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Rise of Culture and Fall of Planning in Izmir, Turkey

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Abstract: Culture-led regeneration is now a rising feature of cities as they seek to establish themselves as competitive cities of culture. The rise of culture impacts considerably upon the quality of life in cities. The competition takes two major strategies: mega projects and mega-events. While the main cities of the economically advanced nations go through a wide range of experiences, their successes and failures should be taken into consideration by those other cities that wish to imitate the ones leading in the ranking. Cities of the developing world, however, may meet completely different problems even during the stage of planning. This paper reviews such a case, namely Izmir, by way of stating the city's intentions to benefit from culture-driven strategies as seen through its indicators, and showing the evidence that cause it to fail in reaching its goals. The final statement shall emphasize the importance of cultural policies to be formulated on a wider perspective.

Keywords: Rise of Culture; Planning; Cultural Tourism; Izmir; Culture-Led Regeneration.

Resumen: Actualmente, la regeneración a través de la cultura es un rasgo dominante de las ciudades que pretenden establecerse como ciudades culturales competitivas. El alza de la cultura impacta considerablemente en la calidad de vida de las ciudades. La competencia se lleva a cabo principalmente de acuerdo con dos estrategias: mega-proyectos y mega-eventos. Mientras las principales ciudades de las naciones desarrolladas atraviesan una multitud de experiencias, sus éxitos y fracasos deben ser tenidos en cuenta por las ciudades que desean imitar a aquellas otras que encabezan el ranking. Sin embargo, las ciudades del mundo en desarrollo pueden encontrar problemas muy diferentes, incluso durante la fase de planificación. El artículo analiza uno de estos casos, específicamente Izmir, examinando las intenciones de la ciudad de beneficiarse de estrategias basadas en la cultura vistas a través de sus indicadores, y mostrando la evidencia que la ha llevado a fracasar en este objetivo. La última parte enfatiza la importancia de formular la política cultural de acuerdo con una perspectiva más general.

Palabras clave: Alza de la cultura; Planificación; Turismo cultural; Izmir; Regeneración a través de la cultura

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Introduction

In recent years, urban economic development strategies have sought to establish cities as competitive places of culture by capitalizing their advantages as sites of cultural tourism. Such rise of culture as a significant component of economic and physical development, appears to have been ignited by the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s. It is not coincidental in this sense that emergence of the concept of 'cultural tourism' as a separate product category dates to the late 1970s (Tighe, 1986). It has been during those decades that the re-structuring of the economy led by changes in production, its location in the global scale and the de-industrialization have been reflected upon the economical, social as well as spatial settings of cities, altogether giving cultural policies and culture-led urban regeneration policies a pivotal role in new urban entrepreneurialism (Bianchini, 1993; Miles & Paddison, 2005). Prior to this, urban cultural policies were relatively unimportant. Yet, for many post-industrial cities, cultural policy has been used to assist with the problems of urban decline and incorporated into other areas of policy such as tourism, heritage and entertainment. The role of culture has been central in developing a tourism destination and attracting a tourism market (Richards, 2002) for reasons of experiencing an economic rise.

In its broadest sense, culture can be defined as heritage, arts and creative industries, as well as people's everyday lifestyles (e.g. leisure, shopping, gastronomy, etc.), which are seen to breathe new life into cities, towns and communities[1]. Thus, in the context of regeneration, culture refers to anything from architecture, heritage buildings and attractions, to the visual and performing arts, temporary or regular events, to entertainment and leisure complexes, as well as the way of life (Smith, 2007), including the ethnoscapes (multiculturalism), the creative milieu (artists, writers, musicians, designers etc.), and the creation of culture (art and design schools etc.). Defined as such, in line with recent developments where culture as space is loaded with further meaning according to its sectoral capabilities, *culture-led regeneration* has now become a new feature of cities. All these aspects contribute to define the cultural image of the city and develop specific marketing strategies.

Today, cultural tourism seems to be omnipresent as well as omnipotent as a concept embraced globally by local, national and transnational bodies such as UNESCO or the European Commission. (Richards, 2007). The globalization of cultural tourism is the result not only of the fundamental and social changes experienced worldwide, but also of the changes in the structure of tourism itself (Urry, 1990). Letting alone the fact that it may be largely seen as a subset of cultural heritage management rather than a tourism activity (McKercher, 2002), even the concept of cultural tourism has gone through major changes in the course of globalization. In the past, it was largely associated with high culture and with 'cultured' people, but today cultural tourism includes many popular cultural attractions within the scope of 'everyday life' of the local communities (Richards, 2007). Accepting the fact that globalization as an integration of economic, social and cultural systems dominates the current flows around the world, it is therefore not surprising for cultural tourism strategies to gain importance on local grounds.

The goal in pursuing cultural strategies for economic development is twofold. First, fostering culture as a sector, through promotion of sports, culture and arts, shopping or gastronomy, creates jobs and generate revenues. Second, these initiatives become part of the city's marketing efforts, in which cities strive to become attractive locations for businesses, affluent families or tourists (Strom, 1999). This creates a continuous cycle of development where the growth of the tourist interest in the city and the strengthening of the urban tourist brand evidently also affect the city's attractiveness as a place to live, work, study, invest and so forth. The big picture underlying the emergence of this goal, however, is supposed to take a rather more octopus-like growth policy, where strategies shall make up a network that are directly reflected upon spatial considerations concern-

ing the city's planning and design.

The outcome of the new strategy where culture has been adopted as the new driver in urban economic growth and competition has followed rather speedy ways (Miles & Paddison, 2005), letting particularly the cities of economically advanced nations experience an urban cultural renaissance (Evans, 2001; Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993). Yet, this pace is not the same in cities of developing nations, leaving some cities at the periphery of such a competition. This is often due to the fact that there are *'neurotic difficulties of small nations attempting to be noticed on an international level'* (Sudjic, 1999 as cited by Smith, 2007a, 5).

Of such peripheral cases can be named the city of Izmir (Turkey), where the global trend representing the 'rise of culture' can be manifest in her intentions to be noticed on a larger scale, but yet with lack of comprehensive planning and integrated strategies providing the evidences for her failure to succeed in taking the steps of urban regeneration. The specific case has been elaborated in terms of the indicators and evidences for culture-led regeneration.

Rise of Culture: Major Strategies

It has always been the main ambition of cities to gain or retain their position among the highest-ranking cities throughout the history. Competition was always present, yet not as severe and intensive global as today. While cities seek for new ways to diversify the range of local economic base in order to enhance their competitive positions in a world shaped by principles of ranking, the idea that *culture* can be employed as a driver for economic growth has become almost the new orthodoxy. The tourism imperative appears to constitute a crucial tool for a goal as such. Yet, the cultural, entertainment and sporting activities were traditionally not regarded as part of the tourism industry. However, considering that such investments do entail a touristic revitalization of urban environments, providing a touristic promotion, bringing prestige to the city, increasing the quality of life and creating further tourism potential (Law, 2002), 'cultural tourism' constitutes the key driver underlying regeneration of cities. The growth of the tourist interest in the city and the strengthening of the urban tourist brand also affect cities' attractiveness.

Taken either as a driver, a catalyst or a key component in urban development (Evans & Shaw, 2004),[2] culture evidently experiences a "*rise*" (Miles & Paddison, 2005) concerning its impacts upon not only the economic development, but also the overall quality of life in cities. Cultural policy involves such strategies and activities that promote the production, dissemination, marketing and consumption of the arts (Rentschler, 2002 as cited by Mulcahy, 2006). This policy leaves concrete impacts upon the urban spatial environment that give the city its identity and a place in the ranking list. *Culture-led regeneration* is recognized as a comprehensive and leading strategy within this picture.

Sjoholt (1999) speaks of two types of culturally-induced marketing of cities: *long-term permanent efforts and mega-events.* It is possible to regard these major strategies as routes, the first of which may be referred to as *mega-projects*[3]*.* These stand for large-scale developments that aim not only at serving the inhabitants, but also at representing the city nation, even world-wide. The second strategy includes *mega events,* standing for short-lived cultural actions, which, as Roche (2003) states, nonetheless have long-lived pre- and post-event social dimensions. These two routes appear to prevail in the present strategies of those cities that intend to experience an urban renaissance, which incorporates culture as a consumption, production and image strategy (Table 1). Among these strategies, *regeneration* appears as a major component in implementing such cultural goals so that, once works are completed, intervention areas will become successful places to work, live, shop and recreate (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993; Bassett, 1993; Griffiths, 1995; Hall, 1998; Zukin, 1995; McCarthy, 2006; Montgomery, 2003). Thus, the revival of mega-scale projects [4] in recent times is not coincidental in the same respect. Whether as *huge edifices* (or *iconic buildings*) that symbolize the place they are located at [such as the famous Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, known as the origin of *the Bilbao*

Effect in related literature (Rodriguez, Martinez and Guenaga, 2001; Jenks, 2005)]; or as identifiable *cultural quarters of production* (or competitive *creative industry clusters*) to which artists and cultural entrepreneurs are attracted [such as the Sheffield Cultural Industries Quarter (late 1980s) and the Manchester Northern Quarter (1993)] and *cultural quarters of consumption* frequently at either cultural heritage sites and cultural quarters (such as the Temple Bar in Dublin, 1990-1991) or on landfill and abandoned industrial sites regenerated (such as Gateshead in Newcastle upon Tyne) (Montgomery, 1995; Montgomery, 2003; McCarthy, 1998); or as the alluring landscapes of Theme Parks (Roche, 2000), which may take the form of *foreign village theme parks* (Hoffstaedter, 2008) [such as Huis Ten Bosch, known as the Netherlands in Nagasaki, Japan (1992) or Walt Disney World Resort in Florida] or of large-scale recreational parks in the form of *architectural museums* [such as Poble Espanyol in Barcelona (1929) or Den Gamble By in Denmark (1914)], the permanent efforts on mega scale do take many ways to get the city a significant leading place in ranking.

The temporary events, as an alternative route along which cultural development may flourish, on the other hand, also take several different ways: selection of *Culture Capitals*, as initiated by European cities since 1986 and followed by its Arabian (since 1996) and American (since 2000) versions; *EXPO's,* organized since 1851, but known to focus mainly on national branding since 1992; all sorts of *global organizations in science and arts*, international congresses, scientific meetings, festivals, biennales, design weeks, etc.; and finally *sports organizations*[5], such as Olympiads, races, sports activities as World Cups, Universiad, etc., they altogether make up the big picture, showing the ways of how cities can compete. Landry (2000) emphasizes the importance of such events as *symbolic triggers* that can act in building a creative environment, while Richard and Wilson (2007) claim that they avoid the pitfalls of homogenization and serial monotony by difference of creativity.

Mega – Projects	Mega – Events
Iconic Buildings	*Capitals of Culture*
Culture-led Urban Regeneration Projects	*Fairs and EXPOs*
Theming, Theme Parks and Flagship Museums	*International Events of Art, Science and Sports*

Table 1. Major strategies of cultural marketing

As manifest from afore-mentioned routes of culturally-induced marketing of cities, increasing number of cities are looking today at cultural, retail and entertainment redevelopments to attract people back into the city (Bassett, 1993; Griffiths, 1995; Zukin, 1995; Bianchini, 1999; Law, 2000). Many cities which have harnessed culture-driven strategies and experienced a rise in their economic performance are deemed as those cases where:

- creation of *high quality environments* had a positive impact upon development of areas in proximity or upon the entire city itself,
- the physical transformation of urban landscapes could be used as a place-making tool to *represent the city* worldwide,
- affirmative results could be generated in the *short-term* and have a *trickle-down effect*,
- contribution to or even change of the *city image* was at issue,
- the importance of *cultural heritage sites* was emphasized,
- an increase in *attractiveness* of urban locations could mean more private investments to come,
- tourism revenues could be transferred into *new investments*,
- in addition to *social cohesion*, crime could be reduced and *economic diversification* could mean a support against problems of unemployment, and
- vitality of cultural environments was reflected upon their overall *economic performance* and *welfare* indicators.

Depicted as such, these outcomes indeed offer an encouraging picture for declining or underdeveloped cities. Yet, it is interesting to note that the above experiences belong to those cities of mainly the economically advanced nations (Miles & Paddison, 2005,

833). Yet, still so, some experiences do demonstrate a shortfall between the initial expectations and reality. This leads to the discussion that prior to taking giant steps in the will to *'upgrade'* our cities via the culture-driven strategies imported from culturally-famous cities of recent times, the failures of the very same cities of developed nations should provide good examples of what to consider from a holistic approach.

Some Key Issues: The Risks

Having pursued one or more of culturally-induced marketing routes to compete, can it guarantee to bring about an economic rise in urban development? Can cultural policies underlying urban planning activities ensure an easy rise in urban development, or does this decision have to be made from a broader perspective? Or can planning 'fall' despite the intention to raise 'culture' as a sector in the city? With the need to discuss the extent to which culture-led regeneration may succeed or fail to become a solution to urban development problems, the factors underlying urban cultural development and efforts in planning/design need to be considered elaborately.

The literature on culture and regeneration gives a great deal of attention to specific experiences of cities and their 'newly-regenerated' cultural quarters that have become somewhat famous for their 'rising' image, making them be known as a remarkable destination for cultural tourism. However, there are indeed critics of culture-led regeneration, arguing that cultural projects are not necessarily more effective than other types of economic development in achieving regeneration (cited from Bennett, 1995 and Hansen, 1995 by McCarthy, 2002; Özdemir, 2003; Loftman & Nevin, 1995). This necessitates looking at the other side of the picture. Temple Bar in Dublin, for instance, is a successful case quoted very often, but it is also an example of how the needs of inhabitants may fall behind those of the visitors and investors (Özdemir, 2005; Montgomery, 1995; McCarthy, 1998).

Some key issues concerning the unintended outcomes of culture-led regeneration shall be summarized as follows:

- Mega projects are not geared at creating equitable cities or localities due to selectivity in choosing *prestigious locations* leading to ignorance of disadvantaged groups (Loftman & Nevin, 1995), since the *target group* appears to be the local middle class and cultural tourists (Evans & Shaw, 2004).
- In time, the success of specific cases lead to an *imitation* process, termed as creation of *'clone cities'* by Law (1993).
- Mass production leads to *commodification* of culture and the spread of cultural capitalism (Miles & Paddison, 2005) where cultural assets are somewhat exploited (Richards & Wilson, 2006) while creating identical landscapes (Hall, 1998).
- The competition demands for more innovative and unique developments, but this leads to *ephemerality* due to the danger of becoming obsolete (Harvey, 1989) in rather short periods of time, since there always can be newer and more innovative urban services offered elsewhere, and this calls for re-branding as tourist destinations cannot afford to rest on their laurels under conditions of growing competition and changing consumer tastes.
- *Fragmentation* of cities is inevitable (Newman & Verpraet, 1999; Loftman & Nevin, 1995), as cultural quarters create a spatial and social gap with the neighbouring areas on the one hand, and as potential pieces of cities are given such a facelift that increase the prestige of regenerated site causing uneven development of different spatial pieces of the cities.
- Scarce public sector resources may be transferred away from welfare-related *social needs* (Loftman & Nevin, 1995).
- Any possible crisis of the private sector, including the *sectoral risks* of tourism, may become a threat in the realization of regeneration projects (Hall, 1998).
- As regenerated areas may become such places where the inhabitants can no longer afford to live there or as the growing economic and social inequalities between different pieces of urban settings suffer from polarization, *gentrification* may occur as one of the possible outcomes in culturally regenerated

quarters (Bianchini, 1993).

These points are significant in the sense that for the wide variety of different cases to be 'imitated' there is also the need to beware of the possible unintended outcomes. This is even more crucial for cities of developing nations. It should be emphasized that, no matter if it is a well-established or a developing city, problems are likely to emerge due to lack of a comprehensive policy where cultural initiatives are integrated into broader urban and regional regeneration programmes.

Fall of Planning: Case of Izmir

The literature on culture-led regeneration or creation of cultural quarters that contribute to development of cultural tourism focuses, as mentioned earlier, on mainly the case studies of those cities located at economically advanced nations, no matter whether they achieved success or failure. Yet, there is hardly any evidence on those cities, which do intend to take a part within the flows of cultural networks, but are devoid of the major tools to realize their goals. The city of Izmir in Turkey is an example of such. There are indicators that the city does have the potential circumstances as well as the required intention to adopt culture-driven policies for its urban development, but yet there also are evidences that this process is not even at the beginning stages of planning.

The story of Izmir is presumed to constitute a unique case in terms of its tendency to adopt culture-driven strategies of development rooted in its historical past. With its remarkable history that goes from the Smyrna of the past, the cosmopolitan city of different cultures, to the Izmir of our time, symbolizing the western gate of the country, the city appears to go through major changes that bring if further away from its background. As the third largest city of Turkey, it is recently undergoing a major restructuring of much of its infrastructure and, more important, its physical form and appearance.

The urban growth of Izmir has five main breaking points (Table 2). Prior to the declaration of the Republic, the city was known as the most important city of the Ottomans in terms of foreign trade[6]. Izmir has gone through one of the most important, and even the most radical shifts during the War of Independence. The 1922 Fire has been the most significant phenomenon that paved the way for this shift. Destroying almost all the bonds of the city with its past, this fire constituted an opportunity to create a brand new city (Eyüce, 2005). The second shift can be attributed to its attractiveness as a city to be migrated to. In time, as the city has become subject to severe flows of migration, it has fallen behind in covering its basic needs, and the planning procedures have been unsuccessful to catch up with the pace of urbanization. The first comprehensive planning effort was made in 1973, when the city's Master Plan was approved. However, this plan has been subject to revisions in 1978, 1989, 1994 and 2007. It shall be noted that the revisions until 2007 have been only partial interventions in order to compensate the major problems being faced. Despite the problems entailed by urban growth, the 2000s are those years during which urban consciousness and civic engagement appear to be on the agenda. Initiatives (NGOs) such as the Izmir Development Agency, the Chambers of Industry and Trade, as well as the Architecture and City Planning, have acted as the leading actors in the planning and development process of the city.

Izmir has an experience that makes it different from other cities of the country. Its cosmopolitan structure that always opposed the central government policies caused the city to politically be left in the periphery. When combined with problems entailed by migration, the post-1980s have witnessed somewhat hard times for the city, where even basic infrastructural investments had difficulties to be realized. These conditions may be regarded as significant in the sense that the city was left alone to find its own way out of such a crisis. Diversification of economic sectors, going for re-imaging the city and bidding for mega-events can be mentioned among its targets that gave culture a different place in its future. Yet these intentions were not documented on any written strategy the city adopted so far.

The city's intention to benefit from what the rest of the world heads to, namely cul-

ture-led regeneration, shall be scrutinized via its *indicators*. How these intentions fail to take it where it targets to be at shall then provide the *evidences*, to be hereby discussed.

Indicators I: Urban Design Idea Competition – 2001 The recent times display the city's intention to define its future along the route of cultural regeneration. This intention is manifest in the organization of an international competition in 2001, namely *Izmir Port District Urban Design Idea Competition*. The boundaries of the competition fit into what the 1973-Master Plan had designated as the Central Business District years ago. The main assumption of the competition was that the Trade Port would be moved to Nemrut Bay, another location on the northern axis one-hour drive away from the city and then the port would be allocated to touristic transportation including cruise tourism.

Periods	Major Characteristics
Pre-Republican Period	▪ Modernization of the city with its cosmopolitan structure: 1st nationalist architectural movement ▪ Spatial reflections of Westernization: Intra-regional *transportation*: investments in railroad system and port providing the raw materials for European capitalism; *Commercial* transformation: khans replaced by hotels, bazaar streets, *fevkani* (commercial) mosques; *Services* linked to the West: banking, insurance, newspapers, posting; *Education*: missionary schools; *Suburbanization* starting in 1865; Different social groups of *multi-identity*: Levantines, Jews, Greeks, Armenians (foreign merchants) ▪ The most important city of the Ottomans in terms of foreign trade
Republican Period (1923-1948)	▪ Structural transformations of the Republican Ideology: "erasing the past": early Modernism of Contemporary/ "Western" Izmir; brand new architectural understanding ▪ Post-war (Independence War) troubles: the need to re-erect the city after the 1922 Fire devastating almost three fourths of the city
Liberal Period (1948-1960)	▪ As attractive in agricultural terms, rise of the migration flows to Izmir during the 1940s ▪ 1940s: 2nd nationalist architectural movement ▪ Accelerated urbanization and intense flows of migration ▪ Emergence of squatter settlements in peripheral areas ▪ Post-1950s: international style (invitation of foreign architects including René Dange-1925, Le Corbusier-1948 and Bodmer-1959)
Planned Period (1960-1980)	▪ Rapid development of inner-city industrialization ▪ 1973 Master Plan: Linear macroform strategy in north-south direction and intense industrial development ▪ Foreign investments ▪ 1970s-need for housing: "uninterrupted walls" of buildings dominating the city's spatial appearance ▪ Condominium Act resulting in rise of population density via increase in building heights: over-density
Neo-Liberal Period (post-1980)	▪ Piecemeal developments ▪ Development of collective consumption areas ▪ New populism indexed upon urbanization (urban development exemptions, allocation of title deeds, slum reclamation, revision plans, mass housing) ▪ De-industrialization and beautification of prestigious areas ▪ Conflict between politicians and NGOs on mega-scale projects ▪ Efforts for mega-events: Universiad (2005); EXPO 2015 nominee

Table 2. Major characteristics of urban development in Izmir. Source: revised from Dündar, 2002 .

The areas in proximity to the port, where mainly the pre-industrial buildings of architectural and historical importance remain as availing the site for regeneration based on utilization of industrial heritage, were to be allocated to hotels, commerce, recreation and all sorts of cultural activities that were to support cultural tourism. (Competition Brief, 2001). One of the places where the Roman culture settled in the city (creating an ethnoscape) also took place within the boundaries of the plan. The offi-

cial master plan for the new city center has been approved in 2003, where ideas of the winning project (Figures 1 and 2) that gave the competition area the mission of being the Third Izmir (EgeMimarlık, 2005), were regarded as the departure point of the planning process. This master plan was remarkable for being based on an urban design project for the city's center of the future.



Figure 1. Izmir port district urban idea design competition – First prize, J. Brandi

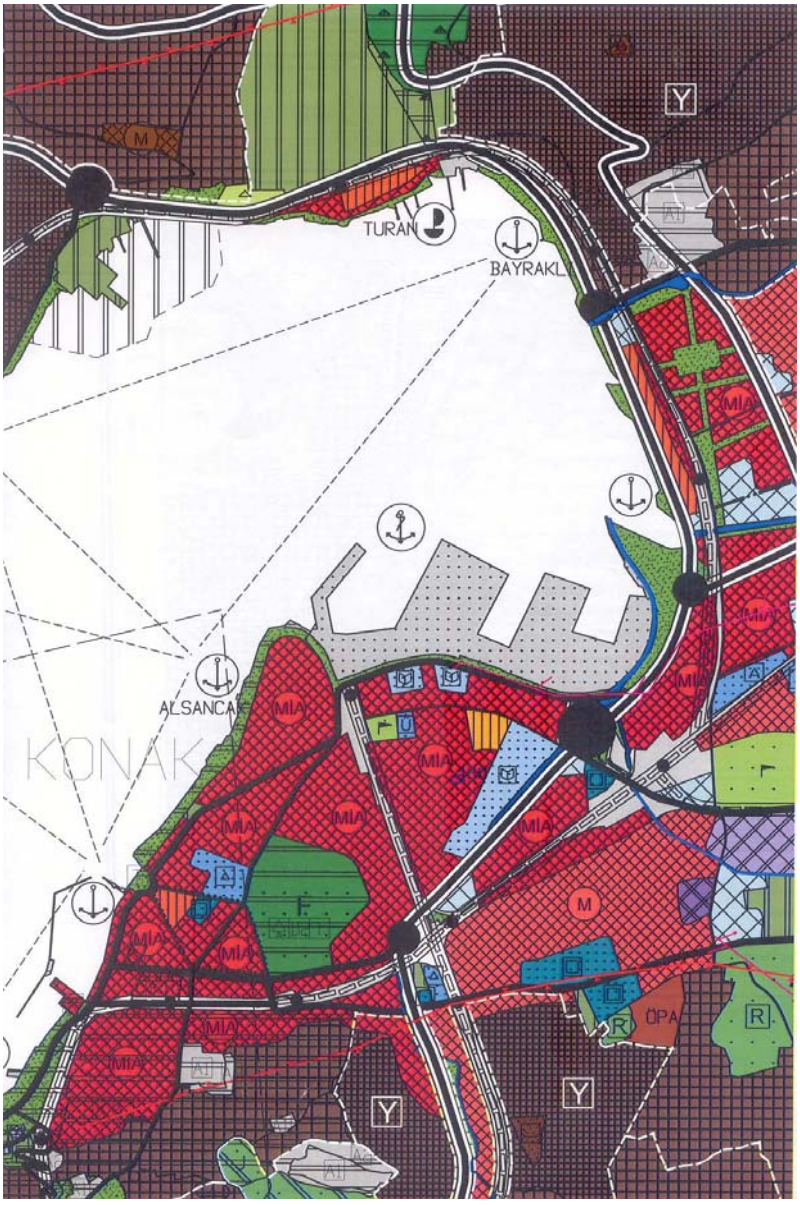


Figure 2. Izmir port district center master plan

Indicators II: Universiad - 2005 In 2005, Izmir has been the host city for a special mega-event: Universiad Summer Games, which is known as the second greatest sports event on world scale. This event has provided the city with an increase in the number of sports facility areas [7] as well as improvement of existing infrastructure. It is stated that the number of persons engaged in sports activities displayed a considerable rise [from 1630 in 2006 to 22,174 in 2008 (IBB, 2009)] in the years to follow. Additionally, there have been many post-event sports organizations hosted by Izmir [Around 70 international sports activities were held in the city (IBB, 2009)]. During the Universiad, 131 countries attended the event with 5372 sportsmen and 2512 staff members adding up to 7884 visitors from all around the world. The number of total visitors were estimated to be 357.000 (IBB, 2009), but there appears to be no detailed statistics concerning the touristic activities in the post-event period. Yet, the success of the event is believed to have aided in the cultural marketing of the city. It was claimed tht the event made the city the envy of all other Turkish cities, as it was the only international mega-event hosted in

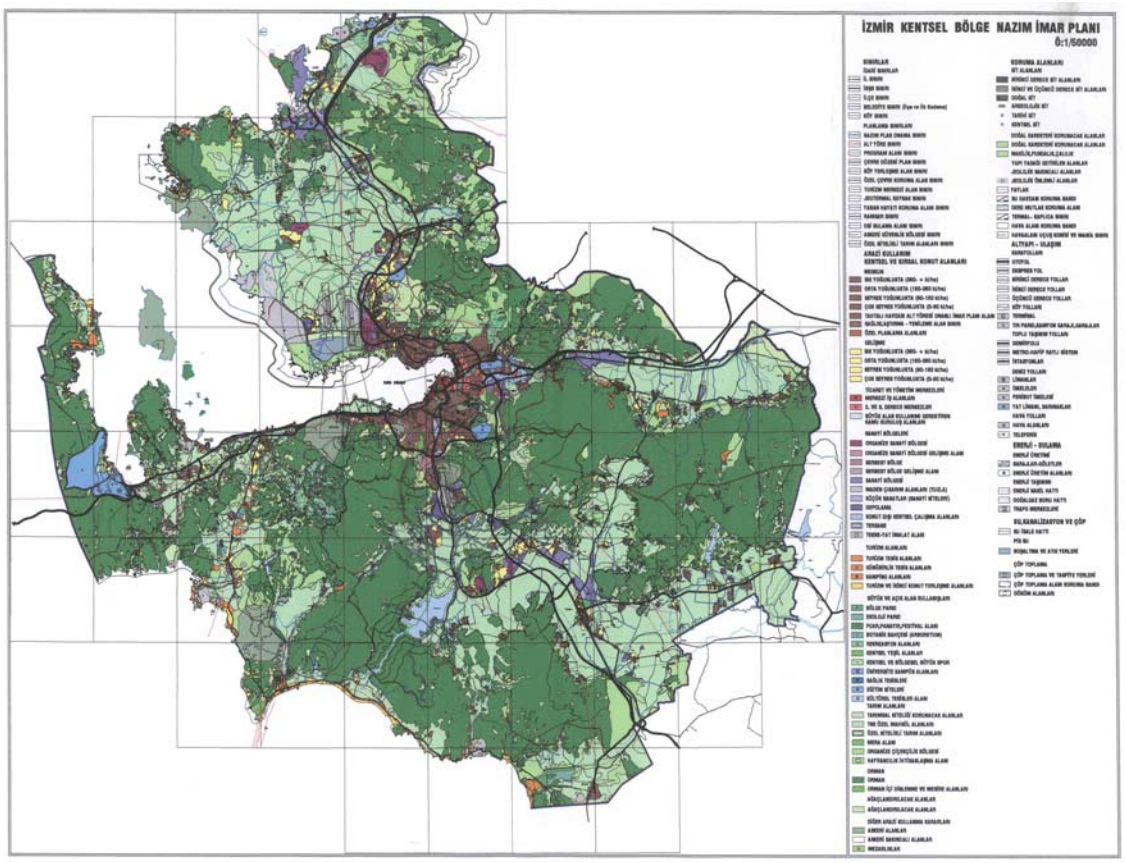


Figure 3. Izmir urban region regional master plan

Turkey for several decades.

Indicators III: Master Plan of Izmir - 2007 Izmir may be said to remain devoid of any large-scale plan since the 1970s. The master plan for the entire city could be approved only in 2007. Until 2007, the city had to suffer from the absence of a vision and major strategy that the upper scale plans could offer. The main planning processes were dominated by such implementations that occasionally bypassed the regular legal procedures for property-led developments. The reports of the master plan involve the intention of the city to attain a leading position among the well-known cities of the world with its 'cultural' assets.

Indicators IV: Bid for EXPO 2015 - 2008 Izmir has been the official candidate city for EXPO 2015 and its bid theme was 'New Routes to a Better World / Health for All'. The winner of the bid, however, was announced to be Milan in Italy. If Izmir had won, its bid would have made it the first fair in the Eastern Mediterranean with a health theme. The officials of the city had promised to create a newly-designed exhibition area (3.7 million m^2) in Inciralti, a coastal district of the city with a pleasant, green and relaxed atmosphere. There was likely to have been a wide range of investments in Izmir including a high-speed train connection between major cities, improvement of the existing metro system in the city as well as the existing airport, and creation of the most extensive archaeological museum of the world. The slogan of the city was 'Izmir Population: 700 million' with regard to the target of attracting visitors from all over the world. Expressed as such, even the slogan itself within the nomination processes shall be taken as a proof of the city's intention to get a more active part on a "mega" scale.

Indicators V: Izmir Culture Workshop - 2009 Organized by the Metropolitan Municipality of Izmir as a one-day event on the 24th of October, Izmir Culture Workshop appears to have launched a virtual culture campaign in the city (Anonymous, 2009). This step has been reflected in the media as depicting the city's future as an 'interna-

tional metropolis of art, culture and design', a 'brand' assumed to make the city the envy of all other Turkish cities. The workshop has been the first held in the entire country. Its ramifications involved discussions on cultural policies, different branches of arts and their relations with the city, urban design, cultural heritage and cultural industries. The crowded number of participants (around 100 experts from Izmir, Istanbul and Ankara) declared their conclusive remarks in ten major statements. Despite the short lifespan of the considerations and post-event complaints of those academicians and practitioners working on related subjects who criticized the limits of the organization that lacked broader grounds of participation, the one-day event can be deemed almost as a sphygmograph, measuring the cultural pulse of the city from the eye of its governing bodies, professionals and experts.

Indicated as such, the goal of adopting culture as a means of urban development seems to confront major obstacles. This statement has its evidences as can be discussed below:

Evidences I: Cases on Court The Master Plan for Izmir City Center, which has been based on the idea competition, was approved in 2003, but it has been subject to plenty of objections carried on to court (Table 3). The result was that the 2003 plan had to be revised repeatedly, first in 2005, then in 2006, and finally in 2007. The main problem appears to be the property ownership issues, indicating that the inhabitants are yet not committed to the city center plan, and cannot imagine what sort of long-term benefits can be achieved. One of the disputes that necessitated the plan to be sued stems from the changing land-use decisions concerning the Roman district, which was under threat of being displaced in an urban land where land prices rise and where the touristic potential conflicts with the unlivable quality of environment. The entire Roman District was allocated to recreational uses until the Chamber of City Planners (CCP) Izmir Branch sued the plan and seized the legal process. The objections of the CCP do in fact manifest the insufficiencies of the planning process. Unless such conflicts were raised on the urban agenda, the plan would be based on the idea that the entire population would be displaced from that specific part of the city center. But on the condition that the areas can be regenerated into touristic uses, there is still the danger of gentrification. There exist a variety of such disputes that have caused the plan to be sued. Of the 55 claims filed, 25 of them are still on trial, indicating that the plan may have to be revised once again.

Filing Dates	Final judgement: negative	Final judgement: positive	Conclusion: appealed	Case on Trial	Total claims filed
2003		2	1		3
2004		2			2
2005			1		1
2006	2	3	3		8
2007	1	3	4	4	12
2008		3	5	20	28
2009				1	1
Total	3	13	14	25	55

Table 3. Case record statistics against the Partial Master Plan for the New Center of Izmir, 2003 - 2009Source: Metropolitan Municipality of Izmir, Law Office Database, 2009.

Evidences II: Post-event Circumstances The Universiad 2005 was the first mega-event held in Turkey since the Mediterranean Games in 1971, which also was hosted by Izmir. The city should have proved the country its success, but yet the Turkish Tourism Strategy - 2023 (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı – Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2006) does not include any statement that gives the city any mission to carry in terms of cultural tourism or creative industries. Secondly, there appears to be no studies based on encouraging the diversification of tourism, namely urban tourism, cultural tourism, congress tourism or cruise tourism that targets mainly the city center and not the peripheral villages that attract all the visitors and in turn, investments. Thirdly, concerning the renewed and newly-constructed sports facilities that are currently in world standards,

there appears to be no special management programme to encourage their use[8].

Evidences III: Conformity of Planning Goals The goals of the Izmir Port District City Center Master Plan on scale 1/5000 appear to be conflicting with those of the Izmir Urban Region Regional Master Plan on scale 1/25000. Considering that the intentions of the CBD of Izmir, specifically, the change in the function of the port from trade into a touristic port, is disregarded in the upper-scale plan, stating that Izmir will enhance its identity as a city of trade port (IBB, 2007: 77). Since the function of the port appears to have a triggering effect upon regeneration of the entire area, this conflict between the goals remains as a major obstacle.

Evidences IV: Cultural Infrastructure In the will to measure the compatibility of the policies with the existing cultural and social infrastructure, even the data of cultural centers shall provide a good example of what the city actually lacks as a metropolis of 3.2 million. The problem with the cultural facilities pertains to the capacities, insufficiency of opera house, the unbalanced distribution of cultural centers that are located mainly within the central districts, but are lacking in peripheral ones and finally, the multi-purpose quality of cultural centers, which do not provide any special events in terms of their standardized spatial characteristics (Table 4). Furthermore, the majority of these centers are stated to be not suitable for scientific meetings. There are many cultural activities held in Izmir, yet those on a large scale expressed in big numbers of audiences cannot be held at the central districts. The problem of loosing the bid for EXPO 2015 is identified also as the insufficiency of the city's cultural infrastructure in comparison to Milan, its rival.

	Number	Capacity
Cultural Centers	18	10523
Amphitheaters	1	300
Outdoor Theater	4	7.700
Theaters	7	376
Opera House	1	400
Movie Theater	23	9388
TOTAL	54	28687

Table 4. Existing cultural facilities in Izmir, 2009. Source: IBB, 2009, 46.

Evidences V Conflicts on the EXPO site - 2008 Location of the Expo site in the outer suburbs of Izmir was planned to allow visitors to the EXPO to combine their visit with the access to waterfront areas or the city. The planning process of the site, however, was subject to remarkable conflicts between the officials and the Chamber of City Planners (CCP) in Izmir. The CCP Izmir Branch has taken the conflict to the State Council by suing the Ministry of Culture and Tourism about the anticipated location of the EXPO site. The subject matter of the action was concerned with the existing planning proposals for the area, which was claimed by CCP to be contradictory to the proposed Fair use (CCP, 2007). In the existing master (on scale 1/5000) and development plans (on scale 1/1000), the anticipated EXPO site was partly allocated to Agricultural Uses and partly to the Touristic Development Area (as announced by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism on the 20th of January, 1991). After becoming a candidate for the EXPO, the Ministry has revised and expanded the boundaries of the tourism development area in 2007. This was the major reason causing the dispute. Furthermore, owing to the natural characteristics of the site, the area was announced to be a 1st degree Natural Conservation Site by the decision of the Conservation Council of Cultural and Natural Entities (decision numbered 8050, dated 1st of July, 1999). The quality of constituting a 1st degree natural conservation site means having all sorts of restrictions against any building activities to take place. But the degrees of the site's conservation quality was once again revised (though partly) down to 2nd and 3rd degrees (with the decision numbered 10168 and dated 17th of December, 2002) (Siyah, 2009). On the other hand, there has been a history of disputes concerning the planned land uses of the site for more than a decade. The distinctive characteristics of the coastal area make the lands be subject to severe competitions targeted at higher rental value, such that destruction of agricultural lands may entail possibilities of further urban development. The inhabitants of the Inciralti district have been fighting to have their agricultural lands converted into high-rise residential areas,

although the dispute is ongoing. The possibility of having the area allocated entirely to uses of touristic development would mean supporting the speculative side of the discussion. Yet, since the EXPO was lost, the case was dismissed and the plans had to be revised once again in 2009.

Depicted as such, all the above-mentioned intentions of the city for its cultural marketing appear to be blocked by the evidences proving the "fall" of planning in Izmir. This shall mean, however, that it is not the 'rise of culture', but lack of comprehensive strategies and goals to be blamed as the reason for the 'fall of planning' in the case of Izmir.

Conclusion

While culture-driven city marketing takes different routes in various cities concerning the production of such goods and services that can be translated into discernable societal and economic outcomes, it is crucial to formulate *a comprehensive policy of culture*. There should be a wider perspective in adopting policies and these policies should definitely be supported by the central government. National policies, strategies and subsidies shall support the intentions of a city, or otherwise the city is left to retain its peripheral position, as the case of Izmir displays.

The practical evidences from the case of Izmir indicate that there remain some lessons to be learned in both the short and long term. The abundance of cases in the court reveals the failure of the planning system where the main intention has been to get the highest benefit from land as a commodity (i.e., the Port District), but the world is full of examples where commodification of space entails further problems conflicting with goals of social cohesion or public benefit. Lack of a comprehensive strategy leaves the potential consent of inhabitants out from the process. This becomes even more crucial when there emerges the danger of displacing specific community groups such as the Roman community in Izmir. Yet today, multiculturalism has become an increasingly attractive selling point for urban tourism. If the target drifts away from the social needs despite the scarcity of public sector resources, then consumption-based strategies will have to conflict with goals for culture-led regeneration. The world experience has shown that unless a cultural vision coherent with the local characteristics is adopted, then the result shall inevitably be expressed in terms of ignorance of disadvantaged groups, imitation leading to cloning contextually alien cases to Izmir or ephemerality of gained benefits.

Lack of a comprehensive strategy also causes legitimation of those top-to-down decisions that by-pass the local planning processes. In the case of Izmir, the main actor in causing this bypass has been the Ministry of Culture and Tourism for the determination of the EXPO site, which has left out all participatory frameworks outside the nomination process. On the condition of a sound policy framework adopted by the local government, which would enable the officials to take earlier and participatory action to tackle all problems of dealing with mega-events as such, the reflection of cultural strategies upon urban space would be no surprise at all.

It is evident that failures of the planning system constitute a major obstacle against any possible scenarios for culture-based identity of the city. Given that Izmir undoubtedly stands at a breaking point to determine its future, considerations of culture-led development shall as well occupy a critical role in formulation of cultural policies to be discussed in relation to both national and local scale decisions. The discussions on the case of Izmir are aimed to provide the answers to the afore-mentioned questions on problems concerning the targeted culture-led rise of cities with particular focus on an occasional 'fall' in their planning and design.

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NOTES

[1] Culture may be seen as encompassing different layers such as *culture as the arts* (where the culture of the cultured class is cultivated through acts of cultural consumption which extend beyond the visual and performing arts to design and architecture, media, food and drink or fashion etc), *anthropological culture* (involving the way of life of a society or group where it is the cultivation of the mind and its intellectual and aesthetical sensibilities, which leads to being educated, polished and refined on the way to become civilized) (Mulcahy, 2006) and as *culture as space* (where any built environment is seen as a source of information about present and past history, culture, and activities of people), which altogether makes culture an *institution*. *Culture as a sector*, on the other hand, is briefly what covers the production and consumption side of the phenomenon (Dündar, 2010), becoming a new feature in economical terms. Today, the culturization of society has led to increasingly diversified areas of consumption that are recently viewed as 'cultural' (Richards, 2007).

[2] Evans & Shaw (2004) identify three models through which cultural activity is incorporated into the regeneration process, either as planned or not. '*Culture-led regeneration'* takes cultural activity as the catalyst or main engine of regeneration. In '*cultural regeneration'*, cultural activity is fully integrated into an area strategy alongside other activities in the environmental, social and economic sphere. Finally in *'culture and regeneration'* cultural activity is not fully integrated at the strategic development or master planning stage.

[3] These marketing efforts are referred to as *mega-projects* (Oureta & Fainstein, 2009), rather than its earlier definitions as 'flagship projects' (Hall, 1998) or as 'prestige projects' (Loftman & Nevin, 1995), because they emphasize the 'mega' scale aspects of the target of competing on global grounds.

[4] In the period between 1960-80, the urban renewal and large-scale developments were highly criticized, which brought a decline in the 1980s and 1990s for reasons of negative environmental and social consequences. Recently, mega projects are getting more popular, which can as well be expressed as their "revival", yet often connected with tourism and sports development and incorporating the designs of world-famous architects (Orueta & Fainstein, 2009).

[5] Yet, the tourism value of sport-led strategies has been subject to much scepticism, The view that sport event organization does not necessarily stimulate cultural regeneration and functions rather as a deterrent for other kinds of cultural tourism, stems from the fact that many destinations have failed to capitalize on the events and could not increase their attractiveness once the event is over. Nevertheless, it should be noted that failures may be an issue only if events are not embedded within other regeneration schemes formulated under a broader strategy launching a series of diverse tourism initiatives (Smith, 2007).

[6] According to travelers, Izmir was the "*Pearl of Levant*", the *"Capital of Levant"* or the *"Petit Paris"* as referring to its cultural environment in the 19th century.

[7] The newly-built tennis courts complex was recorded to be the second greatest in the world after Wimbledon in the UK.

[8] The tennis courts complex mentioned earlier, for instance, is reported to be subject to obsolescence due to not being used because of problems of location and management.

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