

**KEYWORDS**

*Culture; Planning; Cultural tourism; Izmir; Culture-led  
Regeneration.*

# **THE RISE OF CULTURE AND FALL OF PLANNING: SUCCESSES AND FAILURES IN ADOPTION OF NEW ROUTES FOR CULTURE-LED REGENERATION, THE CASE OF 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 leaves considerable impacts upon the quality of life in cities. The competition takes two major routes: mega projects and mega-events. While cities of mainly the economically advanced nations go through a wide range of experiences, their successes and failures should be taken into consideration by other cities that wish to imitate those 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 the case Izmir, by way of stating the city's intentions to benefit from culture-driven strategies, examined as its 'indicators' and formulating the 'evidences' 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.*

## 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 1970s and beginning of 1980s, during which the restructuring of economy led by changes in production, its location on global scale and de-industrialization has been reflected upon 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 and Paddison, 2005). Culture-led regeneration has now become a new feature of cities. The outcome of this new route where culture was adopted as the new driver in urban economic growth and competition has followed rather speedy ways (Miles and Paddison, 2005), letting particularly the cities of economically advanced nations experience an urban cultural renaissance (Evans, 2001; Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993). Yet, this pace is not very much the same in cities of developing nations, leaving some cities at the periphery of such a competition.

The goal in pursuing cultural strategies for economic development is twofold. First, fostering culture as a sector, where promotion of sports, culture-arts, shopping and eating altogether create jobs and generate revenues. Second, these initiatives become part of the city's marketing efforts where cities strive to become attractive locations for businesses, affluent families or tourists (Strom, 1999). 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 concerning the city's planning and design.

## RISE OF CULTURE: MAJOR ROUTES

It has always been the main ambition of cities to gain or retain their position as among the highest-ranking cities throughout the history. Competition was always present, yet not as much severe and intensively 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. Taken either as a driver, a catalyst or a key component in urban development (Evans and Shaw, 2004, 5),<sup>1</sup> culture evidently experiences a “*rise*” (Miles and Paddison, 2005) concerning its impacts upon not only of economic development terms, but also the overall quality of life in cities. As cultural policy involves such strategies and activities that promote “the production, dissemination, marketing and consumption of the arts” (cited from Rentschler, 2002 by Mulcahy, 2006, 320), this policy leaves such 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,

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

the first of which may be referred to as *mega-projects*<sup>2</sup>, standing for large-scale developments that target not only at serving the inhabitants, but also representing the city nation- and even world-wide and secondly *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 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).

TABLE 1.

### The Major Routes of Cultural Marketing

Mega - Projects	Mega - Events
<i>Iconic Buildings</i>	<i>Capitals of Culture</i>
<i>Culture-led Urban Regeneration Projects</i>	<i>Fairs and EXPOs</i>
<i>Theme Parks and Flagship Museums</i>	<i>International Events of Art, Science and Sports</i>

Among these routes, *regeneration* appears as a major component in implementing such cultural strategies that, once works are completed, intervention areas will become successful places to work, live, shop and recreate (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Bassett, 1993; Griffiths, 1995; Hall, 1998; Zukin, 1995; McCarthy, 2005; Montgomery, 2003). Thus, the revival of mega-scale projects<sup>3</sup> in recent times is not coincident

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> In the period between 1960-80, the urban renewal and large-scale developments were highly criticized, which brought a decline in the 1980s and

tal 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 *et al.*, 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 Manchester Northern Quarter (1993) Temple Bar in Dublin (1990-1991)] and *cultural quarters of consumption* frequently at either cultural heritage sites and cultural quarters (such as 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 be flourished, 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

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. (Oureta & Fainstein, 2009).

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*, 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 emphasizes the importance of such events as *symbolic triggers* that can act in building a creative environment (2000, 153-155).

As manifest from afore-mentioned routes of culturally-induced marketing of cities, increasing number of cities are looking at cultural, retail and entertainment redevelopments to attract people back into the city today (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 and 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 be guaranteed to bring about an economical rise in urban development? Can cultural policies underlying urban planning activities ensure a rise in urban development that easily, or does this decision have to be made from a broader perspective? Or can planning 'fall' despite the intention to rise '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 indeed are 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 and 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 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 and Nevin, 1995, 306), since the *target group* appears to be the local middle class and cultural tourists (Evans and Shaw, 2004, 58),
- In time the success of specific cases lead to an *imitation* process, termed as creation of '*clone cities*' by Law (1993) (as cited by Loftman and Nevin, 1995, 308),
- Mass production leads to *commodification* of culture and the spread of cultural capitalism (Miles and Paddison, 2005, 834) where cultural assets are somewhat exploited (Richards and Wilson, 2006, 1221) while creating identical landscapes (Hall, 1998, 93),
- The competition demands for more innovative and unique developments, but this leads to *ephemerality* due to the danger of becoming obsolete (Harvey, 1989),
- *Fragmentation* of cities is inevitable (Newman and Verpraet, 1999; Loftman and Nevin, 1995, 306),

- Scarce public sector resources may be transferred away from welfare-related *social needs* (Loftman and Nevin, 1995, 308),
- Any possible crisis of the private sector including the *sectoral risks* of tourism may become a threat in realization of regeneration projects (Hall, 1998, 87),
- *Gentrification* may occur as one of the possible outcomes in culturally regenerated quarters (Bianchini, 1993).

These points are significant in the sense that wide variety of different cases to be 'imitated' shall definitely beware the possible unintended outcomes. This is even more crucial for cities of developing nations.

### FALL OF PLANNING: CASE OF IZMIR

The literature on culture-led regeneration or creation of cultural quarters that contribute to development of cultural tourism focus, as mentioned earlier, on mainly the case studies of those cities located at economically advanced nations, no matter whether they achieved success or have been a 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 that easy right from the start at the stage of planning even.

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 his-

tory from Smyrna of the past, the cosmopolitan city of different cultures, to Izmir of our time, symbolizing the western gate of the country, the city appears to go through major changes that differ itself from its background. As the third largest city of Turkey, the city 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 declaration of the Republic, the city was known as the most important city of the Ottomans in terms of foreign trade<sup>4</sup>. 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 has constituted an opportunity to create a brand new city in the same respect. (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 encountering its basic needs and the planning procedures have been unsuccessful to catch up with the pace of urbanization. The first comprehensive planning effort has been in 1973 during which 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, however, the 2000s are those years during which urban consciousness and civic engagement appear to be on the agenda.

<sup>4</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> century (Eyüce, 2005).

TABLE 2.  
Major Characteristics of Urban Development in Izmir

Periods	Major Characteristics
<b>Pre-Republican Period</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Modernization of the city with its cosmopolitan structure: 1<sup>st</sup> nationalist architectural movement</li> <li>▪ Spatial reflections of Westernization: Intra-regional <i>transportation</i>: investments in railroad system and port providing the raw materials for European capitalism; <i>Commercial</i> transformation: khans replaced by hotels, bazaar streets, <i>fevkani</i> (commercial) mosques; <i>Services</i> linked to the West: banking, insurance, newspapers, posting; <i>Education</i>: missionary schools; <i>Suburbanization</i> starting with 1865; Different social groups of <i>multi-identity</i>: Levantines, Jews, Greeks, Armenians (foreign merchants)</li> <li>▪ The most important city of the Ottomans in terms of foreign trade</li> </ul>
<b>Republican Period (1923-1948)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Structural transformations of the Republican Ideology: "erasing the past": early Modernism of Contemporary/ "Western" Izmir; brand new architectural understanding</li> <li>▪ Post-war (Independence War) troubles: the need to re-erect the city after 1922 Fire devastating almost three fourths of the city</li> </ul>
<b>Liberal Period (1948-1960)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ As attractive in agricultural terms, rise of the migration flows to Izmir during the 1940s</li> <li>▪ 1940s: 2<sup>nd</sup> nationalist architectural movement</li> <li>▪ Accelerated urbanization and intense flows of migration</li> <li>▪ Emergence of squatter settlements in peripheral areas</li> <li>▪ Post-1950s: international style (invitation of foreign architects including René Dange-1925, Le Corbusier-1948 and Bodmer-1959)</li> </ul>
<b>Planned Period (1960-1980)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Rapid development of inner-city industrialization</li> <li>▪ 1973 Master Plan: Linear macroform strategy in north-south direction and intense industrial development</li> <li>▪ Foreign investments</li> <li>▪ 1970s-need for housing: "uninterrupted walls" of buildings dominating the city's spatial appearance</li> <li>▪ Condominium Act resulting in rise of population density via increase in building heights: over-density</li> </ul>
<b>Neo-Liberal Period (post-1980)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Piecemeal developments</li> <li>▪ Development of collective consumption areas</li> <li>▪ New populism indexed upon urbanization (urban development exemptions, allocation of title deeds, slum reclamation, revision plans, mass housing)</li> <li>▪ De-industrialization and beautification of prestigious areas</li> <li>▪ Conflict between politicians and NGOs for mega-scale projects</li> <li>▪ Efforts for mega-events: Universiad (2005); EXPO 2015 nominee</li> </ul>

Source: revised from Dündar, 2002.

Izmir had such an experience that differed itself from other cities of the country. Its cosmopolitan structure that always opposed to the central government policies caused the city to be left politically 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 itself its own way out of such a crisis. Diversification of economic sectors, going for re-imagining the city and bidding for mega-events can be mentioned among its targets that gave culture a different place in its future.

The city's intention to benefit from what the rest of the world heads to, namely culture-led regeneration, shall be scrutinized as its *indicators*, and how these intentions fail to take it where it targets at shall then provide the *evidences*, to be hereby discussed.

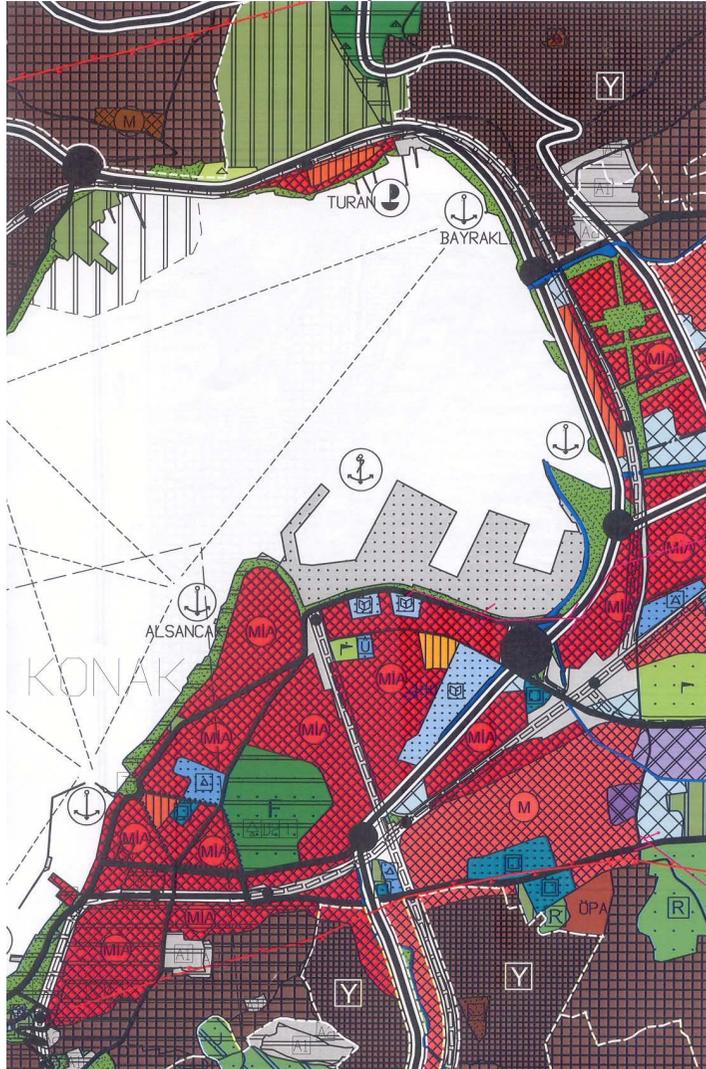
*Indicators I: Urban Design Idea Competition - 2001* The recent times display the city's intention to define its future along the route of cultural regeneration. This intention is manifest in organization of an international competition in 2001, namely *Izmir Port District Urban Design Idea Competition*. 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 in one-hour drive from the city and then the port would be allocated to touristic transportation including cruise tourism. 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 activi-

ties that were to support cultural tourism. (Competition Brief, 2001, 2).The official 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, 44), 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 Design Idea Competition  
First Prize – J. Brandi**



Figure 2.

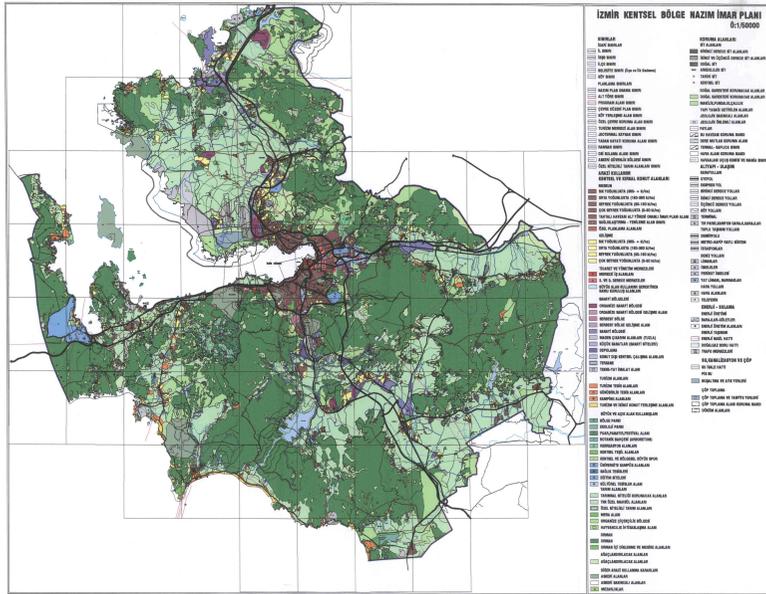
**Izmir Port District City Center Master Plan**

*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<sup>5</sup> as well as betterment of existing infrastructure. It is regarded that the number of persons engaged in sports activities displayed a considerable rise [from 1630 in 2006 to 22,174 in 2008 (IBB, 2009, 70)] in the years to follow. Additionally, there have been many numbers of post-event sports organizations hosted by Izmir [Around 70 international sports activities were held in the city (IBB, 2009, 70)]. In 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, 70), 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 aid in cultural marketing of the city.

*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. The reports of the plan involve the intention of the city to attain a leading position among the well-known cities of the world with its 'cultural' assets.

<sup>5</sup> The newly-built tennis courts complex was recorded to be the second greatest in the world after Wimbledon in UK.

Figure 3.  
Izmir Urban Region Regional Master Plan



*Indicators IV: Bid for EXPO 2015 - 2008* Izmir has been selected as the official nominee for EXPO 2015. The winner of the bid, however, was announced to be Milano in Italy. The nomination processes shall be taken as a proof of the city’s intention to get a more active part on “mega” scale.

Indicated as such, the goal for 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 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 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. Of the 55 claims filed, 25 of them are still on trial, indicating that the plan may have to be revised once again.

TABLE 3.  
Case record statistics against the Partial Master Plan for the New Center of Izmir, 2003 - 2009

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
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>55</b>

Source: 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 etc. 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<sup>6</sup>.

*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 merely the data of cultural centers shall provide a good example of what the city actually lacks as a city of 3.2 million on metropolitan scale. The problem with the cultural facilities pertains to the capacities on the one hand, 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, that 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.

<sup>6</sup> 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.

There are many cultural activities held in Izmir, yet those on mega-scale cannot be held at central districts. The problem for loosing the bid for EXPO 2015 is identified as the insufficiency of the city's cultural infrastructure in comparison to Milano as its rival.

TABLE 4.  
**Existing Cultural Facilities of Izmir, 2009**

	Number	Capacity
Cultural Centers	18	10523
Amphi-theaters	1	300
Outdoor Theater	4	7.700
Theaters	7	376
Opera House	1	400
Movie Theater	23	9388
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>28687</b>

Source: IBB, 2009, 46.

Depicted as such, the intentions of the city its for cultural marketing appear to be blocked by the evidences proving the “fall” of planning in Izmir.

## CONCLUSION

While culture-driven city marketing takes different routes in different 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.

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 have aimed to provide the answers to the aforementioned 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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