



# Branded or Scarred: Antalya's Representation in the Global Market<sup>1</sup>

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Bir Dünya Markası ya da Gönül Yarası: Antalya'nın Küresel Pazarda Temsili

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## Abstract

*This article attempts to identify the branding strategies of the growth coalition in Antalya led by the Antalya Greater Municipality (AGM) during the 2004-2009 municipal governance term. To this end, how urban collective capital is represented in the global market under the grand scenario of transforming Antalya into a 'city of culture' is examined. Based on empirical findings, the major task this article undertakes is to present how Antalya is re-imagined as a branded 'city of culture' under the direction of the business-minded mayor of the AGM.*

**Keywords:** *entrepreneurial municipal governance, neoliberalism, urban representation, urban collective capital, brand city, Antalya-Turkey*

## Özet

*Bu çalışmanın amacı, 2004-2009 yerel yönetim döneminde Antalya Büyükşehir Belediye'sinin liderliğinde oluşan büyüme koalisyonu üyesi (bireysel ya da kurumsal düzeyde) eyleyicilerin, Antalya'yı markalaştırma amacıyla geliştirdikleri kentsel yeniden yapılandırma stratejilerini analiz etmektir. Bu amaca yönelik olarak, Antalya'yı bir 'kültür kenti'ne dönüştürmek senaryosu altında Antalya kentinin sahip olduğu 'kentsel kolektif sermaye çeşitleri'nin küresel pazarda nasıl temsil edildiği incelenmiştir. Ampirik bulgulara dayalı olan bu çalışma, Antalya'da büyüme koalisyonunu oluşturan eyleyicilere liderlik yapan girişimci zihniyetli bir belediye yönetiminin, 'kültür kenti' markasıyla kenti yeniden hayal edişlerini sunmaktadır.*

**Anahtar kelimeler:** *girişimci belediyecilik, neoliberalizm, kent temsili, kentsel kolektif sermaye, marka kent, Antalya-Türkiye*

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## **Introduction**

In an era of entrepreneurial and business-minded city governors, most governors and mayors seem to believe that in urban marketing, brand names matter. 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, p. xvi). Marketers suggest that a brand is more important than the product being sold, and consider communicating the core values of the brand as key to generating customer loyalty and brand recognition (Hubbard, 2006, pp. 86-87).

Promoted as a *brand*, the city becomes the commodity itself when offered to buyers within various representations immersed in commercial exchange through its promotion with chic names such as *city of culture*, *fashion center*, *tourism center*, *business center*, and so on. What is clearly evident in *marketing* cities is that “contemporary forms of place promotion are not simply attempts to advertise the city” (Hubbard, 2006, p. 87). Rather, the intention is to *reinvent* or *rewrite* the city, weaving myths designed to position the city within global flows of urban images and *representational* practices.

Inspired by Bourdieu, in this article, the term ‘urban representation’ is conceptualized as the ‘representation of urban collective capital.’ The aim here is to critically review the marketing strategies employed by the growth alliance in Antalya, while demonstrating how *urban collective capital* has been represented in the global market in an increasingly entrepreneurial way. A second aim is to highlight the discursive representation of Antalya within efforts to essentially re-create the city by capitalizing on its culture. Finally, while presenting empirical findings, the representational practices as the outcome of the growth coalition's branding strategies are criticized for their blatant disregard for the risk of damaging and diminishing *urban collective capital*.

This article tries to explore the *branding* strategies of the growth coalition in Antalya during the 2004-2009 municipal governance period.

To this end, the branding strategies of the growth alliance led by the Antalya Greater Municipality (AGM) with support from Antalya Chamber of Trade and Commerce (ATSO) among various other local and global agents like Akdeniz University, Antalya Industrialist and Businessmen's Association (ANSIAD), Antalya Promotion Foundation (ATAV), The Turkish Foundation of Cinema and Audiovisual Culture (TÜRSAK), Istanbul Greater Municipality, World Trade Center Antalya Branch (WTC) (as the sub-branch of Istanbul WTC), Mediterranean Tourism & Hoteliers Association (AKTOB), Antalya Free Zone (AFZ) (the administration and other investor companies) and other agencies, whom Logan and Molotch define as the 'rentier' class—those centering around those developers, realtors, and banks who have an interest in the exchange of land and property.

In addition to the members mentioned above, Molotch (1976) holds that the growth machine also consists of politicians, the management of local media, museums and theaters, organized labor, self employed professionals, retailers, and corporate capitalists. Since the 'growth machine' thesis emphasizes the role of individuals and interest groups, in this study, 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.

## **1. The Representation of the 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, p. 38). In order to attract global capital, cities have been competing to be represented in the global arena.

According to Short, today "urban representation and urban boosterism [go] hand in hand" and urban boosterism has two distinct

discourses (1999, pp. 40-41). 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 (1999). The first is the apportionment of blame. The need to describe a problem as a cause of crime, and urban decline in the inner city, booster campaigns were fundamentally driven by the ‘growth coalition’ and were concerned with gaining positive recognition for their city.

In urban boosterism, the *identification of the shadow* can be 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 a series of policing measures for social control” (Keil, 1997, 2000). 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, p. 260). Because of this contradiction, Harvey regards the neo-liberal state as profoundly anti-democratic, despite attempts to disguise this fact (2006, p. 27).

Short defines two interconnected responses to discursive representation (1999, p. 43). First, there has been a shift in the urban governance in some countries from *managerialism* to *entrepreneurialism*, as city governments enter the competition for scarce and mobile capital. 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, four themes emerge here: a. *world cities and wannabe world cities*; b. *look, no more factories*; c. *the city for business*; d. *capitalizing culture* (Short, 1999, pp. 43-52).

All three dominant world cities—London, New York, and Tokyo—have been facing competition from what Short refers to as *Wannabe*

*World Cities* (1999, p. 44). They compete for common functions and word spectacles, and are concerned with ensuring the most effective international image.

Cities<sup>2</sup> following the trend of *Look, No More Factories* have all been (re)presented in a more attractive package emphasizing 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 just because being seen as industrial is associated with the old, polluted and out-of-date (pp. 45-46). The process of urban (re)presentation has been described 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), and selling the industrial town (Barke and Harrop, 1994).

Third, Short holds 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 for Business* (1999, p. 47).

Finally, through *Capitalizing Culture*, in cities where cultural political economy strategies are applauded, art shows and galleries, opera halls, museums, festivals and symphony halls are a vital part in the reimagining of cities. According to Short, these cities intimate 'world city' status in an effort to attract and retain executive classes and skilled workers of the high-tech industries of the present and future (1999, p. 51). Cultural attributes are also a source of revenue in their own right.

## 2. Urban Collective Capital

Beside the universally known *economic* capital, 'accumulated labor,' Bourdieu defines three major forms: *cultural, social and symbolic* capital

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<sup>2</sup> Manchester in the UK, Pittsburgh and Milwaukee in the USA, and Wollongong in Australia, the Ruhr Region in Germany.

(1986, pp. 241-242). In his conceptualization, *cultural capital* is convertible, under certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of educational qualifications; and *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*.

Borrowing Bourdieu's concept of 'symbolic capital,' Harvey (2001, p. 405) introduces the concept of 'collective symbolic capital' by which he means 'special marks of distinction' that attach to some places which have significant drawing power upon the flows of capital. In his conceptualization, the power of *collective symbolic capital* is *special marks of distinction* that attach to a place like London, Cairo, Barcelona, Istanbul, and so on, to gain access to anything that is supposedly unique to such places, which have a significant drawing power upon the flows of capital more generally.

Inspired by Harvey's concept of 'collective symbolic capital,' in this article, 'urban collective capital' is introduced as a new concept. In addition to 'urban collective *economic capital*,' similar to the Bourdieuan approach to 'forms of capital,' here 'urban collective *cultural capital*,' 'urban collective *social capital*,' and 'urban collective *symbolic capital*' are also introduced to examine the discursive representation of urban collective capital possessed by Antalya.

According to Bourdieu, '*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 it is presumed to guarantee] (1986, p. 243).

### 3. Antalya's Collective Cultural Capital

#### 3.1. In Embodied State (Bedenleşmiş hâli)

With the term 'culture of a city,' the celebrated urban historian Mumford means, for instance, the 'defensive culture' of cities surrounded by 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 (1938, p. 421). In this sense, in its *embodied* state, the collective cultural capital of a city can be explained, for example, by the working class culture in industrial cities following the industrial revolution.

In the same way, in this article, it is argued 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 element of the '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 since its foundation as a port city. Both the literature review and empirical findings demonstrate that, above all, Antalya has been a 'port' and a 'commercial city' since antiquity (Goffman, 1990, p. 9). 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.

Essentially, the *embodied* state of the 'collective cultural capital' of a city, as proposed in this study, 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.

'Agriculture,' as the major production activity, is one of the *embodied* states of 'collective cultural capital' attached to Antalya, although, since 1980, activities have moved from the coastal region toward the mountains due to agricultural lands being allocated for tourism investments. Still, the stakeholders interviewed during the field research are convinced that Antalya's future lies in agriculture, organic agriculture, in particular. They point out that lands suitable for organic agriculture remain, 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 produced. Antalya's future lies in agriculture.*

*R24: An agricultural city; with the most important asset being greenhouse production.*

*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.*

*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. [...] I think Antalya should not only be a solely tourism based city; agriculture should also be supported.*

*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.*

*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.*



R23: The greenhouse production culture has left the city center. There used to be such a culture in the villages in the center. Our Kircami 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.

Although a forgotten collective cultural capital, '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. Raising silkworms still took place in the 1950s in some houses in *Kaleiçi* (the Castle District), and the cocoons were collected in silkworm pots set up in 'Zerdalilik Kahvesi,' or in what used to be known as 'Kozaklı Kahve'<sup>3</sup> (Çimrin, 2007, p. 31, 542). In Bektaş's anthology, *Antalya*, as we find out from Oral (1980, pp. 142-43) that the modest silkworms, which made cocoons for centuries in the *Kaleiçi* Houses, 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 cultivation of cotton was another common production activity until the beginning of tourism investments in the early 1980s. After the replacement of productive agricultural lands with touristic facilities, the cotton disappeared as an *objectified* production itself as well as the labor power potential, the *embodied* culture of producing cotton. Similarly, cotton textile production was forgotten as there were no textile production private factories in Antalya after the closure of the Antalya Cotton Textile Factory in 2003, after forty two years of production.

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<sup>3</sup> "Kozak" means "cacoon" in English.

The activity of ship building as a collective cultural capital in its *embodied* state survived from the Greek period until the mid 1950s.<sup>4</sup> After then, this common production activity was neglected but reappeared in the Free Zone in the new millennium with the production of luxury boats.

Cengiz Bektaş, a well known Turkish architect, tells us in his book *Antalya* that the construction masters he chatted with in Kaleiçi reported that all of the houses in Kaleiçi were built by Greek masters who were also the ship builders of the time (Bektaş, 1980, p. 122). As Bektaş emphasizes, the old masters naturally took with them their knowledge and skills in construction, i.e. the architectural culture when they left. However, three of the five *Kaleici* construction masters that Bektaş spoke to in 1976, aged between 50 and 77 were trained by Greek masters. These residents contributed to Bektaş's compilation with their accounts:

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. (1980, p. 137)

### 3.2. In Objectified State (*Nesneleşmiş hâli*)

In Bourdieu's (1986, p. 246) conceptualization, *cultural capital* in the *objectified* state has a number of properties 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. Similarly, it is proposed that a city's 'collective cultural

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<sup>4</sup> Sönmez (2008, p. 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.

capital' is *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 visiting the places where they stand and exhibited but can not be transmitted like economic capital.

The most important collective cultural capital of Antalya in *objectified* state is the Aspendos Theatre which was built between 131 A.D. and 161 A.D. (Çimrin, 2002, p. 152). Informant R4, who says, "When I think of Antalya, I think of Aspendos," believes that the closing ceremony of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival (AGOFF) held in Aspendos in 2005 was magnificent.

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 7,000 [people]. Locarno was the greatest until then [2005]. We doubled Locarno with 15,000. And we did it in a 2,800-3,000 year old Antique Theatre. It was incredible.*

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 and eventually, the "experience" as such becomes decisive (Heidegger, 1991, p. 86). At this moment, especially architecture and sculpture as a means of achieving this "experience" can be regarded as something beyond urban collective cultural capital in the *objectified* state but as something "aiming toward the impression, the effect, wanting to work on and arouse the audience: theatrics" in Heidegger's words.

Antalya was founded as a Greek city by the Pergamum King Attalos II. It was an important city visited personally by the Roman Emperor in 130 A.D. The Hadrian Gate, 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 city's Antique Greek and Roman heritage is not so apparent in daily life, though sophisticated tourists visiting can see 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 taking advantage of the city that probably exhibits the greatest number of pieces in the country. [...] 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.*

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, and Sultan Giyaseddin Keyhüsrev, who made Antalya a Seljuk city, from three respondents:

*R16: There used to be no statues other than those of Ataturk. Both the Attalos and Giyaseddin Keyhüsrev sculptures were made during my term [1999-2004].*

*R3: The Attalos statue... It doesn't matter what the sculpture is of. It was missing. There are no statues or squares in Antalya.*

*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 [from central government] 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.*

Informant R2, who claims that Antalya was a milestone for the Seljuks, says the following about the Attalos and Seljuk Sultan Gıyaseddin Keyhusrev's statues<sup>5</sup> and the controversy that arose:

*R2: 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. [...] But it actually shouldn't be at the Gate because the Gate of a city is its womb 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. [...] For 700 years, this place has been called by the Shoemakers' area [Ayakkabıcılar İçi, Kunduracılar İçi], and this is still what it's called.*

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 *Kaleiçi*, 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.' In any case, attributing the city's disintegration to its lack of self-preservation would mean ignoring the damage caused to it. Some of the

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<sup>5</sup> 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.

informants have mentioned that the only way to preserve the *Kaleiçi* District is to render it non-commercial with a radical decision. Indeed, the time may have come to seriously consider this alternative.

With commerce speeding up after 1981, the real estate value in *Kaleiçi* rose immensely, causing an imbalance. 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 residents is continually dropping. Müfit Perdahlı, the Chairman of the KALE-DER Board of Directors, says that as of 2007 only 3% of those living in *Kaleiçi* are Antalya natives (2007, p. 44). *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 what symbolizes Antalya's most important 'collective cultural capital,' and even 'collective symbolic capital' has all been forgotten.

The informants, almost as if in agreement, 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 actively allay the concerns that previous mistakes will denigrate Antalya's multi-layered cultural heritage seems the funding of preservation and restoration projects. The informants, who view Antalya as its original location, the *Kaleiçi* area, 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.*

*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.*

R17: *The Kaleiçi is important; that's where Antalya is. If it were me, I would make a law saying the Kaleiçi the place in the world most worth seeing. Kaleiçi is equivalent to Antalya.*

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.*

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 not in keeping with the architecture of the Kaleiçi should be torn down. There were about 25. Most were built illegally 10-15 years ago.*

For Perdahlı (2007, p. 44) and many of the interviewees, the most effective solution to *Kaleiçi* problem in Antalya is encouraging people to reside in *Kaleiçi* so that the balance between residential and commercial units can be reinstated, keeping *Kaleiçi*'s cultural identity alive. However, today, many people living in Antalya avoid *Kaleiçi* because of the negative connotations attached to it, like Informant R6: *"I haven't been down to Kaleiçi and the marina in three years."*

The recommendations about lighting and camera security system listed by Perdahlı in the ATSO (Antalya Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası, Antalya Chamber of Trade and Commerce) magazine 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 historic shopping mall. Still, all of his recommendations were implemented by the entrepreneurial governance of the 2004-2009 AGM administration parallel to the neoliberal policies supported by the central government. As mentioned above, neoliberal governors imagine a city with commercialized and malled street life, suburbanized inner cities, private rather than collective consumption,

invisible poverty and homelessness, controlled public spaces, and managed segregation on various scales (Keil, 2000).

Another significant but relatively smaller *objectified* state of the 'collective cultural capital' of Antalya is the *Döşemealtı* Carpet (*Döşemealtı Halısı*) as a particular export item arising from Turkmen *Yörük*'s economic activity, which was also among the principal goods exported from Antalya port even in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. In the mid-1980s, there still were nearly 30,000 carpet looms in the Antalya region (ATSO, 2006b, p. 30). This number also means that the *Döşemealtı* Carpet is the urban collective cultural capital, *embodied* by 30,000 weavers. The *Döşemealtı* people, once unable to meet their customers' demand for their carpets, now complain that the women in the region are no longer willing to weave carpets.

### 3.3. In Institutionalized State (*Kurumsallaşmış hâli*)

As the third state, Bourdieu determines the *institutionalized* state of 'cultural capital' in the form of academic qualifications. This is one way of neutralizing some of the properties it derives from being embodied, thus having the same biological limits as its bearer (1986, p. 247). 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.

The institutionalization of a university in Antalya was relatively late compared to Istanbul and Ankara. Akdeniz ("Mediterranean" in Turkish) University was founded in 1982 with its four faculties, the Faculty of Medicine, the Faculty of Agriculture, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, and the Faculty of Engineering (Antalya Valiliği, 1986, p. 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 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, if this is indeed the cradle of the world civilization or primarily European culture, 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.*

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 of Architects. 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.*

The Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival (AGOFF), the most famous collective cultural capital of Antalya, has been held since 1964. It was *institutionalized* with the establishment of 'The Antalya Golden Orange Culture and Art Foundation' on January 15, 1995 ("History", 2004, p. 16).

Under the scenario of transforming Antalya into a 'city of culture,' the AGOFF, an integral part of Antalya's image is spectacularly represented in the global market to brand both the festival and Antalya.

The image of 'city of culture' was strengthened through the promotion of other events organized in Antalya, namely, the Aspendos Opera and Ballet Festival (1994), Antalya Piano Festival (1999), and Antalya International Sand Sculpture Festival in the Lara Sand City (2006). The city also hosts many athletic activities like the World Rally Championship in 2008 and the World Basketball Championship in 2010. Lastly, in 2012, the first International Antalya Fashion and Textile Design Biennial were added to Antalya's collective cultural capital in the *institutionalized* state.

One event organized to promote Antalya not only attempts to represent its natural beauty and its value as a tourism destination, but to represent it as a center for agricultural, industrial and other service related fields; and the domestic and international businesses in the international market is the 'Western Mediterranean Basin Industry and Trade Fair,' the first of which took place in May 12-16, 2004. This fair was organized through the cooperation of the Foundation for the Development of the Western Mediterranean Economy (*Batı Akdeniz Ekonomik Geliştirme Vakfı*, BAGEV) and the Antalya Fair and Investment, Inc. (ATSO, 2004, p. 19). New fairs were organized in Antalya following the BAGEV fair, which took place in 2004 in the Antalya Expo Center to promote at a national level the companies and brands active in the Western Mediterranean Region, ensuring the integration of the region's economy into the Turkish and world economies, or in short, forming a regional power. During the opening ceremony of the BAGEV fair in 2004, Özgen, speaking as the Chairman of the ATSO and BAGEV Boards, stated that they primarily aimed 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 Istanbul and Ankara as a branch of the Istanbul

Center. Özgen spoke during the opening ceremony of the Istanbul World Trade Center (WTC) Antalya Branch organized at the Antalya Expo Center, and said that the Antalya WTC would contribute to developing fairs in Antalya, supporting the city's promotion to international communities (ATSO, 2006c, p. 11).

Cultural events like festivals, conferences or fairs are therefore seen as an integral part of Antalya's image, and as a key component of the city's economic income. Antalya's festivals are also seen as important for marketing the city to external audiences, and an important part in the competition between cities for economic development. The media also 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 city. The number and type of Antalya's festivals, however, can also end up challenging what is seen as the traditional image of the town.

#### **4. Representation of Antalya in the Global Market**

While Antalya seeks ways to represent itself in the global market to become a city of culture, the central government also sees Antalya as an instrument to 'represent Turkey.' For example, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan<sup>6</sup>, who was in Spain to attend the Alliance of Civilizations Forum on 17 January 2008 in Madrid, can not praise Antalya and the AGM Mayor Menderes Türel enough. As seen in this example, the 'representation of Antalya' becomes crucial since it also means the 'representation of Turkey' in social, economic, cultural and political terms.

Regarding Antalya as a 'window' representing Turkey is not new. For example, another political personality, the head of the Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*, CHP) Deniz Baykal, spoke at the

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<sup>6</sup> See also the news "Başbakan Erdoğan'dan İspanya'da Antalya'ya övgü." 17 Ocak 2008 [http://www.antalya.bel.tr/tr/bel\\_guncel/haber\\_detay.cfm?sayfa=5733](http://www.antalya.bel.tr/tr/bel_guncel/haber_detay.cfm?sayfa=5733), accessed on 14.05.2010

ATSO Assembly Meeting on June 21, 2002 during 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, 2002a, p. 7). Informant R17, interviewed during the field research agrees:

*R17: This is a good location; it is like a shop window. 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.*

When he attained his position in the local government, the 2004-2009 AGM mayor was the president of ATSO, which has hundreds of members active in Antalya's industry and trade. The mayor accelerated the restructuring in Antalya to make it a 'city of culture' through entrepreneurial urban governance with his businessman identity. About a week after the election, on April 12, 2004, in line with neoliberal policies, Mayor Türel was quoted in a national newspaper, *Hürriyet*:

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 (Süsoy, 2004).

It seems that Antalya's 'representation' goes beyond simply promoting Antalya. Indeed, when it comes to urban representation, the restructuring debate in Antalya came about long before the 2004-2009 municipal governance term. During the 1999-2004 municipal governance period in Antalya, 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. This study underlined “the necessity to integrate the city center with tourism through cultural promotion and commerce” (2002b, pp. 22-24). The study also claimed that restructuring in the field of industry would only be possible through a partnership forged among industrial enterprises, while emphasizing controlled production and branding in the restructuring of the field of agriculture.

Industrial investments also boomed in Antalya as of the early 2000s in parallel to the tourism investments. Süleyman Demirtaş, the manager of the Antalya Organized Industrial Zone, 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 (business areas) and that 170 companies are on the waiting list for building their facilities in the zone (2006a, p. 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.*

The Antalya Free Zone (AFZ), which covers 544,000 m<sup>2</sup> of land, 12 km to the Antalya city center, 25 km to the airport and adjacent to the port area, commenced activities on 14 November 1987 with 36% state owned and 64% privately owned shares (Bayhan, 2006, p. 13). At first the AFZ 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, p. 19).

Since 1999, all kinds of non-polluting production activities, particularly in the fields of electronics, optics, food and garments, take place in the AFZ, as well as the retail of production related to raw materials, intermediate materials and goods manufactured, their storage, branding, packaging, labeling, display and maintenance (ATSO, 1999, pp. 19-20). As of 2004, 76% of the 433.985 m<sup>2</sup> investment area of the total 607,130 m<sup>2</sup> 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, the cable and electronic goods sector as well as the agricultural sector. The total number of workers employed here is 3,700 (ATSO, 2004, p. 16).

“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, whose words are an apt summary of the fundamental strategies of the urban restructuring process, which became more observable in Antalya after 2004 (Güneş, 2007, p. 21).

Bourdieu (1986, p. 248-9) defines *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 *social capital* 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, it procures a competitive advantage by providing higher returns on investment” (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 194-195).

A glance at the participants of the WTC Antalya Branch opening ceremony (on 6 September 2006), 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.*" Instead, fraternity between Antalya and İstanbul is represented in ATSO magazines as a kind of urban collective *social* capital through which Antalya will have the chance to connect to the global network. The stakeholders are not only aware of this situation, but they also seem to eagerly look forward to collaborating with the agencies in İstanbul. From ATSO President Özgen's words, we understand that Antalya is grateful to İstanbul.

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 organized by the World Gold Council, ATSO and the Turkish Association of Jewelers started a cooperation among all of the establishments in the region's tourism field in addition to those in the tourism field (ATSO, 2006a, p. 14). They aim to increase the urban social capital as the totality of mobilizable network of relations in the field of jewelry. 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.

Based on the empirical findings of a field research conducted among those employed at gold production workshops, retail jewelry store owners, and sales representatives in Antalya, Şahin claims that the jewelry sector in Antalya is directly linked with the local dynamics of the city (2008, p. 388). 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 hotels and holiday villages (p. 389).

In order to increase Antalya's social collective capital in the field of jewelry, the promotional meeting for the 'Antalya-Heart of Gold'

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 develop the association of the Antalya brand with 'gold,' reminiscent of the sun and oranges at the same time. Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who emphasizes the similarity between the 'golden' orange and the sun in his speech in the abovementioned meeting, stated:

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, 2006a, p. 15).

## **5. Branding Antalya: The Search for Urban Collective Symbolic Capital**

ATSO President Kemal Özgen believes that Antalya's representation cannot be carried out adequately through traditional promotional methods and that Antalya needs to be 'branded'; he states, "The Antalya brand should be utilized as a real promotional tool" (Özgen, 2004, p. 3). For Özgen, "to become a brand, it is a prerequisite for us to identify the historic, cultural, natural, social and moral values that Antalya symbolizes and to stand up for these." During the interview, Özgen mentions the deficiencies in the promotion of Antalya:

*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 historic spots.*

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 by 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 product, quality and the values that the brand carries. Therefore, we must define the values that distinguish other than the sea and the sun (ATSO, 2007b, p. 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, "*We are not a brand city; we are on the path to becoming one.*" One of the participants at the 'Brand City Antalya' Conference was city branding consultant Christer Asplund. He states, "Everyone makes promises of heaven; Antalya has to offer something new," and points out that the branding is only possible through distinguishing oneself from others (ATSO, 2007b, p. 22). Asplund cites Paris as an example, "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. 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 "making people from around the world come to see *Kaleiçi*" (ATSO, 2007b, p. 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.

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, refers to "the sale of *Kaleiçi*" as a cultural value. 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 "*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' was being sold and leased, in other words was commercialized and turned into economic capital, while the *embodied* and *institutionalized* collective cultural capital it contains was being diminished. 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.*

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, 2007b, p. 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, 2007b, p. 19).

In the title of another article, "Branding is the common cure for all sectors," ATSO President Özgen (ATSO, 2007d, p. 2) 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, 2007c, p. 6).

The crucial issue that Özgen mentions 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" (ATSO, 2007d, p. 2). This issue is noting but what Harvey called collective symbolic capital that attached to a city. 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" as

mentioned in the *Antalya Manifesto: City Brand Strategic Plan* (2008) report. Thus, 'branding Antalya' begins with representing urban collective symbolic capital of Antalya. As Bourdieu (2005, p. 195) defines, 'symbolic capital' "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. In accordance with this statement, the 'collective symbolic capital' of a city, similar to 'brand loyalty' for companies, is the power to generate trust or a belief in customers so they use the products or services offered by that company. The power of collective symbolic capital of a city is nothing but the special marks of distinction attached to all the products and services embodied by that city.

ATSO and AGM, who have taken on the branding of Antalya as a project, believe that the process comprises two stages (ATSO, 2007c, p. 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: City Brand Strategic Plan* (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. The second stage of the project involved the initiation of the branding stage in line with the *strategic plan*. With this report, "Antalya: More than the Mediterranean" was recommended as the brand for Antalya and the emphasis was on the '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 [ATAV]. 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.*

According to the abovementioned report, city shareholders in Antalya believe that “Antalya: More than the Mediterranean” as a brand aims to generate a customer loyalty and brand recognition about Antalya, which is what people seek as a mixture of tangible and intangible attributes, symbolized in Antalya’s image of *Kaleiçi* (!)

According to this report, it is also recommended that the ‘Antalya Tomato’ should be branded as the ‘sun-made Antalya Tomato’ because Antalya has at least 300 sunny days a year, depicting ‘more’ sun than the ‘Holland Tomato,’ which has become a brand despite being ripened under artificial light. The ‘Sun-made Antalya Tomato’ is one of the collective cultural capitals in the *objectified* state produced by the common production activity, agriculture, which is the very *habitus* of Antalyalites, the *embodied* state of collective cultural capital.

Nevertheless, branding the “Antalya Tomato” is not as easy as putting stickers of the sun on tomatoes. It requires substantial restructuring in the field of agriculture to compete with other producers in the global market. European wholesalers who import from all over the world have established the condition of the EUREPGAP certification since 2004 for all goods they put on their shelves (Antalya İhracatçı Birlikleri, 2004). 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 to prevent their goods demanded especially in Europe and the Russian market from being turned down, thereby transitioning into institutional producers from family farmers (ATSO, 2004, p. 7). Next, they have gone into controlled agriculture through the founding of the Western Mediterranean Agricultural Research Laboratory (Batı Akdeniz Tarımsal Araştırma Laboratuvarı, BATAL) in 2002 to certify that the chemical residue amounts on their goods comply with EU standards (p. 9). 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 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, in other words, re-imagining the city in the global market with the distinctive features of agricultural products.

Antalya, as a *Wannabe World City*, endeavors to be branded as a *city of culture* simply to climb the ranks of "the hierarchy of world cities" by using the species of urban collective capital [whether in *embodied*, *objectified* or *institutionalized* state] it possesses, (Friedman, 1986). However, as Tekeli rightfully warns Antalyalites, "under no circumstance can a city without an identity become a brand" (2008, p. 2). Becoming a brand does not mean inventing an identity for a city and announcing it. Tekeli states that "becoming a brand is a continuous effort which involves production. It cannot be simplified into a mere communicative tool" (p. 4). For Tekeli, 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. The qualitative data, 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 responses 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. Then there are the cork trees used by wine makers that grow in Antalya.*

R2: *It is still the Castle District Gate and the shop keepers there. The way of life in the Kaleiçi not tainted by commerce.*

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.*

R7: *Bey Mountains, the Kaleiçi.*

R17: *Not that it is a 'World city' but that it is 'a city known around the world'. Secondly, Antalya, despite intensive construction and rapid population growth, it is 'the tourism capital'. And also the Kaleiçi is important to me. That's real Antalya.*

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.*

R25: *A rare city with five elements. Sun, sea, sand, nature and history. Four of these you may find elsewhere but not all five.*

R24: *Three things: the climate, the sun, since we always say we have three springs and one summer. Second would be the Kaleiçi. The third for me would be the Bey Mountains and Aspendos.*

R16: *The Mediterranean architecture which has existed here for centuries but is on the verge of extinction. Then the Kaleiçi and the region's unique history.*

R23: *Tourism, agriculture, and nature.*

The answers are divided between the values based on the natural assets on the one hand, and the cultural assets on the other, with a great emphasis on the *Kaleiçi* but not on any common production activity in Antalya.

### **Concluding Remarks**

The present development of Antalya is based on the use of fertile agricultural lands that cannot 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, and the inability to estimate land demands have structured today's Antalya. In addition to the tourism investments since the 1980s, the industrial investments made in Antalya have gained impetus since the early 2000s. In line with the rapid development of the Organized Industrial Zone, the Antalya Free Zone (AFZ) established in 1987 prioritizes trade in harmony with Antalya's tourism through environment friendly production technologies. Luxury boat production was 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.

A great majority of the respondents interviewed during the field research expressed their views on branding Antalya in the *Antalya Manifesto: City Brand Strategic Plan* report. In this report, different views for branding Antalya were gathered from twenty four (24) city shareholders (2008, pp. 53-58). These can be classified under three major themes. Eleven views centered around the *capitalizing culture* theme with an emphasis on the internationalization of cultural events and the identification of Antalya with *Kaleiçi* for urban tourism. Seven views were based on the *city for business* theme with an emphasis on agricultural investments and non-polluting industry in the Antalya Free Zone, the organ transplantation at Akdeniz University, and tourism investments for the aging populations of Europe. These seven views also overlap with the theme of *look, no more factories* because clean industry and the city's natural assets with its unique climate were also highlighted for health tourism. Still, the major theme can be defined as *capitalizing culture* even while depicting the clean air and mild climate for health tourism.

While *capitalizing culture* as a *Wannabe World City*, Antalya follows two discourses of urban representation at the same time. One is the



positive portrayal of the inner city through pedestrianization and lighting of *Kaleiçi*, which would serve to attract both visitors and investors and promote development tales. Second, it embodies the *identification of the shadow* discourse, which follows the first, since every light casts a shadow; in this case, the dark side of *Kaleiçi*. As recommended by Perdahlı, the Chairman of the *Kalekapısı* Tradesmen Empowerment and Development Association (*Kalekapısı Esnafları Güçlendirme ve Kalkındırma Derneği*, KALE-DER) by “increasing the security measures to dispel beggars, street vendors who discourage tourists from coming” (Perdahlı, 2007, p. 44), *Kaleiçi* was transformed into a kind of tourist bubble, as a place for consumption and enjoyment.

In agreement with Short, the research shows that the branding strategies of the growth coalition in Antalya are manifested in two interconnected responses to discursive representation. First, the shift in urban governance from managerialism to urban entrepreneurialism became apparent with the abovementioned interview given by AGM Mayor Türel to a newspaper immediately following the 2004 municipal election. Then, the second response began with the Brand Antalya Conference conducted by ATSO to re-imagine or re-write Antalya as a ‘city of culture.’

What is forgotten in branding strategies in Antalya, however, is that branding a city is only possible with the products (in *objectified* state) produced by the labor power (in *embodied* state) within the foundations for productive purposes (in *institutionalized* state) in Antalya. When ‘silk worming’, for instance, was forgotten, Antalya lost not only the silkworm products in *objectified* state but also the culture of producing silkworms in both the *embodied* and *institutionalized* states. This is also true for the production of cotton-textile products when the Cotton Textile Factory of Sümerbank was closed in 2003. The replacement of the agricultural lands with buildings for the tourism industry also diminishes the culture of agriculture in the *embodied* state since the labor power in this field is directed to another field. Branding does not mean

coming up with symbols to represent Antalya; on the contrary, it implies the entirety and continuity of urban collective cultural capital in all three states, which helps to distinguish Antalya's products as a brand from other cities. Branding should not mean scarring urban collective capital to attract globally circulating capital.

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## Appendix

### Information on Interviewees

1. The Representatives of the NGOs in Antalya  
R1: Antalya Culture and Art Foundation (AKSAV, Kültür Sanat Vakfı), Vice President, (2004-2009), 27/07/2006, (Saat 10:00), Meltem-Antalya  
R2: Antalya Culture and Art Foundation (AKSAV, Antalya Kültür Sanat Vakfı), Vice President, (1999-2004), 26/07/2006, (Saat 11:00), Kalekapısı-Antalya  
R3: Antalya Artists Society (ANSAN, Antalya Sanatçılar Derneği), Member, 25/07/2006, (Saat 15:30), Lara-İstanbul  
R4: TURSAK Vakfı Başkanı, 08/04/2008, Sali, Saat 16:00, Beyoğlu-İstanbul

- R6: AKMED, Suna & İnan Kiraç Vakfı, Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Enstitüsü Müdürü, 21/06/2006 (Saat 14:00), Kaleiçi-Antalya
- R11: Mediterranean Tourism & Hoteliers Association (AKTOB, Akdeniz Turizm Otelciler Birliği) President, 20 Aralık 2006, (Saat 17.00), Kemer-Antalya
- R19: Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects, Chamber of Architects, Antalya Branch (TMMOB, Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi) Chair, (1998-2000), 20/09/2006 (Saat 11:00), Antalya
- R20: Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers And Architects, Chamber of City Planners, Antalya Branch (TMMOB, Şehir Plancıları Odası Antalya Şubesi) Chair (2008), 05/06/2008, Saat: 17.30, Antalya
- R21: Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers And Architects, Chamber of Architects, Antalya Branch (TMMOB, Mimarlar Odası Antalya Şubesi) Chair, (2008), 03/07/2008, Saat: 17.30, Antalya
- R22: Antalya Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ATSO, Antalya Ticaret Ve Sanayi Odası), Chair, 05/06/2008, (Saat: 11.15), Antalya
- R23: Antalya Industrialist and Businessmen's Association (ANSIAD, Antalya Sanayici Ve İşadamları Derneği), President, 13/10/2008 (Saat: 11.30), Antalya
- R24: Antalya Promotion Foundation (ATAV, Antalya Tanıtım Vakfı), President, 05/06/2008, (Saat: 17.30), Antalya
2. The Representatives of Cultural, Educational and Academic Institutions
- R6: Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilization (AKMED, Suna & İnan Kiraç Vakfı, Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Enstitüsü), Director, 21/06/2006 (Saat 14:00), Kaleiçi-Antalya
- R8: Antalya Archeological Museum (Antalya Arkeoloji Müzesi), Director, 26/10/2007 (Saat 14:00)
- R5: Faculty of Fine Arts and Design, Akdeniz University, Founder Dean (1998-2004), 21/09/2006 (Saat 10:00), Topçular/Antalya
3. The Representatives of the Capitalist Investors
- R11: Holyday Village, Owner, 20 Aralık 2006 , Saat 17.00, Kemer/Antalya
- R12: Vasco Tourism Agency (VASCO Turizm A.Ş.), General Director, 25 Ekim 2007, (Saat 15.00), Lara/Antalya
- R24: Touristic Hotel Owner, 05/06/2008, Saat: 17.30, Antalya
4. The Representatives of the Local Government;
- R16: Antalya Greater Municipality (Antalya Büyükşehir Belediyesi) Mayor (1999-2004, CHP), 23/09/2006 Cumartesi (Saat 10:00), Yüzüncü Yıl/Antalya
- R17: Municipality of Muratpaşa District (Muratpaşa Belediyesi) Mayor, (2004-2009, CHP), 08/08/2006, Muratpaşa/Antalya
5. The Representative(S) of the Central Government;

R26: Antalya Provincial Cultural Directorate of the Ministry of Culture (Antalya İl Kültür Müdürlüğü) Manager of Tourism Branch, 13/10/2008 (Saat 16:00), Güllük/Antalya

6. The Representatives Of The Artists And The Intellectuals In Antalya

R3: Antalya Artists Society (ANSAN, Antalya Sanatçılar Derneği), Member, 25/07/2006 Sali (Saat 15:30), Lara/Antalya

Group Interview

FG1: Faculty of Fine Arts and Design, Akdeniz University, Academic Stafs, Department of Painting, Ass. Prof. 20/06/2006 (Saat 10:00) Güzeloba/Antalya

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