yazılarda da bir kültür kentinde neler olması gerektiğini hatta orda nasıl İstanbul 2010 yılında kendine bir hedef koymuş ve gerçekleştirmişse bir kültür kenti olma projesini, Antalya'nın da böyle bir hedefinin olması gerektiğini yazdım.

9.3.2. Representation of Antalya in the Global Market

As empirically shown in the chapters from sixth to ninth, central government plays a key role in the process of restructuring Antalya as a 'city of culture'. One can also assert that the central government also sees Antalya as an instrument to 'represent Turkey' in the global market. For example, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan[465], who was in Spain to attend the Alliance of Civilizations Forum on 17 January 2008 in Madrid, speaks of Antalya and the AGM Mayor Menderes Türel with accolades. As seen in this example, the 'representation of Antalya' becomes a crucial issue since it also means the 'representation of Turkey' in social, economic, cultural and political terms.

While Antalya seeks ways to represent itself in the global market to become a tourism destination center, it is also regarded as a 'window' representing Turkey. This view of Antalya as a 'window' representing Turkey is not very new. For example, another political personality, the head of the CHP, Deniz Baykal, spoke at the ATSO Assembly Meeting on 21 June 2002 during Menderes Türel's ATSO presidency: "Antalya is a world brand city It is Turkey's 'window'. It is a dynamic center that has presented itself to the world in the best way possible and possesses an image" (ATSO, 2002, *ATSO Dergisi*, 16/176: 7). Informant R17, interviewed during the field research also uses this analogy to describe Antalya:

> **R17:** *This is a good location, it is like <u>a shop window</u>. That organization is an Istanbul organization anyway. That ceremony* [The Aydın Doğan Foundation Caricature Competition Award Ceremony] *is by invitation only, so only certain people get invitations and most of those don't even go. That's right, the award ceremonies take place here.[466]*

The Aydın Doğan Foundation Caricature Competition that informant R17 mentions is actually an Istanbul based organization, although the Award Ceremony is held in Antalya every June.

This project organized by a foundation based in İstanbul is complemented by Antalya, which results in representing the culture field in Turkey through Antalya. From this perspective, while still not completely industrialized, the first competition of the Turkish film sector which exists in İstanbul, the AGOFF (see Chapter 6) has been held in Antalya since 1964; thus, it is not recently that Antalya has become a 'complementary city' to Istanbul.

Regardless, while Antalya itself is used as a tool to represent Turkey, Antalya seems not to have clarified the 'instruments' to represent itself. The president of the 'Europe Turkey Tourism Business Council' Hüseyin Baraner spoke in 2007 on the panel on 'Global Competition and Tourism' during the 'SME Information Education Fair'. In his speech, Baraner defined Antalya as 'Turkey's official guest room'. However, Baraner stated that "the furniture, spirit, philosophy of this room is all over the place. The TV is in the wrong place as are the plants. This needs to be tidied up." This statement points out that there are ambiguities and problems in the representation of Antalya, particularly in the global tourism market (ATSO, 2007, *Vizyon*, 20/229: 24). R6 also uses the concept 'guest room' to describe Antalya and makes the following comments:

> **R6:** *So tourism is preventing us from exercising a correct cultural policy, especially in Antalya. This is innate in our traditions, everything is oriented towards the guest, not ourselves, so we can't produce what is right. Isn't that how the guest bedroom is?* <u>*It is an empty guest room.*</u> *This also exists in our culture. We offer the guest everything. The best food, the best drinks always for the guest. This reflects here too. So it's kind of like a store window.*[467]

It seems that Antalya's 'representation' is beyond Antalya's promotion. Despite the efforts of the active Antalya Promotion Foundation (ATAV), and their utilization of various methods to promote Antalya In the tourism and the culture industry markets, Antalya's representation is beyond the naming of cities, the mapping of cities, and the written and spoken descriptions of cities. Informant R24 says the following about ATAV's work in promoting Antalya:

> **R24:** *You can find all of the cultural activities in Antalya on the ATAV website. This isn't enough either, we have a mailing list of about 5,600 contacts. We announce events every week by email. We include all activities including movies, exhibitions, conferences, plays recitals… This had never been done in Antalya until today. Our goal here is to ensure coordination and disseminate information and thus increase participation to the maximum. Not only is this a characteristic of cities of culture, but the society also has to internalize culture and forge international links and host international guests and introduce them to the public. […] For example, mostly foreigners come to the Aspendos festival nowadays. A new perspective is necessary to do international festivals in Antalya like the Aspendos Opera Ballet Festival because tourism is something planned a year in advance. So you go to a country, but you don't do this in a rush. You plan at least a year, six months or eight months in advance. And if these programs are announced, then they will choose their vacation destination accordingly. They will participate in culture and in tourism. You might ask what good does this do for Turkish people. I don't think there is much difference between Turks and Europeans I*

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[467] **R6:** İşte turizm bize doğru bir kültür politikası üretmemize engel oluyor, özellikle Antalya'da. Bu geleneksel yapımızda da var bizim, yani her şey turiste misafire kurgulu olduğu için kendimize değil, doğruyu üretemiyoruz. Yani, misafir odası da öyle değil midir? <u>Bomboş bir misafir odasıdır.</u> Kültürümüzde vardır bu misafire her şeyi ikram ederiz. En iyi yemek misafire, en iyi içecek misafire. Burada da bu var. Yani biraz vitrin gibi.

would personally like to know what play or concert is taking place next year in Aspendos and I might make plans accordingly. Or someone in İstanbul might want to come to Antalya because of this.[468]

9.4.   Branding Antalya

ATSO President Kemal Özgen believes that Antalya's representation can not be carried out adequately through traditional promotional methods and that Antalya needs to be 'branded', and states, "The Antalya brand should be utilized as a real promotional tool" (ATSO, 2004, Vizyon, 18/199: 3). "To become a brand, it is a prerequisite for us to identify the historical, cultural, natural, social and moral values that Antalya symbolizes and to stand up for these." Özgen mentions the deficiencies in the promotion of Antalya during the field research:

> **R22:** *Today, Antalya is one of two cities in Turkey that are windows to the world. One is İstanbul and the other is Antalya. It is a rare destination on the Mediterranean that can host 9 million tourists. It is as much an open air museum as it is a tourism city. But we are not good at promoting this open air museum and our culture to the tourists. Tourists that visit get off the plane and go to their hotels and back to the plane and home because of the all inclusive system. We are not doing a good job of promoting Antalya's culture and its touristic historical spots.*[469]

'Branding' does not mean coming up with symbols to represent Antalya; on the contrary, it implies the entirety of the values that distinguish it as a brand from other cities ATSO conducted a conference called "Brand City Antalya" on 12 April 2007 to lay the groundwork for efforts to brand Antalya. ATSO President Özgen explains using examples:

> Promotion is only one aspect of branding. On the other hand, branding a product is not only advertising it and promoting it. Making the Yivli minaret a symbol, making Aspendos a symbol is not becoming a brand. A brand is not just symbols and slogans. There must also be elements in a

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[468] **R24:** Antalya'daki her türlü kültürel aktiviteyi ATAV'ın web sayfasında bulabiliyorsunuz. Bu da yetmiyor bizim elimizde aşağı yukarı 5600 kişilik bir mail adresimiz var. Bu mail adresiyle Antalya da bu hafta diye duyurularda bulunuyoruz. Burada sinema da dahil olmak üzere, konser, sergi, konferans, gösteriler, tiyatro her türlü aktiviteye burada yer vermeye çalışıyoruz. Bu da Antalya'da bu güne kadar yapılmamış bir olaydı. Bunda amacımız bir koordinasyon sağlamak ve bilgilendirmeyi sağlamak dolayısıyla katılımı en yüksek noktada tutmak. Şimdi kültür kentlerinin bu özelliği olduğu gibi, kültürün kendi toplumu içinde de iyice benimsenmesine inanmak lazım aynı zamanda bunun yurtdışı bağlantılarını sağlamak lazım ve yurtdışından gelen kültürleri misafir etmek lazım ve onu halkla tanıştırmak lazım veya ilgililerle tanıştırmak lazım, duyanlarla tanıştırmak lazım. […] Örneğin, bir Aspendos festivalinin ağırlık noktası yabancılar artık. Aspendos Opera Bale Festivali gibi uluslararası festivalleri Antalya'da yapabilmek için yeni bir bakış açısı gerekiyor. Çünkü turizm bir yıl öncesinden planlanan bir olaydır. Yani siz bir ülkeye gideceksiniz, tatile gideceksiniz bunu kısa dönemde yapmazsınız. Bunu en azından bir yıl öncesinden, altı ay öncesinden, sekiz ay öncesinden yaparsınız. Ve bu programlar yayınlanırsa işte o zaman insanların tercih nedenlerini o aktivitelerle ilgili kullanırlar ve öyle tatile giderler ve hem tatil ve hem de kültüre katılırlar. Türk insanı için diyeceksiniz buna gerek var mı? Bana göre Türk insanıyla Avrupalı insanın ayrımını çok fazla yapmamak lazım. Ben de bir dahaki yıl haziran ayında Aspendos'ta hangi piyesin oynayacağını, hangi konserin verileceğini bilmek isterim şahsen ve ona göre de bir plan yapabilirim. Veyahut da İstanbul'daki insan Antalya'ya gelme tercihini buna göre kullanabilir.

[469] **R22:** Antalya bugün Türkiye için dünyaya açılan iki şehrinden bir tanesi. Biri İstanbul biri Antalya. 9 milyon turist ağırlayabilen Akdeniz'de ender destinasyonlardan bir tanesi. Antalya bir turizm şehri olduğu kadar tabi ki açık bir hava müzesi aynı zamanda. Fakat bu açık hava müzesi ve kültürümüzü biz yeterince turistlere tanıtamıyoruz. Gelen turist her şey dahil sisteminden dolayı uçaktan iniyor otele, otelden çıkıyor uçağa ve memleketine dönüyor. Antalya'nın kültürünü ve Antalya'nın turistik tarihi yerlerini maalesef tanıtamıyoruz.

product, quality and the values that the brand carries. Therefore, we must define <u>the values that distinguish </u>other than the sea and the sun (ATSO, 2007, *Vizyon,* 20/231: 19).

Although the 'world brand city' description was used to denote Antalya in 2002, and 'brand city' was used in 2004, the product or products that the 'Antalya' brand represents remain vague. "Branding Antalya is the greatest project," says ATSO President Özgen, as does informant R22 during the field research with the statement, "*We are not a brand city; we are on the path to becoming one*". Another participant at the 'Brand City Antalya' Conference, mentioned above as a stage of this project was city branding consultant Christer Asplaund. He states, "Everyone makes promises of heaven; Antalya has to offer something new" and points out that branding is only possible through distinguishing oneself from others (ATSO, 2007, *Vizyon,* 20/231: 22). Asplaund cites Paris as an example after saying, "Branding Antalya means that people should have a crystal clear image in their minds about Antalya". He holds that an image of Antalya should come to people's minds just as Paris conjures up an image or even a series of images. This is the case what Boyer argues that "city's image became the spectacle itself" (see "The Representation of City in Global Market" in subsection 2.3.3.).

ATSO President Kemal Özgen and AGM Mayor Menderes Türel liken Kaleiçi, where Antalya was founded, to a 'diamond' at every turn, stating that what they really see as the branding of Antalya is a long term project of "<u>making people from around the world come to see Kaleiçi</u>" (ATSO, Türel, 2007, *Vizyon,* 20/231: 21). The issue that calls for clarification here is not that Kaleiçi represents Antalya; it is that 'Antalya Kaleiçi' and an image of *Kaleiçi* —one that embodies all of the cultural layers from the Hellenistic period to the Roman Empire, from the Byzantine to the Seljuks and the Ottomans—should come to mind, in the words of Asplaund. The goal here is for 'Antalya' to bring to mind not the 'sun, sea, sand', but *Kaleiçi,* the heart of Antalya. "Making people from around the world come to see Kaleiçi," as Türel puts it is also an 'urban tourism' strategy to bring *hypertourists* (see also *city users and hypertourist* in subsection 2.4) wanting to see *Kaleiçi* to the city center.

Another speaker at the 'Brand City Antalya' conference was Brandassist General Manager Muhterem İlgüner, who underlines the products that the Antalya brand will represent by saying, "Branding is selling something other than the product" (ATSO, 2007, *Vizyon,* 20/231: 20). In this context, the 'Antalya' brand does not mean, in the field of tourism for example, selling "a bed as a mere bed, food as mere food" but with its 'brand value'. Similarly, ATSO President Özgen says, "Antalya should not be a city that gains from demand but from brand." Özgen claims that the market price of products manufactured in Antalya will stay low unless they are branded:

> We sell week long holidays for the price of a night's stay at a European hotel. We have a hard time selling the housing we build to Europeans. 6-7 million foreigners and 1-2 million Turkish tourists visit Antalya, but our trade sector can't take advantage of this. Why can't we sell our product for a

higher value? If we have a sales related problem, this could be due to one of three reasons: first, the quality of the product might be low; second, the price is too high compared to the quality; and the third might be lack of promotion. More importantly, it is because of not being a brand. (ATSO, 2007, *Vizyon,* 20/231: 19).

ATSO and AGM, who have taken on the branding of Antalya as a project, believe the process comprises two stages (ATSO, 2007, *Vizyon*, 20/235: 6). In the first stage, the strategy to be followed for Antalya to become a 'brand city' was determined. To this end, four months after the 'Brand City Antalya' conference, ATSO and AGM cosigned a protocol for the preparation of a *strategic plan*. Within the framework of this protocol a report entitled *Antalya Manifesto; Şehir Marka Stratejik Planı* (2008) was prepared by Brandassist and Interlace Invent. The preface of the report states that the Strategic Brand Plan was put together by keeping in mind the facts about the city of Antalya and the views of the urban stakeholders (see Table 9.2). The second stage of the project involved the initiation of the branding stage in line with the *strategic plan*.

In the title of another article, "Branding is the common cure for all sectors," says ATSO President Özgen (ATSO, 2007, *Vizyon,* 20/233: 2), and underlines the importance of branding for the economy of Antalya with the comments below:

> What is important is no longer how many millions of tourists come. It is who comes why, how and how they leave. What matters is not selling the sea and the sun. What does matter is that the Antalya name creates an added value, and added benefit. […] And thus, our goal with this project is to make this name a valuable brand. […] We must extract these values from our history and culture, distinguish our brand from others, and add a brand reputation to our brand. As the Antalya brand increases in value, each product and service produced in Antalya will also become more valuable (ATSO, 2007, *Vizyon*, 20/235: 6).

A Lefebvrian approach to Özgen's use of the contradiction between 'quantity' of tourist numbers and 'quality' of what the tourists seek clarifies *places* for the purposes of unproductive forms of *consumption of space* (see subsection 1.1).

ATSO Assembly member Arif Selçuk has identified three unique weaknesses in Antalya that must be taken into consideration during the process of branding the 'goods and services produced in Antalya' that Özgen speaks of. (ATSO, 2007, *Vizyon,* 20/233: 8). According to Selçuk, the first weakness is the relative difficulty of developing product brands in the sectors Antalya is strong in, such as agriculture and tourism than in the industrial sector. However, they still expect the use of geographic markers in agricultural products to increase. The second is that most of the companies active in Antalya have headquarters outside of Antalya, mostly in İstanbul. The third weakness is the economic structure based on a large number of small businesses. Selçuk says that small enterprises can only have the strength to compete against large corporations through branding.

Another issue that Özgen mentions above, is the issue of "extracting the values that will make the Antalya name a valuable brand from Antalya's history and culture and distinguish the Antalya brand from others". However, this issue is not so simple as to be resolved by merely taking into account "the facts about the city of Antalya and the views of the urban stakeholders" (see Table 9.2) as mentioned in the *Antalya Manifesto: Şehir Marka Stratejik Planı* (2008) report. With this report, "Antalya; More than the Mediterranean" was recommended as the brand for Antalya and the emphasis was on the 'more' (more). R24's thoughts on the matter are below:

> **R24:** *Reports were written and so on but it's not possible for just anyone to do something like this. I think those things are incomplete, they are just words. The first to say this, that the city should be a brand was the foundation. I said in the foundation's work and in my own pieces that first a strategy needs to be determined for the brand, what a brand is.* […] *In the end, a completely different dream appeared. Unrealistic suggestions and then no one, not even those who came up with it, nor did the city back it up. This kind of an effort requires serious thought and work. But I also think it is happening spontaneously. We* [ATAV] *made the first Antalya logo and this logo is now the logo of the city governor's office. They asked for our permission and we gave it. It represents the orange and nature and the sea. In the end it was a completely different image.*[470]

Regardless of Informant R24's opinion that the method employed in the process of branding Antalya is wrong, he agrees that Antalya needs to be branded. He states, "a brand is a strong awareness. *They may be aware of you but strong awareness is something else, because a brand is based on trust.*" This is why the ambiguities regarding the values to utilize in the branding of Antalya should be dispelled. Instead, the collective cultural capital(s) and the collective symbolic capital' thought to represent each of these values as brand reliability should be determined.

The accumulated collective cultural capital (see subsection 6.1.1) and collective symbolic capital in the historical depth and the historical geography of Antalya and its surroundings is reviewed in the part below with a focus on 'the city of Antalya,' from the first settlement until present time.

The Search for Collective Symbolic Capital(s) as 'Brand Loyalty'

A 'collective symbolic capital' of a city, similar to the 'brand loyalty' companies aim for as agents, for instance, is a power which functions in the structure of any field as a form of credit; it presupposes the trust or belief of those upon whom it bears. The 'collective symbolic capital' of 'Oxford' in terms of 'brand loyalty' is its power in the field of academe, or 'Zurich' in terms of

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[470] **R24:** Raporlar yazılmış falan filan ama yani her aklına gelenin böyle bir şey yapması mümkün değil. O şeyler bence yarım kalmış, söylem tarzında olaylardır. Arkasında maalesef, bunu ilk dillendiren, kentin marka olmasını bizim vakfıtır. Burada ilk marka stratejisinin yapılması gerektiğini, markanın ne olduğunu, hem yazılarımda hem vakfın çalışmalarında ifade ettim. […] In result, a completely different dream appeared. Unrealistic suggestions and then no one, not even those who came up with it, nor did the city back it up. This kind of an effort requires serious thought and work. But I also think it is happening spontaneously. We [ATAV] made the first Antalya logo and this logo is now the logo of the city governor's office. They asked for our permission and we gave it. It represents the orange and nature and the sea. In the end it was a completely different image.

'brand loyalty' is its power in the field of banking for instance or Paris and Milan in the field of fashion design.

The expectation of the city shareholders who keep bringing up the branding of the city in recent years is actually economic success. According to general urban literature, the branding of a city is merely one of the strategies which can be employed in transforming a city into a commercial city. Antalya, which endeavors to become a *commercial city* dreams of climbing the ranks in the hierarchy of world cities. However, as Tekeli rightfully warns Antalyalites "a city without an identity can under no circumstances become a brand" (2008: 2). Becoming a brand does not mean inventing an identity for a city and announcing this and using it as a communicative tool. Tekeli states that "becoming a brand is a continuous effort which involves production. It can not be simplified into a mere communicative tool" (Ibid.: 4).

If it is a city that is to be branded, firstly the product or products of that city which are to become brands must be determined. To illustrate, in branding a city like Antalya, the marketed aspect is related to it as a *place* not a *location,* as 'place' more aptly describes what a space makes its users feel with the cultural references of a city.

The qualitative data above (Chapter 6), which was obtained to define the *embodied, objectified* and *institutionalized* states of 'collective cultural capital' attached to Antalya were supplemented with the following questions during the field research: "What symbolizes Antalya? What are at least three things that come to mind when you think of Antalya?" Some of the answers are as follows:

> **R1:** *For me the symbol of this city is the Bey Mountains. Second, it is citrus fruit. Jasmine could be one, though it is not as common now. Istanbul has its Judas tree. Then there are the cork trees used by wine makers that grow in Antalya.*[471]

> **R2:** *It is still the Castle District Gate and the shop keepers there. The way of life in the Castle District not tainted by commerce. Look, the sun is there; you can not erase it; nor the sand or the mountains. These are definitely symbols.*[472]

> **R5:** *What comes to my mind is that Antalya is truly the world's culture center and secondly that it is sunny here. And of course the orange.*[473]

> **R7:** *Bey Mountains, the Castle District.*[474]

> **R17:** *Not that it is a 'World city' but that it is 'a city known around the world'. that's what comes to mind. Secondly, Antalya, despite intensive construction and rapid population growth, it is 'the tourism capital'. And also the Castle District is important to me. That's real Antalya.*[475]

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[471] **R1:** Bana göre bu kentin simgesi Bey Dağları'dır. İki narenciyesidir. Şimdi pek kalmadı ama. Mesela "yaseminleri'dir. Istanbul'un 'erguvan'ları vardır. Şarap mantarlarının yapıldığı "mantar ağacı" vardır, Antalya'da yetişir.

[472] **R2:** Hala ne biliyor musunuz? Kale Kapısı ve Kale Kapısı esnafı . Kaleiçinin ticaretle bulaşmamış sivil yaşamın sürdüğü hali. Bakın, güneş duruyor onu silemezsiniz, kumunu silemezsiniz, dağlarını silemezsiniz. Bunlar var zaten.

[473] **R5:** Benim aklıma gelen şey aslında "Antalya'nın gerçekte dünyanın kültür merkezi olduğu" ikincisi "güneşli bir kent oluşu". Bir de tabi "portakal".

[474] **R7:** Beydağları, Kaleiçi, …

[475] **R17:** 'Dünya Kenti değil' bakın 'dünyada tanınan kent olması' Antalya deyince aklıma gelen ilk şey. İkincisi Antalya hala herşeye rağmen bu kadar yoğun yapılaşmaya, hızlı nüfus artışına rağmen 'turizmin başkenti'. Bir de Kaleiçi benim için çok önemli. Antalya orası. Kaleiçi demek Antalya demektir.

R19: *Ugly buildings on top of nature and cultural values. All three symbols together in one utterance. Then there's what's lost and what's being lost. One is the orange, the other is the greenhouses and finally the public beaches.[476]*

R25: *A rare city with five elements. Sun, sea, sand, nature and history. Four of these you may find elsewhere but not all five. And what have we turned such a city into?[477]*

R24: *Three things: the climate, the sun, since we always say we have three springs and one summer. This is a climate anyone would enjoy. Second would be the Castle District. The third for me would be the Bey Mountains and Aspendos. I can not separate the two.[478]*

R20: *Living here is nice because of the natural elements. A friend says, "there is plenty of everything here" in terms of nature. The sea for example is the most beautiful in the country.[479]*

R16: *The Mediterranean architecture which has existed here for centuries but is on the verge of extinction. Then the Castle District and the region's unique history.[480]*

R23: *Tourism, agriculture, and nature.[481]*

R15: *Orange, climate and natural beauty.[482]*

As mentioned before, this section attempts to identify Antalya's 'collective symbolic capital', by analyzing its history spanning 50 thousand years until the founding of the Republic and the multi-layered cultural heritage. Antalya's 'collective symbolic capital', which makes it a *place* can only be understood through reference to its 'collective cultural capital, especially in its *embodied* state, that is, its *habitus*. Some informants have said the following about the branding of Antalya, though not directly asked to do so:

R24: *We founded this foundation in 1996. Our mission was to promote Antalya and work on its branding in the long run.[483]*

R24: *For Antalya to become a brand, its sub-brands must also employ similarly effective strategies. In my opinion Antalya's sub-brands are, for example, the Aspendos Opera and Ballet Festival. Aspendos is a brand unto its own anyway with its name and its amphitheater. The Golden Orange Film Festival is also a brand. I think the Film Market will also become a brand.[484]*

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[476] **R19:** Doğa ve kültürel değerlerin üzerindeki çirkin yapılaşma. Yani üçü bir arada oldu [tek bir cümlede]. Bir de yitmekte olanlar ve yitip gidenler var. Bunlardan biri portakal, diğeri seralar ve son olarak halk plajları.

[477] **R25:** Dünyada beş özelliği olan bir kent. Beş özelliği bir arada bulunduran nadide kentlerden birisi. Beş özellik. Dünyanın hiçbir tarafından beş özellik bulamazsınız. Güneş, deniz, kum, yeşillik, tarih. Bakın bu beş özelliği bulamazsın, dördünü bulursunuz, birini eksik bulursunuz. Böyle bir kenti biz ne hale getirmişiz.

[478] **R24:** Üç şey, bir kere iklim. Güneş. Çünkü Antalya, bizim sloganımız o üç mevsim bahar bir mevsim yaz yaşıyor. Bu her insanın yaşamak istediği bir iklim coğrafyası bir kere bunu söylemem gerek. İkincisi Antalya Kaleiçi, üçüncüsü de bana göre Aspendos ve Beydağları. İkisini birbirinden ayırmam mümkün değil.

[479] **R20:** Antalya'da yaşamak doğallıklar açısından keyifli. Bir arkadaşım öyle diyor: "Burada her şeyin fazlası var" Doğa anlamında. Doğa açısından hakkaten eşsiz güzellikleri var, deniz mesela Türkiye'de en güzel deniz burda var.

[480] **R16:** Antalya'da tarih boyunca hep var olan ama yitip gitmeye yüz tutmuş mimarisi yani Akdeniz Mimarisi. İki Kaleiçi. Üç bu bölgenin kendine özgü tarihi.

[481] **R23:** Turizm, tarım, doğa.

[482] **R15:** Portakal, iklim ve doğa güzelliği.

[483] **R24:** 1996 yılında bu vakfı kurduk. Antalya'nın tanıtılması ve ileri vaadede bir kentin markalaşması konusunda çalışmalar yapmak üzere böyle bir misyonla kurduk.

[484] **R24:** Antalya bir marka olabilmesi için alt markalarının da aynı şekilde iyi bir stratejiyle hareket halinde olması gerekiyor. Nedir alt marka diye sorarsanız bana, bana göre Aspendos Opera ve Bale Festivali Antalyanın bir markası. Başlıbaşına

R12: *Everyone is concerned with branding Antalya. What does this mean? That's what they need to ponder.*[485]

R25: *I told a German in an architects meeting that Antalya is a world city. I was anxious to hear their reaction. The German made a joke and said "It can be if you don't look at it from the air" Can you say you are a world city just because you have Aspendos and Perge? These have existed for a long time. But to be a 'world city', you need to be able to see a world city from high up in the air. It makes me sad to see Antalya like this. If this was a European city, it would be the most beautiful city in the world.*[486]

R23: *"More than the Mediterranean" I don't think this is a bad brand. I mean Mediterranean-ness is nice but everyone uses it. I do believe that Antalya has things to offer besides its Mediterranean-ness Antalya is Mediterranean enough. Even though we have done damage to the city, the city center, Antalya is certainly Mediterranean, with its hinterland like Kaş, Kalkan, Alanya etc. but Antalya has a very strong historical past.*[487]

Antalya as a Seljuk city provided a basis for a multi-phased urban life because, like all Seljuk Cities, it was a melting pot and a focal point for trade, craft, administration and politics; in short, for large scale urbanization. However, while the Seljuks were introducing Turco-Muslim institutions within the existing Byzantine urban pattern, they converted either the greatest basilica into a mosque or cleared the most impressive site of the Byzantine town for the erection of their own monumental buildings. This way of building social institutions undoubtedly caused the institutions of the former civilization to be concealed. Secondly, the Seljuks erected social institutions on vacant land in peripheral locations. In Antalya, due to such multi-phased urbanization, the *embodied, objectified* and *institutionalized* states of collective cultural capital attached to Antalya during the Greek period were taken over by that of the Byzantine period. Similar take-overs occurred during the period of the Seljuks, the Byzantines, and finally, the Ottomans

Yet, Antalya's Greekness, Romanness, Seljukness, and Ottomanness remain. For instance, the 'commercial culture', as the *embodied* state of collective cultural capital, has crossed all four phases of urbanization in Antalya and has proven itself through its selection for EXPO 2016. The 'culture of hosting travelers and guests culture', which began with the multiplying *caravanserai*s around Antalya and the *hans* in the city at the beginning of the 12th century, has been   Antalya's

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Aspendos bir markadır zaten. İsmiyle, tiyatrosu bir markadır. Altın Portakal Film Festivali de bir markasıdır, Antalya'nın. Ve Film Markette bence bir marka olacaktır.

[485] **R12:** Antalya'nın markalaşması meselesine takılmışlar gidiyorlar. Ne demek "Antalya'nın markalaşması"? Kapalı zarf içinde bu var.

[486] **R25:** Bir Almana dedim ki bir toplantıda, mimarlar toplantısında Almanlar gelmişti. Ben orda tabi bir şeyler anlatırken dedim ki, Antalya bir dünya şehridir dedim. Bunu derken korkarak dedim ama ne diyecekler diye. Alman çok güzel bir espiri yaptı, dedi ki "Eğer havadan bakmazsanız Antalya'ya Antalya dünya kenti olabilir." Yani sizin bir Aspendos'unuz var diye, sizin bir bilmem efendim şeyiniz var diye, Perge'niz var diye ben dünya kentiyim mi diyeceksiniz? Var, bunlar eskiden beri var. Ama siz bir dünya kenti olabilmeniz için yukarıdan bakıldığı zaman bir kent görmeniz lazım. Üzülüyorum yani, böyle bir kent, böyle bir imkan Avrupalıların elinde olsaydı burası dünyanın en güzel kenti olurdu. Samimi söylüyorum. Böyle bir kent Avrupalıların elinde olsaydı dünyanın en güzel kenti olurdu.

[487] **R23:** "More than the Mediterrenean" bence fena bir marka değil. Yani Akdenizlilik güzel ama herkes kullanıyor. Bence Akdenizliliğin ötesinde hakikaten de Antalya'nın Akdenizliliğin ötesinde de verebileceği bir şeyler var. Antalya zaten dolu dolu Akdeniz. Her ne kadar kenti biraz rezil ettiysek de, kent merkezini, Antalya dolu dolu Akdeniz, bütün hinterlandıyla yani Kaş'ıyla, Kalkan'ıyla Alanya'sıyla falan Antalya Akdeniz. Ama Antalya'da hakikaten çok güçlü bir tarihi geçmiş var.

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embodied state of 'collective cultural capital' since the Seljuk period and can now be considered as tourism center Antalya's 'collective symbolic capital'. The 'culture of cultivation' still remains as does the nomadic culture of migrating to highlands. Antalya's identity, in other words the 'collective symbolic capital' attached to Antalya with reference to the city's 'collective cultural capital' analyzed above makes Antalya a 'place'.

A member of the audience asked a very relevant question during İlhan Tekeli's session called "How to Approach a City's Identity and its Branding" under the "City, Museum, History" themed sessions organized by the Antalya Greater City Municipality and the Antalya City Museum Project. The question posed was, "Why would a city with an identity even bother with branding itself?" or "Could a city with an identity have problems branding itself? (2008: 19). Antalya must first ponder this question and decide what part(s) of its identity, in other words, its collective multi-cultural capital making up its 'collective symbolic capital' it will highlight. At this point, one of the most important points for the shareholders in Antalya to consider is that should branding be done on a name level rather than a *place*, the strategy proposed for its branding will have been simplified into merely a communication strategy. Most important of all is that the collective cultural capital to be referred to while defining the collective symbolic capital for this *place* during the branding process needs to be sought in the depths of the history of Antalya, the city.

Concluding Remarks

Restructuring in the field of agriculture in Antalya has become a necessity especially to avoid losing the competitive edge in the international markets especially in the face of changing production related technologies. To this end, on the one hand, work is underway within the context of a Techno park to develop biotechnology and agricultural technology, and the other hand, information exchange has been initiated concerning hydroponics. Agricultural producers in Antalya have been attending international fairs in order to be introduced to new technologies in the field of agriculture within this restructuring process while ATSO has been leading fair organizations in Antalya, displaying products to carry the Antalya brand.

The agricultural producers have formed 'Producers Unions' in response to the obligation to produce EUREPGAP Certified products to prevent their goods demanded especially in Europe and the Russian market from being turned down, thereby transitioning into institutional producers from family farmers. Next, they have gone into controlled agriculture through the founding of the Agricultural Research Laboratory (BATAL) to certify that the chemical residue amounts on their goods comply with EU standards. The structural compliance policies whose implementation has begun across the board in Turkey within the framework of the EU's food safety policies guide the restructuring of the field of agriculture in Antalya in the normative sense. In Antalya, where

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controlled agriculture practices are being implemented in modern greenhouses, the city's sun has been underlined as a distinguishing factor within a restructuring strategy towards improving the reputation of agricultural products in the international market.

The present development of Antalya is based on the use of fertile agricultural lands that can not withstand the pressure of land annuity as housing, industry and tourism spaces. The non-agricultural use of agricultural spaces as residential, industrial and tourist spaces, incorrect predictions of the course of the city's development, the inability to estimate land demands – in short bad planning- has restructured today's Antalya. In recent years, there have been efforts to restructure the field of agriculture in Antalya towards controlled agriculture through the use of new technologies and modern greenhouse methods. Furthermore, it is planned that the small family farming businesses, upon which the agricultural sector in Antalya is structured, will be given industry status through land allocations in Organized Agriculture Zones'. As in the tourism field before, the restructuring is attempted through land allocations as well as incentives hoped to be made in the agriculture field will make Antalya a more attractive option for capitalists looking to invest. While lands where traditional agriculture used to be carried out were turned into residential and commercial spaces due to rentier policies, today, Antalya is witnessing a scramble for lands to be utilized for 'modern agriculture' and 'organic agriculture'.

In addition to the tourism investments since the 1980s, the industrial investments made in Antalya have also gained impetus since the early 2000s. In line with the rapid development of the Organized Industrial Zone, the Antalya Free Zone (ASB) established in 1987 prioritizes trade in harmony with Antalya's tourism through environment friendly production technologies. Luxury boat production has been added in the mid 2000s to the product variety comprising textiles, medical products, and cable. With the founding of the Akdeniz University Western Mediterranean Techno city in 2004, techno-scientific work has been initiated in the field of agriculture such as seed refinement and in the field of energy technologies as well as medical technologies to develop health tourism. The Techno city, which is a new restructuring in Antalya and its region, does not only play an active part in the restructuring process of industry and technology, but agriculture and tourism as well.

The *field of economy* in Antalya, which comprises mostly small businesses within the *subfields* of agriculture and industry, has demonstrated good conditions for companies to enter the list of Turkey's Top 500 Large Corporations in the restructuring process. The subversive actors, who have been playing the game by its new rules within this newly restructured economic, field have been winners and replaced the conservative actors, who have lost due to their inability to learn the new games within this economic field restructured by neoliberal policies.

The city stakeholders in Antalya who have been restructuring the subfields such as agriculture, industry, trade and tourism to attract more domestic and foreign investors complain about not being able to benefit from the budget proportionate to their contribution to it. One of the most important reasons for this is that the large companies engaged in business in the tourism and industry fields in Antalya have headquarters in İstanbul. In other words, Antalya's tourism and industry fields are operated from İstanbul. The influence of Istanbul palpable in the economy subfields in Antalya predominated culture, art and even municipal administration. In short, Antalya draws measures itself by the Istanbul yardstick, takes Istanbul as a model, imitates Istanbul but is not a competitive city; rather it is a *complementary city* to Istanbul. Antalya, where strategies to realize aspirations for becoming a world city are developed by complementing Istanbul, which is seen as a truly "global city", is defined as a *regional center'* at least on Turkey's scale as one of the 26 regions defined as NUTS2 Level Statistical Region Units. However, as a *Wannabe World City,* 'Antalya' strives to be represented as a *brand* in the global market.

As Hall argues, there is more than one route to 'world city' status. Antalya as one of the "*Wannabe World Cities"* develops some cultural strategies that can be defined as attempts to identify, mobilize, market, and commodify city's cultural assets. These strategies for c*ultural planning* are generally copied from European cities which in the end are designated as the ECOC (see Chapter 6). *Cultural planning* or *Europeanization* is presented as a mechanism for placing local cultural activity on the urban agenda in order to improve city life and the fabric of the built environment. As an aspect of this quest, urban cultural activities, such as the expressive arts are re-conceptualized in conjunction with broader economic, urban and social policies (McNulty et al. 1986, 1988, 1991 cited in Stevenson, 2003: 105).

"*Wannabe World Cities"* are also marketing themselves as a center for play generally tied to dining, shopping, nightclubbing, and outdoor pursuits. A number of themes can be noted: The historic feel, the festival package, the green and clean, and the package of pluralism (highlighting ethnic mix). The four themes in the re-imagining of cities are not exclusive, and an individual city may use elements of all of them in its representation (Short, 1999: 52). This route can also be called the *festival marketplace* or *Americanization* blueprint for urban redevelopment. For Stevenson (2003: 113), *festival marketplace*s are urban spectacles both in their architectural form and in the nature of the activities that take place. The essence of *festival marketplace* is its contrived packaging of time and place. Often the result is the construction of simulated urban landscape that is devoid of both content and context.

While *capitalizing culture* as one of the *Wannabe World Cities,* Antalya follows the two routes mentioned above. It has been *Europeanized* with *cultural planning* (examined in Chapter 6) beside the EU structural adjustment in various fields of economy, governance, etc. It has also been

Americanized with some UPPs (like festivals examined in Chapter 6; theme park examined in Chapter 7; *positive portrayal of inner city* through pedestrianization examined in Chapter 7; and *simulacra*s in tourist bubbles examined in Chapter 8) for being a place for consumption and enjoyment. In this sense, the re-imagining of Antalya identical with the *Kaleiçi* for the purposes of *urban tourism* can be defined as the mix of both routes.

As mentioned in subsection 2.3.2 the *regional centers* or in Scott's (2001: 1) words the *city regions* which are "the new regionalism stands in opposition to the view of the world as a borderless space of flows that is sometimes set forth in discussions of the future course of international development." For Scott *et al.* (2001: 11), there are more than three hundred *city-regions* around the world with populations greater than one million. Antalya can be counted as one of them. As one of the "*Wannabe World Cities,*" Antalya can be explained with the *global city-region* or *competitive-city regionalism* constructs which are best terms to understand its "ongoing struggle for control of space rather than a new emergent form of capitalist territorial competition and development" (Scott and Storper, 2003; Ward and Jonas, 2004: 2122). Antalya is one of those cities located broadly in the same economic region (if not the same country), develops collaborative arrangements with each other—networks, alliances, resources, etc—for economic advantageous.

In all globalizing cities, there are non-state actors for transnational practices. Sklair (1995; 1999) defines these actors as the members of "transnational corporations" (TNC) and calls them "transnational capitalist class" (TCC) who act as "global ruling class" most probably able to direct the money flow. Research shows that the urban elite in Antalya do not totally overlap the power elite in global context. While the urban elite in the general field of power in Antalya is imitating the power elite in Istanbul, power elite in Istanbul seem ready for managing, and administrating them for their own interests. In this respect Antalya can be considered as the periphery of Istanbul. If this situation of typical center-periphery relation according to the world-system theory (Wallerstein, 1979; 1995; Hopkins & Wallerstein, 1980) is misunderstood, it might be defined as "complementary planning" by which de Roo (2007) proposes that the money flow between center and periphery will be reversed. However, Istanbul as a regional center in a medium scale with its hinterland of Anatolia, Balkan countries, Black Sea Basin including Turkic Caucasian Countries with its center of gravity may still continue to attract the capital to itself from its peripheries. Investment alone does not guarantee the continuation of money flow from the center to the complementary cities because even little entrepreneurial investment envisages for the turnover of the capital as quicker as possible. Although, naively, the urban elite intend to attract the global capital to Antalya, no one can be sure about the direction of the money flow in global context (Varlı-Görk, 2007: 1257).

CONCLUSION

The main focus of this study is identifying the underlying relation between urban cultural policies and global capitalism, as well as this relation's impact on the process of 'restructuring' Antalya into a 'city of culture'. With regard to this definitive aim, this dissertation is concerned with the *strategies* of the actors involved in this restructuring process.

Since, for Marx, a structure is not a directly visible reality, but a level of reality that exists beyond the visible relations between men and the functioning parts of the structure underlying the logic of the system, a 'structure' is not to be confused with visible relations. Thus, the hidden logic behind the observable relations of the capitalist social system should be revealed to understand a restructuring process. Without a doubt, the effectiveness of the actors during the restructuring process is the most important empirical question of this study. However, the question is whether and to what degree localities can deflect, manage or accommodate wider change or how the local actors make their choices within both the enabling and constraining structure. This transformation can be called many names such as 'restructuring', 'structuration', or 'transformation of forms of capital in relatively autonomous fields'.

The theoretical frames for the concepts of both 'restructuring' and 'city of culture' were determined using the Marxist paradigm of *urban political economy*. This theory takes a stance on the 'urban' by considering other political forces in the city, including *coalitions of influential elites* [like the growth machine], and the *collective actions* [social movements of opposing groups] of other citizens. As a theoretical tool, urban political economy also incorporates an ever greater emphasis on the role of the state and public policy, various features of local history and the recognition of the uniqueness of each city in its response to global forces as a case history, attention to the operation of elites and the coalitions of common citizens in shaping the future of the locality.

There are no theories in sociology that proclaim an absence of choice, which argues that individuals are perfectly unconstrained by the historical stream into which they step to make history as they choose. Undoubtedly, the concept of agency moves us away from global theory and toward an emphasis on localism and empiricism. Since structural and agentic features are closely connected in social reality without excluding either one we need a more balanced kind of approach which brings an agent-structure relation into a more dialectical one. Naturally, it is not simply adding one onto the other. There are certain times in society compared to other times, for instance in the event

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of a crisis, when individual actions or actor strategies would have less chance to affect radical change. This refers to the collapse of such a dialectical relation between agent and structure, since the agent may be rendered immobile within the structure. However, under certain circumstances, actors would have more opportunity or alternative strategies to bring about radical changes. Regarding the two facets of society, it is still nearly impossible to define any 'structure' and 'agency' conditions for certain problems in the urban context. Rather, it may be possible to define the dialectic relationship between structure and agent which both enables and puts constraints on the actors.

Molotch's 'growth machine' thesis emphasizes the *strategies*, schemes and needs of individuals and interest groups and *institutions* at the local level because they want to challenge the *structuralist* accounts holding together structure and agency as the key objective. Indeed, when using the metaphor of 'growth machine', Molotch explains *why* economics and politics shape the growth of cities. However, though Molotch states that certain powerful groups benefit from urban growth and the groups' differences in power as they compete for space and other resources to describe the local politics revolving around the creation of conditions for growth and distributing the resources derived from that growth, his theory does not adequately explain *how* and *in what relations* these groups develop growth *strategies*.

As described repeatedly in various case studies in the USA and in European countries, Molotch's (1976) first hypothesis is that the pro-growth coalition typically brings together landowners and land developers - often those with concentrated investments in old or emerging business districts where potential land values are highest. This coalition is typically reinforced by local utility companies, construction unions, news media, and even *cultural* organizations. Molotch's (1976) second hypothesis is that the growth machine *makes a difference*; in other words, it changes the structure.

Though the notion of 'practical consciousness' fundamental to Giddens' 'theory of structuration' is not the same as the Rational Action Theory (RAT), which proposes an individual knowing and thinking subject is rationally responding to potential or actual opportunities. However, an uncritical acceptance of Molotch's 'growth machine' thesis would result in an imperialistic image of urban development of great rationality of the growth machine system. Since the agents comprising the growth machine do not always act in a rational manner or in practical consciousness, achieving the goal of this dissertation required reinforcement in the theoretical sense. Thus, Bourdieu's theory of transformation of *forms of capital* in a relatively autonomous field with his own concepts some of which are *habitus, field, position* and *position taking* of agents is also employed here instead of the Rational Action Theory (RAT) for a better examination of the agents' *strategies* involved in the 'growth machine'.

As regards going beyond the polarization between structuralism and anti-structuralism in *urban political economy,* in this study, an attempt is made to outline a unitary theory for understanding the unique case of Antalya. For the purposes of this dissertation, the theory of 'growth machine' (Molotch) and the theory of the 'transformation of forms of capital' (Bourdieu) have been utilized to outline a 'theory of practice' for the agents comprising the 'growth alliance' in Antalya with intentions of transforming it into a 'city of culture'. As already mentioned, this is not for any kind of eclectic construction but for pursuing the exact same paradigmatic guideline defined by a basic proposition of Marxian theory applied to the theories of *urban political economy* that "real is relational."

Like Lefebvre and Harvey, Bourdieu holds that "social reality can be grasped by relational thinking." In his theory, a society is transformed by restructuring the structure of relatively autonomous sub-field(s) within the general field of power by the active component of the structure, the agent whose practices are generated by his *habitus.* Bourdieu's 'relationality', to me, means neither static nor strictly structured relations among different parts functioning in society as in Durkheim's structuralist approach to 'division of labor in society'. Rather, I liken Bourdieu's 'relationality' to the art of *ebru*[488] with *fluid* relations among colors freely swimming in photo-flo filled with thickened water. The relatively autonomous fields within the general field of power, like the different colored liquids with their changing volumes, tones, and forms through intervention from the artist within the thickened water, may sometimes involve other fields or may be included by others. This 'fluid relation' among the *fields* may result in the same actor sometimes doing and having to play in more than one field. During the course of the game, structure of the field(s) might be conserved or changed depending on the convergence and to divergence of the *position* and *position takings* of the actor(s).

In Bourdieuan terms, the *strategies* of the agents actively involved in the restructuring process depend on their *position* in the field. That is, they depend on the distribution of the species of capital, and on the perception that they have of the field depending on the point of view they take *on* the field as a view taken from a point *in* the field—i.e. *position taking* (Bourdieu, 2001: 101). On the one hand, in the field of struggle, the dominant *conservative agent* aims at preserving his position against the challengers. On the other hand, the *subversive agent* aims at differentiating the rules or the regularities of the game in the field. Generally speaking, hegemonic or dominant agents "have the capacity to set the tempo of transformation in the various areas of production, marketing, research, etc." (Bourdieu, 2005: 201).

A true understanding of how the agents constituting a growth machine act to maximize the *forms of capital* they possess in the field is only possible through an analysis of their *habitus*, which may

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[488] Traditional Ottoman art known also as 'marbling' art: figures made by simply leaving a splash of paint on the surface of thickened water.

cause them to deviate from their *position* and *position-taking*s rather than always acting rationally, or exercising their practical consciousness, which is fundamental to Giddens' theory of structuration.

The research questions raised at the beginning of the study were chosen with the intention of determining the existence of a 'growth alliance' among the urban elite in Antalya beside the existence of potential opposition(s) to some definite association to a pro-growth coalition. The initial questions asked for the inquiry of the local politics, to explore the indicators of the existence of the 'growth machine' in Antalya were as follows: "Is there an overarching or elite organization in Antalya that leads development efforts or coordinates the activities of other community groups?"; "How active are these organizations in the city?"; "How supportive is the local media of economic development efforts?"; "How active are the potential opposition associations in the city?"; and "How does this overarching 'local elite' organization connect to global (ruling class) organizations?".

A varying set of agents comprising the 'growth coalition,' whom Logan and Molotch (1987) define as the 'rentier' class, are those centering around developers, realtors, and banks, who have an interest in the exchange of land and property. Rentiers are supported by a number of auxiliary players in the field including institutions like the media, universities, utilities, professional sports franchises, chambers of commerce and the like. In this sense, I argued that five major agency groups can be defined, agencies that have a vested interest in the process of restructuring Antalya; and a potential opposition group. The pro-growth coalition brings together the five major groups; namely, the state, local government (governor and mayors and managers), capitalist entrepreneurs in any field, NGOs (Chambers of Commerce, Architects), and cultural and academic institutions on any scale (Akdeniz University, Suna & İnan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilization–Vehbi Koç Foundation, Antalya City Museum, etc.). I also argued that the potential oppositions may come from the representatives of the artists and the intellectuals in Antalya (Antalyalite Intelligentsia).

An *exploratory* research was designed for the inquiry, to enable the researcher to approach a social phenomena *retroductively.* The *retroductive* approach is conducive to an in depth understanding of social phenomena as a '*process*' instead of an instantaneous un-concealment of certain social phenomena like a snap-shot. The *retroductive* approach in *exploratory* research design employs Marx's dialectical methodology, also known as *realist methodology,* which prioritizes the argument, "real is relational." Derived from the dialectical approach in Hegel and Marx, *realist methodology* is a way to analyze the interconnections of phenomena, of grasping facts not as isolated, rigid and external data but as part of a whole process.

Various tools and techniques of *qualitative research methods* have been employed in this study, but the majority of the qualitative data was collected through direct interviews of people (28 representatives of six distinct, specific groups listed below) and a group interview (six academics in

the Faculty of Fine Arts at Akdeniz University listed below). Furthermore, there were several opportunities to directly observe people in their natural pace as well as specific events, due to my seventeen months' experience living and working in Antalya. Having lived and worked in Antalya for a period of time, I have been engulfed by the rhythm of the city. Then, my 'outsider' position in Antalya as a 'stranger' in Simmelian terms allowed me to analyze the rhythm of the city as efforts were underway to restructure it into a 'city of culture'.

The 'restructuring' process becomes clearer when viewed through the lens of these interviews. Since the term restructuring is the system's attempt *to resolve a crisis,* it implies some shifts in policies concerning governance, planning, culture and economics in a specific geographical location of production and consumption in the capitalist mode. A full grasp of the present problems is only possible through an analysis of urban politics and urban policies by exploring these shifts. Since the early 1990s, the world has witnessed a global scale economic restructuring; a shift from economic to urban restructuring. The literature classifies *urban restructuring* into five basic types in terms of the city. These are: a. Economic restructuring; b. State restructuring; c. Household restructuring (including migration); d. Community (and community politics [or urban social movements]) restructuring; and e. Spatial restructuring.

In order to reveal the city culture peculiar to Antalya, the collective economic, social, cultural, symbolic capitals in the historical depth of the city were scrutinized. However, the main focus of this thesis is limited to the time period between 2004 and 2009 whilst scrutinizing the 'historical geography' of Antalya since its birth. Benefiting from *a retroductive* approach to 'restructuring Antalya' as a social phenomenon, the previous social democratic municipal governance of Antalya during the period 1999-2004 was also investigated to identify any changes in the structure of the four fields mentioned before.

First of all, Marxian theory of *urban political economy* is preeminently a *theory of crisis*. As c*apitalism struggles to create a physical landscape appropriate to its needs and purposes* (both in production and consumption) my most fundamental inquiry was regarding the clarification of the major reason underlying the process of restructuring Antalya. In other words, the major crisis with which Antalya is faced that to be resolved through urban restructuring. The research showed that the major crisis in Antalya is 'the declining prices attached to Antalya's tourism services and products in the global market'. Thus, the growth alliance sought strategies to increase the value of the tourism services and products offered in Antalya. The qualitative data shows that at least three types of urban restructuring have manifested in Antalya; namely, economic restructuring, state restructuring and spatial restructuring. Household restructuring could also be added to this list because of some housing policies for foreign migrants.

During the restructuring process, since the major strategies of the growth alliance were geared towards transforming Antalya into a 'city of culture', the very concept 'city of culture' was investigated with multi-dimensional approaches to literature survey. The literature concerned: the sociology of art and culture, and the culture industry; urban sociology, urban politics, urban planning, urban design; sociology of tourism; and global city, world city, studies on globalization.

Answering the first two questions, "Is there an overarching or elite organization in Antalya?" and "How active are these organizations in the city?", the first finding of this study is that the Antalya Metropolitan Municipality (AGM) is the leading agency in the formation of a pro-growth coalition in Antalya with endless support from ATSO as the second most important agent. Among other agents are the Municipality of the Kepez District, ANSIAD, Akdeniz University, TURSAK, AKTOB, AKMED, the Historical Foundation and some multi-national land developer firms representing hundreds of capitalist entrepreneurs in the fields of tourism, industry, agriculture and finance with their wealth of *economic capitals*, and also intellectuals and academicians with their higher *cultural and symbolic capitals*. As observed in news in the newspapers, magazines and broadcasts on TV, from the first day of the municipal election in 2004, both the local and the national media have supported economic development efforts of the 'growth machine' alliance in Antalya.

Perhaps, what is more important than the abovementioned finding is that the 'state' is the most active player in the process of restructuring Antalya through its interventions in various fields whenever needed. From an urban political economy perspective, the process of 'restructuring Antalya' is examined through the analyses of restructuring processes in selected four major subfields. These fields are: art and culture; urban –politics, -governance, -planning, -design; tourism; and economy.

With the intent of measuring the strength of the potential opposition, the question was asked, "How active are the neighborhood associations in the city?". The answer accompanied the finding regarding *collective actions* of opposing groups generally standing at a critical distance to various cultural, economic and urban policies compatible with the *Americanization* ease to transform Antalya into festival marketplace or fantasy city. This group includes citizens generally associated with Antalya Branch of City Planners Chamber (SPOAŞ), Antalya Artists' Association (ANSAN), Antalya Promotion Foundation (ATAV), Antalya Branch of the Architects Chamber (MOAŞ) and Akdeniz University. Here, the dual position of both MOAŞ and Akdeniz University is noteworthy.

The next finding, which answers the question, "How does this overarching 'local elite' organization connect to global (ruling class) organizations?", is that Istanbul distinctly influences the various subfields of economy in Antalya and has predominated culture, art and even municipal administration. In short, Antalya draws comparisons between itself and Istanbul, sees Istanbul as an

example, mimics Istanbul but does not compete with it; in this sense, Antalya is not a competitive city but a *complementary city* to Istanbul.

Then, there is the finding is that, to some extent, there is a similarity between *eşraf* (rich people in small towns in the province with their 'commerce culture') and the *rentier class* (those centering around developers, realtors, and banks) comprising a growth machine in Antalya with their common interest in the exchange of land and property.

Next comes the finding related to the introduction of the concept of 'city of culture' as a new image for Antalya. The 'culture of [the] city' as the *collective cultural capital* attached to Antalya is to undergo commodification and, through which, transformed into *economic capital* with higher sales in the global tourism market. Under the theme of city image and cultural tourism, substantiation was provided for the value of art in re-fashioning Antalya's image. Antalya's festivals, especially the Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival (AGOFF), have become synonymous with the town's image, which helps to *brand* the town. One of the major strategies utilized in the field of art and culture is to transform Antalya into a film production center whereby a talented or skilled laborer in the culture industry could find a job in Antalya. The importance of a creative class for any creative city formation is obvious. In truth, with its climate, natural beauty and openness to outsiders, Antalya provides a high quality of place and life to its creative class. Nevertheless, one cannot suggest that there is a creative class flow to Antalya. Since there has still been no significant example of cultural industry regardless of the two films shot at the Çandırwood Studios, one can not talk about a shift from a cultural industry toward creative industry in Antalya, either.

The main reason the Eurasia International Film Festival was organized was to show the world Antalya's potential of becoming the fourth center of film industry, right between Asia and Europe alongside Hollywood, Europe, and Bollywood. The hope is that the Eurasia Film Market in Antalya will turn into an international co-production market offering film business facilities—sales offices, market screening, buyer and production services—in between Pusan in Asia and Cannes in Europe. Antalya's geographical location, once important for commerce and navigation until almost the 17th century, once again becomes important as a business environment, R&D, getting new contacts and forging partnerships with the introduction of the Eurasia Film Market, and as a new movie filming away from Hollywood for *economic* reasons if not *creative*. The art and culture agents in Antalya promote its location as a bridge between the east and the west in an effort to find a place among cultural production centers.

Another aspect of the revamping of Antalya's image is the project for a City Museum designed according to new city museum trends in the world with a more narrative based museum approach. The Antalya City Museum Project as a new way of *consuming space* does not only (re)collect *cultural capitals* in objectified state that attach to Antalya but seems to rewrite the *collective cultural*

capital in the embodied state based on the narratives of the Antalyalites. While the major cultural policy of the early republican period imposed a unified, single culture, the policy makers of today are trying to highlight distinctive fragments of local culture to show how unique the city is, as a response to global forces for the sake of urban growth annexed to global capitalism. This attempt to establish a 'City Museum' in Antalya as the very institution serving to highlight the distinctive culture(s) peculiar to Antalya reflects the cultural policies which took culture as a value in the Eight and the Ninth Five Year Development Plans.

Another finding is that spatial restructuring in Antalya can be seen in the various urban subfields. Between 1999 and 2004, during the term of the social democratic mayor from *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (the Republican People's Party, CHP), a managerial urban governance is seen with a more social progressive and modernist approach to urbanism as well as some Third Way Projects. In contrast, between 2004 and 2009, there was a distinct shift from a more pluralist social learning and communicative model of planning into entrepreneurial urban governance, a neoliberal and postmodern urbanism, and strategic Urban Propaganda Projects (UPPs) boosted by growth alliances during term of the liberal-conservative-Islamist mayor from *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (the Justice and Development Party, AKP).

The urban spatial structure in Antalya is the outcome of the two dominant sectors in the region, agriculture and tourism. However, the urban development in Antalya only became definitive after the development of tourism. In terms of city typology, Antalya can be described both as a large historical city with all of Pamphylia since the second century B.C. and also as a place of purpose integrating resorts following the implementation of the South Antalya Tourism Development Project (GATGP). As a true model of tourism urbanization, Antalya is a city built or developed exclusively for tourists, meaning that their economies, politics, residential life, and built environments function for the specific purposes of tourism. During the process of urban restructuring between the years 2004-2009, though the main discourse of the growth coalition in Antalya was about transforming Antalya into a *city of culture* to attract *urban tourists,* all they were doing was trying to make Antalya a *fantasy city* or an *entertainment city* through efforts like building a Theme Park. The planning process of Lara City Park, chosen as the location for a Theme Park being constructed in Antalya, is a tangible example for all the shifts in urban planning, urban design, urban governance and urban policies in Antalya.

One of the expected findings of the study is that in terms of policy, beside the *mass tourism* that takes place at the simulacra that serve as tourist bubbles in isolated clusters, Antalya has drawn up a set of goals with a view to developing 'urban tourism' as a tool it is hoped will bring in a different class of tourists, *hypertourists,* who would spend more money. Another strategy is developed around transforming Antalya into a 'health center.' The plan is for this to attract middle class

pensioners from Europe for treatment and therapy, and for holidays during the winter, an off season during which the tourism sector could benefit from some revitalization. This strategy would conceivably increase employment opportunities for another group of skilled laborers in the health services industry in Antalya. With regard to this fact, the question, "Can one discuss the strategies for transforming Antalya into a city of culture in terms of gentrification?" becomes meaningless because the major strategy of the actors in the field of tourism in Antalya to retain the *mass tourists* on the one hand, to reach *niche tourist*s in the new markets on the other. 'Antalya' also strives to be represented as a *brand* in the field of tourism in the global market. The *strategies* for branding 'Antalya' with the image of *Kaleiçi* not only aim at increasing the value of services provided in the field tourism but increasing the value of all goods and services produced in Antalya regardless of field. In the field of tourism, a supplementary finding is that the formation of a Local Authority in Antalya to coordinate the activities of investors for the South Antalya Tourism Development Project (GATGP) right after its ratification by the Ministry of Re-Construction and Resettlement on June 7, 1972 can be regarded as the oldest example for Regional Development Agency (RDA)s in Turkey.

In a different field, agriculture, changes are taking place in Antalya as a necessity especially to maintain a competitive edge in the international markets especially in the face of changing production related technologies. To this end, on the one hand, work is underway within the context of a Techno park to develop biotechnology and agricultural technology, and the other hand, information exchange has been initiated concerning hydroponics. The agricultural producers have formed 'Producers Unions' to obtain EUREPGAP Certification for their products to keep their goods in Europe and the Russian market, thereby transitioning from the producers from family farmers into institutional producers. Moreover, they have founded the Agricultural Research Laboratory for the purposes of organized agricultural production in compliance with EU standards. Since Antalya has developed through the (ab)use of fertile agricultural lands that can not withstand the pressure of land annuity as housing, industry and tourism spaces, today those concerned are seeking lands suitable for 'modern agriculture' and 'organic agriculture' to be future 'Organized Agriculture Zones'. A branding strategy was seen in the field of agriculture with the 'sun-made Antalya tomato' as a branded product with a geographic marker using controlled agriculture methods in modern greenhouses in Antalya.

Another sub-field of economy in which restructuring took place during the 2004-2009 municipal governance period was the field of jewelry. The World Gold Council (WGC), ATSO and the Turkish Association of Jewelers (TAJ) organized a campaign called 'Antalya-Heart of Gold' to make Turkish jewelry a world brand and to promote Antalya by inspiring trust in consumers and

thus branding in the gold sector. Furthermore, urban stake holders believe this branding will contribute to branding tourism as well.

Antalya seeks ways to represent itself in the global market to become especially a tourism destination, and the central government sees Antalya as an instrument to 'represent Turkey' in the global market. The strategies mentioned above for branding Antalya in various fields are also to increase Antalya's place in the hierarchy of world cities. Antalya follows the two routes mentioned above to *capitalize culture* as a *Wannabe World City*. It has taken a more *Europeanized approach* through *cultural planning* in addition to the EU standard based structural adjustment in various fields of economy, governance, and so on. Moreover, it has been *Americanized* with various UPPs towards becoming a place for consumption and enjoyment. Thus, the new image trying to be conjured up for Antalya being *Kaleiçi* in order to bring about *urban tourism* can be said to be a cross between the two routes.

The final finding is that the *global city-region* or *competitive city-region* constructs are useful in explaining Antalya, because as a *Wannabe World City,* Antalya has been struggling for control of space rather than a new emergent form of capitalist territorial competition and development. The field research shows that the strategies developed by the growth machine are not intended to transform Antalya into a 'world city' or 'global city' but into a *city of culture* by restructuring various fields that at the same time make more sense as strategies. For the purpose is to broaden the resource and market hinterland of Antalya on the way of being at least a *competitive city-region* while complementing Istanbul to compete with others.

Though the analysis of the process of restructuring Antalya has been done for four sub-fields there is no clear cut line that separates them from one another. All of the subfields are intertwined, and while protecting their integrity, they endeavor to expand. Thus, any restructuring strategy in the field of art and culture also restructures the field of tourism, which is also true for the field of economy. The fluid relations among the fields in the very thick field of power are determined with the transformative power of the agents who enter the fields.

In the very beginning of the study, a more comprehensive field research was drafted in order to comprehend how the general population in Antalya experience, sense, are affected by, and benefit from the above mentioned urban restructuring process in the city. However, when this draft was reevaluated, it was cancelled for two reasons. First, this would necessitate much more extensive research on the process of restructuring Antalya with a second sampling frame including members of the general public as well. Also, the study would need to be extended in terms of time frame, as the results of this restructuring process were not yet completely visible at the time that the research was conducted. However, giving voice to public opinion about the growth machine ideology and the urban restructuring process has been possible through media resources as well as unstructured

spontaneous interviews. Thus, the decision was made to keep any survey searching for the impact of the urban restructuring process on people living in Antalya outside the scope of the dissertation. Still, an overall evaluation of all these strategies developed by the urban elite to transform Antalya into a city of culture calls for further research to be carried out among people from different social classes, and from different occupations in several districts of Antalya, as mentioned in one of the concluding remarks of this dissertation.

Still, some general concluding remarks can be made around urban studies. The shift from the studies on 'the culture of a city' to the studies on a 'city of culture' in urban studies is evident. In the era of inter-urban competition game, the 'collective cultural capital' of cities are reinvented to be represented in the global market as 'city of culture', 'cultural city' or in European context as 'European Capital of Culture' (ECoC). In a similar way, the studies on the 'culture industry' started to revolve around the term 'creative industry'. In addition, the new concern of city governors is not long term urban planning anymore, but the promotion of the UPPs or flagship projects, to legitimize pro-growth coalition.

The shift from functionalist modern urbanism focusing on technologically rational and efficient urban *plans* subservient to the construction of a social project toward postmodern urbanism reviving and assessing major themes like contextualism, historicism, regionalism, anti-universalism, pluralism, collage, self-referentiality, reflexivity, superficiality, depthlessness, ephemerality, fragmentation, populism, commercialism, and so on is also apparent in cities to attract niche tourists as well as investors. Besides, the studies more on entrepreneurial urbanism are the result of the shift in urban governance toward urban managerialism. What is more, neoliberal urban policies sweeping the globe make some people winners of the age and others become losers who dream of the good old days when social progressive urban policies were in place. Finally, all cities, large or small, that occupy the general field of power compete with others to increase their place in the rank of hierarchy of world cities by investing in their various (social, cultural, symbolic, academic, commercial, agricultural, etc.) capitals in such a way as to derive maximum benefit or 'profit', as the case may be, from participation. As mentioned by Bourdieu in his theory of *field*, the relationship between *position*s and *position-taking*s is mediated by the dispositions of the individual agents and their feel for the game—their *habitus*. Under normal circumstances, no one enters the field with the intent of losing without having a feel for the game.

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APPENDICES

A.   VISUAL DOCUMENTS

FIGURES CITED IN CHAPTER 2

Sector	Percentage
Film/TV/Animation	15
Fine Arts	14
Music	13
Media	12
Design	9
Architecture	7
Fashion	6
Publishing	6
ICT/Technology	6
Tourism	4
Crafts/Jewellery	4
Advertising	4
Total	100

Table 2. 1. Creative Sectors
Source: Ewans (2009: 1026)

TABLE 1.2   Major studio merger and acquisition deals, 1989–2005

1984–5: News Corporation buys privately owned 20th Century Fox for an estimated $750 million.
1989: Time Inc. acquires Warner Communications for $9.1 billion.
1989: Sony acquires Columbia-TriStar for $4.8 billion.
1990: Matsushita buys MCA/Universal for $6.6 billion.
1990: Pathé acquires MGM/UA for $1.43 billion.
1993: Disney buys Miramax for $80 million.
1994: Viacom buys Paramount for $9.5 billion.
1994: Viacom buys Blockbuster for $8.4 billion.
1994: Spielberg, Katzenberg, and Geffen announce the creation of DreamWorks SKG.
1995: Seagram buys MCA (80% stake) from Matsushita for $5.7 billion, and renames it Universal Studios.
1995: Disney buys Capital Cities/ABC for $18.3 billion.
1995: Time Warner buys Turner Broadcasting System (TBS) for $9.1 billion. Deal includes New Line and Castle Rock, which TBS purchased in 1993.
1999: Viacom buys CBS for $35.6 billion.
2000: Vivendi buys Seagram for $34 billion, creating Vivendi Universal.
2000: AOL merges with Time Warner in a stock deal with an estimated value of $160 billion to $183 billion. Company name reverts to Time Warner in 2003, with AOL as a subsidiary.
2003: GE buys Vivendi Universal (80% stake) in a deal valued at $14 billion, creates NBC Universal.
2005: Viacom (Paramount) buys DreamWorks for $1.6 billion.

Dates indicate announcement of deal, not the final approval(s) or effective dates (which generally occurred up to a full year later).
The announced dollar amount of each deal varies widely according to many factors – notably current stock value and assumption of debt.

Table 2. 2 Major Studio merger and acquistion deals in Hollywood, 1989-2005
Source: Schatz (2008)

Classical social democracy (the old left)

Pervasive state involvement in social and economic life
State dominates over civil society
Collectivism
Keynesian demand management, plus corporatism
Confined role for markets: the mixed or social economy
Full employment
Strong egalitarianism
Comprehensive welfare state, protecting citizens 'from cradle to grave'
Linear modernization
Low ecological consciousness
Internationalism
Belongs to bipolar world

Thatcherism, or neoliberalism (the new right)

Minimal government
Autonomous civil society
Market fundamentalism
Moral authoritarianism, plus strong economic individualism
Labour market clears like any other
Acceptance of inequality
Traditional nationalism
Welfare state as safety net
Linear modernization
Low ecological consciousness
Realist theory of international order
Belongs to bipolar world

Table 2. 3. Key Features of Social Progressive Democracy   **Table 2. 4. Neoliberalism**
Source: Giddens, (1998)

The third way programme
The radical centre
The new democratic state (the state without enemies)
Active civil society
The democratic family
The new mixed economy
Equality as inclusion
Positive welfare
The social investment state
The cosmopolitan nation
Cosmopolitan democracy

Third way values
Equality
Protection of the vulnerable
Freedom as autonomy
No rights without responsibilities
No authority without democracy
Cosmopolitan pluralism
Philosophic conservatism

Table 2. 5. The Third Way Program and Third Way Values
Source: Giddens, A. (1998) p. 66, 70

(Cities are ordered in terms of world city-ness values ranging from 1 to 12)

A. Alpha world cities
  12: London, Paris, New York, Tokyo
  10: Chicago, Frankfurt, Hong Kong, Los Angeles, Milan, Singapore

B. Beta world cities
  9: San Francisco, Sydney, Toronto, Zürich
  8: Brussels, Madrid, Mexico City, São Paulo
  7: Moscow, Seoul

C. Gamma world cities
  6: Amsterdam, Boston, Caracas, Dallas, Düsseldorf, Geneva, Houston, Jakarta, Johannesburg, Melbourne, Osaka, Prague, Santiago, Taipei, Washington
  5: Bangkok, Beijing, Rome, Stockholm, Warsaw
  4: Atlanta, Barcelona, Berlin, Buenos Aires, Budapest, Copenhagen, Hamburg, Istanbul, Kuala Lumpur, Manila, Miami, Minneapolis, Montreal, Munich, Shanghai

D. Evidence of world-city formation
D(i) Relatively strong evidence
  3: Auckland, Dublin, Helsinki, Luxembourg, Lyon, Mumbai, New Delhi, Philadelphia, Rio de Janeiro, Tel Aviv, Vienna
D(ii) Some evidence
  2: Abu Dhabi, Almaty, Athens, Birmingham, Bogota, Bratislava, Brisbane, Bucharest, Cairo, Cleveland, Cologne, Detroit, Dubai, Ho Chi Minh City, Kiev, Lima, Lisbon, Manchester, Montevideo, Oslo, Rotterdam, Riyadh, Seattle, Stuttgart, The Hague, Vancouver
D(iii) Minimal evidence
  1: Adelaide, Antwerp, Århus, Athens, Baltimore, Bangalore, Bologna, Brasilia, Calgary, Cape Town, Colombo, Columbus, Dresden, Edinburgh, Genoa, Glasgow, Gothenburg, Guangzhou, Hanoi, Kansas City, Leeds, Lille, Marseille, Richmond, St Petersburg, Tashkent, Tehran, Tijuana, Turin, Utrecht, Wellington

Definitions: World city-ness values produced by scoring 3 for prime center status, 2 for major center status, and 1 for minor center status.

Table 2. 6. **The Loughborough Inventory of World Cities**
Source: Bawerstock, J. G. Smith, R. G., and Taylor, P. J. (1999) Posted on the Web: http://www.Iboro.ac.uk./departments/gy/research/gawc/rb/rb5.html. cited in Hall, P. (2001)

Figure 11.1 A six stage sequence of inputs/activities in the film production system.
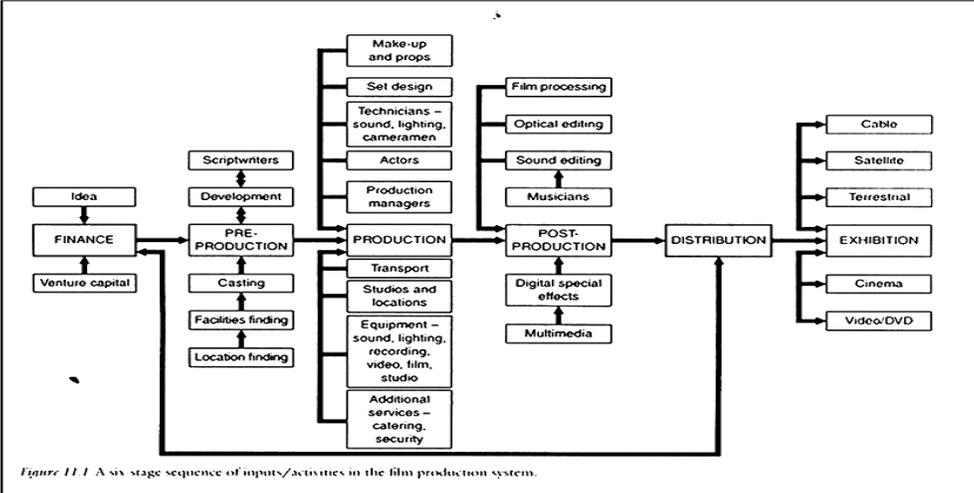
Figure 2. 1. A six stage sequence of inputs/activities in the Film Production System
**Source: Coe and Johns, (2004)**

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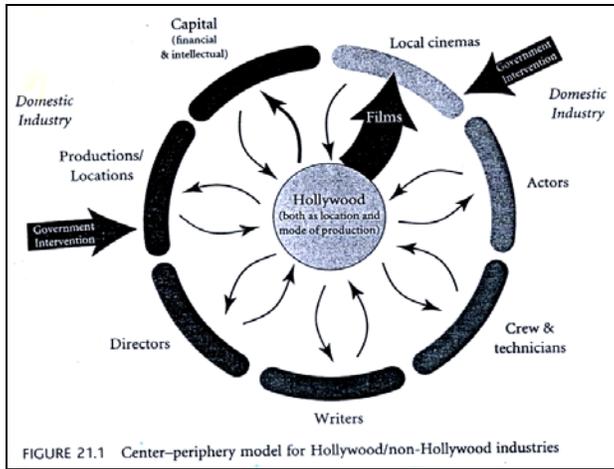
Figure 2.2. Center-periphery model for Hollywood/non-Hollywood film industries
Source: Newman, D. (2008)

Picture 2. 1. Friedman's Hierarchy of World Cities
Source: (Friedman, 1995: 25 cited in Kim, 2008: 126)
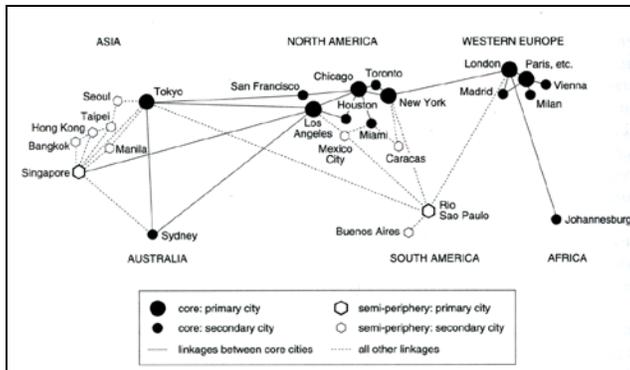
Urban Area		Population (millions)				
		1950	1970	1990	2000	2015
1	Tokyo, Japan	6.9	16.5	25.0	27.9	28.7
2	Bombay, India	2.9	5.8	12.2	18.1	27.4
3	São Paulo, Brazil	2.4	8.1	14.8	17.8	20.8
4	Shanghai, China	5.3	11.2	13.5	17.2	23.4
5	New York, USA	12.3	16.2	16.1	16.6	17.6
6	Mexico City, Mexico	3.1	9.1	15.1	16.4	18.8
7	Beijing, China	3.9	8.1	10.9	14.2	19.4
8	Jakarta, Indonesia	n.a.	3.9	9.3	14.1	21.2
9	Lagos, Nigeria	n.a.	n.a.	7.7	13.5	24.4
10	Los Angeles, USA	4.0	8.4	11.5	13.1	14.3
11	Calcutta, India	4.4	6.9	10.7	12.7	17.6
12	Tianjin, China	2.4	5.2	9.3	12.4	17.0
13	Seoul, South Korea	n.a.	5.3	10.6	12.3	13.1
14	Karachi, Pakistan	n.a.	n.a.	8.0	12.1	20.6
15	Delhi, India	n.a.	3.5	8.2	11.7	17.6
16	Buenos Aires, Argentina	5.0	8.4	10.6	11.4	12.4
17	Metro Manila, Philippines	n.a.	3.5	8.0	10.8	14.7
18	Cairo, Egypt	2.4	5.3	8.6	10.7	14.5
19	Osaka, Japan	4.1	9.4	10.5	10.6	10.6
20	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	2.9	7.0	9.5	10.2	11.6
21	Dhaka, Bangladesh	n.a.	n.a.	5.9	10.2	19.0
22	Paris, France	5.4	8.5	9.3	9.6	9.6
23	Istanbul, Turkey	n.a.	n.a.	6.5	9.3	12.3
24	Moscow, Russia	5.4	7.1	9.0	9.3	n.a.
25	Lima, Peru	n.a.	n.a.	6.5	8.4	10.5
26	Teheran, Iran	n.a.	n.a.	6.4	7.3	10.2
27	London, U.K.	8.7	8.6	7.3	7.3	n.a.
28	Bangkok, Thailand	n.a.	n.a.	5.9	7.3	10.6
29	Chicago, USA	4.9	6.7	6.8	7.0	n.a.
30	Hyderabad, India	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	6.7	10.7

Note: n.a. = data not available.
Source: United Nations 1995.

Table 2.7. The World's Thirty Largest Urban Areas Ranked by Estimated 2000 populations
Source: United Nations (1995) cited in Scott, (2001) Table 11.2.

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Category		Content
Business (economic benefits)	Pro-business political climate (public/private partnership)	Business-assistance programmes Sound fiscal policies Industry-specific taxes and incentives
	Ideal workforce	Young, educated, skilled, hard-working labour force Concentrations of educational institutions Sound work ethic Successful labour/management relations
	High-technology (the advent of the twenty-first century)	High-tech industry/university partnership Concentration of high-tech industries
	Solid infrastructure	Transportation (highway, international airport) Telecommunications (fibre optics network) Local gas and electricity
	Healthy local economy	Economic stability or fast economic growth Upswing trend in job creation Higher proportion of future's industries
	Central location	Central time zone Proximity to large markets (population) Border cities or coast cities
Quality of life	High quality of life	Affluent natural amenities (beach, lake, fall, mountain, clean air, etc.) Mild weather (sun, warm climate) Health services (world class hospitals) Low cost of living; wide range of housing options Friendliness
	Distinct life-style advantages	High quality of cultural and recreational activities (museum, opera, symphony orchestra, theatre, art centre, festivals, fairs, professional sports teams, golf course) Historical heritage

Table 2.8. Major Repertoires in City Advertisements
Source: Short, J. R., and Kim, Y-H. (1998: 65), Table 3.2. Based on 37 cities' advertisement from the periodicals in the USA

Table 2.1 Hegemonic structures: Fordism/Keynesianism versus Neo-Fordism/neo-liberalism

Fordism/Keynesianism	Neo-Fordism/neo-liberalism
Regime of accumulation	
Mass production/consumption	Flexible production (assisted by IT)
Standardization	Smaller-scale production
Large-volume sales	Increased market segmentation
Economies of scale	More individualized consumption
Mode of regulation	
Strong state intervention	Globalization weakens national regulation
Welfare state (sustains consumption)	'Rolling back frontiers of the state'
Keynesian economic management (government spending instrumental in countering cyclical and other crises in the economy)	Privatization

Table 2.9. Hegemonic Structures: Fordism/Keynesianism versus Neo-Fordism/neo-liberalism
Source: Shaw, G., and Williams, A. M. ([2004] 2007: 32) *Tourism and Tourism Spaces,* London: Sage

Form of Society	Form of Travel
Pre-capitalism	Organized exploration
Liberal capitalism	Individual travel by the rich
Organized capitalism	Organized mass tourism
Disorganized capitalism	The 'end of tourism'

Table 2. 11. Forms of Society and Travel
Source: Table 9.1 in Urry, J. ([1995] 1996: 147)

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Table 5.1 Characteristics of mass tourism

Collective consumption by undifferentiated tourists

Collective gaze of tourists – focused on signifiers designed to concentrate tourists' seasonally polarized consumption

Demands for familiarity by tourists

Undifferentiated product – similarity of facilities and experiences

Rigidity of production – highly standardized, large-scale, dependent on scale economies

Low prices – importance of discounting and price cutting

Large numbers of tourists related to a circuit of mass production

Table 2. 12. Characteristic of mass tourism
Source: Shaw and Williams ([2004] 2007: 115)

Table 2.3 The state and the regulation of tourism

General	Tourism specific
Relations with the global economy Passport and visa controls, customs (important for border-trading tourism), foreign exchange controls and exchange rates	Tourist visas and tourist exchange controls
Influencing the movement of international capital – inbound and outbound Absolute and conditional controls on the amounts and locations of investment, and levels of profit remittances	Particular incentives or controls on capital movements
Provision of legal framework to regulate production Health and safety laws, company reporting requirements, competition law, environmental protection, consumer protection	Particular laws and regulations for travel agents, tour operators, airlines, etc., dealing with issues such as guarantees against failure, travel safety, and food hygiene
Macro-economic policies Public spending and taxation policies have a particularly strong impact on tourism because of its status as a luxury/basic good	There is no 'one fit' macro economic policy which suits all economic sectors, and tourism – in common with other sectors – seeks to lobby governments to influence its direction. Some countries have social tourism policies which support tourism consumption by disadvantaged sections of society
Intervention in particular regions or localities National and local states may intervene where the local economy faces difficulties, and tourism may be one of, or the lead sector in, any regeneration strategy	Intervention to restructure the economies of tourism resorts in crisis
Reproduction of the labour force Education and training, health and housing, teaching of language and other skills at schools, regulation of wages and working conditions	Training courses in tourism at all levels, housing provision in resorts (important given high land and house prices, and relatively low wages)
Social investment State provision in response to perceived investment failures by private capital e.g. in roads or water supply	Direct state investment in and ownership of facilities such as airports, airlines, and regenerated waterfronts
Climate of security and stability International and national security and stability as an essential ingredient in the removal of uncertainty, which is a major obstacle to trade and investment	Security particularly important given the volatility of tourism demand in face of uncertainty or risk

Table. 2. 10. The State and the regulation of tourism
Source: Shaw and Williams ([2004] 2007: 37)

Table 5.2   Characteristics of post-Fordist tourism consumption

Characteristics of post-Fordist consumption	Tourist examples
Consumers increasingly dominant and producers have to be much more consumer-oriented	Rejection of certain forms of mass tourism (holiday camps and cheaper packaged holidays) and increased diversity of preferences
Greater volatility of consumer preferences	Fewer repeat visits and the proliferation of alternative sights and attractions
Increased market segmentation	Multiplication of types of holiday and visitor attraction, based on lifestyle search
Growth of a consumers' movement	Much more information provided about alternative holidays and attractions through the media
Development of many new products, each of which has a shorter life	Rapid turnover of tourist sites and experiences, because of rapid changes of fashion
Increased preferences expressed for non-mass forms of production/ consumption	Growth of 'green tourism' and of forms of refreshment and accommodation individually tailored to the consumer (such as country-house hotels)
Consumption as less and less 'functional' and increasingly aestheticized	'De-differentiation' of tourism from leisure, culture, retailing, education, sport, hobbies

Source: Urry (1995, 151).

Table 2. 13. Characteristics of post-Fordist Tourism Consumption
Source: Shaw and Williams ([2004] 2007: 116); Urry ([1995] 1996: 151)

Table 2.2   Fordist versus Post-Fordist production in tourism

'Fordist' production in tourism (1950s to 1990s)	'Post-Fordism' and 'flexibility' in tourism (1990s to future)
The production process Economies of scale	Economies of scale *and* scope
Mass, standardized and rigidly packaged holidays	Emergence of specialized operators, tailor-made holidays
Packaged tours, charter flights	Market niching
Narrow range of standardized travel products	System of information technologies (SIT) (CRS technology, teleconferencing, videotext, videobrochures, satellite printers, etc.) front- and back-office automation, internet, World Wide Web
Holding of holidays 'just in case'	Custom-designed flexible holidays
Tour-industry determined quality and type of product	Tourist-determined product type
Industrial concentration (horizontal, and to lesser extent vertical, integration)	Horizontal integration, subcontracting (e.g. the hotel industry externalizing laundry operations or specialized kitchen activities)
	Adoption of regionally based, integrated, computer information systems and strategic network alliances in the airline industry
Labour practices Low labour (functional) flexibility	Functionally flexible (skilled) year-round employees flanked by peripheral, numerically flexible, unskilled workers
High labour turnover, labour is seasonal, low wages	
Mostly unskilled labour force	
The consumption process Mass tourists	Independent tourists
Tourists as psychocentrics (inexperienced, predictable), sun-lust seekers, motivated by price	Experienced, independent, flexible (sun-plus) travellers
	Fewer repeat visits
	Demand for 'green tourism' or other alternative forms (e.g. ecotourism)

Source: Based on Ioannides and Debbage (1998)

Table 2. 14. Fordist versus Post-Fordist production in tourism
Source: Shaw, and Williams ([2004] 2007: 34) based on Ioannides and Debbage (1998)

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Picture 2. 1. Airline Advertisement
Source: *Skylife*

FIGURES CITED IN CHAPTER 4
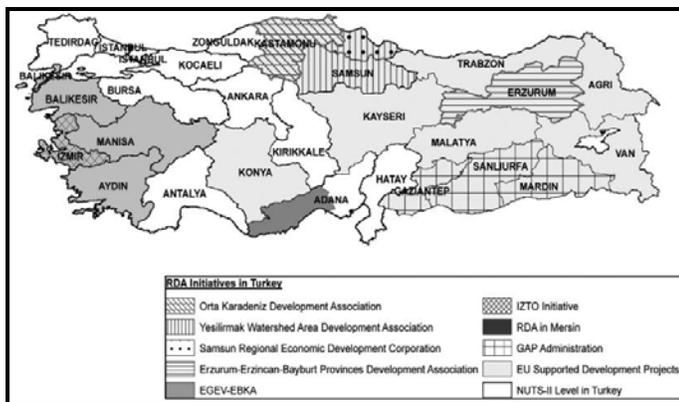
Figure 4. 1. NUTS-II Regions and RDA initiatives in Turkey
Source: Lagendijk, A., Kayasu, S., and Yasar, S. (2009)

TOURISTS NUMBERS AND TOURISM REVENUES				
Years	Foreign Tourist Numbers (in tousand)	Annual Change %	Expenditures of Foreign Tourist (Million $)	Annual Change %
1963	198	*	7	*
1964	229	15,7	8	14,3
1965	361	57,6	13	62,5
1966	449	24,4	12	-7,7
1967	574	27,8	13	8,3
1968	602	4,9	24	84,6
1969	694	15,3	36	50
1970	724	4,3	51	41,7
1971	926	27,9	62	21,6
1972	1 034	11,7	103	66,1
1973	1 341	29,7	171	66
1974	1 110	-17,2	193	12,9
1975	1 540	38,7	200	3,6
1976	1 675	8,8	180	-10
1977	1 661	-0,8	204	13,3
1978	1 644	-1	230	12,7
1979	1 523	-7,4	280	21,7
1980	1 288	-15,4	326	16,4
1981	1 405	9,1	381	16,9
1982	1 391	-1	370	-2,9
1983	1 625	16,8	411	11,1
1984	2 117	30,3	840	104,4
1985	2 614	23,5	1 482	76,4
1986	2 391	-8,5	1 215	-18
1987	2 855	19,4	1 721	41,6
1988	4 172	46,1	2 355	36,8
1989	4 459	6,9	2 556	8,5
1990	5 389	20,9	2 705	5,8
1991	5 517	2,4	2654	-1,9
1992	7 076	28,3	3 639	37,1
1993	6 500	-8,1	3 959	8,8
1994	6 670	2,6	4 321	9,1
1995	7 726	15,8	4 957	14,7
1996	8 614	11,5	5 650	13,9
1997	9 689	13	7 008	23,9
1998	9 752	0,6	7177	2,4
1999	7 464	-23,4	5 193	-27,64
2000	10 412	39	7 636	47
2001	11 569	11	8 090	5,9
2002	13 247	14,5	8 481	4,7
2003	14 030	5,3	9 677	14,1
2004	17 517	24,86	12 125	25,3
2005	21 124	20,6	13 929	14,8
2006	19 819	-6,2	12 553	-9,8
2007	23 341	17,77	13 990	11,4
2008	26 337	12,83	16 761	19,81

Table 4. 1. Tourist Numbers and Tourism Revenues
Source: http://www.tursab.org.tr/content/turkish/istatistikler/gostergeler/63TSTG.asp

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Yabancı ziyaretçilerin geliş nedenlerine göre dağılımı Toplam içinde pay %								
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Gezi, Eğlence	52.27	57.19	56.32	56.74	57.2	51.9	56.6	58.5
Kültür	9.17	9.10	8.31	7.71	7.6	6.1	6.0	6.4
Sportif ilişkiler	1.28	1.16	1.30	1.48	1.4	1.1	1.6	1.5
Yakınları ziyaret	7.94	8.78	6.96	7.21	8.6	11.7	10.8	11.1
Sağlık	0.97	0.74	0.86	0.92	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.7
Dini	0.31	0.54	0.49	0.42	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.4
Alışveriş	8.29	6.80	8.03	7.19	6.3	6.9	5.7	4.8
Toplantı, konferans,seminer	2.40	2.11	2.48	2.24	2.4	2.7	3.4	2.9
Görev	5.00	5.12	6.05	5.62	5.0	6.3	3.0	2.7
Ticari ilişkiler, Fuar	5.03	3.37	3.69	4.38	3.5	4.5	4.5	4.3
Transit	3.08	2.27	1.99	1.16	2.3	2.0	0.2	1.1
Eğitim (2003'ten itibaren)	0.00	0.00	0.66	0.86	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.7
Diğer	4.27	2.82	2.86	4.06	3.6	4.6	6.1	4.9

Table 4. 1. The travel purposes of tourists for choosing Turkey
Source: (http://www.tursab.org.tr)

Milliyetlere Göre Kişibaşı Ortalama Turizm Harcamaları (1993 - 2002) ABD Doları						
Milliyet	1993	1995	1998	2000	2001	2002
Avrupa Toplam	672	721	776	725	633	592
Almanya	947	887	785	769	663	693
Avusturya	924	875	1001	865	717	694
Belçika	876	857	856	758	697	631
Danimarka	902	836	749	831	717	749
Finlandiya	911	827	851	667	674	459
Fransa	868	829	810	796	613	710
Hollanda	912	804	899	814	749	69
İngiltere	875	825	1089	975	845	664
İspanya	654	560	939	824	704	660
İsveç	894	819	888	914	801	737
İsviçre	913	851	858	936	884	837
İtalya	673	706	926	888	819	637
Norveç	889	782	1068	931	935	671
Yunanistan	657	613	*	676	396	229
Diger Avr(OECD)	774	590	755	641	912	810
Bulgaristan	359	353	387	383	185	187
Macaristan	392	465	633	784	715	*
Polonya	463	533	906	1034	595	619
Romanya	379	357	461	376	359	407
BDT	352	494	499	502	498	455
DigDoğuAvr	446	489	675	562	469	606
Amerika Toplam	658	578	1159	1252	1193	900

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ABD	666	572	1206	1268	1196	924
Kanada	658	603	772	1102	1167	750
Meksika	462	526	*	*	*	*
Arjantin	624	673	*	*	*	*
Brezilya	495	506	*	*	*	*
Şili	598	502	*	*	*	*
Diger Amerika	715	652	*	*	*	*
Afrika Toplam	**672**	**483**	*****	**764**	**1689**	**979**
Cezayir	654	470	*	*	*	*
Fas	666	468	*	*	*	*
Libya	708	471	*	*	2285	*
Sudan	679	440	*	*	*	*
Mısır	738	525	*	457	731	*
Tunus	651	479	*	*	*	979
Diger Afrika	637	491	*	879	*	*
Asya Toplam	**627**	**539**	**741**	**713**	**843**	**637**
BirArap Emirlikleri	722	456	*	*	*	*
Bahreyn	715	463	*	507	*	*
Katar	722	460	*	*	*	*
Kuveyt	740	480	*	*	*	*
Umman	731	457	*	*	*	*
Irak	640	432	*	*	*	*
Lübnan	671	490	*	679	684	*
Ürdün	669	457	*	*	*	1060
SArabistan	842	582	*	*	1601	*
Suriye	464	367	465	628	1433	842
KKTC	570	398	*	*	*	*
İsrail	733	817	677	612	719	428
İran	589	388	686	612	582	*
Pakistan	614	436	*	743	*	*
Diger Asya	598	458	1125	*	1185	*
Japonya	910	855	1212	1122	1243	809
Avusturalya	870	799	860	1068	1300	1094
Yeni Zelanda	887	798	958	*	*	*
Okayanusya ve MilTop	930	926	*	*	*	*
Arap Ülkeleri	*	*	798	1236	*	*
Diger	*	*	1156	890	1252	1138
Genel Toplam	**668**	**684**	**808**	**764**	**718**	**656**

Table 4. 3. Milliyetlere Göre Kişibaşı Ortalama Turizm Harcamaları (1993 - 2002) ABD Doları
Source: http://www.tursab.org.tr/content/turkish/istatistikler/gostergeler/ORTHARC.asp

FIGURES CITED IN CHAPTER 5

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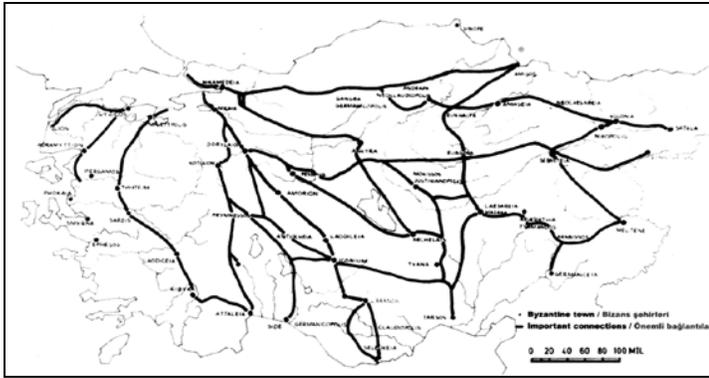
Figure 5. 1. **Byzantine Road System**
Source: Akdağ, 1959: 435 cited in Tankut, 2007: 13.
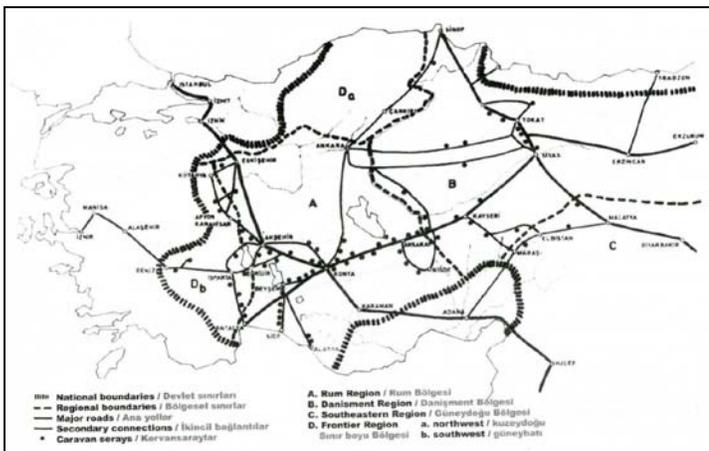

Figure 5. 2. **Seljuk Transportation System**
Source: Akdağ, 1959: 435 cited in Tankut, 2007: 14.

Picture 5.1. Hadrian Gate
Source: Varlı-Görk (2008)

**Picture 5.2.** Hıdırlık Tower
Source: Ersin Aslan
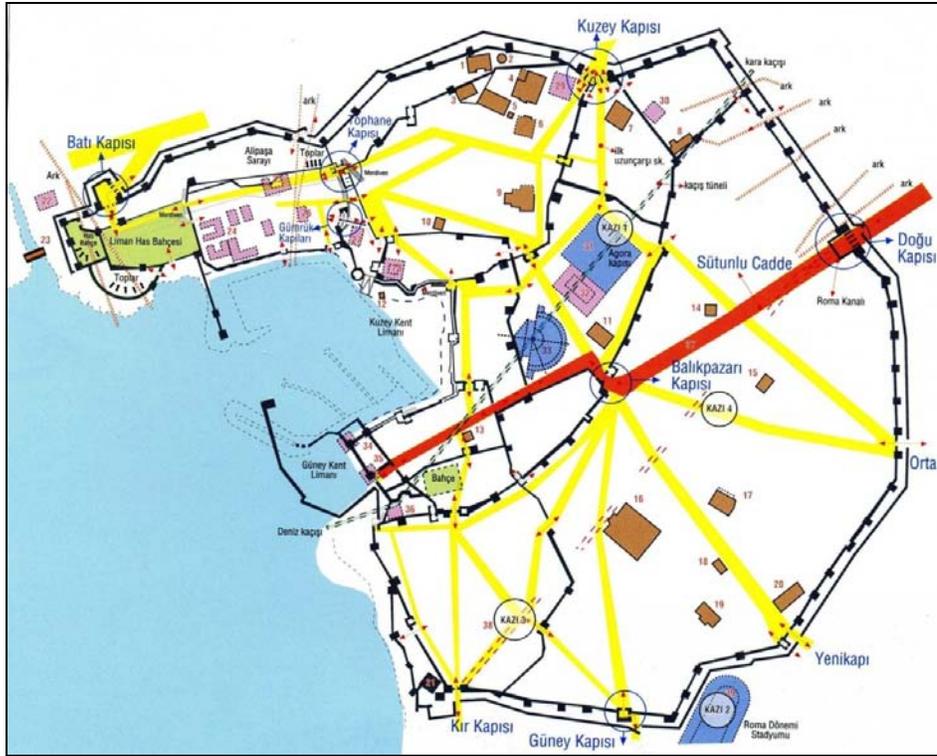
1- Mevlevihane	22- Paşa Sarayı
2- Zincirkıran Türbesi	23- Ahşap Kadın Yarığı Köpr
3- Hamam	24- İskele Hanlar Bölgesi
4- İmaret Medresesi	Kadıpaşa Hanı
5- Yivlim Camii ve Minaresi	Elmalı Hanı
6- Atabey Armağan Medresesi	Deli Abdurrahman Paşa Hanı
7- Tekeli Paşa Camii	25- Ali Paşa Sarayı
8- Takkacı Hamamı (Nazır)	26- Tabakhane
9- Karatay Medresesi	27- Mısırlı Mustafa Efendi Ko
10- Ahi Kızı Mescidi	28- Dizdar Konağı
11- Balıkpazarı Hamamı	29- Kilise
12- İskele (Arap) Mescidi	30- Okul
13- Ahi Yusuf Mescidi	31- Agora
14- Makbulaga Camii	32- Tekeli Tahıl Anbarı
15- Kilise	33- Anfi Tiyatro
16- Korut (Kesik Minare) Camii	34- Mermerli Konağı
17- Alaattin Camii	35- Hafralık Burcu Konağı
18- Saint Lisa Kilisesi	36- Alacalı Konak
19- Okul	37- Sütunlu Cadde
20- Hamam	38- Hamam
21- Hıdırlık Burcu	39- Stadion

	City walls
	Existing buildings
	Known but non-existing buildings
	Buildings-unknown place
	Gardens
	Columnar Road
	Roads
	Hesapçı Street
	Water Canals
	Escape tunnel
	Old sea limit
	Ruined walls
ⓚ	Excavating Areas

Antalya Kentinin Tarihsel Süreçte Yayılma Alanı			
Tablo 1 - Antalya Kentinin Tarihsel Süreçte Yayılma Alanı ([1])			
Yıllar	Kentsel Alan (ha)	Nüfus	Gros Nüf. Yoğ. (k/ha)
1920	130	15.000	115
1950	270	27.500	102
1962	690	51.000	74
1983	2600	184.000	71
2002	9500	603.000	64

Table 5.1. Spatial Development
Source: *Çevre Düzeni Planına* (Doğru, 2006: 7)

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14 İLK KADEME BELEDİYESİNİN YÜZÖLÇÜMLERİ GRAFİĞİ
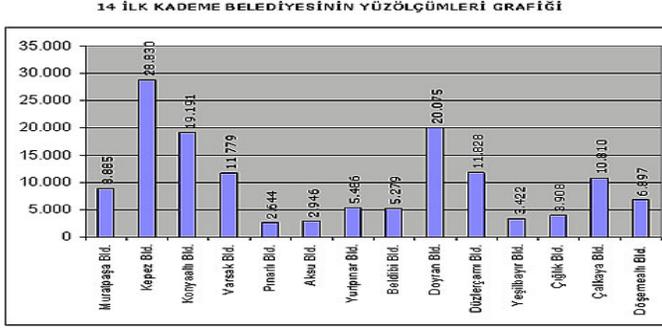
Total Area of the 14 first level municipalities.
Source: http://www.antalya.bel.tr/tr/bel_kurumsal/tarihce.cfm, accessed on 02.04.2010
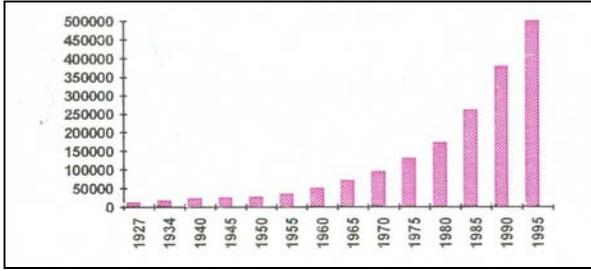
*Figure 5. 1* **Antalya Nüfusu**
Source: *Antalya Kıyı Yerleşmeleri* (1996: 59).

Tablo 3.8. Demografik Temelli Nüfus Projeksiyonu Sonuçları					
	2000	2005	2010	2015	2020
Alternatif 1	603.000	647.000	688.000	727.000	762.000
Alternatif 2	603.000	719.000	841.000	969.000	1.100000
Alternatif 3	603.000	791.000	994.000	1210.000	1.438.000

Çevre Düzeni Planına (Doğru, 2006: 21)

FIGURES CITED IN CHAPTER 6

Picture 6.3; Picture 6.4. Statue of Gıyaseddin Keyhusrev
Source: http://yenisafak.com.tr/YurtHaberler/?t=04.10.2007&i=72906, accessed on 30.05.2010
Source: http://www.bizimantalya.com/antalya_heykeline_kavustu-4440.html, accessed on 30.05.2010

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Picture 6. 1 **Attalos Statue**
Source: *Vizyon, 18:203* (2004: 10)

Picture 6. 2 **Attalos Statue and its exhibition place**

Picture 6.5. *Döşemealtı* Carpets
Source: ATSO, 2006, Vizyon, (20) 222: 31, 33.

Picture 6.6. Women weaving *Döşemealtı* carpets

Picture 6.7; Picture   **6.8** Statue of Venus as Award the AGOFF   **Picture 6. 9.** The 2nd AGOFF Poster
Source: Aslı Toprak (2008)
Source: http://www.grafikerler.net/dunden-bugune-altin-portakal-film-festivali-afisleri-t29846.html

Picture 6.10;   **Picture 6.11;** and **Picture 6.12** Antalya Atatürk Kültür Parkı, Amphitheatre**.**
Source: Varlı-Görk (2006)   **Source:** Aslı Toprak (2008)

Picture 6.13;
Source: Varlı-Görk (2006)

Picture 6.14.
Source: Aslı Toprak (2008)

Picture 6.15. Antalya Atatürk Kültür Parkı
Source: Sibel Karakoç (2009)

Picture 6.16;
Source: Sibel Karakoç (2009)

**Picture 6.17.** Antalya Atatürk Kültür Parkı, Glas Pyramid

Picture 6.18;

Picture 6.19;

Picture 6.20 Aspendos Theater

Sources: http://www.resimmax.net/turistik-ve-tarihi-yerler/antalya-aspendos-resimleri.html
http://www.orencik.net/forum/Thread-turkiye-nin-10-harikasi--500
http://www.manzara.be/mnzres-antalya-aspendos-antik-tiyatrosu-1934.html


**Pictures 6.21; 6.22; 6.23; 6.24**
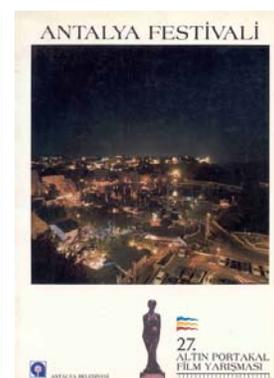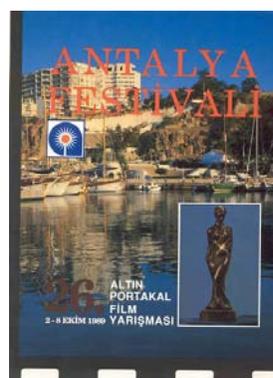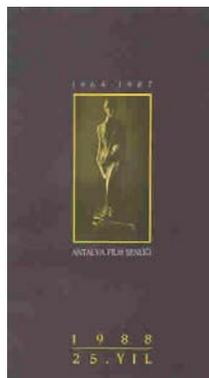
Pictures 6.25; 6.26; 6.27; 6.28
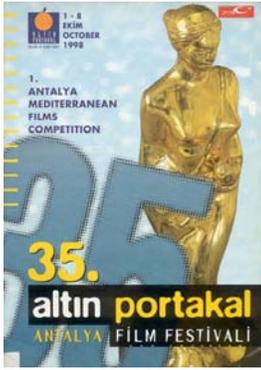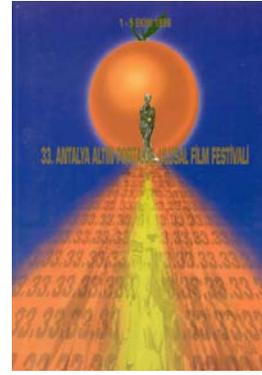
Pictures 6.29; 6.30; 6.31; 6.32

Pictures 6.33; 6.34; 6.35; 6.36

http://www.grafikerler.net/dunden-bugune-altin-portakal-film-festivali-afisleri-t29846.html
http://www.antalyadanhaber.com/2001antalyahaberleri

Pictures 6.37; 6.38; 6.39

http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/376725.asp
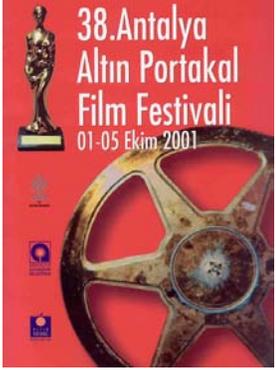
Pictures 6.40; 6.41; 6.42
http://www.dizifilm.com/forum/showthread.php?t=56210
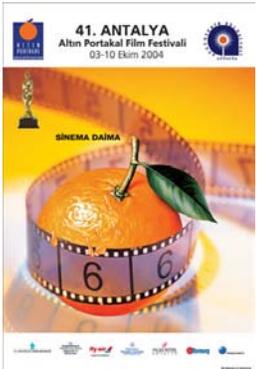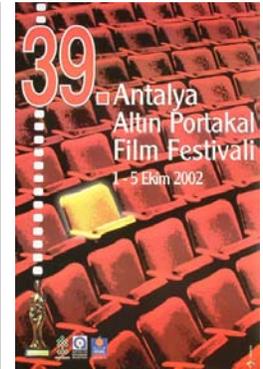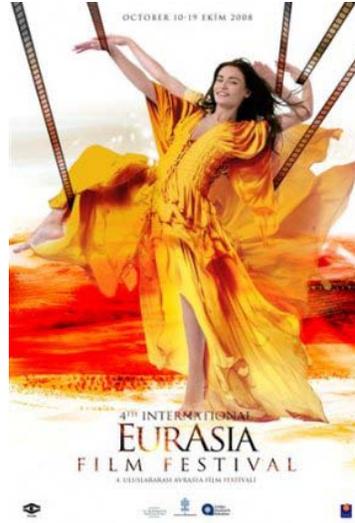
Picture 6.43 Traditional the Golden Orange Awards statue
Source: http://www.sadibey.com/2009/07/01/46-uluslararasi-antalya-altin-portakal-film-festivali/

Picture 6.44; 6.45 New Design for the Golden Orange Awards statue
http://www.antalyamiz.com/tr-metinler-16-5-.html

Picture 6. 46; 6.47 Antalyalite audience protesting the invitations during the 43rd AGOFF in 2006
Source: Varlı-Görk (2006)

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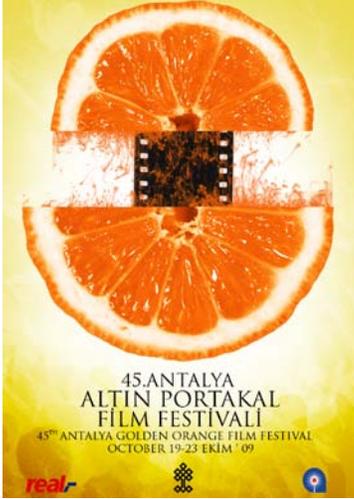
Picture 6.48 The 45th AGOFF in 2009   **Picture 6.49** The 46th AGOFF in 2010

Source: http://www.pembesiyah.com/detay.php?cid=15&kid=317, accessed on 30.05.2010
Source: http://www.indigodergisi.com/48/mk005.htm accessed on 30.05.2010

Picture 6.50; 6.51; 6.52 Lara SunCity
http://yenisafak.com.tr/Gundem/?t=30.05.2009&i=189471
http://www.yonja.com/News.jsp?start=715&category=10

Picture 7.1. 2002 yılında açılan bölgesel bir yarışma sonucu elde edilen Sobacılar Çarşısı'nın Modeli
Source: Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi Arşivi (Recep Sönmez, 2008: 42)

Picture 7.2. **Lara Park, reserved for Theme Park**   *Picture 7.3.*
Source: http://images.turizmgazetesi.com/etkinlikler/58a8384531cc4999b6c11509b278263b.jpg

Picture 7. 4; Picture 7. 5 Lara Temalı Park Projesi'ne Karşı Protesto Gösterileri
Source: *Tourism Today,* 2006 (47): 44
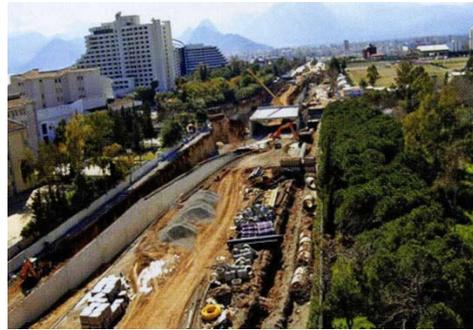
Picture 7.6.100. Yıl Bulvarı üzerindeki Kavşak çalışmaları (2007)   **Picture 7.7.** Kent içinde Altgeçitler (Migros Kavşağı, 2009)
Source: Antalya Belediyesi Arşivi (Sönmez, 2008: 39)   Source: Aslı Toprak (2009)
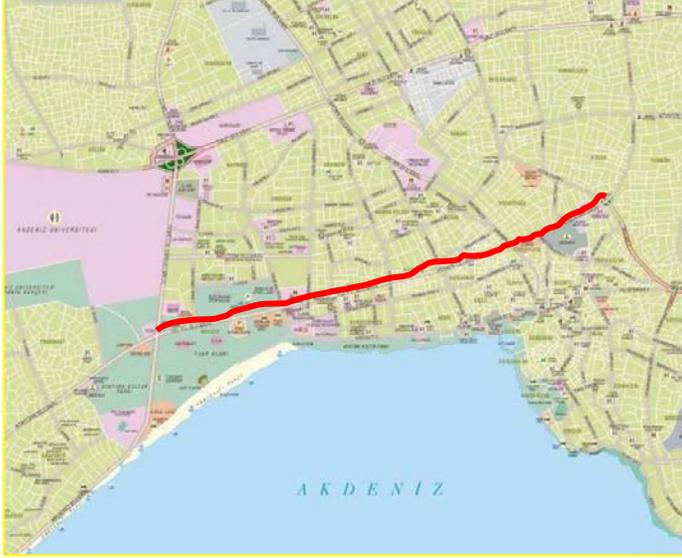
Picture 7. 8. Antalya Map-Underground passes along the red-line
Source: www.forumgercek.com/showthread.php?t=46217

Picture 7.9. Antalya Raylı Sistem Güzergahı ve Duraklar
Source: http://www.antalya.bel.tr/varliklar/Turkce/rehber/Tramvay_Hatti.jpg, accessed on 05.04.2010

Picture 7.10 Eski Valilik Binası yıkılmadan önce
Source: Antalya Belediyesi Arşivi (Sönmez, 2008: 40)

Picture 7.11. Antalya Valiliği Binası
(Eski Gazi Mustafa Kemal İlkokulu)

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Republic Square

Kalekapısı

Schools Region

Doğu Garajı
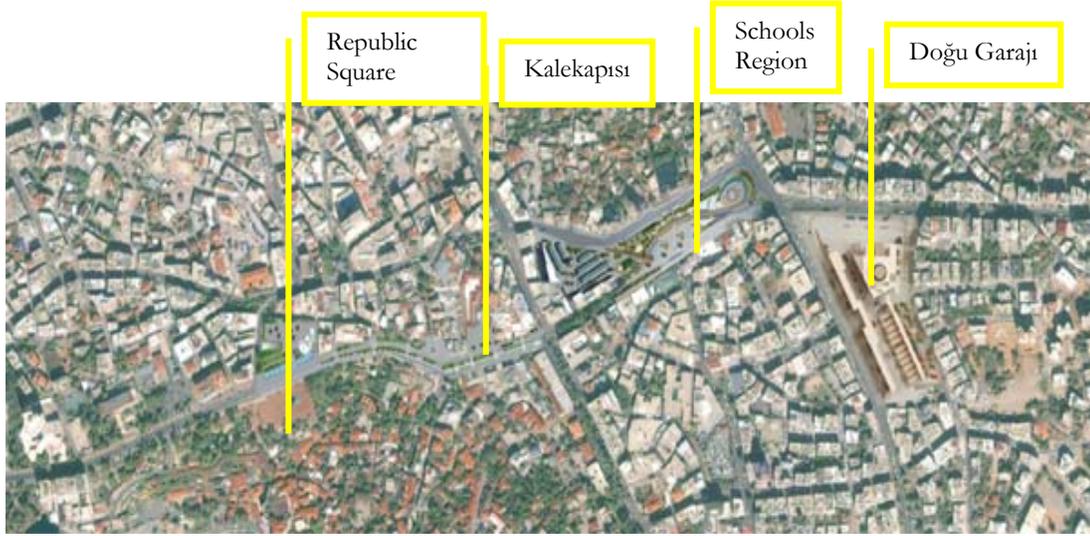
Picture 7.12. Tarihi Kent Merkezinin Yayalaştırılması Projesi
Source: http://www.kolayeval.com/news/detail/9983/Dosya:-Antalya-Belediyeler-ve-Uzman-Oda-Ittifakina-Odul-, 27.02.2010

Picture 7.13 Republic Square   **Picture 7.14**. Republic Square
Source: http://www.kolayeval.com/news/detail/9983/Dosya:-Antalya-Belediyeler-ve-Uzman-Oda-Ittifakina-Odul-, 27.02.2010

Picture 7.15 Republic Square   **Picture 7.16**. Republic Square
Source: Aylin Kalender, (2009)   **Source:** Aylin Kalender, (2009)
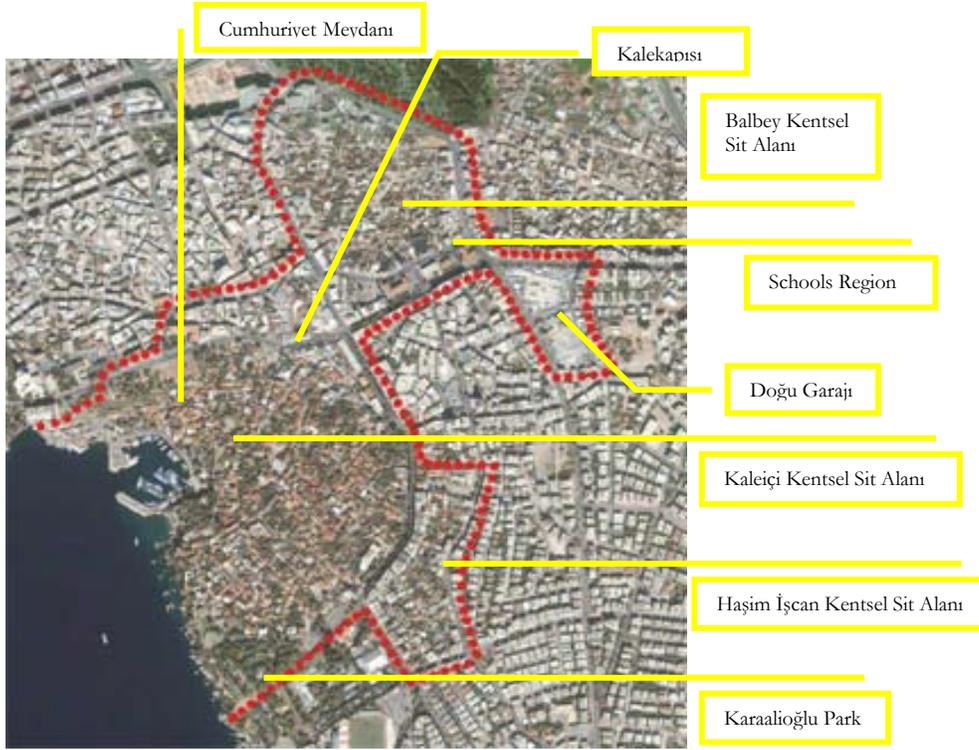
Picture 7.17 Kaleiçi, Balbey, Haşimişcan Mahallesi, Kalekapısı
Bakanlar Kurulu tarafından Kültür Turizm Gelişim Bölgesi ilan edilen alan
Source: http://www.kolayeval.com/news/detail/9983/Dosya:-Antalya-Belediyeler-ve-Uzman-Oda-Ittifakina-Odul-, 27.02.2010

Picture 7.18 Okullar Bölgesi Alanı Yıkımdan önce
Source: Antalya Belediyesi Arşivi (Sönmez, 2008: 42)

Picture 7.19 Okullar Bölgesi Yıkımdan sonra

Picture 7.20 Okullar Bölgesi için Önerilen Proje Modeli

Picture 7.21

Source: "Antalya 'Belediyeler ve Uzman Oda İttifakına Ödül" Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi, http://www.kolayeval.com/news/detail/9983/Dosya:-Antalya-Belediyeler-ve-Uzman-Oda-Ittifakina-Odul-, 27.02.2010

Picture 7. 22 Festival Çarşısı, Halk Pazarı
**Source:** Ercüment Güllübahçe

Picture 7. 23.

Picture 7. 24; Picture 7.25. 2005 Yılında açılan ulusal yarışma ile elde edilen Doğu Garajı ve Halk Pazarı maketi
Source: Mimarlar Odası Arşivi (Recep Sönmez, 2008: 42)

Picture 7. 26. Doğu Garajı Temel Kazısı Çalışmaları
Source: Ercüment Güllübahçe

Picture 7. 27. Doğu Garajı Temel Kazısı Çalışmaları

Picture 7.28 Cotton Textile Factory
Dokuma Modern Art Museum Sculpture Symposium (2007)

Picture 7.28 Cotton Textile Factory
Source: Üstün, H. "Dokuma Kentsel Sit Olmalı"
http://eski.bianet.org/2005/08/26/65857.htm,
accessed on 31.03.2010

Picture 7.30 Yönetim Binası
Source: *Dokuma Modern Art Museum Sculpture Symposium* (2007)

Picture 7.31

Picture 7.32

Picture 7.33 Picture 7.34 Multı Turkmall tarafından Dokuma Fabrikası Alanı için tasarlanan Proje
Source: (http://www.multi-development.com)

Picture 7.35 and Picture 7.36 Workshop during the Dokuma Modern Art Museum Sculpture Symposium
Source: Murat Germen, Yunus Tonkuş, Utku Topal, Mahiye Kömürcü in *Dokuma Modern Art Museum Sculpture Symposium* (2007)

Picture 7.37 Eski 100. Yıl Spor Tesisleri alanı
Source: www.antalya-gsim.gov.tr
(Recep Sönmez, 2008: 43)

Picture 7.38 30 bin kişilik stadyum projesi
Source: http://www.mimdap.org/w/?p=841

Picture 7.39 Karaalioğlu Parkı, İpekböceği okulu
Source: Antalya Kent Müzesi Projesi Arşivi

Picture 7.40 Karaalioğlu Parkı, Ziraat okulu
Source: Antalya Kent Müzesi Projesi Arşivi

Picture 7.41 Karaalioğlu Parkı, ABŞB Binası
Source: Emre Yaskeceli (2009)

Picture 7.42 Karaalioğlu Parkı, ABŞB Nikah salonu
Source: Ersin Aslan (2009)

Picture 7.43 Atatürk Evi
Source: Aylin Kalender (2009)

Picture 7.44 Karaalioğlu Parkı, Deniz Restoran
Source: Emre Yaskeceli (2009)

Picture 7.45 Karaalioğlu Park

Picture 7.46

Source: Antalya Kent Müzesi Projesi Arşivi

Picture 7.47 Karaalioğlu Park

Picture 7.48

Proje Mimarları Doç. Hüseyin Kahvecioğlu ve Ekibinin (İTÜ) Eskizleri)

Source: Antalya Kent Müzesi Projesi Arşivi

Picture 7.49 Karaalioğlu Park

Picture 7.50

Proje Mimarları Doç. Hüseyin Kahvecioğlu ve Ekibinin (İTÜ) Eskizleri)

Source: Antalya Kent Müzesi Projesi Arşivi
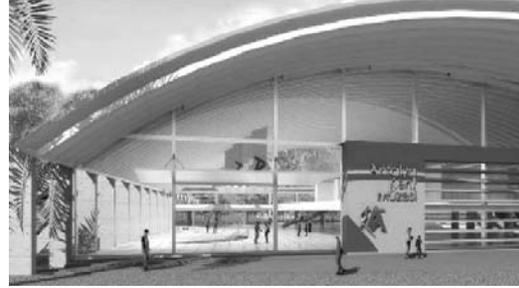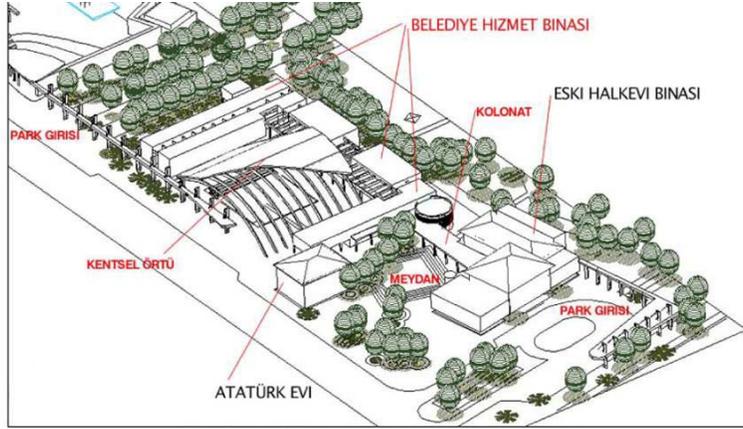
Kapalı Spor Salonu – Halkevi Binası ve yakın çevresi
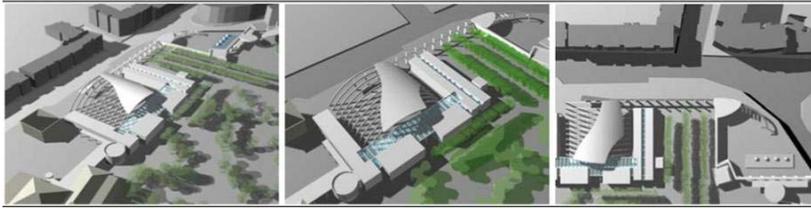
Picture 7.51 Karaalioğlu Park
Source: Antalya Kent Müzesi Projesi Arşivi

Picture 7. 52;
Source: Varlı-Görk (2007)

Picture 7.53 Antalya Kent Müzesi Proje Etkinlikleri Duyurusu

Picture 7.54 Kaleiçi and the port
Source: Buket Can

Picture 7.55 Kaleiçi

Picture 7.56 Kaleiçi
Source: Buket Can

Picture 7.57

Picture 7.58 Kaleiçi 'For Sale' 'For Rent'

Picture 7.59 Kaleiçi 'For Sale' 'For Rent'
Source: Varlı-Görk (2008)

Picture 7.60

Picture 7.61 Kaleiçi New Constructions
Source: Varlı-Görk (2008)

Picture 7.62

Picture 7.63 Kaleiçi 'Forgatten Orange Trees'
Source: Buket Can

P**icture 7.64**

FIGURES CITED IN CHAPTER 8

EURO	Sayı	Yüzde
0-5.999 arası	2956	34,8
6.000-11.999 arası	1708	20,1
12.000-17.999 arası	972	11,4
18.000-23.999 arası	697	8,2
24.000-29.999 arası	703	8,3
30.000 Euro ve üzeri	1460	17,2

Table 8.1. Yıllık gelir
Source: "Antalya Yöresi Turist Profili Araştırması" (2008)

	Sayı	Yüzde
Akraba/arkadaş ziyareti	322	3,4
İş gezisi	140	1,5
Sağlık/tedavi	146	1,6
Din/inanç	87	0,9
Tatil/eğlence	7293	74,2
Her şey dahil sistemi	2170	22,8
Diğer	161	1,7

Table 8.2. Antalya yöresini ziyaret nedeni
Source: "Antalya Yöresi Turist Profili Araştırması" (2008)

	Sayı	Yüzde
Sadece oda	616	6,2
Oda ve kahvaltı	351	3,5
Yarım pansiyon	503	5,1
Tam pansiyon	343	3,5
Her şey dahil	8092	81,7

Tablo 8.3. Tercih edilen pansiyon türü

	Sayı	Yüzde
İlköğretim	349	3,7
Orta öğretim	2587	27,1
Lisans	4966	52,0
Lisansüstü	998	10,4
Diğer	656	6,9

Table 8.4. Level of Education
Source: "Antalya Yöresi Turist Profili Araştırması" (2008)

	Sayı	Yüzde
Memur	3043	31,5
İşçi	2965	30,7
Öğrenci	1644	17,0
Diğer	930	9,6
Serbest meslek	488	5,1
Emekli	310	3,2
İşsiz	281	2,9

Table 8.5. Occupation

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Ülkelere göre	Sayı	Yüzde
Rusya	4050	43,0
Almanya	1177	12,5
Hollanda	714	7,6
İsveç	499	5,3
Fransa	431	4,6
İngiltere	345	3,7
Romanya	265	2,8
Tataristan	229	2,4
Diğer	224	2,4
Türkiye	169	1,8
Avusturya	166	1,8
Çek Cumhuriyeti	151	1,6
Kazakistan	148	1,6
Norveç	136	1,4
Danimarka	125	1,3
Azerbaycan	123	1,3
Belçika	100	1,1
Polonya	64	0,7
Finlandiya	49	0,5
Gürcistan	47	0,5
Moldova	45	0,5
Ukrayna	31	0,3
İtalya	24	0,3
Osetya	24	0,3
Estonya	21	0,2
İsviçre	20	0,2
Lüksemburg	19	0,2
Belarus	19	0,2

Table 8.6. Antalya yöresine gelen turistlerin ülkelere göre dağılımı
Source: "Antalya Yöresi Turist Profili Araştırması" (2008)

	Sayı	Yüzde
Antalya Şehir Müzesi	673	6,7
Aspendos Tiyatrosu	1597	15,8
Pamukkale	2208	21,9
St Nicolas Kilisesi	1508	14,9
Phaselis	542	5,4
Düden/Kurşunlu Şelalesi	1854	18,4
Hiçbiri	2941	29,2
Diğer	1643	16,3

Table 8.7. Ziyaret edilen yerler
Source: "Antalya Yöresi Turist Profili Araştırması" (2008)

	Sayı	Yüzde
Evet	3818	40,0
Hayır	5732	60,0

Table 8.8. Antalya şehir merkezini ziyaret etme

Picture 8.1. Antalya Belek Ormanı Tahsisten Önce
Source: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/7958064.asp?gid=48&sz=73792

Picture 8.2. Antalya Belek Ormanı Tahsisten Sonra
Source: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/7958064.asp?gid=48&sz=73792

Picture 8.3. Valtur Tatil Köyü
Source: Çavdar, (2000b: 112 cited in Altun, 2005: 131)

Picture 8.4. Kremlin Palace
Source: Varlı-Görk (2009)

Picture 8.5. Kremlin Palace

Picture 8. 6. Kremlin Palace

Picture 8.7. Kremlin Palace
Source: Varlı-Görk (2009)

Picture 8.8. Kremlin Palace

Picture 8.9. Kremlin Palace

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Picture 8. 10. Topkapı Palace
Source: Varlı-Görk (2009)

Picture 8. 11. Topkapı Palace

Picture 8.12. Mardan Palace
**Source:** Varlı-Görk (2009)

Picture 8.13. Mardan Palace

Picture 8.14. Titanic Hotel
Source: http://www.tebdilimekan.info/wp-content/uploads/2009/07/titanic-otel-antalya.jpg, accessed on 26.04.2010

FIGURES CITED IN CHAPTER 9

ANTALYA İLİNDE TARIM ALANLARININ DAĞILIMI			
%	Tarımın Cinsi	Alan (ha)	Ağırlıklı Alt Bölgeler
65	Tarla Bitkileri	265.679	4. 2.
13	Sebze-Süs Bitkileri	46.486	2. 3. 1.
2	Bağ	2.226	4. 5. 1.
8	Meyve-Narenciye	34.626	4. 1. 2. 3.
1	Zeytinlik	8.621	2. 1.
11	Nadas ve diğer alanlar	54.364	4. 2.
100	TOPLAM	412.002	

Table 9. 1 Antalya İlinde Tarım Alanlarının Dağılımı
Source: Utku (2004, ATSO 18/193:5)

EK: ŞEHİR PAYDAŞLARI ÇALIŞMA ÖZETİ

İSİM	ŞİRKET/ KURUM	HEDEF KİTLE (Yatırımcı, ziyaretçi, şehir sakini)	ÇEKİM NOKTALARI	ÖNERİLER	MESAJ
A. Rıza Akıncı	İstanbul Tarım A.Ş./Ansiad	Emlak sektörü geliştirilmeli. Golf meraklıları çekilebilir. Üniversite öğrencileri de Antalya için bir hedef kitle olabilir.	Eco-life. Kışın yaşanacak bir yer olarak pazarlanabilir. Güneş. Deniz. Şehir merkezinde denize girme imkanı. Seracılıkta Antalya güneşi. Tohum ve fidancılık merkezi.	Dil kursları.	"The City of the Future based on History"?
Süleyman Demirtaş	Antalya Organize Sanayi Bölgesi	Turizm. Emlak. Gıda ve süt ürünleri hedef sektörler olabilir.	Kaleiçi düzenlenmeli ve ilgi çekici hale getirilmeli. Oradaki liman tur botlarına kapatılıp özel yatlara açılmalı sadece. Tarihi bir yer. İklimi	Bölgedeki eski yerleşim yerleri 'minicity' tarzı bir yatırımla sergilenebilir.	"The Future is in Antalya."
Zeki Gürses	Antalya Serbest Bölge(ASBAŞ)	Elektrik ve makine mühendisleri gereksinimi var.	Özel yatlara öncelik verilmeli. Kalp ameliyatları için gerekli parçalar burada üretiliyor, bu önemli bir zenginlik. Kongre turizmi geliştirilebilir. Çevre dostu iş kolları ve turizm		"No bureaucracy – A good habit of the community!"
			geliştirilmeli.Tarım sektörü üzerindedurulmalı. Sağlık turizmi geliştirilmeli. Turunçgil üretimi desteklenmeli.		
Ayhan Çiftçi	Port Akdeniz	Uluslar arası yat turizmi.	Tarihi mirası. İzmir-Mersin arasındaki tek liman.	Uluslararası yat firmaları getirilerek otel+golf hizmeti sunulmalı.	"Antalya – The Richest Place for Tourists".
Nizamettin Şen	Alem Regency Apart Hotel/ATAV	Turistler.	Antik şehirlerde tiyatro festivalleri düzenlenebilir. St. Paul yolu önemli bir öge Antalya için ve 2008 doğumunun 2000. yılı olacak. Spor takımlarına yönelik kamp alanları ve programlar geliştirilmeli. Bir spor okulu Antalya için uygun olabilir. Yaşlılara yönelik aktiviteler artırılmalıdır. Mutfak kültürü geliştirilebilir. Zengin bir tarihi var. Yanan taş ilginçtir. Akdeniz yaşam tarzı burda var.		A Cross Culturel Living in Harmony'
Mevlüt Yeni	Antalya Gazeteciler Cemiyeti Bşk.	Turizm. Üniversite öğrencileri. Çok göç alıyor ve buna suç oranını etkiliyor. Çünkü gelenler nitelikli nüfus değil. Sebze-meyve üretimi yapılmalı. Estetik ve diş sağlığı gelişmektedir. Saç ekimi üzerinde çalışmalar yapılabilir.	Sokakta daha çok ilgi çekici aktiviteler yapılmalıdır. Yörük kültürü kullanılabilir. Aynı günde hem yüzülüp hem de kayak yapılan bir yer.		"Civilization Centre"
Ahmet Erol/Hasan Kaçmaz	Antalya Deniz Ticaret Odası	Yelkencilik sektörünün Antalya'da büyük potansiyeli var. Tekne yapımı arttırılabilir.	Yelkencilik klupleri kurulabilir. Denizcilik lisesi uygun bir yatırım olabilir. Arkeoloji üzerine üniversite açılabilir. Denizcilik gelişmekte, bu anlamda liman oluşturulması gibi çalışmalar yapılabilir. Antalya domatesi daha iyi pazarlanabilir.		
Harun Gümrükçü	Akdeniz Üniversitesi Euromaster Program Sorumlusu	Yaşlılara yönelik sağlık sektörü geliştirilebilir. Yabancı üniversite öğrencileri çekilmeli.		Kongre ve bilim merkezi olarak konumlandırılabilir.	"Antalya – the Origin of International Relations"
Murat Soğancıoğlu	Fraport Havalimanı İşletmesi	Şans oyunları. Havayolu şirketleri. Seracılık ve tarım. Diş sağlığı. Yaşlılara yönelik yatırımlar.			"Welcome to the City that gave the name to Europe. "
Menderes Türel	Antalya Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı		Kültür ve spor yatırımları üzerinde durulmalı. Kongre, sergi, avcılık gibi alanlar geliştirilebilir.		

Table 9. 2 Stakeholders' views about city branding
Sourcee: Antalya Manifesto; Şehir Marka Stratejik Planı, *2008: 53-58.*

			yolunda. Kültür mirasımız daha iyi tanıtılabilir. Kültürel yiyeceklerimiz sunulabilir.		
Sadık Çakmakçı	Akdeniz Üniversitesi Rektör Yardımcısı	Gelen turistlerin eğitim seviyesi düşük, daha çok eğitimli turistler hedeflenmelidir.	Spor turizmi ve tarihi mekanlar üzerinde durulmalı. Üniversite bünyesindeki teknopark ve tohum geliştirme çalışmaları Antalya için öenmlidir. Akdeniz foku da Antalya için işlenmesi gereken bir değerdir. Antalya güvenli bir kent.		
Feyzullah Aslan	Antalya Emniyet Müdürü	Özel güvenlik şirketleri buraya gelmeli.			"The safest city in the world!"
Ata Demirel/İrfan Erdoğan/	Antalya Anadolu Hastanesi	Turistler, yaşlılar, şirketler (çalışanlarını tedaviye gönderecek). Yabancı sağlık kuruluşları.	Onkoloji ve organ nakli için geliştirilebilecek bir yer. Ameliyata gelenler 3 haftaya kadar burada zaman geçirmek durumunda kalabilirler. Avrupalı yaşlıların ihtiyaçlarına yöneik çalışmalar yapılabilir. Sağlık sektörüyle yürüyüş parkurları birleştirilerek sunulabilir. Estetik cerrahi de gelişmekte olan bir alan. Tatil ve sağlık önerilerin birleştirmek mümkün. Örneğin Avrupa'daki şirketler çalışanlarını check-up+tatil programı için buraya gönderebilirler. Böbrek naklinde Akdeniz Üniv. Hastanesi Avrupa'da birinci sırada.	Üniversiteler açılabilir, özellikle de sanat ve dil alanında. Yaşlılara ve şirketlere yönelik sağlık+turizm programları hazırlabilir.	
Osman Ayık	Şampiyon Tatil Köyü/AKTOB			Sezonluk tatil problemini önlemek için kongre turizmi ve spora yönelik çalışmalar yapılabilir. Otelcilik eğitimi daha iyi bir yere taşınmalı. Turistik yere uygun bir ulaşım altyapısı olmalı. Yaşam tarzı turistlere tanıtılabilir.	
Kayhan Dörtlük	Suna-İnan Kıraç Müzesi	Yüksek standartlarda, yaratıcı turizm iş kolları çekilmelidir.	Akdenizlilik'; yaşam, renk, doğa, ısı, nem vs.	Şehirdeki iş yerlerinin bir konsepti olmalı. Tüm mağazalar birbirinden farklı olmamalı.	
Erol İşbilir	Antalya Kültür Sanat Vakfı	Tarım alanında yatırımlar örn; nar konsantre fabrikası. Turizmi destekleyecek iş kolları. Daha nitelikli ziyaretçi ve şehir sakinleri hedeflenmeli. Profesyonel turizm işletmecileri.	Altın Portakal Film Festivali		
Orhan Silier	Antalya Kent Müzesi		Antalya'da fark yaratacak olan yaşam tarzıdır.Kültürel miras ve folklor tanıtılmalıdır. Deniz festivalleri düzenlenebilir.	Kültürel miras ve folklor tanıtılıp deniz festivalleri düzenlenebilir.	'In the wake of cultural pluralism'
Mustafa Satıcı	Antalya Yaş Meyve Sebze İhracatçıları Birliği	Nitelikli turist.			Domates
Hüseyin Çimrin	Sivil Tarihçi		Kültür.	Turizmde hizmet iyileştirilmeli. Antalya ile ilçeleri arasında denizden ulaşım yapılabilir.	Wellcome to the city of sea, sand and history' 'An Antalya Fairy Tale'
Osman Aydın	Antalya Mimarlar Odası			Malların taşınması için demiryolu ön plana çıkarılmalıdır. Deniz yarışları düzenlenebilir. Esnaf bilinçlendirilmelidir. Opera ve Bale Festivali geliştirilmeli. Heykel sergileri olurdu, bunlar yenilenebilir. Modern Sanat Müzesi açılabilir.	'Wellcome to 5000 year old city'
Osman Özbuldu	Antalya Rehberler Odası	Üniversiteler (Ekonomi, tarım gibi konulara yoğunlaşmış). Az da olsa nitelikli turist.	Emlak ve organik tarım Antalya için potansiyel alanlardır.	Akdeniz foku projesi; Fokları bir çekim noktası haline dönüştürerek insanlar fotoğraf çekmek ve onlarla vakit geçirmek için bu bölgeye çekilebilir. Çocuk müzesi; Antalya çocuklara yönelik bir şey sunmamaktadır. Bir çocuk müzesi ilgi çekici olabilir.	
Hamdi Güneş	Adalya/Güneş/Olbia Tarım		Seracılık.	Küçük seralardan çok daha büyük seralarda standarda uygun üretim.	Domates
Orhan Tolunay	Antalya Esnaf Ve Sanatkarlar Odası	Yaşlı turistler. Kongre turizmi.		Alışveriş festivali. Sokak aktiviteleri. Şehir turu otobüsleri.	

Table 9. 3
Sourcee: *Antalya Manifesto; Şehir Marka Stratejik Planı*, 2008: 53-58.

Picture 9. 1. 'Antalya-Heart of Gold' Campaign
Source: (ATSO, 2006, Vizyon, 19/224: 47).

Picture 9.2.
Source: (ATSO, 2006, *Vizyon,* 20/230: 46).

Picture 9.3
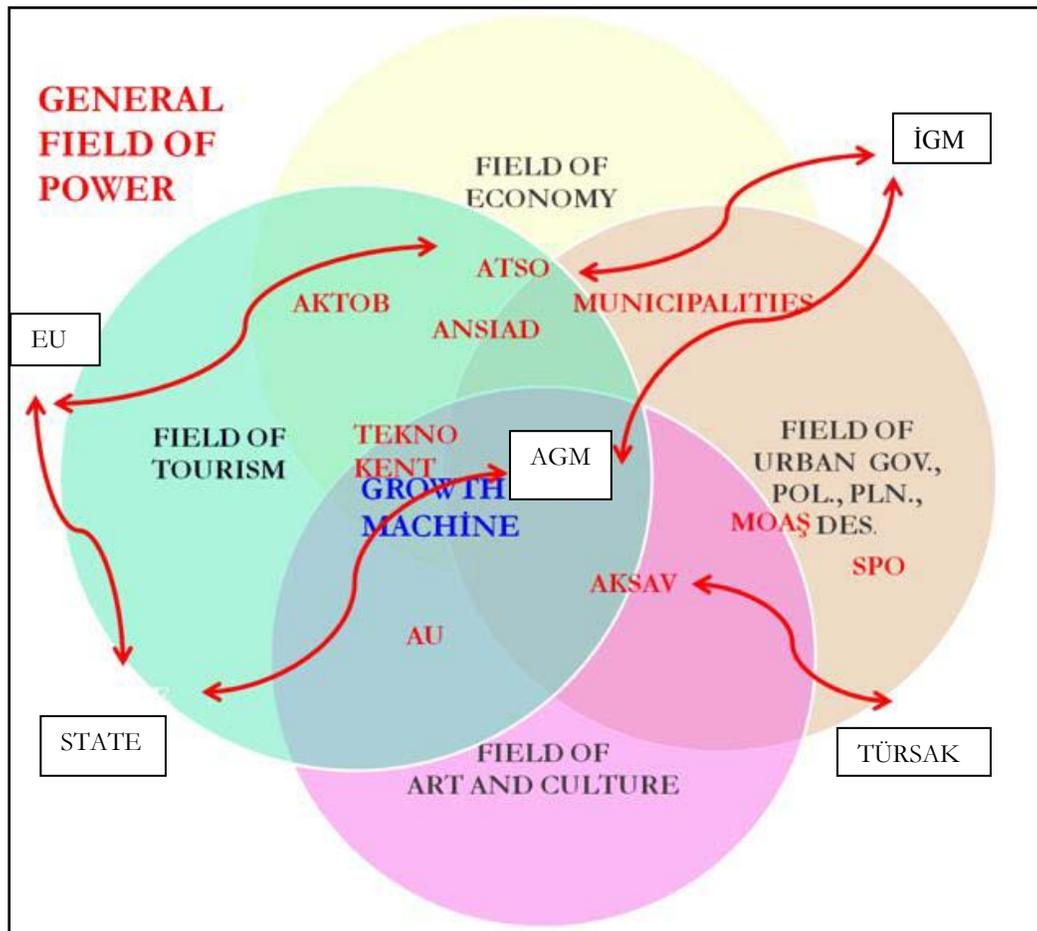
Figure 9. 1. Actors' Relations and the Process of Restrusturing the sub-Fields in the General Field of Power in Anrtalya
Provided by the author.

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (IN TURKISH)

1. KİŞİSEL BİLGİLER
1. Görev, Unvan, Kendi İş Tanımı
2. Eğitim
3. Önceki Görevler
4. Bu göreve geliş öyküsü

2. KURUM / KURULUŞ / İŞLETME / VAKIF / ŞİRKET BİLİGİLERİ
1. Kurum/kuruluş…. Antalya'da yaptığı işin tanımı
2. Nasıl bir istihdam yaratıyor? (daimi, mevsimlik, sigortalı, vs.)
3. Hangi alanlara yatırım yapıyorsunuz? (turizm, tarım, ulaşım, kültür, vs)
4. Kaç yıldır bu işi yapıyorsunuz?
5. Kurumun öncelikle yaptığı işler nelerdir?
6. Ne zamandır Antalya'da bu işi yapıyorsunuz?
7. Neden Antalya?
8. Yaptığınız işin Antalya'ya katkısı nedir?
9. Antalya'nın yaptığınız işe katkısı nedir? Yaptığınız işte bir farklılık yaratıyor mu Antalya?
10. Başka kentlerde?

3. ANTALYA HAKKINDA
1. Antalya'nın Ekonomik ve Sosyal yapısı hakkında
2. Antalya nasıl bir kent?
3. Yerel Yönetim ve Antalya
4. Nasıl bir Belediye hizmeti beklersiniz?
5. Merkezi Hükümet ve Antalya

4. ANTALYA'DA KENT KÜLTÜRÜ, KENTLİLİK, SANAT
1. Antalya'da kentleşme
2. Antalya'da kentlilik
3. Antalya'da kent kültürü
4. Antalya'da kentlilik kültürü
5. Kentli Antalyalı, Yörük Antalyalı, Taşralılık
6. Antalya kent burjuvazisi
7. Altın Portakal'ın yeni formatı ve Eurasia
8. Çandırwood
9. Kent Müzesi
10. Kent Heykelleri

5. ANTALYADA KENTSEL MEKAN
1. Menderes Türel'in Antalya Kültür Tasarısı
2. Avrupa Kültür Başkenti
3. Antalya Hava Limanı, Dış Hatlar Terminali
4. AÜ, GSF.
5. Lara Temalı Park
6. Dokuma Modern

6. TURİZM
1. Antalya'da turizm hakkında (turist profili)
2. Turizmin çeşitlenmesi hakkında (Eko turizm, kültür turizmi, alternatif turizm)
3. En önemli özelliği
4. En önemli sorunu

7. KÜRESELLEŞME VE ANTALYA
1. Küreselleşme hakkında
2. Antalya ve küreselleşme
3. Antalya küresel bir kent midir?
4. Kent Markası, Dünya Kenti

8. KİŞİSEL DÜŞÜNCELER
1. Antalya için ne yapılmalı, ne yapıyorsunuz?
2. Kurumunuzun ya da sizin Antalya için yeni projesi var mı?

9. KİŞİSEL BİLGİLER
1. İş dışında neler yaparsınız
    a. Akşamları (kültürel etkinlik, sinema, konser), Klüp üyelikleri, dernek üyelikleri yemekleri
    b. Hafta sonu tatilleri (Sanat aktivitesi, enstrüman)
    c. Yıllık izinler
2. Eşinizin eğitim durumu, işi, aldığı görevler
3. Çocuklarınızın eğitim durumu, işi, aldığı görevler
4. Antalya'da yaşamak hakkında
5. Antalya'yı temsil eden üç şey

INFORMATION ON INTERVIEWEES

1. **The Representatives of the NGOs in Antalya (Chambers Of Commerce, Architects, Engineers, And Associations, Etc.);**

R1:
Institutional Information: AKSAV Antalya Kültür Sanat Vakfı
Personal Information: AKSAV Eş Başkanı (2004-2009)
Görüşme Tarihi: 27/07/2006, Sali (Saat 10:00), Beyoğlu-İstanbul

R2
Institutional Information: AKSAV Antalya Kültür Sanat Vakfı
Personal Information: AKSAV Eş Başkanı (1999-2004)Mali Müşavir, Antalya'nın Yerlisi
Görüşme Tarihi: 26/07/2006, Sali (Saat 11:00), Beyoğlu-İstanbul

R3
Institutional Information: ANSAN Antalya Sanatçilar Derneği
Personal Information: Antalya Sanatçilar Derneği (Ansan) Üyesi,
Görüşme Tarihi: 25/07/2006, Sali (Saat 15:30), Beyoğlu-İstanbul

R4
Institutional Information: TURSAK Vakfı
Personal Information: Tursak Vakfı Başkanı
Görüşme Tarihi: 08/04/2008, Sali, Saat 16:00, Beyoğlu-İstanbul

R6
Institutional Information: (AKMED) Suna & İnan Kiraç Vakfı, Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Enstitüsü
Personal Information: Enstitü Müdürü
Görüşme Tarihi: 21/06/2006 Çarşamba (Saat 14:00), Kaleiçi-Antalya

R10
Institutional Information: Aydin Doğan Vakfı, Uluslararasi Karikatür Yarişmasi Organizasyonu
Personal Information: Aydin Doğan Vakfı, Uluslararasi Karikatür Yarişmasi Organizasyonu Kurucu ve Yarişma Juri Üyesi,
Görüşme Tarihi: 21/06/2006 Çarşamba, Saat 17:00, Antalya

R11
Institutional Information: AKTOB (Akdeniz Turizm Otelciler Birliği)
Personal Information: AKTOB (Akdeniz Turizm Otelciler Birliği) Başkanı
Görüşme Tarihi: 20 Aralik 2006 , Saat 17.00, Kemer-Antalya

R19
Institutional Information: TMMOB Mimarlar Odasi Antalya Şube
Personal Information: Mimarlar Odasi Antalya Şube Eski Başkani (İki Dönem)
Görüşme Tarihi: 20/09/2006 Çarşamba Saat 11:00, Antalya

R20
Institutional Information: TMMOB, Şehir Plancilari Odasi Antalya Şubesi
Personal Information: Şehir Plancilari Odasi Antalya Şube Başkani (Current)
Görüşme Tarihi: 05/06/2008, Saat: 17.30, Antalya

R21
Institutional Information: Mimarlar Odasi, Antalya Şubesi
Personal Information: Mimarlar Odasi, Antalya Şube Başkani (Current)
Görüşme Tarihi: 03/07/2008, Saat: 17.30, Antalya

R22
Institutional Information: ATSO, Antalya Ticaret Ve Sanayi Odasi
Personal Information: Antalya Ticaret Ve Sanayi Odasi (Atso) Başkani
Görüşme Tarihi: 05/06/2008, Saat: 11.15

R23
Institutional Information: ANSIAD (Antalya Sanayici Ve İşadamlari Derneği)
Personal Information:
Görüşme Tarihi: 13. 10. 2008 Saat: 11.30, Antalya

R24
Institutional Information: ATAV (Antalya Tanıtım Vakfı)
Personal Information: Vakıf Başkanı
Görüşme Tarihi: 05/06/2008, Saat: 17.30, Antalya

2. The Representatives of Cultural, Educational and Academic Institutions (Museums, Theatres, Universities, Etc.,)

R6
Institutional Information: (AKMED) Suna & İnan Kiraç Vakfı, Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Enstitüsü
Personal Information: Enstitü Müdürü
Görüşme Tarihi: 21/06/2006 Çarşamba (Saat 14:00), Kaleiçi-Antalya

R7
Institutional Information: Antalya Kent Müzesi
Personal Information: Antalya Kent Müzesi Kurucu Kuratörü
Görüşme Tarihi: 26 Ekim 2007, (Saat 17.00) Işiklar-Antalya

R8
Institutional Information: Antalya Arkeoloji Müzesi
Personal Information: Antalya Arkeoloji Müzesi Müdürü
Görüşme Tarihi: 26/10/2007 (Saat 14:00)

R5
Institutional Information: Akdeniz Üniversitesi Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi
Personal Information: Akdeniz Üniversitesi Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi Kurucu Dekani, (1998-2004)
Görüşme Tarihi: 21/09/2006 Perşembe (Saat 10:00), AÜ-GSF-Topçular-Antalya

R9
Institutional Information: Akdeniz Üniversitesi Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi
Personal Information: (Akdeniz Üniversitesi Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi Dekani, 2004-2008)
Görüşme Tarihi: 19/09/2006 Salı (Saat 10:00) Topçular/Antalya

3. The Representatives of the Capitalist Investors (Both National and Transnational Investors);

R10
Institutional Information: Aydin Doğan Vakfı, Uluslararasi Karikatür Yarişmasi Organizasyonu
Personal Information: Aydin Doğan Vakfı, Uluslararasi Karikatür Yarişmasi Organizasyonu Kurucularından, Yarişma Jurisi Üyesi,
Görüşme Tarihi: 21/06/2006 Çarşamba (Saat 17:00)

R11
Institutional Information: Tatil Köyü
Personal Information: İşletme Sahibi
Görüşme Tarihi: 20 Aralik 2006 , Saat 17.00, Kemer-Antalya

R12
Institutional Information: VASCO Turizm A.Ş.
Personal Information: VASCO Turizm A.Ş. Genel Müdürü.
Görüşme Tarihi: 25 Ekim 2007, Saat 15.00, Lara-Antalya

R13
Institutional Information: Fraport—Alman Menşeli Antalya Dişhatlar 1. Terminalini İşleten Şirket)
Personal Information: Antalya Dişhatlar 1. Terminal İşletme Müdürü
Görüşme Tarihi: 20/12/2006 (Saat 11:00), Antalya Havalimani-Antalya

R14
Institutional Information: (Ic-Çelebi A.Ş)
Personal Information: Antalya Dişhatlar 2. Terminal İşletme Müdürü
Görüşme Tarihi: 20/12/2006 (Saat 17:00), Antalya Havalimani-Antalya

R24
Institutional Information: (Tatil Köyü)
Personal Information: Tatil Köyü Sahibi
Görüşme Tarihi: 05/06/2008, Saat: 17.30, Antalya

4. The Representatives of the Local Government (Administrator, Governor and Mayors,);

R16
Institutional Information: (Antalya Büyükşehir Belediyesi)
Personal Information: 1999-2004 Dönemi Antalya Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanliği (CHP)
Görüşme Tarihi: 23/09/2006 Cumartesi (Saat 10:00), Yüzüncü Yil-Antalya

R17
Institutional Information: Muratpaşa Belediyesi
Personal Information: Muratpaşa Belediye Başkani (CHP)
Görüşme Tarihi: 08 Ağustos 2006, Muratpaşa-Antalya

R18
Institutional Information: Kepez Belediyesi
Personal Information: Kepez Belediye Başkani (AKP)
Görüşme Tarihi: 05/06/2008, Saat: 13.00, Kepez-Antalya

5.   The Representative(S) of the Central Government (Minister Of Culture And Tourism);

R15
Institutional Information: (DHMI)
Personal Information: Dhmi Antalya Hava Limani Baş Müdür Yardimcisi
Görüşme Tarihi: 20/12/2006 (Saat 14:00), Antalya Havalimani-Antalya

R25
Institutional Information: (Antalya İl Kültür Müdürlüğü)
Personal Information: Antalya İl Kültür Eski Müdürü
Görüşme Tarihi: 26/07/2006 Çarşamba (Saat 14:00), AKMED, Kaleiçi/Antalya

R26
Institutional Information: Antalya İl Kültür Müdürlüğü
Personal Information: Turizm Şube Müdürü
Görüşme Tarihi: 13/10/2008, Saat 16:00, Güllük/Antalya

6.   The Representatives Of The Artists And The Intellectuals In Antalya

R3
Antalya Sanatçilar Derneği (Ansan) Üyesi, Bekir Kumbul Döneminde Aksav Danişma Kurulu Üyesi, Yillarca Profesyonel Turist Rehberliği Yapmiş. Antalyanin Yerlisi (Eşi Serbest Ressam, Atelyesi Var) Alman Dili Edebiyati, Dtcf-Ankara Üniversitesi Ve Felsefe/Almanya Mezunu. Poet
Görüşme Tarihi: 25/07/2006 Sali (Saat 15:30), Lara-Antalya

R27
Architect
Kültür Ve Turizm Bakanliği Antalya Bölgesi
Röleve Ve Anitlar Müdürlüğü'nde Kontrol Mimari
26/07/2006 Saat 19.00, Güzeloba/Antalya

R28
Artist (Painter)
Akdeniz Üniversitesi, GSF
Görüşme Tarihi: 20/09/2006 (Saat 10:00), AÜ-GSF-Topçular-Antalya

Group Interview

Akdeniz Üniversitesi Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi Öğretim Elemanlari
Görüşme Tarihi: 20/06/2006 Salı (Saat 10:00)

FG1.
Yrd. Doç. Akdeniz Üniversitesi, GSF Resim Bölümü, AÜ, GSF Dekan Yardimcisi
(Ressam, Hacettepe Üniversitesi Resim Bölümü Sanatta Yeterlilik)

FG2
Yrd. Doç. Akdeniz Üniversitesi, GSF Resim Bölümü,
(Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, GSF, Resim Sanatta Yeterlilik)

FG3
Yard. Doç. Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Gsf Tekstil Ve Moda Tasrimi Bölüm Başkani
(Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, Gsf, Tekstil Ve Moda Tasarimi Sanatta Yeterlilik)
Uzun Yillar Ankara'da Kültür Bakanliği'na Bağli Hagem'de Çalişmiş

FG4
Öğr. Gör. Akdeniz Üniversitesi, GSF, Fotoğraf Bölümü,
(Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, Gsf, Fotoğraf Lisans, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, Fotoğraf Yüksek Lisans)

FG5
Öğr. Gör. Akdeniz Üniversitesi, GSF, İç Mimarlik Bölümü,
(Yildiz Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlik Fakültesi, Mimarlik Bölümü Lisans Ve Yüksek Lisans, Ayni Bölümde Doktora Öğrencisi)

FG6
Arş. Gör. Akdeniz Üniversitesi, GSF, Sinema Bölümü
(Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, Gsf, Sinema Lisans Ve Yüksek Lisans, Ayni Bölümde Doktora Öğrencisi)

Antalya; bir turizm kenti olmasının yanı sıra, 1964 yılından beri düzenlenen Türkiye'deki en eski ve en prestijli film festivali organizasyonu sayılan 'Antalya Altın Portakal Film Festivali', elli bin yıllık antik geçmişi, çok sayıda müzeleri, yerel mimarisi, anıtları ve arkeolojik sit alanları, zengin Selçuklu anıtları ve kültürel mirası, diğer kültür ve sanat etkinlikleri ve 1998 yılında Akdeniz Üniversitesi'ne bağlı olarak eğitim-öğretime başlayan Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi ile birlikte yalnızca deniz turizmi ve tarımla anılan bir kent değildir. Bunun yanı sıra, kendini sıklıkla İstanbul ile kıyaslayan ve İstanbul'u örnek alan Antalya, Avrupa "kültür başkenti" ilan edilen İstanbul'dan etkilenerek 2004-2009 belediyecilik döneminde "kültür kenti" senaryosu ile yeniden yapılandırılma sürecine girmiştir.

Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, bir 'kültür kenti'ne dönüştürülmek üzere Antalya'nın yeniden yapılandırılma sürecini etkileyen nedenlerin ardında yatan kentsel kültürel politikalar ile küresel kapitalizm arasındaki ilişkiyi anlamaya yöneliktir. Bu doğrultuda, Antalya'nın yeniden yapılandırılması sürecinde etkin olan aktif eyleyicilerin stratejileri tezin esasını oluşturmaktadır.

1970'lerde dünya petrol krizinin ardından gündeme oturan 'iktisadi yeniden yapılandırma' (*economic restructuring*) kavramı 1990ların başından bu yana 'kentsel yeniden yapılandırma' (*urban restructuring*) (KYY) kavramı olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Yerel yönetimlerin iktisadi değişiklere zemin hazırlamak üzere bir tanıtım aracı olarak kullandıkları KYY siyasaları bugün, büyüme hedefli kentleri ve kent bölgelerini birbiriyle yarıştırmaktadır.

Tezin kuramsal çerçevesini oluşturmak üzere KYY ve 'kültür kenti' kavramları genel kent sosyolojisi yazını, Türkiye hakkında ve/veya Türkçe yazılmış sosyoloji yazını taranarak incelenmiştir. Bu amaca yönelik taranan yazın; kent sosyolojisi, kentsel siyasalar, kültür sosyolojisi, kentsel planlama, kültür endüstrisi, turizm sosyolojisi, küreselleşme ve küresel kent yazınlarını içermektedir. Çok boyutlu taranan sosyoloji yazını; 'kültür kenti' tartışmalarının, büyüme hedefli KYY stratejileri geliştiren kentleri tanımlamak üzere geliştirilen yarışan kentler (*competitive cities*), dünya kentleri (*world cities*) ya da dünya kenti olma heveslisi kentler (*wannabe world city*) kavramları etrafında döndüğünü göstermektedir.

Sosyal bilimlerde bir kavram olarak 'yapı', Marx'ın da tanımladığı gibi gözle görülebilen bir gerçeklik değil; toplumdaki ajanların 'yapı'nın işlevsel parçaları ile olan gözlenebilir ilişkilerinin ardında yatan gerçekliğin bir boyutudur. 'Dolayısıyla, 'yapı' kendisini oluşturan işlevsel parçaların gözlenebilir ilişkisi olarak değil, bu ilişkiyi eylemleri ile değiştiren ve sistem'in kendi içsel mantığını belirleyen eyleyiciler göz ardı edilerek anlaşılamaz. Kapitalist sistemin işleyişini belirleyen eyleyicilerin Antalya'nın yeniden yapılandırılma sürecinde ne kadar etkili olduğu, bu çalışmanın en önemli sorularındandır. Ancak asıl sorulması gereken soru, bir yandan eyleyicinin eylemini sınırlarken bir yandan kendi işlevsel parçalarıyla eyleyicinin eylemesine olanak tanıyan 'yapı'nın, hangi boyutta yerel eyleyicilerin etkililiği ile yeniden yapılandırıldığı ya da içinde bulunduğu kapitalist sisteme boyun eğerek küresel değişikliklerle yeniden yapılandığını anlamaya yönelik olmalıdır.

Paradigmatik olarak, "toplumsal gerçeklik ilişkisel düşünmeyle anlaşılabilir" temel argümanına dayanan kentsel siyasal iktisat kuramları, 'kültür kenti' tasarısı ile Antalya'nın yeniden yapılandırılması sürecinde kentsel kültürel politikalar ile küresel kapitalizm arasındaki ilişkiyi anlayabilmek açısından doğru bir sosyolojik

zemin hazırlamaktadır. Kentsel siyasal iktisat kuramları, kapitalizmin rolüne ve onun uluslararası boyutta ekonomik yaptırımına, refah ve iktidarın kentlerde yoğunlaşmasına, sınıflar arası ilişkiye ve devletin var olan sosyal yapıyı nasıl kontrol altına aldığına vurgu yapmaktadır.

Kent sosyolojisinde kentsel siyasal iktisatın kökeni kapitalizmin Marxçı eleştirisine dayandırılır. Siyasal iktisat kuramcıları kent mekânını, merkezi hükümetin ürettiği devlet politikalarının da etkisiyle oluşturulmuş piyasa etkenlerinin fiziksel bir uzantısı olarak görürler. Kentsel siyasal iktisat, seçkinlerin etkili koalisyonu ve diğer yurttaşların örgütlü hareketleri gibi kentteki diğer politik güçleri de dikkate alır. Altmışların sonu ve yetmişlerin başında geliştirilen kentsel siyasal iktisat, devlet adamlarının ve siyasetin diğer sınırlı eyleyicilerinin siyasi tercihlerinin sonuçlarının analiz edilmesi olarak tanımlanabilir (Ilchman ve Uphoff, 1969: 26-9). Kentsel siyasal iktisatın öncülerinden Castells'e (1977: 237) göre kentsel mekânın inşası yapısal [kapitalist] sistem içinde bir alt sistem olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Harvey'e (1985: 3) göre ise kentsel mekân, sermaye dolaşımını ivmelendiren inşa edilmiş fiziksel mekândır. Lefebvre ise gündelik yaşama yaptığı vurguyla yapısal sistemin içindeki aktörün etkililiğine öncelik vermektedir. Geç dönem yazılarında Castells'in de içinde yer aldığı ve Lefebvre'in başı çektiği anti-yapısalcı Marxist düşünürler, kapitalizmin önemi yadsımaksızın kültürün ve devletin yerel tarihlerin oluşumunda farklılıklar yarattığına inanırlar.

Yapısalcı indirgemeciliğe karşı çıkarak bireysel aktörlere önem veren diğer uçtaki anti-yapısalcılar ise Wirth'ün Simmel'den (1905) etkilenerek yazdığı çok bildik "Urbanism as a Way of Life" (1938) makalesinden yola çıkarak alt-kültürler üzerinden kentçilik denilebilecek bir kent sosyolojisi kuramı geliştirirler. Yapısalcılar "eyleyiciler"i (*agents*) yok saydıkları, anti-yapısalcılar da kent sosyolojisi kuramlarını sosyal psikolojiye indirgedikleri için eleştirilmişlerdir. 1980'lerin ortasında yapının varlığını inkar etmeyen ancak yerelliğe ve görgül çalışmalara önem veren yeni kent kuramları ortaya atılmıştır. Bu yeni yaklaşımlara göre her kent, küresel güçlere ve genel yapısal sistemin dayatmalarına karşı gösterebildikleri direnç sayesinde kendi birçikliklerini oluşturabildikleri anlaşılmaktadır. Yeni tartışmalar yapı-eyleyici arasındaki diyalektik ilişki ekseninde dönmektedir.

Giddens'in (1979; 1984) 1980'lerin sonunda geliştirdiği "yapılaşma" (*structuration*) kuramı toplumsal eyleyiciler ile yapı arasında bir köprü olduğunu varsaymaktadır. Toplumsal yapının toplumsal eyleyiciler tarafından sürekli olarak şekillendirildiği kabulü "yapılaşma" (*structuration*) kuramının en temel tanımıdır. Giddens (1989: 281) kentleri, yerel ve küreseli birbirine ilintilendiren arabulucu arenalar (mediator arenas) olarak tanımlar. Buna bağlı olarak da aynı arenada kendi tercihleri doğrultusunda kararlar alan, politikalar üreten iktidar sahibi kent seçkinlerinin yapıyı nasıl şekillendirdiğini anlamak için etkileşimci (*interactionist*) bir yaklaşım önermiştir.

Giddens'in "yapılaşma" (*structuration*) kuramı her ne kadar yapının eyleyicinin kararlarını etkilediği gerçeğini kabul etse de eyleyicinin kararları ve eylemleri ile yapıyı değiştirdiğini savlayarak yapının bağlayıcı tanımını daraltmaktadır. Esas olarak Giddens'in toplumun nasıl oluştuğunu anlamaya yönelik geliştirdiği 'yapılaşma' (*structuration*) kuramı, eyleyicinin kentsel yeniden yapılanma sürecinde hangi koşulda, hangi nedenlerle, hangi deneyimlerle, kısaca nasıl ve neye göre eylediğini anlamamız konusunda yetersiz kalmaktadır.

Yerel pazarın kârlılığını artırmayı hedefleyen ve gerektiğinde bu çıkarları uğruna bir araya gelen kent seçkinlerinin koalisyonuyla oluşturulan 'büyüme makinesi' (*growth machine*) kuramını ortaya atan Molotch;

doğrudan kentsel siyasal iktisat kuramları çerçevesinde kentteki bireylerin, çıkar gruplarının ve kurumların ihtiyaçları ve tahayyülleri doğrultusunda geliştirdikleri stratejilere vurgu yaparak yapısalcı yaklaşımı sarsmaktadır. 'Büyüme makinesi' (*growth machine*) kuramı, siyaset ve iktisatın kentsel büyümeyi nasıl biçimlendirdiğini anlamaya yöneliktir.

Özünde, yapı-eyleyici zıtlığının ötesine geçmeyi amaçlayan 'yapılaşma' kuramı; 'eylemsel bilinç' (*practical consciousness*) ile eyleyen bir 'eyleyici' varsaymaktadır. Ancak, 'eylemsel bilinç' ile eyleyen 'eyleyici', Akılcı Eylem Kuramı'nda (Rational Action Theory, RAT) sözü edilen "olası fırsatları en akılcı biçimde değerlendiren ve ne yaptığını bilerek eyleyen özne"den farklı görünmemektedir. İktidar ilişkilerini temel alan kentsel siyasal iktisat kuramları çerçevesinden bakıldığında, 'eylemsel bilinç' 'akılcı eylem' kavramları ile açıklanamayacak boyutta akıl-dışı (ir-rasyonel), 'hesapzızca', 'ölçüsüz' hatta daha ileri gidersek 'bilinçsiz' diye tanımlanabilecek eylemlerle kentlerin yeniden yapılandırıldıkları gerçeği karşısında 'yapılaşma' kuramı yetersiz kalmaktadır.

Siyasal iktisat kuramları içinde, büyüme hedefli kentsel yeniden yapılanma olarak tanımlanabilecek olan 'büyüme makinesi' kuramı ise ortak çıkarları doğrultusunda güçbirliği yapan kent paydaşlarının hangi *ilişkiler* içinde olduklarını anlamamızı kolaylaştırırken gerektiğinde irrasyonel eylemlerde bulunabilecek stratejiler geliştirmelerini tam olarak açıklayamamaktadır. Yine de Molotch (1976; Logan ve Molotch, 1987: 50), eyleyici-yapı ilişkisini ve eyleyici stratejilerini anlamamızı kolaylaştıracak bir yaklaşımla, 'büyüme makinesini' oluşturan üyeleri sıralamaktadır. Logan ve Molotch, kent paydaşlarının ittifakıyla oluşan büyüme makinesinin kalbinde emlak ve arazi satışlarından çıkarı olan ve 'rantiyeci sınıf' olarak tanımladıkları arsa simsarları, emlakçılar ve bankacıların yanı sıra 'büyüme makinesini'ni oluşturan üyeleri şöyle sıralarlar: i.Politikacılar; ii.Ulusal ve yerel basın-yayın kuruluşlarının yöneticileri; iii.Üniversiteler; iv.Müzeler; v.Tiyatrolar; vi.Organize işgücü (fabrikalar—Antalya örneğinde turizm işletmeleri); vii.Serbest girişimci meslek sahipleri; viii.Emlakçılar; ix.Profesyonel spor takımları; x.Ulusal ve çok-uluslu şirketler—sermayedarlar.

Bu doktora tezi kapsamında, yapısalcı indirgemecilikten uzak, eyleyiciyi her şeye muktedir bir özne gibi yüceltmeksizin, yapı-eyleyici arasındaki diyalektik ilişkiyi gözeterek Molotch'un *büyüme makinesi* ve Bourdieu'nun 'sermaye çeşitlerinin dönüşümü' (*transformation of forms of capital*) kuramlarından yararlanarak bütünleyici bir kentsel siyasal iktisat kuramı geliştirilmeye çalışmıştır. İki farklı kuramcının kavramlarıyla gelişmeye açık olan bütünleyici bir kentsel siyasal iktisat kuramı geliştirme çabası, seçmeci bir eklemecilikle değil, Marx'çı kentsel siyasal iktisatın paradigmasını oluşturan "gerçek ilişkiseldir" önermesine sadık kalma kaygısından kaynaklanmaktadır.

Büyüme makinesi'ni oluşturan eyleyicilerin her zaman akılcı ya da bilinçli eylemler geliştirmedikleri gerçeğinden yola çıkarak, bu eyleyicilerin görece özerk *alan*lar içindeki *pozisyon*larına göre oynanan *oyun*da *pozisyon almak* üzere belirli bir çıkar gözeterek sahip oldukları *sermaye çeşitlerini* farklı sermayelere ama öncelikli olarak iktisadi anlamdaki sermayeye dönüştürmek amacıyla yatırdıklarını öne süren bütünleyici bir kuramsal yaklaşımla, Antalya'nın yeniden yapılandırılması süreci şöyle tanımlanabilir: Antalya'da *büyüme makinesi*'ni oluşturan kent paydaşları, Antalya Büyükşehir Belediye (ABŞB) Başkanlığı'nın önderliğinde Antalya'yı 'kültür kenti'ne dönüştürme senaryosu ile kentteki genel iktidar alanı (*general field of power*) içinde (turizm, kültür-sanat, kentsel tasarım, kentsel planlama, iktisat, tarım, vs) oynanan oyunda yer alabimek için kurumsal ya da bireysel eyleyiciler olarak nesnel pozisyonlarına (*position*) göre pozisyon alırken (*position taking*) bir network, bir

konfigürasyon olarak tanımlanan görece özerk alt-alanlarda, sahip oldukları sermaye çeşitlerini (*forms of capital*) artırmak için, stratejiler (*strategy*) geliştirmektedirler. Geliştirilmeye çalışılan bu yeni kuram ışığında Antalya'nın yeniden yapılandırılması süreci, *genel iktidar alanı* içinde belli başlı dört alt-alanın yapısının yeniden yapılandırılması incelenmiştir. Bu alt-alanlar şunlardır: *kültür ve sanat alanı; kentsel yönetim, kentsel politika, kentsel planlama, kentsel tasarım; turizm alanı; iktisat alanı.*

Her ne kadar Antalya'nın yeniden yapılandırılması süreci dört farklı alanda analiz edilmiş olsa da bu dört alt-alan arasında keskin ayrımlar gözlenmemektedir. Her bir alt alan kendi yapısal bütünlüğünü koruyarak diğer alanların içine nüfuz ederek genişleme eğilimindedirler. Herhangi bir alt alanın yeniden yapılandırılması başka bir alanın yeniden yapılandırılmasına yol açarken aynı eyleyicinin birden farklı alanda pozisyon aldığı, birden farklı alana yatırım yaptığı gözlenmektedir. Örneğin ABŞB, kentsel planlama ve tasarım alanlarında yapılan yeniden yapılanma ile kent merkezini yayalaştırırken biryandan kentsel mekansal yeniden yapılanmanın gerçekleşmesine, bir yandan da turizm alanında geleneksel kitle turizminden kentsel niş turizme doğru yeniden yapılandırmanın gerçekleşmesine yol açmaktadır.

Herhangi bir alanda bir oyunda yer almak için, 'birey', 'kurum' hatta Antalya örneğindeki gibi 'kent' olarak bir eyleyici minimum düzeyde de olsa başka bir biçime dönüştürülecek bir sermaye çeşidi olarak tanımlanabilen bir bilgiye, bir beceriye, bir üne, bir güzelliğe, bir kaliteye kısaca bir değere sahip olduğu varsayılmaktadır. Oyuna girmek demek, sahip olunan beceriyi, bilgiyi, bu değeri en avantajlı bir şekilde kullanmaya kalkışmak demektir. Diğer bir deyişle, oyuna girmek, bireyin, kurumun, kentin sahip olduğu kültürel, sosyal, akademik, ticari ya da sembolik sermayesini maksimum kar elde etmek üzere bu alana yatırması anlamına gelmektedir. Oyun esnasında alanın yapısı oyuncuların alandaki pozisyonları ve oyun için aldıkları pozisyon birbirleri ile örtüşmeleri ya da uzaklaşmaları ölçüsünde korunmakta ya da değişmektedir. Oyun esnasında oyuncunun pozisyonu ve aldığı pozisyon arasındaki yakınlık ya da uzaklık ancak ve ancak oyuncunun *habitus*'u ile belirlenmektedir.

Bourdieu *habitus*'u "insana dönüşmüş bir kural" olarak tanımlarken; sonsuz sayıda fikirler, algılar, deneyimler, eylemler üretme kapasitesi olan *habitus*u doğuştan kazanılmış benzer ürünleri üretme yatkınlıkları ya da potansiyelleri sistemi olarak ele almaktadır. İşte eyleyicinin eyleminin özerk ilkeleri olan habitusu tarafından zekice ancak hızlıca tertiplendiğini, oyunda yer almak için sermaye çeşitlerinden birini ya da belki hepsini oyuna yatırmanın değip değmeyeceğini hızlıca hesaplayan *habitus* ile *alan* arasındaki görünmeyen ilişkisini anlamak, yapının eyleyici ile olan görünen ilişkisini anlamayı kolaylaştırmaktadır.

Hem kuramsal hem de görgül alan çalışmalarının bulgularının şekillendirdiği bu çalışmada, yöntembilim olarak *gerçekçi* bir yaklaşım benimsenmiştir. *Realist metodoloji* olarak da bilinen bu yaklaşım, seçilen araştırma yönteminin sonucuna göre ne yalnızca niceliksel verilerin kullanıldığı pozitivist metodoloji ne de kişisel gözlemlerin veri kabul edilmesinin ve yorumlanmasının kullanıldığı yorumsamacı (*interpretive*) metodoloji gibidir. *Realist metodoloji*, gözlenebilir ve/veya görgül (*empirical*) olgu ve bulguların (*facts*) ardında yatan gerçekliği anlamayı (*verstehen*) hedefler. Bu çalışmada, ikincil kaynaklardaki nicel veriler gerektiğinde kullanılsa da alan araştırmasında nitelikli veri toplanma teknikleri kullanılmıştır. Çalışmada kullanılan nitelikli veriler aşağıdaki araştırma teknikleri ile toplanmıştır: i. Antalya'da gündelik yaşamda insanları gözlemek; ii. Derinlemesine mülâkatlar; iii. Grup mülakatları; iv. Antalya'nın yerlilerinin, Antalya'ya hizmet vermiş kişilerin ve yerel

tarihçilerin anı kitaplarını okumak; v. Antalya'da bulunan kültür kurumları ve meslek odalarının yayınlarını okumak; vi. Radyo ve TV'de Antalya ve kültür kenti tasarısına ilişkin haber ve yorumları izlemek; vii. Ulusal ve yerel basında gazete ve dergilerde konuya ilişkin haberleri izlemek;

Derinlemesine mülâkatlar ve odak grup çalışmaları için araştırmanın yöneleceği evren, Antalya il sınırı ile belirlenmiş bir mekânı kapsamaktadır. Ancak bu sınırlama, nitel teknik ve araçlar kullanarak aynı mekânda yaşayan herkesle derinlemesine mülâkat ve odak grup çalışması yapılacağı anlamına gelmemektedir. Tezin temel argumanı ve beraberinde getirdiği sorular, yalnızca belirli bir 'sınıf', bir 'cemaat', bir 'kurum' ya da belirli bir sosyal harekette yer alan 'bireyler' gibi homojen bir yapıya işaret etmediğinden, araştırmanın başında örneklem çerçevesi sanki kentin tamamını kapsıyor gibi görünmektedir.

Yukarıda sözü edilen KYY sürecini anlayabilmek için, içinde bulundukları alandaki pozisyonları doğrultusunda sahip oldukları sermaye çeşitlerini bir oyuna yatırır gibi Antalya'nın yeniden yapılandırılma sürecini etkilediği varsayılan eyleyicilerle derinlemesine mülakatlar yapılmıştır. 'Özel gruplar' olarak tanımlanan örneklem çerçevesinden bir örneklem çıkarmak için araştırmanın kapsamına girebilecek araştırma evreninden "tesadüfi olmayan ve çok boyutlu" bir örneklem (*non-probable dimensional sampling*) çıkarımı yapılmıştır. Özel grupların bulunduğu örneklem çerçevesinden örneklem çıkarımı yapılırken farklı görüş açıları, farklı çıkar grupları ayırt edilmiştir. Böylelikle altı farklı boyutta "özel grup" tanımlanmışlardır: i.Merkezi Yönetimin Temsilcileri; ii.Yerel Yönetimin Temsilcileri; iii.Sivil Toplum Örgütlerinin Temsilcileri; iv.Sermayedar girişimci (Yerel ve çok uluslu); v.Kültür Kurumları Temsilcileri; vi.Antalyalı Entellektüel, Antalyalı Aydınlar

Tezin alan araştırmasından elde edilen görgül bulguların büyük bir kısmı yukarıda sıralan altı farklı özel grubu temsil eden 28 kaynak kişi ile yapılan derinlemesine mülakat kayıtlarından oluşmaktadır. Ayrıca Akdeniz Üniversitesi Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi'nden (GSF) altı akademisyenin katıldığı bir grup mülakatı yapılmıştır. Bunun yanı sıra, 2003-2008 yılları arasında Antalya'da gerçekleşen kültür-sanat etkinliklerinin çoğu katılımcı gözlemci olarak takip edilmiştir ve alan notları tutulmuştur. Ama en önemlisi 2003-2004 yılları arasında Akdeniz Üniversitesi GSF'de Araştırma Görevlisi olarak çalıştığım yaklaşık bir buçuk yıl boyunca Antalya'da yaşayan bir 'yabancı' olmak Antalya'da kentsel yeniden yapılanmanın habercisi olan 'ritm' değişikliğini hissetmemi ve analiz etmemi sağlamıştır.

Tezin alan araştırması öncesi sorulan ilk sorular, Antalya'da kent elitlerinden oluşan bir 'büyüme koalisyonu'nun oluştuğu varsayılarak hazırlanmıştır. Ancak, bu varsayım Molotch'un büyüme makinesi kuramını koşulsuz kabul etmek anlamına gelmektedir. Bu amaçla hazırlanan sorulardan ilki Antalya'da büyüme hedefli bir seçkinler organizasyonu oluştuğunu anlamak üzere "Antalya'da kente dair kararlar veren seçkinler organizasyonu gözlenmekte midir" diye sormaktadır. İkinci soru bu oluşumu destekleyen sivil toplum, sanayi ve meslek odaları örgütlenmelerinin varlığını anlamak üzere "Büyüme makinesini etkin eyleyicileri kim/nelerdir?" olmuştur. Üçüncü soru ise büyüme makinesini oluşturan eyleyicilerin esas olarak kendi ortak çıkarları için geliştirdikleri öncü projeleri kamuoyuna duyurarak, bu projelerin ardında yatan kentsel siyasaların meşrulaştırılmasını sağlayacak olan basın yayın desteğini anlamak üzere "Yerel ve ulusal medyada Antalya'da oluşan büyüme makinesinin projeleri desteklenmekte midir?" sorusudur. Dördüncü soru ise büyüme hedefli elit koalisyonuna karşı bu oluşuma karşı oluşmuş bir sosyal hareketin varlığını anlamak üzere "Antalya'da sivil toplum örgütlenmeleri ve sosyal hareketlerin etkinliği ne ölçüdedir?" olarak belirlenmiştir. Ayrıca, Antalya'da

oluşan büyüme makinesinin küresel kapitalizm ile ilişkisini anlamak üzere "Bu oluşumu oluşturan eyleyicilerin Antalya yereli dışındaki eyleyicilerle olan ilişkileri nasıldır?" sorusu sorulmuştur.

Tezin temel kuramsal çerçevesinin dayandırıldığı kentsel siyasal iktisat kuramı her şeyden önce bir kriz kuramıdır. Siyasal iktisat kuramcılarının sıkça dile getirdiği genel kanıya göre kapitalist sistem her yaşadığı krizin üstesinden gelmek için kendine en uygun koşulları sağlayacak yapıyı yeniden yapılandırma eğilimi gösteren bir sistemdir. Bu nedenle Antalya'nın yeniden yapılandırılmasının temel nedeni olan temel krizin ne olduğunun tanımlanması tezin en temel inceleme konusudur. Alan araştırmasının sonuçları ışığında Antalya'nın karşılaştığı ve yeniden yapılandırma ile baş etmeye çalıştığı temel kriz 'küresel turizm pazarında Antalya'da üretilen turizm ürünleri/servislerinin giderek düşen fıyatı' olarak tanımlanabilir. 2004 yerel seçimleri sonrasında Antalya Büyükşehir Belediyesi öncülüğünde oluşan büyüme makinesi, Antalya'nın küresel pazara sunduğu turizm ürünlerinin değerini arttırmak üzere Antalya'yı yeniden yapılandıracak yeni stratejiler geliştirmeye başlamıştır. Antalya'yı 'kültür kenti'ne dönüştürme senaryosu altında iktisadi, mekansal, sosyal ve kültürel yapılaşmanın gözlenmeye başlandığı Antalya'da hükümet kentsel yeniden yapılanma sürecinde aktif rol oynamaktadır.

Antalya'da Antalya Büyükşehir Belediye'sinin liderliğinde oluşan büyüme makinesinin en büyük destekçisi olan eyleyici Antalya Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası (ATSO)'dır. Antalya'da büyüme makinesini oluşturan diğer eyleyicilerin bazıları; AKSAV, BATAL, Kepez Belediyesi, ANSİAD, TÜRSAK, AKMED, Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Türk Tarih Vakfı, AB, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, Dünya Ticaret Merkezi gibi yerel, bölgesel ve küresel ölçekte farklı eyleyiciler dışında tarım, ticaret, sanayi, turizm, kültür gibi farklı alanlarda faaliyet gösteren firmaları da içermektedir. Ayrıca büyüme makinesini oluşturan eyleyicilerin sahip oldukları sermaye çeşitlerini arttırmak üzere aktif olarak eyledikleri alanlarda yatırdıkları gözlenmektedir. Örneğin, 2008 yılında Antalya Piyano Festivali Açılış Töreni'nde piyano çalan 2004-2009 dönemi Antalya Belediye Başkanı Menderes Türel, 'kültür kenti' ideolojisi ile meşrulaştırılmaya çalışılan büyüme makinesinin en önemli eyleyicisi olarak kendi bireysel kültürel sermayesini dahi kültür sanat alanına harcamaktan çekinmemiştir.

Büyüme makinesinin 'kültür kenti' ideolojisi ile meşrulaştırmaya çalıştıkları kentsel kültürel politikaların Antalya'yı Dubaileştiren, Disneylandlaştıran, yalnızca bir tüketim ve temaşa kentine dönüştüren neoliberal politikalardan farklı olmadığı görüşünde birleşen ve bazı projelere itiraz ederek kamuoyu yaratmak üzere çalışma grupları oluşturan 'karşı grup'ta ise öncelikli olarak Adeniz Üniversitesi, ANSAN, Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi (MOAŞ), Şehir Plancıları Odası Antalya Şubesi, ATAV gibi kurumların içinde yer alan eyleyiciler bulunmaktadır. Ancak bu noktada Akdeniz Üniversitesi ve MOAŞ bünyesinde yer alan eyleyicilerin zaman zaman büyüme makinesinin stratejilerini destekledikleri zaman zaman da eleştirdikleri vurgulanmalıdır.

Antalya'da büyüme makinesini oluşturan eyleyiciler, küresel eyleyicilerle doğrudan ilişki kuramadıkları durumlarda İstanbul'daki eyleyicilerin aracılığına başvurmaktadırlar. Büyüme makinesine muhalif grup bu durumu Antalya İstanbul'dan yönetiliyor diye yorumlarken büyüme makinesinin içinde yer alan eyleyiciler durumdan memnun ve müteşekkir bir tutumla hem İstanbul'u taklit etmekteler hem de İstanbullu eyleyicilerin proje ve etkinliklerini tamamlayan kent (*complementary city*) olmayı tercih etmektedirler.
Örneğin, Aydın Doğan Vakfı Karikatür Yarışması esasen İstanbul menşeli bir organizasyon olmasına rağmen, Ödül Töreni her yıl Haziran ayında Antalya'da düzenlenmektedir. Bir anlamda, İstanbullu bir vakfın organize

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ettiği bu projenin, Antalya tarafından complement edilmesi ile Antalya aracılığıyla Türkiye'de kültür alanının temsil edilmektedir. Bu açıdan bakıldığında, yine tam olarak endüstrileşememiş de olsa, İstanbul'da var olan Türk film sektörünün ilk yarışması olan AGOFF'u (see Chapter 6), 1964den bu yana düzenleyen Antalya'nın İstanbul'a 'tamamlayıcı kent' olması yeni değildir.

Kuşkusuz, Antalya'da yer tutmuş farklı uygarlıkların her biri ayrı çalışmalarda yazılmayı hak etmektedir. Antalya, tarih-öncesi zamandan bu yana ev sahipliği yaptığı uygarlıklardan günümüze ulaşan, belki henüz gün yüzüne çıkarılamamış olan çok katmanlı kültürel mirasını kendinde saklamaktadır. Bu tez kapsamında kentin kültürel, toplumsal, mekansal hatta ekonomik yapısını oluşturan bu çok katmanlı, birikimli miras; Antalya'nın 'kolektif kültürel sermaye'si olarak tanımlanmaktadır.

Kent toplumbilimcisi Harvey, Bourdieu'nun toplumsal özneler, bireyler ve aktörlere atfettiği sermaye çeşitlerinden ikisini tanımlamak için kullandığı 'kültürel sermaye' ve 'sembolik sermaye' kavramlarını ödünç alarak; 'kolektif kültürel sermaye' ve 'kolektif sembolik sermaye' olarak kentler için kullanmıştır. Günümüzde 'kolektif kültürel sermaye' ve 'kolektif sembolik sermaye' kavramları; küresel sermayeyi çekmek için birbirleriyle yarışan ve kendilerini 'kültür kenti' olarak küresel pazarda 'temsil' etmeye çalışan kentlerde, 'yerel yönetişim' dinamikleri içinde söz sahibi olan 'kent paydaşları', 'kanaat önderleri' ya da 'kent elitleri' olarak adlandıran yeni kent aktörleri tarafından kentin temsilini güçlendirecek 'kent markası', 'marka kent', 'kentin markalaşması' tartışmalarında birer araca dönüşmektedirler.

Bu tezin kapsamında Antalya'nın 'kolektif kültürel sermayesi' ve 'kolektif sembolik sermaye' sinin esasına ulaşmak için Antalya'da ilk yerleşimin başladığı tarihten bugüne kadar incelenmiştir. Ancak Antalya'ya atfedilen 'kolektif kültürel sermaye' ve 'kolektif sembolik sermaye' büyüme makinesini oluşturan eyleyicilerin dilinde kültür politikaları, kentsel-bölgesel kalkınma politikaları ve turizm politikalarından bağımsız zikredilmemektedirler. Alan araştırmasının bulguları, Antalyalı'da bedenleşmiş olan kolektif kültürel sermaye olarak tanımlanabilen '*eşraf* kültürü' ile büyüme makinesini oluşturan 'rantiyeci sınıfın kültürü' arasında benzerlikler kurulmasını kolaylaştırmaktadır çünkü her ikisinin ortak çıkarları arsa ve emlak üzerinden edinilecek olan 'rantiyeci kültür' olarak tanımlanmaktadır.

Kültür ve ekonomi arasındaki diyalektik bağıntı, daha çok yerel kültürlerin ekonomik aktivitelere katkıda bulunması ile kendini gösterir. Yerel ve merkezi yönetimler giderek kültür ve ekonomi arasındaki bu bağıntının daha çok farkına varmakta ve bu bağıntının nimetlerinden yararlanmak üzere kültürel politikalar üretmektedirler. Günümüzde kentsel kültür politikaları, kentin kollektif kültürel sermayesini iktisadi sermaye dönüştürme yönünde kültürel ekonomik politikalar olarak anlaşılmaktadır.

Kültürel ekonomik politikalar adından da anlaşıldığı gibi kültürü ekonominin kendi dilinden ifade eder. Frith (1991: 140) üç farklı kültürel endüstri politikası tanımlar: ulusal pazarda tüketilen ya da ihraç edilen radyo, TV, cd player, mp3 çalar gibi elektronik ürünler ile kitle iletişime yönelik film endüstrisinin ürünlerini kapsayan endüstriyel-kültürel politikalar; yerel pazarda üretilen ve ancak yerel pazarda turistler tarafından tüketilebilen kentin birîcikliğine özgü '*aura*'sını yansıtan, böylelikle kenti deneyimleme olanağı sağlayan turistik-kültürel politikalar; kenti yeniden mimari açıdan canlandıran, kentin imajını değiştiren ve dönüştüren, böylelikle küresel sermaye karşısında daha çekici olabilmek için yeni yatırımlar gerektiren, dolayısıyla da beyaz yakalı yönetici ve işletici sınıfı istihdam eden kozmetik-kültürel politikalar.

Kentleri yeniden yapılandırılmaya yönelten ve yatırım gerektiren kültürel politikalar Basset'e (1993) göre dört grupta incelenebilir: Birincisi altyapıya öncelik veren yeni teknolojilerle sıkı ilişkili studyo, atölye, pazarlama, sponsor organizasyonları gibi yatırım politikaları. Antalya'nın Serik Beldesinde inşa edilmiş olan film stüdyosu Çandırwood böylesi bir yatırım olarak adlandırılabilir. İkincisi sanat merkezleri, tiyatrolar ve konser salonları gibi kent merkezinde yer alacak projeler geliştirmeyi hedefleyen kültürel politikalar olarak tanımlanabilir. Kültür ve sanat organizasyonları, festivaller, bienaller bu grubun içinde yer alan ve kültür turizmini destekleyen diğer projelerdir. Üçüncüsü kentteki kamusal alanlarda sergilenebilecek, halkın katılımını sağlayan kamusal sanat, heykeller ve eski önemini ve canlılığını yitirmiş kent merkezlerini yeniden canlandırmayı hedefleyen restorasyon çalışmalarını kapsar. Dördüncüsü ise kaçınılmaz olarak tüm bu yatırımları gerçekleştirmeye olanak tanıyan iş çevrelerini, kamusal veya özel kurum ve kuruluşları, vakıfları, bankaları, ulusal ve çok uluslu şirketleri kente eklemlenmesi sürecini başlatan politikalardır.

Antalya'nın 'kent kültürü'nün diğer bir deyişle Antalya'ya atfedilen kollektif kültürel sermaye çeşitlerinin (bedenleşmiş, nesnel, kurumsal) metalaştırılması ve Antalya markası olarak Antalya'da üretilmiş olan her türlü ürünü markalaştırmak için kullanılması yönündeki çabalar sonunda 'Antalya'nın markalaştırılması' stratejisine dönüşmüştür. Başta Antalya Altın Portakal Film Festivali olmak üzere Antalya'da düzenlenmekte olan kültür sanat etkinliklerinin her birini markalaştırmaya çalışan büyüme makinesi stratejileri kültür sanat sektöründe çalışan nitelikli işgücünü Antalya'ya çekmeye çalışmaktadır. Ancak bu zamana kadar toplam iki tane film çekilmiş olan ve Çandırwood Film Stüdyosu, Antalya'ya çekilmeye çalışılan 'yaratıcı sınıf' için yeterince cazip görünmemektedir.

Antalya'da yeni bir film endüstrisi merkezi kurulması yönünde çabalara destek olmak üzere Avrasya Film Market adıyla Antalya Altın Portakal Film Festivali kapsamında yan etkinlik olarak başlatılmıştır. Bu etkinlik kapsamında Kuzey Amerika'daki Montreal, Toronto ve Vancouver kentlerin yanı sıra Avustralya, Yeni Zellanda gibi ülkelerdeki stüdyolarda çekimler yapan Hollywoodlu film yapımcılarına, yönetmenlerine, senaristlerine Antalya'nın yeni bir film platosu olma potansiyelinin gösterilmesi amaçlanmaktadır.

Alan çalışmasından elde edilen veriler, büyüme makinesini oluşturan kent elitlerinin kültür kenti yapılaşmasında ellerindeki çeşitlenmiş sermayelerin değerini artırmak için aktif pozisyon almalarını meşrulaştırmaya kolaylaştıran büyüme ideolojisi "dünya kenti" ideolojisidir.

'Dünya kenti' ideolojisi ile Antalya'yı kültür kentine dönüştürme yönünde sanat ve kültür alanında yeniden yapılanmanın gözlendiği Antalya'da kent elitlerinin vizyon projeler olarak adlandırdıkları projelere bir diğer örnek Antalya Kent Müzesi Projesidir. Özünde kentsel turizm için yeni bir tüketim mekanı olarak tasarlanan Antalya Kent Müzesi'nde anlatı temelli bir sergileme yöntemi ile Antalya'nın kolektif kültürel sermaye çeşitlerinin ziyaretçilere sunulması düşünülmektedir. Türkiye'de erken Cumhuriyet dönemi seçkinlerinin ulus-devlet olma yönünde uyguladıkları ortak bir kültür altında birleştirme siyasaları yerine bugün yereldeki kültür fragmanlarının altı çizilmekte, bağlı olduğu coğrafi bölgenin ya da kentin ne kadar 'eşsiz' olduğunu göstermek adına metalaştırılmaktadır. Antalya Kent Müzesi, Antalya'yı diğer kentlerden ayıran ve onu eşsiz kılan kolektif kültürel sermayelerinin sergilenmesinin planlandığı bir mekan ve kurum olarak, sekizinci ve dokuzuncu Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planlarında da ifade edildiği 'kültür'ü ekonomik değere dönüştürülebilecek bir değer olarak görmektedir.

Merkezi hükümetin 1950'lerin sonunda UNDP'ye başvurarak Antalya ve Bölgesi için 'Bölgesel Kalkınma Planı' hazırlamak üzere talep ettiği ön rapordaki stratejiler doğrultusunda, 1970'lerin sonunda hayata geçirdiği Türkiye'de ilk kez uygulanan entegre turizm bölgesi yaratma projesi olan 'Güney Antalya Turizm Gelişim Projesi' (GATGP) ile Antalya ve Bölgesinde planlı kalkınma hedeflenmiştir. 1972 yılında, büyük ölçekte bir Bölgesel Kalkınma Projesi olan GATGP'ın uygulanabilmesi için Antalya'da kurulan yarı bağımsız yönetim birimi, Türkiye'deki Bölgesel Kalkınma Ajansları'nın ilk örneği kabul edilebilir.

1980'lere kadar, merkezi hükümetin bir eyleyicisi olarak Turizm Bankası tarafından yapılan yatırımlarla gerçekleşen konaklama tesisleri sayısı; 1985 yılında, 2634 Sayılı Turizm Teşvik yasasındaki düzenlemelerden sonra, kamu arazilerinin tahsisi ile ilgili yönetmelik düzenlemesi ile Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı tarafından tahsis edilen kıyı arazilerinin 49 yıllığına kiralanması ile hızla artmıştır. Arazi tahsisleri ve teşviklerle çok yıldızlı turizm konaklama tesislerine yatırım yapan özel girişimcilerin de turizm sanayi alanında yer almasıyla hızla gelişen Antalya ve Bölgesi, kitle turizminin merkezi haline gelmiştir. Son yıllarda "her şey dahil" kurgusuyla küresel pazarda rekabet edebilmek için fiyat düşerek Avrupalı işçi sınıfının hatta işsizlik maaşıyla geçinen bir kitlenin tercih ettiği bir "turizm çöküntü merkezine" dönüş(müştür)mektedir.

Kış sezonunda duracak kadar yavaşlayan turizmi canlandırmasını ümit ettikleri; yaz sezonunda 40 dereceye varan yüksek sıcaklarda bölgeye gelmeyi tercih etmeyen ileri yaş grubu emekliler, kültür kongre organizasyonlarının katılımcıları ve ortalama yılın üç yüz günü güneşli geçen Antalya'da yaz sezonu dışında düzenlenecek olan sanat festivalleri ve etkinliklerine katılacak olan sanatçı ve izleyicilerinden oluşacak olan *yeni* "turist profili," doğal olarak kültürel sermayesi yüksek olan bir sosyal sınıftan gelmesi beklenmektedir.

Antalya'da genel iktidar alanı içinde görece özerk alanlarda "kültür kenti" yapılaşması içinde rol alan eyleyicilerin bir turizm çöküntü merkezine dönüşmekte olan Antalya Bölgesini, Antalya Kent Merkezine turist çekmeye çalışarak kitle turizminden kentsel turizme geçme stratejileri geliştirdikleri söylenebilir. Ancak "kentsel turizm" stratejileri ile halihazırda Antalya'yı tercih eden 'kitle turizminden' vazgeçmeye hiç niyeti olmayan turizm konaklama tesislerinin işletmecilerinden edinilen bilgiler ışığında, turizm alanındaki yeniden yapılandırma stratejileri şöyle özetlenebilir: Turizm alanında asıl hedeflenen deniz-güneş-kum için Antalya'ya gelen turist profilinin iyileştirilmesi yani işsizlik maaşıyla gelen kitle turisti "gentrify" etmek ya da turistin soylulaştırmak değil, ayrı bir turist pazarında 'Antalya Kaleiçini görmek için Antalya'ya gelmek isteyen' niş turiste Antalya'da üretilen başka bir turizm ürünü sunmak olarak tanımlanabilir.

Bir başka bulgu Antalya'nın yeniden yapılandırılması sürecinde kentsel planlama, tasarım, yönetişim ve siyaset alanında gerçekleşen yeniden yapılanma süreçlerine paralel olarak Antalya'da mekansal yeniden yapılandırmaya ilişkindir. 1999-2004 yılları arasında sosyal demokrat belediyecilik yönetiminde Antalya'da gözlenen katılımcı, çoğulcu kentsel planlamacılık yerine 2004-2009 yılları arasında neoliberal, girişimci belediyecilik anlayışıyla stratejik Vizyon Projelerine öncelik verildiği gözlenmiştir.

Antalya, 2000 yıllık geçmişinden getirdiği nesnel ve kurumsal kolektif kültürel sermayeleri göz önüne alındığında bütün Pamphylia'yı kapsayan hinterlandı ile 'geniş tarihi kent' olarak adlandırılabilir. Ancak Antalya'nın mekansal yapılaşması tarım ve turizm alanlarındaki eyleyicilerin daha etkin olduğu 20. Yüzyılın ikinci yarısından sonra hızlanmıştır. 1970lerin sonunda uygulanan GATGP ile Antalya kitle turizmine yönelik altyapı yatırımlarıyla entegre turizm merkezine dönüştürülmüştür. 2004-2009 yılları arasında gözlenen KYY

sürecinde ise Temalı Park, Festival Sarayı, içinde Akvaryum ve Modern Sanatlar Merkezi de düşünülen büyük alışveriş merkezi projeleriyle 'kültür kenti'nden çok fantezi kentleri, eğlence kentlerini örnek almış görünmektedir.

Bir başka bulgu ise tarım alanında gözlenen yeniden yapılanmalara ilişkindir. Antalya'da tarım alanında, özellikle üretime yönelik teknolojiler değiştikçe dış pazarda rekabet gücünü kaybetmemek adına tarımda yeniden yapılanma (restructuring) bir zorunluluk olarak görülmektedir. Bu amaca yönelik, bir yandan bioteknoloji ve tarım teknolojisi geliştirebilmek için teknopark bünyesinde çalışmalar başlatılmış, bir yandan topraksız tarım teknolojileri için bilgi alışverişi başlatılmıştır. Tarım alanında yeniden yapılanma sürecinde yeni teknolojilerle tanışabilmek adına Antalyalı tarım üreticileri, dış fuarlara katılırken ATSO önderliğinde Antalya'da düzenlenen fuarlarda da Antalya markasını taşıyacak ürünler alıcılara sergilenmiştir.

Özellikle Avrupa ve Rus pazarında alıcı bulan tarım üreticileri ürettikleri ürünlerin gümrüklerden dönmelerini engellemek üzere EUREPGAP Sertifikalı ürün üretme zorunluluğu karşısında 'Üretici Birlikleri' oluşturarak geleneksel aile çiftçiliğinden kurumsal üreticilere dönüşmeye başlamışlardır. Ardından üretilen ürünlerde kimyasal kalıntı oranlarının EU standartlarında olduğunu belgelemek üzere, Tarımsal Araştırma Laboratuarı (BATAL) kurarak kontrollü tarımı başlatmışlardır. Avrupa Birliği'nin gıda güvenliği politikaları çerçevesinde Türkiye'de hemen her alanda uygulanmaya başlanan yapısal uyum politikaları, Antalya'da tarım alanındaki (field) yeniden yapılanmayı (restructuring) normative anlamda yönlendirmektedir. Modern seralarda kontrollü tarımın yapılmaya başlandığı Antalya'da, tarım ürünlerinin markalaşarak dış pazardaki itibarının arttırılmasına yönelik yeniden yapılandırma stratejisi olarak, Antalya'nın güneşi ayırt edici özellik olarak vurgulanmıştır.

Antalya kentinin mevcut gelişimi, arazi rantı baskılarına direnemeyerek verimli tarım arazilerinin, konut, sanayi ve turizm alanları olarak kullanılması esasına dayalıdır. Tarım alanlarının, konut alanları, sanayi alanları ve turistik tesis alanları olarak tarım dışı kullanılmaları, kentin gelişme yönlerinin doğru öngörülememesi, arazi taleplerinin saptanamaması, kısaca yanlış ve hatalı planlanması bugünkü Antalya'yı yapılandırmıştır (restructured). Son yıllarda tarım alanında kullanılan yeni teknolojiler ve modern seracılık yöntemleri ile kontrollü tarıma doğru yeniden yapılanmanın gözlendiği Antalya'da, küçük aile çiftçiliği olarak yapılanmış olan tarıma arazi tahsisleriyle 'Organize Tarım Bölgelerinde' sanayi statüsü kazandırılması planlanmaktadır. Daha önce turizm alanında olduğu gibi, tarım alanında da uygulanması umut edilen arazi tahsisleri ve teşviklerle bir cazibe merkezine dönüştürülmeye çalışılan Antalya, yatırım yapmak isteyen sermayedarlar için yeniden yapılandırılmaktadır. Önceleri geleneksel tarımın yapıldığı araziler rantiyeci politikalar sonucu konut ve ticari alanlara dönüşürken, Antalya'da bugün, hem 'modern tarım' için hem de 'organik tarım' için yeniden arazi arayışı başlamıştır.

Antalya'da ekonomi alanında gözlenen yeniden yapılandırmalar; Antalya Liman'ının canlandırılması, fuarcılığın geliştirilmesi, altın takı ve kuyumculuk sektörünün Antalya ile 'altın'ı özdeşleştiren bir kampanya ile desteklenmesi gibi somut örneklerle karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Antalya'da ekonomi alanının yeniden yapılandırılması stratejileri, 'dünya kenti' olmak isteyen Antalya'nın küresel sermayeyi çekebilmek için yeniden bir ticaret merkezi olma stratejileri olarak değerlendirilebilir.

Antalya'da kent paydaşlarının sıkça kullandığı 'dünya kenti' tanımlaması yerine 1996'da MOAŞ'ın hazırladığı *Antalya Kıyı Yerleşmeleri* [*Antalya Coastal Settlements*] başlıklı raporda "tarımsal karakterli alanların korunarak, tarihin, doğanın, kültürün ön plana çıkarılarak, tüm dünya insanlarının kültürel alışveriş yaptığı turizmle desteklenmiş 'dünya kültür kenti'" tanımlaması önerilmiştir (MOAŞ, *Antalya Kıyı Yerleşmeleri* [*Antalya Coastal Settlements*], 1996: 122). Ancak Antalya'da, en azından 1996'dan bu yana akademik boyutta olmasa da Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi gibi önemli bir sivil toplum kuruluşunun yayınlarında geçmeye başlayan 'kültür kenti' tasarısının 2004 yerel seçim sonrası daha sık telaffuz edilmesi bu büyük senaryo çerçevesinde kentsel yeniden yapılanma koşullarının daha elverişli hale gelmesiyle açıklanabilir. Bu tarihe kadar uzun yıllar boyunca sosyal demokrat belediyecilik geleneği ile yönetilen Antalya, 2004-2009 belediyecilik döneminde, 'kültür kenti' senaryosu altındaki projelerini gerçekleştirmek üzere hükümet desteğini alabilmek için merkezi hükümet ile aynı partiden (AKP) olma avantajını kullanmaya çalışmıştır. Bunun yanı sıra, seçilmesinden hemen önce Antalya'da sanayi ve ticaret alanında faaliyet gösteren yüzlerce üyesi bulunan ATSO'nın Başkanı olarak görev yapmış olan 2004-2009 belediyecilik döneminin ABŞB Başkanı, bir işadamı kimliğiyle girişimci yönetişime ile 'kültür kenti' olma yolunda Antalya'nın yeniden yapılandırılmasını hızlandırmıştır.

1980'lerin başından bu yana yapılan turizm yatırımlarına ek olarak Antalya'ya yapılan 2000'li yılların başından bu yana sanayi yatırımları da hız kazanmaktadır. Giderek gelişmekte olan OSB'ye parallel olarak 1987'de kurulan ASB'nde çevreyi kirletmeyen üretim teknolojileriyle Antalya'nın turizm dokusuyla uyumlu ticarete öncelik verilmektedir. ASB'deki textil, medical ürünler, kablo konfeksiyonu gibi üretim çeşitliliğine, 2000'lerin ortasına doğru lux tekne üretimi de eklenmiştir. 2004 yılında Akdeniz Üniversitesi Batı Akdeniz Teknokenti'nin kurulmasıyla bölgede etkin olan tarım alanında tohum ıslahı gibi techno-scientific çalışmalar yapılmaya başlanmış, sağlık turizmini geliştirmeye yönelik medical teknolojilerle beraber enerji teknolojileri ile ilgili çalışmalara öncelik verilmiştir. Antalya ve bölgesinde yeni bir 'yapılanma' olan Teknokent yalnızca sanayi ve teknoloji alanını değil tarım ve turizm alanının yeniden yapılandırılma sürecinde de etkin rol oynamaktadır.

Hem tarım hem de sanayi *alt-alanları* içinde ağırlıklı olarak küçük işletmelerden oluşan Antalya'daki *iktisat alanı*, yeniden yapılandırılma sürecinde Türkiye'de ilk 500 büyük firma listesine girecek firmalar için elverişli koşullar sağlamıştır. Yeniden yapılandırılmış olan bu yeni ekonomik alanın içinde oyunu yeni kurallarına göre oynayarak kazanan hatta oyunun yeni kurallarını yazan iktidara göz dikmiş olan dönüştürücü (*subversive*) eyleyiciler, neoliberal politikaların yapılandırdığı alandaki yeni oyunun yeni kurallarını öğrenemediği için alandan çekilerek kaybeden muhafazakar (*conservative*) eyleyicilerin yerini almıştır.

Antalya'ya yatırım yapacak yerli ve yabancı sermayedarı çekmek üzere tarım, sanayi, ticaret, turizm gibi *alt-alanları* yeniden yapılandıran kent paydaşları, devlet bütçesine yaptıkları katkı oranında bütçeden faydalanamadıklarından şikayetçidirler. Bu durumun en önemli nedenlerinden biri, Antalya'da özellikle turizm ve sanayi alanında faaliyet gösteren büyük firmaların merkez ofislerinin İstanbul'da olmasıdır. Başka bir deyişle Antalya'da turizm ve sanayi alanı İstanbul'dan yönetilmektedir. Antalya'da ekonomi alt alanlarında gözlenen İstanbul etkisi; kültür, sanat hatta belediyecilik alanında da hakimdir. Kısaca Antalya, kendini her alanda İstanbul ile kıyaslayan, İstanbul'u örnek alan, İstanbul'u taklit eden, İstanbul'la yarışan (competitive city) değil ama İstanbul' tamamlayan (*complementary city*) bir kenttir. Gerçek anlamda 'küresel kent' olduğunu düşündükleri İstanbul'a complement ederek world city olma stratejileri geliştiren Antalya, NUTS2 Level İstatistiki Bölge

Birimleri olarak tanımlanan 26 bölgeden biri olarak en azından Türkiye ölçeğinde bir bölgesel merkezdir *(city region, regional center)*. Ancak bir 'dünya kenti olma hevesli olan Antalya (*Wannabe World Cities*) kendini küresel pazarda temsil edecek bir markanın peşinde koşmaktadır. Antalya, bir yandan niş turizmin yeni destinasyon merkezi olmak için kendini küresel pazarda temsil etmenin yollarını ararken bir yandan da Türkiye'yi temsil eden bir 'vitrin' olarak görülmektedir.

Bu tez çalışmasının sonunda Antalya'nın yeniden yapılandırılması örneği dışında genel kent sosyolojisi literatürüne katkıda bulunacak genellemeler yapılabilri. Örneğin 20. Yy başında yazılan kent sosyolojisi yazınında 'kent kültürü' tartışmaları ağırlık kazanırken bugün 21.yy başında ağırlıklı olarak 'kültür kenti' tartışılmaktadır. Kentler arası bir yarışın sürdüğü çağımızda, kentlerin 'kolektif kültürel sermayesi', küresel pazarda 'kültür kenti', 'kültürel kent' şeklinde, Avrupa bağlamında ise 'Avrupa Kültür Başkenti' (ECoC) olarak yeniden icat edilmektedir. Aynı şekilde, 'kültür endüstrisi' kavramı yerine 'yaratıcı endüstri' kavramları kullanılmaktadır. Buna ek olarak, günümüzde yerel yönetimler uzun vadeli kentsel planlama geleneğinden uzaklaşarak, neoliberal politikalara meşru zemin hazırlamak üzere büyüme hedefli güçbirlikleri oluşturarak kamu-özel işbirliği ile gerçekleştirilen şaşalı Vizyon Projelere (Urban Propaganda Projects, UPPs) yönelmektedirler. Kentsel turizmin konukları *niş turistleri* ve aynı zamanda yabancı yatırımcıları da kente çekmek üzere; teknolojik olarak rasyonel ve verimli şehir planlarına dayalı, işlevci modern şehircilik anlayışından bağlamcı, bölgeselci, cepheci sıfatlarıyla anılan post-modern şehircilik anlayışına doğru bir geçiş gözlenmektedir.

Ayrıca, girişimci kentler, cazibe kentler, yaratıcı kentlere özenen kentlerde kentsel yönetimden kentsel yönetişime geçiş gözlenmektedir. Dahası, dünyayı saran neoliberal kent politikaları bazılarını çağın kazananı yaparken, kaybedenler ise sosyal devlet politikalarının yürürlükte olduğu eski zamanları özlemle anmaktadırlar. Son olarak, genel iktidar alanında pozisyon almaya çalışan büyük veya küçük tüm şehirler, sahip oldukları kolektif kültürel sermayelerini ve kolektif sembolik sermayelerini daha fazla iktisadi sermayeye dönüştürmek üzere harcamaktadırlar.

Tez çalışmasının başında; kentte yaşayanların 'kültür kenti' tasarısı ile Antalya'nın yeniden yapılandırılması sürecini nasıl algıladıklarını, kenti nasıl deneyimlediklerini anlamak üzere, kentin farklı bölgelerinde yaşayan insanlardan (üst, orta, alt gelir grubunun yoğunlaştığı farklı mahalleler), farklı meslek gruplarından, üniversite öğrencilerinden oluşturulmuş farklı odak grup çalışmaları yapılması planlanmıştı. Alan çalışmasında yeni bir örneklem alanı oluşturmayı gerektirecek olan bu çalışma iki nedenle tezin kapsamından çıkarılmıştır. Birincisi, yeni örneklem alanı gerektirecek olan bu çalışma başlı başına bir tez konusu olacak niteliktedir. İkincisi, tezin alan araştırmasının yapıldığı Haziran 2006 ve Ekim 2008 tarihleri arasında yeniden yapılandırma sürecinin etkileri çok belirgin değildir. Yine de kentte yaşayanların bu sürece dair algılarını, bu süreçten nasıl etkilendiklerini anlamak üzere bu sürece dair basında çıkmış haberleri takip etmenin yanı sıra Antalya'da gündelik hayatta karşılaştığım çok sayıda kişi ile yapılandırılmamış ani mülakat notları tezde veri olarak kullanılmıştır. Yine de bu tezin sonuç önerisi olarak yukarıda tanımlanan yeni örneklem alanından yapılacak örneklem çıkarımı ile grup mülakatı ile niteliksel ya da daha geniş ölçekli bir örneklem çıkarımı ile anket çalışması ile niceliksel bir araştırma önerilmektedir.

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2004-Present	METU, Department of Sociology, Ankara	Res. Assistant
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ACADEMIC INTEREST AREAS

A. History of Architecture and Industrial Design
B. Theory of Industrial Design
C. Theory of Architectural Design
D. Theory of Urban Planning
E. Sociology of Arts and Culture
F. Urban Sociology, Urban Theories
G. Urbanization and Urban Culture
H. Sociology of Leisure and Tourism
İ. Material Culture
J. Urban Politics
K. Cultural Politics
L. Modernity and Post-modernity
M. Ideology and Discourse Analysis—and Production of Space
N. Globalization and Structural Transformation

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

English (86/100 KPDS), German (Moderate), Italian (Beginner)

AWARDS

12 Mayıs 1999   : İlknur Gürcan National Design Competition
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Writing stories, playing flute.