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URBAN TOURISM IN ISTANBUL: URBAN REGENERATION, MEGA-EVENTS AND CITY MARKETING AND BRANDING

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses urban tourism in Istanbul from the point of view of urban studies. Urban tourism is analysed by examining urban regeneration, mega-events and city marketing and branding and the impacts of these in the city of Istanbul between 2007 and 2011. The main argument of the thesis is the following: urban tourism is a complex phenomenon that is not limited to the business of providing services for people on holiday. Several aspects of urban tourism are closely connected to urban development, thus calling for an urban studies point of view. Case studies on Istanbul and a comparation between tourism promotion strategies in Helsinki and Istanbul give empirical evidence to support this argument.

The main body of the thesis consists of four scientific publications. The first article analyses the development of cultural tourism projects in Istanbul and the connections between tourism business and urban regeneration policies at the time when Istanbul prepared strategies to become the European Capital of Culture. Tourism-led urban regeneration projects did not only led to the growth of number of tourists but also revived deindustrialised landscape. The article also examines the role of the mega-event of the European Capital of Culture in the transformation of the built environment in Istanbul in general. The second article, drawing on the analysis of locals' perceptions and activists' vision towards tourism-led urban regeneration, investigates locals' resistance against tourism-led regeneration project in Sulukule, a historical neighbourhood of Istanbul. The article analyses the formation, structure, mobilisation and activities of an emerging urban social movement, the Sulukule Platform. The article demonstrates that tourism-led regeneration projects in a deteriorated residential area can have negative economic, spatial, social and cultural impacts. The third article compares tourism promotion strategies in two European cities, Helsinki and Istanbul. The article examines 'the selling points' used in the cities' tourism promotional campaigns and published materials. Introducing tourism promotion materials as significant tools of city marketing, the article studies different contextual meanings of similar selling points in these two cities. The fourth article is a case study of city branding in Istanbul during the European Capital of Culture event in 2010. Drawing on analysis of representations in tourism promotion materials through content analysis and semiotic analysis, the article identifies the main components of Istanbul's city brand and presents how tourism promoters used 'religion' as a key theme in the branding processes.

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CONTENTS

LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This thesis is based on the following publications:

I Uysal, Ü. E. & Özden, P. (2012) Cultural Tourism as a Tool for Urban Regeneration in Istanbul, *Sustainability Today*, in Brebbia C.A. (Ed.) pp. 389-400 Southampton: Wessex Institute of Technology Press

II Uysal, Ü. E. (2012) An Urban Social Movement Challenging Urban Regeneration: The Case of Sulukule, Istanbul, *Cities*, 29 (1), 12-22.

III Uysal, Ü. E. (2013) Urban Tourism Promotion: What makes the difference? *Current Research Journal of Social Sciences* 5(1), 17-27.

IV Uysal, Ü. E. (2013) Branding Istanbul: Representation of Religion in Tourism Promotion. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 9(4), 223-235.

The publications are referred to in the text by their roman numerals.

ABBREVIATIONS

EC	The European Commission
ECOC	European Capital of Culture
EU	The European Union
FIFA	*Fédération Internationale de Football Association*
G-8	The Group of Eight
GNP	Gross National Product
NATO	The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
TOKI	Mass Housing Administration (Turkey)
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNWTO	The United Nations World Tourism Organisation
USD	United States Dollar

1 INTRODUCTION

Over the last few decades, the role of international tourism in cities has increased remarkably. Tourism, one of the world's fastest growing industries, has become a new revenue generator for cities and a significant sector in urban economies. This new industry has compensated the older manufacturing industry and changed urban policies from giving sites for locating industries into attempts to attract mobile tourists. Development of tourism sites has accelerated urban regeneration and provided opportunity and legitimisation for flagship development projects. Competition among cities has been increased as city officials attempt to market their cultural heritage and compete in regional and global tourism markets.

Profits made through tourism and the economic, spatial, social and cultural impacts of the tourism industry have caught the interest of scholars. Urban tourism as a complex research area is studied from the point of view of several disciplines: sociology, economics, history, political science, public administration, urban studies, literature, cultural studies, anthropology and ethnography, in addition to hospitality research, architecture, city planning, management and marketing, environment studies and geography.

Istanbul, a rapidly developing metropolis and the financial and cultural centre of Turkey, is a popular tourist destination. In order to attract tourist, the city of Istanbul has formulated policies and initiated redevelopment projects. Although the city has always enjoyed a fair share of national tourism revenue, until recently it lacked an urban marketing strategy designed particularly to attract tourists. Turkey is famous for its warm climate, sandy beaches, clean bays, ancient cities and historical heritage and the earlier tourism campaigns focused on these. In tourism promotion, cities received secondary attention compared to non-urban features such as nature, antiquity and resorts. However, increasing numbers of tourists in Istanbul have called for new tourism promotion strategies and 'urban culture' has recently become a dominant element in tourism marketing and promotion. Consequently, for the first time in Turkey, a city developed its own urban tourism strategies, focusing on urban cultural heritage rather than national heritage related to ruins and beaches.

City officials quickly grasped this opportunity and begun exploiting Istanbul's historical and architectural heritage in order to attract more visitors and investment. They tried to catch the attention of international audience by arranging mega-events (e.g. The Istanbul European Capital of Culture event in 2010) and renewing urban neighbourhoods. Such tourism-led urban regeneration reshaped the cityscape and particularly the places visited by the tourists. New tourist sites were designed to please the 'tourist gaze'. Between 2000 and 2013, many regeneration projects took place

in former industrial zones, central business districts, waterfronts and particularly in the city centre. Although some of these projects helped to conserve urban heritage in Istanbul, they also caused evictions and displacement that generated protests. Eventually, protests evolved into neighbourhood-based urban social movements resisting tourism-led urban regeneration.

This thesis analyses urban tourism from multiple perspectives. The case is Istanbul between the years 2007 and 2011. This introduction presents the aims, research questions and a brief summary of articles. After this, the theoretical framework of this urban tourism study is introduced. The third chapter surveys, urban tourism in Istanbul from the point of this theoretical framework. In the fourth chapter, key arguments and findings of the case studies are presented. The methods used and data collected are introduced in the fifth chapter. The main argument of the thesis is explained in the sixth chapter. The conclusion discesses the limitations of the study and suggests some topics for research.

1.1 AIMS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The overall aim of this thesis is to analyse urban tourism from several perspectives, with Istanbul as a main case. The perspectives and research questions are:

1- Analysing urban tourism as an economic, social, spatial and cultural phenomenon.
2- Developing a multidisciplinary framework for urban tourism studies consisting of analysis on urban regeneration, mega-events, city marketing and city branding and impacts of urban tourism, and combining urban studies and tourism studies.
3- Analysing both positive and negative effects of urban tourism and examining the tourist city profile of Istanbul.
4- Comparing tourism promotion strategies of two peripheral cities of Europe (Helsinki and Istanbul).

In analysing urban tourism, the thesis focuses on several topics through the following research questions: What are the impacts of the European Capital of Culture on urban tourism and urban regeneration in Istanbul (The article I)? What are the consequences of tourism-led urban regeneration (The article II)? How was tourism promotion practiced (The article III)? What are the major elements of city branding in Istanbul (The article IV)?

1.2 BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE ARTICLES

The thesis consists of four scientific articles: a paper published in a conference compilation (article I) and three articles published in peer-reviewed international journals. The article I, which is co-authored, is relatively short and rather descriptive (unlike the three analytical articles). It deals with the impacts of European Capital of Culture (ECOC) on urban tourism and urban regeneration projects in Istanbul and the effects of these projects on the city's intangible cultural heritage. It also explores some of the basic concepts of this study such as tourism-led urban regeneration, bulldozer renewals of urban space, mega-events and city branding, which are used in other three articles. The questions and results of the articles are summarized in the following:

The article I, "Cultural Tourism as a Tool for Urban Regeneration in Istanbul," introduces the rise of cultural tourism and analyses tourism-led urban regeneration process in Istanbul. The article asks whether sustainability and profitability are compatible with aims of urban regeneration and cultural policies. Furthermore, the article critically examines the role of the European Capital of Culture event in physical transformation of Istanbul.

The article II, "An Urban Social Movement Challenging Urban Regeneration: The Case of Sulukule, Istanbul," examines resistance against tourism-led urban regeneration in a Romani neighbourhood, located in the historical centre of Istanbul. The article analyses how an urban social movement was organized and mobilized to stop evictions, prevent displacement, alleviate poverty and decrease stigmatization of neighbourhoods.

The article III, "Urban Tourism Promotion: What Makes the Difference?," compares tourism promotion in two peripheral cities of Europe, Helsinki and Istanbul. The article studies what kinds of selling points were used in their tourism promotion materials. The article analyses the meaning of these selling points and also discusses how Helsinki and Istanbul are marketed through various representations.

The article IV, "Branding Istanbul: Representation of Religion in Tourism Promotion," explores city branding in Istanbul during the European Capital of Culture event in 2010. This article introduces and discusses the components of Istanbul's city brand and identifies how tourism promotors used 'religion' as the main theme in branding Istanbul.

2 URBAN TOURISM RESEARCH: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Urban tourism research is a young field of study. Since the late 1980s, when Ashworth (1989) first analysed the urban tourism phenomenon as a distinct research field, several scholars have added new dimensions and theoretical contributions to this vast area of research. For example, Ashworth and Voogd (1990) introduced the concept of the "tourist-historic city," and for the first time developed a framework for urban tourism ranging from a city's cultural heritage to planning and management, and from conservation to marketing. Burtenshaw et. al. (1991) discussed how residents and users (tourists) treated cities in a different and sometimes contradictory manner. Similarly, Urry (1990) and Featherstone (1991) focused on tourist consumption and tensions between the locals and visitors. Later studies in the 1990s expanded the scope of urban tourism research. Law (1992), Teo and Huang (1995) and Fainstein and Gladstone (1999) established links between urban tourism and urban regeneration/conservation, while Urry (1995) and Judd (1999) concentrated on the change in the physical environment and the creation of spaces for tourism purposes. Furthermore, Parlett et. al. (1995) analysed impacts of urban tourism, while Roche (1992) first mentioned the connection between urban tourism and mega-events. Paddison (1993) and Bramwell and Rawding (1996) associated city marketing and city branding with the development of urban tourism. The literature on urban tourism continued to grow in the 2000s and gained several new dimensions. For example, Gotham (2005) discussed how urban tourism has become a catalyst for gentrification, while Vanolo (2008a) and Richards (2011) analysed the urban tourism phenomenon in the context of creativity and the concept of the 'creative class'.

The growth of urban tourism topics can be seen in academic journals, both in urban studies journals (e.g. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Cities, Urban Studies, City) and tourism studies journals (e.g. Annals of Tourism Research, Tourism Management, Current Issues in Tourism, Journal of Travel Research). In the last decade, three crucial developments in the literature deserve mention. First, studies introducing general guidelines and holistic analyses of urban tourism linking the phenomenon with several sub-themes (e.g. cultural heritage, urban regeneration, transportation systems and urban images) noticeably increased (see Page and Hall, 2003; Hoffman 2003; Selby, 2004; Hall, 2013). Second, an interest in urban tourism methodology grew (see Pearce 2001; Edwards et al., 2008; Ashworth and Page; 2011). Third, the 2000s also saw an increasing amount of case studies focusing on particular aspects of urban tourism.

Several processes have coincided with the growth of urban tourism. These are the processes of globalisation, deindustrialisation and urbanisation. First, the free movement of capital, labour, goods and services has led to the increasing importance of cities as financial, services and entertaining centres. These centres with various facilities and amenities have not only attracted business people and expatriates, but also visitors. As tourist flows to cities increased, cities began developing cultural and convention centres, building fancy shopping malls and arranging mega-events to attract even more tourists. In addition to these global trends, regional developments and the integration of separate markets have a roleto play. In the case of Europe, the establishment of the Schengen Area facilitated easy border crossings. It is no wonder to see the increase of the number of low-cost airlines and cruise trips taking advantage of this mass movement of people and thus further enhancing the frequency of travels (see Bottà, 2010).

Second, deindustrialisation created conditions for urban tourism. Decline of industrial production not only influenced the nature of employment, investments and the 'urban way of life', but also left behind former industrial landscapes with factories, docks and, railway tracks. These abandoned spaces were redeveloped to serve new flourishing culture and tourism industries. Former industrial areas were converted into spaces for housing, shopping and entertaining all of which contribute to urban tourism (Law, 1992; Sassen and Roost, 1999; Urry, 1995). Deindustrialisation changed the use of buildings (e.g. Battersea, London), gentrified neighbourhoods (e.g. the French Quarter in New Orleans, see Gotham, 2005) or influenced the whole city (e.g. Edinburgh, see Prentice and Andersen, 2003).

Thirdly, urbanisation has an impact on urban tourism. The relationship between 'cities' and 'tourists' is not new. Since the foundation of the very first cities in Mesopotamia, urban centres with opportunities of trade, production, education, culture, art and entertainment have been amongst the most significant destinations for visitors (Karski, 1990; Edwards et al, 2008). However, despite some early attempts - like the Grand Tour (during the Enlightenment Age, European travellers of noble birth were keen to visit Italy to see and observe the legacy of Renaissance on site) -, 'modern tourism' has a relatively short history in cities. Tourism as it is known today is a product of several 'modern' features, including clear-cut separation of work and leisure, technological developments in communication and transportation, changed meaning of culture, art and entertainment as consumption, as well as the emergence of travel agencies and other means to facilitate travelling (such as online bookings and last-minute deals). Urbanisation, as urban scholars told us, created a particular urban mentality that is not rooted in any locality and needs constantly new excitement and urbanization as a material force created 'urban attractions' to visit.. What we can call 'urban attractions' are mostly either products of urban growth and urban economic development: landmarks and iconic buildings, historical city centres and ancient cities.

2.1 DEFINING URBAN TOURISM

The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2013) defines tourism as "an economic and social phenomenon driving people (tourists) who travel to and stay in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited". This brief definition specifies the nature, purpose, time period, actors and activities of tourism. What is urban tourism? Researchers agree that urban tourism is a complex phenomenon consisting of diverse set of activities and depending on many factors (see Ashworth and Page, 2011; Pearce, 2001¸ Daskalopoulou and Petrou, 2009). The European Commission (EC) defines urban tourism as "the set of tourist resources or activities located in towns and cities and offered to visitors from elsewhere" (EC, 2000: 21). Several scholars pay attention to 'the location' and analyse urban tourism as tourism in cities (see Law, 1993; Page, 1995; Selby, 2004). Nevertheless, one aspect of the tourism phenomenon indicates that urban tourism needs more than location-based definition. As Ashworth and Page (2011: 2) state, "adding the adjective urban to the noun tourism locates an activity in a spatial context but does not in itself define or delimit that activity." Tourists in cities may visit museums, admire architecture, but also enjoy spas and well-being services that are the kind of activities we do not find only in cities. . Accordingly, what Gilbert and Clarke (1997: 345) write deserves mention:

> *"... it may also be said that 'urban' can be interpreted as a type, or related types of activity, typifying the holiday rather than its spatial setting only. In fact the focus of 'urban tourism' is the study of the interrelationships between tourism, in its many shapes and guises, and the urban environment".*

Paradoxically, urban tourism activities can be observed even in non-urban areas. According to Edwards et al. (2008:1033), "[u]rban tourism is distinguishable from other forms of tourism by a number of features which, while they are not applicable to all urban destinations and may be applicable to some non-urban destinations, characterize urban tourism destinations as a whole".

We can conclude that urban tourism is a complex phenomenon in which 'urban' does not only refer to the destination of tourism but a set of activities. It is a special type of tourism, covering mostly inner-city visits and consisting of activities such as visiting neighbourhoods of historical and architectural value, participating in culture and art events (festivals, concerts, exhibitions and conventions) and mingling with different ways of life which are considered 'urban'. Given the complexity of the definition of urban tourism, urban tourism research has a variety of topics to explore:

urban regeneration, mega-events, city marketing and branding, and the impacts of these strategies. The next section introduces these strategies and their impacts.

2.2 URBAN TOURISM: STRATEGIES AND IMPACTS

As discussed in the previous section, urban tourism is a multifaceted phenomenon. Ashworth and Page (2011) introduce a framework to analyse this complex phenomenon. In their framework, urban tourism research covers several 'sub-themes' (transport and infrastructure, management and planning, cultural agendas, sustainability, typologies of tourist cities, urban regeneration, visitor perception and satisfaction etc.). They argue that understanding urban tourism demands a wider social science approach, particularly in the field of urban studies. Scholars have usually focused on one or two aspects urban tourism and analysed, for example, mega events designed to attract tourists. In order to avoid a narrow understanding of a complex phenomenon and following the advice of Ashworth and Page, I analyse urban tourism by investigating four topics: urban regeneration, mega-events, city marketing and branding, and the impacts of these. My point of view is that of urban studies (rather than analysing hospitality industry or tourism management) and I analyse urban tourism as a socio-economical and cultural phenomenon. In my analysis, I also draw from tourism research, thus this study explores the links between tourism research and urban studies.

2.2.1 URBAN REGENERATION

Urban regeneration can be traced back to the mid 19th century, to the urban development programs of Baron Haussmann in Paris. Urban regeneration (the terms urban renewal, urban transformation, urban revitalization, urban redevelopment are used interchangeably) can be defined as reconstruction or rehabilitation of impoverished neighbourhoods or districts. The objectives of urban regeneration can range from building new centres (for business) to conservation, from reuse of former industrial areas to 'cleaning up' slums or deteriorated neighbourhoods. The impacts of urban regeneration are equally varied and consist of different consequences for different groups of people. For example, an urban regeneration project may consolidate the neighbourhood's economy by boasting commercial activities and increasing property values for the benefit of the property owners, whereas the poor may face voluntary (due to the increasing rents) or involuntary displacement (due to the 'accumulation by dispossession').

Urban regeneration for tourism purposes is relatively new. Expected tourism

revenue has incited decision makers to conserve 'heritage' buildings and districts and market these for tourists (see Law, 1993; Page, 1995). In recent years tourism has become one of the main motivations for urban regeneration, particularly in the inner city areas abandoned by industries and left behind an obsolete built environment (see Harvey, 1989; Law, 1993, Karski, 1990). In Europe, several cities such as Barcelona, Glasgow and Bilbao have become models showing how a city can turn to a tourist magnet by following urban regeneration strategies. Consequently, more and more cities have begun to invest in building hospitality facilities, cultural and convention centres, museums, landmarks, entertainment and sports facilities in order to attract tourists and to please 'the tourist gaze' (see Urry, 1990). This can be called tourism-led regeneration.

Urban regeneration also paves the way for the development of tourist zones (e.g. 'old towns' in Europe or ethnic neighbourhoods such as Chinatowns in the North America). The creation of such zones is expected to contribute to the urban economy and become financially beneficial for locals.

Tourism-led urban regeneration projects, however, have their dark side. They may increase urban segregation and divisions in cities. For instance, while tourist areas are kept clean, secure and free from 'undesirables', physical decay, anomie or criminal activities in other parts of the city may prevail (Fainstein and Gladstone 1999). Tourism-led urban regeneration projects may also cause displacement and eviction of locals, particularly in inner-city areas with historical and architectural value. Displacement may occur when tenants cannot afford rising rents, or by force when the local government expropriates the land. Urban regeneration projects can also cause anxiety and fear among local residents and trigger protests and lead to rise of urban social movements.

2.2.2 MEGA-EVENTS

Mega-events or hallmark events are large scale temporary events consisting of a single major activity (e.g. World Fairs) or series of activities (e.g. Olympics). Several activities of high reputation such as forums and summits (e.g. NATO Summits, G-8 Summits), sports activities (e.g. Summer and Winter Olympics, FIFA World Cup, Formula 1 Races), exhibitions and fairs (e.g. Frankfurt Book Fair), festivals (e.g. Cannes Film festival, Edinburgh Music Festival) and series of cultural activities (e.g. European Capital of Culture) are also considered mega-events.

Mega-events in cities are not entirely novel. In the pre-industrial ages, cities had hosted mega-events including pagan festivals and Pre-Christian rituals. Feasts and sporting events occurred in ancient Mesopotamia, China, India, Greece and Rome. Feasts of saints, carnivals, coronations, military parades and victory celebrations can also be regarded as mega-events.

Today mega-events transform cities and are used as opportunities to facilitate and legitimize urban regeneration, to redevelop the built environment and to build new facilities and amenities such as stadiums and other sports facilities, theatres, museums, new means or routes of transportation, community centres, accommodation facilities, culture and convention halls, and congress centres (Roche, 1994; Sanders, 1992; Bailey and Robertson, 1997). Mega-events are expected to contribute to the urban economy by generating revenue and new opportunities of investment, as well as employment (Hall and Hodges 1996; Getz, 1997).

Previous studies have demonstrated that mega-events not only generate revenue but also contribute to city branding, identity building and city's image (Hall, 1992; Paddison, 1993; Holcomb, 1999; Richards and Wilson, 2004; Smith, 2005; Zhang and Zhao, 2009; Kolamo and Vuolteenaho, 2013). Particularly, Olympics and World Fairs are considered as a key to global recognition and consequently tourist attraction (Burton, 2003). More importantly, mega-events can pave the way for combining and unifying previous city marketing efforts under a coherent city branding policy and a single city brand.

According to Richards and Palmer (2012), success of mega-events depends on several factors such as an urban coalition consisting of wide network of stakeholders, public and private bodies, NGOs and participating citizens, adequate funding, presence of a group of experts, alongside careful planning and management of events, selecting the 'right' audience, effective use of marketing tools and the use of media in promotion. Although only a few cities have the capacity to organize events of large scale, every city can use its assets and create its own events. An interesting case is the village of Bunol in Spain, which is famous for its annual 'tomato throwing festival'. Europe's tourist magnets like Barcelona, Amsterdam or Venice invest to create their particular events. For example, according to Pablo (1998), less than 15% of the current events in Barcelona are more than 25 years old; the rest are either 'invented' or 'revitalized' former events (e.g. the city's La Merce Festival).

Although popular, imported strategies or imitating the model of 'successful' cities may not necessarily produce intended outcomes. What works for some cities may not work for other cities (Richards and Palmer, 2012). The 'success' of Los Angeles (1984 Summer Olympics), Barcelona (1992 Summer Olympics) and Glasgow (1990 European Capital of Culture) may not be repeated in other cities. Instead of success, mega-events can produce debts (like the Montreal 1976 Summer Olympics) and contribute little to urban tourism (like Vilnius 1999 European Capital of Culture in Lithuania). Mega-event strategy can also be a risky investment and its benefits to the city may be intangible (Burbank et al., 2002). The facilities built for the mega-event may be abandoned after the event took place (like the Beijing 2008 Summer Olympics). In some cases, the bidding process or hosting of a mega-event may even cause resistance (e.g. 'bread not circus' theme during Toronto's Olympic bid in the 1990s, see Hiller, 2000), displacement of working classes (Olds, 1998) and problems of democratic legitimacy in terms of citizen participation (Burbank et al., 2002).

2.2.3 CITY MARKETING AND BRANDING

City marketing is among the most significant instruments used to boost urban tourism. The research on city marketing is also one of the most studied urban strategies in the urban tourism literature. Many urban and tourism researchers are interested in how cities are promoting themselves to attract tourists. It is interesting to note that tourism scholars use concepts like *destination marketing* (Richie and Richie, 2002; Connell, 2005, Pike, 2012) and *destination branding* (Hall, 1999; Ooi, 2004; Henderson, 2007), whereas urban studies scholars use concepts such as *city branding* (Kavaratzis, 2004; Zhang and Zhao, 2009; Dinnie, 2011), *urban branding* (Greenberg, 2000; Vanolo, 2008b; Grodach, 2009) and *image building* (Paddison, 1993, Francaviglia, 1996; Hauben et. al., 2002). Tourism scholars often adopt a demand-side approach and focus on perceptions and satisfactions of tourists and locals whereas urban studies scholars use both demand-side and supply-side approaches; they analyse not only people's perceptions and satisfaction but also study how tourism strategies are produced and implemented. Both approaches often confuse two connected but different terms: city marketing and city branding.

City marketing, in the widest sense, is the sum of activities aiming at the promotion of a particular place. Early research on urban tourism demonstrated that creating positive images for cities is a significant step to attract tourists (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990; Law, 1993, Kotler et. al. 1993). In the 1990s, city marketing became a common urban policy tool for promotion of tourism. Adopting 'entrepreneural city' strategies has provided new tools of management and marketing for city officials to market their cities. Declining industrial cities (Liverpool, Manchester, Barcelona, Berlin, Bilbao, Turin etc.) have marketed themselves using the 'positive' images of vibrant urban life, culture and creativity to replace 'negative' associations connected to industrial cities. Because "the application of place marketing is largely dependent on the construction, communication and management of the city's image" (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005: 507), cities either exploit their distinctive features (e.g. Beatles for Liverpool or Manchester United Football Team for Manchester) or they invest in art, culture and sports (e.g. Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, 1990 European Capital of Culture, Glasgow, 1992 Summer Olympics in Barcelona). Some cities invest in city marketing to overcome other type of negative images stemming from, for example, civil wars (e.g. Beirut), ongoing conflicts and tensions (e.g. Jerusalem or Belfast) or natural disasters (e.g. New Orleans). In doing so, features such as safety, cleanness, quality of services, culinary scenes and city symbols are repetitively used in promotional campaigns.

Tourist flock to few cities with distinctive image have led to a worldwide adaptation of city marketing strategies and city branding has emerged as a distinct and sophisticated field of city marketing and policy tool. However, city marketing has its limits. According to Kavaratzis (2004), although city marketing policies deal with the city's image, they fail to define what is the 'city product', to affect the city's

market and understand the preferences of consumers Cova (1997: 20) suggests that the aims of city marketing are to identify the cultural meanings and images; whereas "branding endows a product with a specific and more distinctive identity". Thus, city branding provides "a base for identifying and uniting a wide range of images intended for the city and meanings attributed to the city in one marketing message, the city's brand (Kavaratzis, 2004: 63). Branding not only provides a starting point for city marketing but also a framework and a practical approach to manage the city's image (Kotler et. al. 1993). More importantly, city branding policies, unlike city marketing, not only deal with attracting inbound investment and visitors, but also influence community development and city's identity perceived by locals.

Given these differences, city branding can be defined as a particular city marketing strategy designed to achieve a competitive edge over other cities and to create a coherent city brand for both visitors and locals. City branding strategy is to represent distinctive and unique, 'interesting', 'attractive' and 'interesting' features of cities (see Grodach, 2009; Hospers, 2009; Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005; 2007; Ooi, 2011). City branding campaigns often use designed logos, catchy slogans and captivating phrases emphasize the city's economy, socio-cultural features, history, and architecte in order to mould people's perceptions of the city (see Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005; 2007; Smidt-Jensen, 2006; Zhang and Zhao, 2009). Some scholars claim that the significance of the logo is overestimated and argue that it is useful only when it is connected with the branding strategy (see Ashworth and Kavaratzis, 2009; Hospers, 2011).

Cities have not equal resources and capacities for branding themselves. First of all, some cities have easily identifiable images and they better stick in people's mind. For example, Paris and Venice are known for romance, New York and Berlin for diversity, Los Angeles and Rio de Janeiro for entertainment, Singapore and Tokyo for modernity, Washington and Moscow for politics and Stockholm for science (see Zhang and Zhao, 2009). Furthermore, the built environment (e.g. landmarks, districts, iconic buildings and symbolic structures) and famous personalities (e.g. Gaudi and Barcelona, Kafka and Prague) can make cities identifiable and result in global fame (Anholt, 2006; Ashworth, 2009; Hospers 2011). If a city lacks such features, it is generally hard to brand it (Hospers 2011). In such cases city branding is like gambling; there is no guarantee that a city brand (e.g. Barcelona, Bilbao or New York) will work. According to Anholt (2006; 2007), advertising and marketing can even be a waste of time and money; it can be useless because it is hard to make a bad city look good. Anholt (2008: 11) also underlines that "there is a big difference between observing that places have brand images and claiming that places can be branded, which is an excessively ambitious, entirely unproven and ultimately irresponsible claim".

2.2.4 IMPACTS OF URBAN TOURISM

The fourth topic of this study concerns the impacts of urban tourism. Before classifying and briefly discussing impacts of urban tourism, three points deserve mention. First, impacts of tourism upon cities are often overestimated. Even in the world's most visited cities such as Paris, London or New York; tourism revenue remain marginal and relatively less important to other urban industries (see Ashworth and Page, 2011). Second, tourist activities and tourism development often occur in areas that become contested (Fainstein and Gladstone, 1999) or only in few districts. Third, urban tourists visit places with multiple purposes such as heritage sites, residential areas and retail/entertainment precincts (Edwards et. al, 2008). Therefore it is difficult to separate the use of these places by tourists and locals. In most cases, even contested tourist areas can serve non-tourist interests. Although main tourist activities can concentrate on particular districts, the city remains multi-functional, hosting overlapping uses of tourists and locals (see Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000). It is also difficult to distinguish between "tourist, day-tripper and resident" (Ashworth and Page, 2011: 13).

This thesis analyses three major impacts of urban tourism: economic, spatial and socio-cultural impacts. These impacts are not necessarily exclusive but they are interrelated phases of tourism developments.

First, urban tourism has economic impacts. According to Ashworth and Page (2011: 9) "economic impacts of tourism upon the city, whether positive or negative, still dominate other more recently considered, social, political or environmental impacts". Therefore it is not surprising that much of tourism research has focused on studying economic impacts. Optimistically, urban tourism is hoped to generate revenue and to create new opportunities of investment and employment (see Law, 1993: 601-606; Davidson and Maitland, 1997; Swarbrooke, 1999, 2000). However, economic impacts are not always positive. Tourism-led investments may cause increase in land and property values (see Gilbert and Clark, 1997) and consequently trigger a struggle for land ownership. Increases in the costs of housing, services and goods (first in tourist zones, later city-wide) are other negative outcomes for locals. Tourism policies may damage economic activities that are crucial for local residents.

Still another economic problem stems from the nature of the tourism industry. The industry often employs easily replaceable unskilled or semi-skilled labour. The jobs are often temporary and the employment rate in the tourism sector fluctuates from season to season (see Aykaç, 2009). This creates an imbalance in the urban economy, particularly in cities where tourism is one of the major revenue generators. Furthermore, the tourism industry is highly fragile. Even long term investments in urban tourism may turn into a financial loss due to economic crises (e.g. Athens), natural disasters (e.g. New Orleans's Hurricane Katrina), international terrorism (e.g. 9/11 in New York), and armed conflicts (e.g. Beirut).

Second, urban tourism has significant spatial impacts. Urban regeneration projects carried out to please tourists can change neighbourhoods, streets, and building blocks. City officials and developers can even use tourism as excuse and legitimation to transform the cityscape. According to Edwards et. al. (2008) tourism provides incentives for conservation of the cultural heritage, encourages higher standards of planning, improves the quality of public spaces and helps to develop more recreational areas for both tourists and locals. Yet, spatial impacts of urban tourism are also not always to the benefit of locals and they can contest the changes produced by tourism-led urban regeration. Tourism activities are unevenly distributed in cities; city centres and particular districts often get the lion's share. Within the geographic proximity of tourist areas, the quality of public services is of higher standards, streets and buildings are better-ordered and better maintained. These spaces can be historical places with cultural and architectural significance; they may be centres of culture or genuine life styles of particular ethnic groups (Teo and Huang, 1995; Yeoh and Huang, 1996) or sacred-religious places (Pearce, 2001; Gelbman and Ron, 2009). Different from the other parts of the city, such areas may enjoy private police and video surveillance to keep the security level high, but perhaps also "to keep undesirables out of touristic compounds and reserves" (Fainstein and Gladstone, 1999: 31). The establishment of such intra-urban borders may require a 'cleaning up' process if there are 'undesirable' elements within the designed tourist space. The cleaning up is acted out through gentrification policies and urban regeneration projects (see Thorns, 2002; Gotham 2005). Tourism-led regeneration projects can cause displacement of people and resettling them in the neighbourhoods where economically and socially vulnerable dwellers live (Harvey, 2008).

Third, urban tourism has socio-cultural impacts. According to Pizam and Milman (1984: 11) socio-cultural impacts of tourism are "the ways in which tourism is contributing to changes in value systems, individual behaviour, family relationships, collective lifestyles, moral conduct, creative expressions, traditional ceremonies and community organization". The research on socio-cultural impacts employs demand-side analysis to understand tourist-host relationships and perceptions and attitudes of the locals towards the tourism development. Despite a few exceptional studies on how tourism contributes community development, civic pride and quality of life in cities (see Law, 1993; Belisle and Hoy 1980), the majority of studies focus on negative aspects of socio-cultural impacts (see Haley et al., 2005 for literature review) such as alcoholism, drug addiction, vandalism, sexual harassment and brawls (see Haralambopoulos and Pizam, 1996; Gilbert and Clark, 1997; Tosun, 2002). The findings of these studies remain case-specific because of the specific nature of the culture and place.

Socio-cultural impacts of urban tourism can go beyond individual encounters

and socio-cultural clashes between the host community and tourists. In some cases, promoting tourism activities in a particular zone may cause social problems such as uncontrolled migration (as a consequence of the boom in tourism-oriented employment and opportunities) and congestion and strain on urban infrastructure (see Newcomb, 2006). Tourism development policies may also cause gentrification, which paves the way for displacement, homelessness and poverty. Such problems can lead to urban protests and eventually organized social movements challenging tourism-led regeneration projects.

Urban scholars have analysed urban social movements by focusing on a particular stake (a tourism-led urban regeneration project is a good case) causing the movement, on mobilisation of people to protect their neighbourhood or identity, on the social base and social force of activists and on the type of action (see Castells, 1983; Pickvance, 1986; Nicholls, 2008). The demands of urban social movements are presented through various means of action. In addition to traditional means of demonstrations and writing petitions to authorities, activists can also protest by arranging cultural events and festivities. Despite the extensive literature on urban social movements and urban tourism, relatively a few studies on the links between urban tourism and urban social movements (see Kousis, 2000; Forsyth, 2004; Lin and Hsing, 2009). In order to have a better understanding of the urban tourism phenomenon, this thesis analyses also protests against to tourism-led urban regeneration. The article II investigates protests against economic, spatial and socio-cultural impacts of urban tourism in the Sulukule neighbourhood in Istanbul. This case is a good example in demonstrating the extensive effects of urban tourism.

In summary, the complex phenomenon of urban tourism is analysed by examining urban regeneration, mega-events, city marketing and branding. Understanding this complexity depends on the analyses of these processes. In the Istanbul case, the thesis demonstrates that urban regeneration in deindustrialised areas promoted urban tourism (the article I), whereas regeneration in residential areas caused socio-economic and cultural problems for the local communities, generated ultimately an urban social movement and even hindered development of urban tourism (the article II). In addition, the city used mega-event strategies as an instrument to boost urban regeneration projects (the article I) and promoted urban tourism through city marketing and branding (the articles III and IV). In sum, the complexity of the urban tourism phenomenon calls for an understanding of the intertwining of urban tourism and urban development. The following section analyses this in the city of Istanbul.

3 URBAN TOURISM IN ISTANBUL: FROM A TRANSFER POINT TO A POPULAR DESTINATION

Although Turkey's international reputation as a 'tourism country' is widely recognised, the history of tourism in Turkey is relatively short. The so called 'tourist boom' (in Turkish *turizm patlaması)* was likely uncommon in daily language until the early 1990s. Primarily, there was no particular tourism policy in Turkey until the early 1960s. Between 1963 and 1977, tourism promotion was mostly considered as a minor policy in three consecutive "Five-Year Development Plans" due to lack of financial means and infrastructural investments (Sözen, 2007). However, the fourth "Five-Year Development Plan" (1977-1982) prepared in the eve of Neo-liberal structural adjustment policies, also included encouragement of tourism investments. The year 1982 was a turning point for tourism development in Turkey. The Tourism Encouragement Law, issued in 1982, regulated tourism-oriented regional development, the use of natural resources and historical/architectural heritage for tourism purposes. The law also introduced new incentives to the private sector and provided a legal basis for the development of tourist facilities. Consequently from the early 1980s, the private sector-led tourism industry in Turkey benefited from financial priorities such as tax deductions, exemptions and subsidies. Public lands were rented by entrepreneurs with favourable terms (Aykaç, 2009; Yüksel et. al, 2005; Kocabaş, 2006).

According to the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2013), Istanbul ranked as the 6th (after Bangkok, London, Paris, Singapore and New York) most popular tourism destination in the world (the 3th in Europe) for foreign tourists. The number of international tourists in Turkey exceeded 30 million in 2012 (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2013). Between 2000 (over 10 million tourists) and 2012, there has been a steady increase in tourist arrivals and revenue. In the last decade, tourism revenue (by foreign tourists only) increased by approximately 111% (about 13 billion USD in 2003 and 29 billion USD in 2012) (the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2013). According to the Turkish Statistical Institute (2012), Turkey's prime city Istanbul, which generates 55 % of Turkey's trade, 21.2 % of Turkey's GNP, 45 % of imports and 40 % of exports, has long remained a transfer point for foreign visitors whose main destinations are Mediterranean cities in the south (Izmir, Antalya, Nevşehir and Muğla). Tourism in these cities include popular destinations such as ancient cities (Ephesus and Pergamum in Izmir, Myra in Antalya) and archaeological sites (St. Mary's House in İzmir, Aspendos Theatre in Antalya), natural parks, UNESCO World Heritage sites (Cappadocia in Nevşehir, the Karain Cave and the Alanya

Castle in Antalya) and sea resorts around coastal cities (Çeşme in İzmir, Bodrum and Marmaris in Muğla, Kemer and Alanya in Antalya). In 2000, 45% of the foreign visitors used The Istanbul Ataturk Airport to access these destinations, while only 23% visited and stayed in Istanbul (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2013). Before the mid-2000s, there was no particular city marketing policy for Istanbul. The information about the tourist attractions in the city could be found only in national tourism brochures which were prepared by the central tourism authority, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (see Figures 1 and 2). Figure 1 indicates that the central tourism authority still does not consider Istanbul as a primary tourist destination and focuses on other forms of tourism (e.g. beach tourism, sun tourism and ancient sites) rather than urban tourism. However, the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and the Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency increasingly took part in tourism policies.

Figure 1 Istanbul still does not play a major role in tourism promotional campaigns launched by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Istanbul was not included in the recent campaign called "Just one reason from millions." (Source: the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2013)

Figure 2 Since the mid-2000s, tourism promotion materials have been mainly produced by the local tourism authorities: the 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency and the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (Source: the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2010).

However, recent efforts to boost urban tourism in Istanbul have challenged the city's role as a transfer point. The city of Istanbul has invested in tourism in order to promote its 'urban' assets. As a result, there have been significant improvements in the tourism industry. For example, in 2007 there were 842 tourism facilities with about 99,000 beds in Istanbul. In the eve of the European Capital of Culture event in 2010, this number rose to 1,235 facilities with approximately 140,000 beds (The Directorate of Culture and Tourism of Istanbul, 2011). Several tourism-led urban regeneration projects were implemented to facilitate tourist access and provide accommodation in the city centre. Waterfronts and harbours were developed for cruise ships. New terminals were added to the current airports due to the increasing number of charter and low-cost flights (perhaps it is not a coincidence that the national airline corporation of Turkey has recently become one of the leading flight companies in the world). Furthermore, between 2000 and 2010, several congress and convention centres were built to attract professionals. Consequently, according to the International Congress and Convention Association (2012), Istanbul ranked as the 9th most popular destination globally in terms of international meetings in 2012 (in 2012, 128 international conferences were held in Istanbul). In addition, new museums were opened and existing museums were upgraded and marketed more effectively. In 2012, the Hagia Sophia Museum (around 3 million visitors) and the Topkapi Palace (around 2.7 million visitors) were the most visited museums in Turkey (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2013).

These developments were accompanied by several urban tourism policies and institutions. The Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency was established in 2007. The agency worked in collaboration with the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in order to build an international 'image' for the city of Istanbul to promote tourism. These policies also developed strategies on 'mega-event' hosting. During this period, mega-events were regarded as opportunities to present Istanbul's historical and architectural heritage. Consequently, Istanbul has become one of the most popular tourist destinations in the world, with over 9 million visitors in 2012. The city's share in national tourism rose to about 30% in 2012.

The thesis is not only a case study on Istanbul but also compares tourism promotion strategies of Helsinki and Istanbul. Similar to Istanbul, the city of Helsinki enjoyed noteworthy improvements and investments in urban tourism between 2000 and 2012. Five main developments paved the way for tourist boom in the city: accessibility (the expanded capacity of the Helsinki-Vantaa International Airport and increase in cruise ship traffic), investments in internet-based tour operators, developments in traditional Finnish agencies specialising in urban tourism, improvements in Helsinki's image and Helsinki's promotion in foreign media (City of Helsinki Tourism Statistics 2010). Consequently, there have been steady improvements in terms of tourist facilities and the number of tourists visiting the city. For example, between 2000 and 2012, available beds in Helsinki increased from 14,058 to 16,537. Even more significantly, overnight stays increased over 45% over the same time, from 2.6 to 3.4 million (City of Helsinki Tourism Statistics, 2013). The number of airline passengers increased about 50% between 2000 and 2012 and presently exceeds 15 million. In summary, comparing Istanbul with Helsinki demonstrates similarities and differences and deepens our understanding of the relationship between urban tourism and the city itself.

4 ARGUMENTS AND RESULTS

The main results of the thesis are the following: First, tourism-led urban regeneration has unequal effects. In some areas regeneration projects encouraged revitalisation of urban culture whereas in other areas they lead to displacement and evictions. Second, the European Capital of Culture event in 2010 was used as an instrument to transform the physical environment, revive cultural life and boost tourism; the projects undertaken in the year of 'culture' however threatened 'local subcultures'. Third, it was found that different cities may use similar looking selling points and slogans in their tourism promotion strategies even though the meaning of such slogans could be completely different. Fourth, one of the main themes used in Istanbul's brand is 'religion'. Relative to current industry trends, it is unusual and surprising to find such a broadly applied one theme used for branding a destination. Finally, urban tourism strategies may cause economic, spatial and socio-cultural impacts. These impacts show that urban tourism can influence several aspects of urban development. In the following, these results are discussed in detail.

4.1 URBAN REGENERATION AS A TOOL FOR URBAN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

This thesis analyses urban regeneration as a tool for promoting urban tourism. The case is the city of Istanbul and its European Capital of Culture year in 2010. The 'boom of urban regeneration projects' of the last two decades was culminated in that year.

Urban regeneration may follow different paths depending on cities' different development and planning systems and landownership patterns (see Haila, 1999). Such paths can also be different at different times and in different neighbourhoods of the city. The thesis analyses two different tourism-led urban regeneration practices in Istanbul: first, urban regeneration in non-residential areas, and second urban regeneration in residential areas. In Istanbul, the first type of urban regeneration projects aiming to transform former industrial buildings and areas to cultural facilities (such as convention centres, concert halls, museums and art galleries) have received little criticism thus far. In 2010, urban regeneration projects used almost 60% of the 2010 Istanbul European Capital of Culture Agency's budget in order to transform abandoned industrial areas and renovate historical landmarks of the city. Transformation of these industrial zones was done for the tourists and this tourism-led urban regeneration helped to revitalize the urban economy and contributed to

the city's cultural life. The second type of urban regeneration projects aiming to transform residential neighbourhoods in or nearby the city centre received criticism. These projects were accused of only transforming physical structures but ignoring or underestimating local cultural characteristics. Regeneration projects took place either through series of renovations (e.g. in the Fener and Balat neighbourhoods) or through waves of bulldozer renewal (e.g. in the Sulukule neighbourhood). Also these transformations were carried out to serve the needs of tourists causing economic problems and cultural stigmatization in the regenerated neighbourhoods. The thesis criticises the projects that do not take social, cultural and environmental sustainability into consideration and gives a voice to local people.

As a case, the thesis studies Istanbul's historical Romani neighbourhood called Sulukule. The neighbourhood is located in the city centre, where an urban regeneration for the needs of tourists recently took place. Although the main focus of my study was the Sulukule Platform (an urban social movement challenging the regeneration in the neighbourhood), the rhetoric and outcomes of the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project was also analysed. The objectives of the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project were:

> *"to preserve national and world heritage, particularly historical tissue in Sulukule including ancient walls, to stop physical decay and to secure the sustainability of the neighbourhood, to maintain economic development, to promote urban integration, to increase standards of living in Sulukule and to encourage dwellers to participate in urban policies, to reinvigorate the neighbourhood's stagnant economy, to protect cultural dynamics and to promote tourism" (The Fatih Municipality, 2010).*

Despite such optimistic objectives, the official descriptions of the Sulukule Urban Regeneration project described by the Fatih Municipality introduced Sulukule as a slum area occupied by "low income and low cultural groups" who came as "immigrants without having a sense of belonging to the city". The rhetoric of the project, posted on the municipality's website, blamed Sulukule's inhabitants for their 'Romani subculture', which was seen as a threat to the 'official urban culture' introduced by the government and the municipality. This cultural stigmatization was followed by series of demolitions. In addition, 'ambiguous property rights' in the neighbourhood were disadvantageous to the locals. Property relations were not clear in Sulukule. Tenants who lived together (in most cases multiple families lived in one flat) had no 'official' contracts, and landlords were usually unable to prove their property titles. The regeration project exploited the ambiguity to the disadvantage of the locals. The fact that the locals did not have documents to prove their ownerships obstructed their legal claims and made possible their dispossession.

Interestingly, Sulukule's dwellers initially did not object to 'regeneration'.The inhabitants saw the urgent need for transformation in the neighbourhood and regarded urban regeneration necessary and beneficial for the community. However, after a while The Sulukule Platform took initiative to propose alternative plans and argued that the regeneration project should not be a tool of displacement; instead it should help to renovate deteriorated housing stock, to revitalize the neighbourhood's stagnant economy by creating opportunities for employment, and to encourage original residents to stay in Sulukule. The alternative development strategies prepared by the activists proposed also a transformed but preserved neighbourhood for urban tourism. Inspired from previous transformations of Romani neighbourhoods in Barcelona (Noi Barris) and Granada (Sacromonte), the Sulukule Platform stated that Sulukule's Romani identity was to be preserved and promoted for tourist visits. Such suggestions were not accepted by the three main actors of the regeneration project: the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, the Fatih Municipality and the Mass Housing Administration (TOKI). Eventually, the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project did not fulfil its commitments. Promises concerning preservation turned into demolitions; economic development to unemployment, homelessness and poverty; integration turned to eviction and participation turned to exclusion. None of the changes provided benefits for Sulukule's Romani population. All the traditional houses were demolished, and Sulukule turned into a construction site. As shown in the following photos, locals in Sulukule tried to continue living there despite the horrid conditions created by demolitions (Figure 3).

Figure 3 Some of Sulukule's Romani dwellers continued to live in the neighbourhood during and after demolitions (Courtesy of Abdullah Agah Öncül and Jonathan Lewis).

4.2 EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE AS A MEGA-EVENT

The European Capital of Culture (ECOC) event in 2010 was a significant opportunity for Istanbul to present itself as a vibrant city of culture. Undoubtedly, the wide range of activities organised in 2010 revitalized culture and art scenes in Istanbul. The most remarkable contribution of this event is the restoration of several churches and mosques in the historical city centre. Several museums, along with cultural and art centres, were opened as well.

On the other hand, ECOC caused a rush to 'remove unpleasant elements' and to introduce 'a better environment' to foreign visitors. Urban regeneration projects that were conceived to reach these goals threatened neighbourhoods and communities in the historical city centre. When demolitions began in Sulukule, ECOC was used as legitimation to serve the interests of contractors and developers who made considerable profits from the property and land through what David Harvey (2008) has called 'accumulation by dispossession'. Ironically, the year of culture witnessed a campaign to stigmatize a unique and neighbourhood-based Romani subculture. Sulukule's Romani subculture was accused of threatening the cultural sustainability of the city and large-scale demolitions and evictions destroyed lively culture that was replaced by 'legitimate' urban culture.

The thesis does not only analyse the year of the ECOC but extends the analysis to the years when the preparations and practices of the ECOC took place, covering the five year period from 2007 to 2011). In terms of city branding, the impact of ECOC is two-fold. First, after the city of Istanbul was awarded the title, a new administrative structure emerged in tourism promotion. Before 2007, when Istanbul was selected one of the European Capitals of Culture for 2010, Istanbul was only briefly mentioned as a tourist destination (and not as the primary destination) in the national tourism campaigns and tourism materials prepared by the central tourism authority of Turkey, the Minister of Culture and Tourism (MCT). Following the ECOC's selection in 2007, the Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency (ECCA) was founded. The agency consisted of public-private partnerships, non-governmental organizations, professionals, academic units and citizens. It represented a new urban coalition that was responsible for producing tourism materials for promotion of urban tourism, scheduling events that took place in 2010 and organizing activities for the ECOC. Of particular importance is that, for the first time, a local body became one of the main agents of tourism promotion for Istanbul. In addition, local government (the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality) increasingly became involved in tourism affairs. This shift in tourism policy can be clearly seen in promotion materials. For example, in 2007 MTC published a single tourism brochure ("Turkey, Go with the Rhythm") and introduced Istanbul only in a brief fashion. By 2011 MTC had published eight tourism documents and this

time only one of them was about Istanbul. In 2007, ECCA and the Municipality of Istanbul did not publish any tourism promotion materials, yet by 2011 the total number of materials published by these two agencies reached 16. Thus, it is clear that this cultural title influenced tourism promotion and management in Turkey and Istanbul.

Second, the ECOC title triggered city branding efforts in Istanbul. The event simply was a driving force for unifying less systematic and nation-scaled city marketing practices under a single city brand. En route to ECOC, the main local tourism authorities, ECCA and the Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul, jointly developed a city brand for Istanbul step by step. Initially, several public campaigns were launched in order to inform the public about potential benefits of this title. A common discourse was created by these authorities, and politicians including the Prime Minister, the Minister of Culture and Tourism and the Mayor of Istanbul concurred ECOC as an important "opportunity" or "stage" to present Istanbul's urban heritage to the international audiences. Public campaigns were followed by TV advertisements and an official introductory film for the city. By 2009, in the eve of ECOC, the cityscape was decorated with the new logo and slogans. Another link between the ECOC title and city branding efforts were the activities that took place in 2010. Tourism authorities used the 'themes' of city branding during the ECOC-related activities and events (e.g. festivals, movie screenings, concerts, exhibitions, conferences, forums, workshops and sports activities). It is not surprising to find out that these themes (religion, capital of civilizations, the city between the East and the West, tolerance, multicultural diversity and Orientalism) were associated with the city's urban culture in the year of ECOC. In fact, we can also find these themes in tourism materials prepared for ECOC between 2007 and 2011. The next section addresses this issue.

4.3 CITY MARKETING AND CITY BRANDING

In order to analyse the city branding, the thesis compares tourism promotion materials in Helsinki and Istanbul. Surprisingly, these cities used three similar slogans to attract tourists. Both Helsinki and Istanbul introduced themselves as 'the city between the East and West', as 'the city of tolerance' and refered to the 'city size' in their marketing materials. Despite the similar appearance, the meaning, however, is radically different.

First, in the slogan Helsinki or Istanbul 'between the East and West', the East and the West mean different things. In Helsinki, East refers to the Slavic, Russian and Soviet heritage and West to Scandinavia, Northern Europe, and the EU; or Europe and the Western world in a broader sense. In the case of Istanbul, both East

and West have 'religious' meaning, East representing Islam and West standing for Christianity. Second, also tolerance in the slogan Helsinki and Istanbul as 'tolerant cities' means different things. In Helsinki, it is tolerance of individual lifestyles, liberties and multicultural diversity, whereas in Istanbul tolerance is interpreted in a religious sense. Finally, both cities introduce their 'size' as an advantage although for Helsinki it is the smallness of the city and for Istanbul it is the vast city size.

Interestingly, in all these three categories of between the East and West, tolerance and size, both Helsinki and Istanbul present themselves unique and original. Previous research on tourism promotion shows that cities, in their aspirations to imitate strategies of other cities, also copy the phrases and slogans of other cities. In single city case studies or just by regarding the similar ideas as travelling ideas, different meanings of similar words may remain unnoticed. Although occasionally repeated phrases can be clichés, they are not necessarily empty slogans but tell something real and interesting about the city's identity, history and social life.

In addition to comparing with Helsinki, the thesis also analyses Istanbul's brand in detail. The moment and context is the brand which has been introduced after the city was elected as the European Capital of Culture in 2010. The data in analysing Istanbul's brand consisted of the tourism promotion materials that were prepared by the official tourist organizations. The representations of Istanbul in these materials were classified into five categories: logo and banners, vocabulary, slogans, quotations by famous personalities and events. At first glance, constructing Istanbul's brand using these categories may seem like a typical city brand. However, one feature stands out in the case of Istanbul. This is the unusual emphasis of religion in all categories. The raises the question that can be called the dilemma of city branding: to introduce the city as 'distinctive' drawing from local features but at the same time employing universal concepts that are understandable to all and appeal to a broad group of visitors. Religion, for sure, is understandable to all. First of all, with their selected colours and fonts, logos and banners have strong religious attributions. They overwhelmingly represent the multi-religious heritage of Istanbul. Images, signs and symbols that are associated with the three Abrahamic religions: Islam, Christianity and Judaism were represented. Second, texts on tourism materials are dominated by religious meanings. Five other themes were also used to introduce Istanbul; Istanbul as the capital of civilizations, as the city between the East and the West, as the city of tolerance, as the multicultural and diverse city and as the city in the Orient. Interestingly, even these secondary themes were given a religious interpretation. Third, with repetitive slogans and catchy phrases, Istanbul was praised for its capability to accommodate different religions, however, retaining its 'mystical' character. The three main slogans were the following: Istanbul as "the most inspiring city in the world", as "the capital of civilizations" and as "the capital of religions". These were used sometimes to refer to Istanbul's past, to the golden

ages of the city, and sometimes to Istanbul as a religious centre today. Fourth, when tourism materials refered to famous personalities, the emphasis was again on religion. Istanbul's religious diversity and tolerance, even its 'mystical ambience', were seen to have nurtured culture and inspired art works. Istanbul's religious identity was associated with non-religious activities in the fields of culture and art. Finally, as it was discussed in the previous section, more than half of the events organized in the year of the ECOC adopted religion as a theme. In accordance with representations in tourism promotion, religious diversity and tolerance dominated major events that took place in 2010.

In summary, the Istanbul case with religion as a dominant theme in branding the city shows that tourism promotion materials may give a key to understand the city, that, cities can either use universal ideas or trust on local features in boosting themselves. Furthermore, the Istanbul case suggests that also cities, which are not places to pilgrimage, may exploit their religious heritage to promote urban tourism. Perhaps religion, after all, is not completely separate from activities in othe fields, such as politics, culture and art.

4.4 LESSONS FROM A CASE STUDY: ECONOMIC, SPATIAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPACTS OF URBAN TOURISM

This thesis includes an analysis of an urban social movement, the Sulukule Platform, challenging a tourism-led urban regeneration, the Sulukule Urban Regeration Project that took place in a historical Romani neighbourhood, Sulukule. At first glance, The Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project, may seem just a housing project. Regeneration processes, however, even as simple housing projects are complex processes. They often lead to demolitions and forced evictions, some times make use of ambiguous property rights, occasionally mobilise resistance, engage various actors, may treat enthnic groups differently and may exploit stigmatisation of neighbourhoods. What is important is that some of the effects of regeneration projects may foil the initial goals of the regeneration project.

The Sulukule Urban Regeration Project was meant to promote urban tourism in Istanbul. First, Sulukule is located in the Historical Peninsula, which hosts major tourist sites in city. The neighbourhood is in proximity to the one of the most popular museums in Turkey (Kariye Museum) and ancient city walls. Further, the peninsula as a whole is a registered UNESCO World Heritage since 1986 and is one of the most visited areas in Turkey. The Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project has been criticised by UNESCO commissions several times for neglecting the conservation of the area. Second, tourism promotion to "reinvigorate Sulukule's stagnant economy" was among the official aims of the project as the project involves construction of a hotel, a cultural centre and shopping units. The "unofficial" aims,

which became manifest during and after the demolition processes, included a creation of 'clean, vibrant and safe' area cleaned from 'unpleasant elements' in order to attract tourists. The authorities explicitly blamed activists and accused them of jeopardising the neighbourhood's 'tourism potentials'. Third, an attempt to pomote urban tourism has been an important motivation for passing the Law 5366 for Renovation, Protection, Cherishing and Use of Worn Historical and Cultural Immovable Properties (*Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun*, 2005) that has been the main legal instrument for urban regeneration projects, particularly in deteriorated historic areas. The law and its interpretation of conservation was criticised by the activists.

The thesis analyses how the activists gained capacity to resist urban regeneration in Sulukule, how they presented their demands, and to what extent their activity influenced the urban regeneration process in Sulukule. The analysis not only demonstrates the demands of the Sulukule Platform, but also portrays the economic, spatial and social impacts of urban tourism on the Historical Peninsula of Istanbul.

First, economic impacts followed immediately after a series of demolitions. The Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project triggered the struggle for land in the neighbourhood. The regeneration plans and the decision for expropriation by the government had led to land speculation. Real estate prices soared drastically. Before the project, a house cost about 5,000 Turkish Liras. In the first months of urban regeneration, the price reached to 40,000 Liras and exceeded 100,000 in the last weeks of the project (Islam, 2009). Today, newly constructed houses are sold for 400,000-500,000 Liras. Consequently, the locals were obliged to choose one of the two options: to buy the new housing unit or accept the compensation (the compensation value was decided by the project committee, 500 Liras per metre square). In both cases, locals faced economic problems. The ones who bought the new housing unit had to finance the higher construction costs with long-term loans. The ones who chose to leave Sulukule were resettled in the distant district of Taşoluk, which had become one of the pilot areas for mass housing projects implemented by the Mass Housing Administration (TOKI). In this new neighbourhood resettled households were often unable to afford the high rents and utility bills. The distance between Sulukule and Taşoluk (about 40 kilometres) and especially the high transportation fees in nighttime made it impossible for Sulukule's Romani dwellers to maintain their previous occupations as musicians, entertainers, shopkeepers, shoe shiners, flower sellers and pedlars. These professions survive only in the city centre. The situation for the locals who resisted the resettlement and stayed in the neighbourhood was even worse. They faced deteriorated living conditions, with cutting off electricity, water and heating. The dust left behind after the demolitions created serious health risks.

Second, spatial impacts of the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project were equally devastating. Due to a series of demolitions, the neighbourhood became a construction zone by 2010. Houses, even with historical value, and other tangible assets were demolished. The Romani identity of the area was wiped out with the demolishing of the area. Four hundred and eighty 'Ottoman style' wooden houses, new shops and hotels were built in the area erasing Sulukule's 1000 year-old history (see Figure 4).

Figure 4 Sulukule's new 'traditional style' buildings could not save the Romani identity. (Source: the Fatih Municipality)

Third, socio-cultural impacts of tourism-led regeneration in Sulukule were also remarkable. A solidarity-based, music and entertainment oriented ethnic subculture has disappeared due to the displacement of Sulukule's Romani inhabitants. This displacement not only brought an end to the Romani tradition in the area, but also caused disturbance in other parts of the city. Displaced Romani families could not adapt to 'regular' and 'ordered' daily life in Taşoluk, which has a very different socio-cultural profile. Without their traditional source of living, evicted Romani became poor and unemployed. Some are 'reputedly' engaged in robbery, illicit drug trafficking and prostitution. This has led to stigmatization of Romani people by the other locals of Taşoluk.

In summary, the analysis of the Sulukule case demonstrates that tourism policies and particularly urban regeneration projects carried out to increase the number of

tourists can have unintended economic, spatial and socio-cultural impacts, which are conventionally not considered in the domain of tourism. These impacts cannot be handled only by the means of tourism policy.

5 DATA AND METHODS

5.1 A MIXED APPROACH

Urban tourism research is a vast field employing several approaches from various disciplines. Hence this thesis uses different perspectives and approaches as well. The articles I, III and IV benefit from a supply-side approach. This approach is concerned with tourism strategies by cities, tourism authorities and departments to supply facilities and means of promotion for tourists (see Selby, 2004). Accordingly, these three articles analyse urban policies and urban regeration projects that have made cities attractive for tourists. The data for the analysis consists of policy documents, reports and tourism materials. The article II analyses the demand-side that is the demand of tourism faciliticies by visitors. In this approach, the main analysis is based on people's perceptions and opinions towards urban tourism strategies and their impacts. The article II evaluates locals' perception about tourism-led urban regeneration.

In addition to analysing urban tourism from the perspectives of supply and demand, the thesis includes case studies and a comparative research. The articles I, II and IV study urban tourism in Istanbul and portray a detailed tourist city profile, whereas the article III compares tourism promotion strategies of Helsinki and Istanbul. With awareness of the complexity of urban tourism, the thesis studies urban regeneration, mega-events, city marketing and city branding and impacts of urban tourism. Each article deals with one or two topics by employing different approaches and methods (table 1).

Table 1 Articles, Topics and Approaches

Article	Topics Covered	Approach	Methods
I	Urban regeneration, mega-events	Supply-side /case study	Interviews, Observation
II	Urban regeneration, impacts of urban tourism	Demand-side /case study	Interviews, Observation
III	City marketing	Supply-side/comparative study	Observation, Content Analysis
IV	City branding, mega-events	Supply-side/case study	Observation, Content Analysis, Semiotic Analysis

Most tourism and urban studies deal with one or two strategies or impacts of urban tourism. For example, Short et. al. (1993) discussed how urban regeneration contributed to the new image of an industrial city; Richards and Wilson (2004) evaluated the impact of mega-events on city's image and Hiller (2000) analysed how mega-events triggered urban regeneration. However, studies on strategies and their impacts often ignore analysing the interaction of various strategies and impacts. In analysing various aspects of urban tourism, this thesis has tried to capture a full picture of urban tourism, including the following aspects of it: tourism-led urban regeneration, mega-events arranged to attract tourists, city marketing and city branding to please the visitors, and the economic, spatial and social impacts of urban tourism.

The research of these aspects is intertwined. To analyse urban regeneration like the Sulukule Regeneration Project is to analyse economic, spatial and social impacts. To anaylse mega-events like Olympics is to analyse the strategies of cities to compete with other cities to win the bidding competition. To analyse city marketing and branding is to ask to whom these are targeted to.

5.2 DATA AND METHODS

In this study, multiple methods are employed. The reasons for choosing different methods lie behind the complexity of the urban tourism phenomenon and the multiple objectives set in the four articles. The thesis uses mainly primary data which were collected in three overlapping phases: (1) July- September 2009 (the article I), (2) May 2009- July 2010 (the article II), (3) May 2010-September 2011 (the articles III and IV). Main methods for collecting empirical data were observation (the articles I, II, III and IV), semi structured, in-depth interviews (the articles I and II), content analysis (the articles III and IV) and semiotic analysis (the article IV).

In the first phase, the empirical data were mainly acquired from semi structured and in-depth interviews, along with observation. Documents concerning Istanbul's metropolitan growth, plans of various urban regeneration projects and tourism statistics served as further valuable sources of data. During this initial phase of the research, I conducted interviews with key decision makers and experts from the Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency, in order to understand how tourism authorities evaluated Istanbul's recent tourism developments. I interviewed three experts in the agency who specialised on different fields (city planning/ architecture, law and management) to compare and evaluate their expectations from ECOC. I asked open-ended questions (e.g. How will ECOC contribute to urban tourism? What are your expectations?) as well as the exploratory ones (e.g. What were the major problems encountered before and during this mega-event?). The

interviews also focused on the agency's structure, functions and capacities in terms of tourism promotion. It is interesting that all three interviewees agreed on the point that ECOC was a valuable opportunity to boost urban tourism in Istanbul while they mostly remained silent on controversial issues concerning urban regeneration in residential areas and its devastating effects. In addition, observation and long-term enquires made at currently regenerated neighbourhoods and industrial areas helped me to develop a comparative perspective while evaluating urban regeneration in residential and non-residential urban areas.

Similarly in the second phase, data were collected through semi structured interviews, in-depth interviews and long-term observation. The interviews (eight in total) conducted for the article II were grouped into three categories: the interviews with activists/professionals, with the dwellers of the Romani neighbourhood Sulukule, and with inhabitants who live and work in the adjacent neighbourhood Çarşamba, which is ethnically and culturally different from the Romani one. Firstly, activists or professionals, who do not live in Sulukule, expressed their concerns about the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project. They all agreed that Sulukule desperately needs 'regeneration' instead of large scale demolitions. In this context, they advocated alternative suggestions/plans to 'save' Sulukule and criticised the municipality's irreconcilable approach. The second group of interviewees consisted of locals (some are activists, some are not). It is interesting that former property owners in Sulukule were generally reluctant to talk to me because they were concerned to express their identities and property values. However, tenants who had experienced displacement due to lack of their tenancy documents were eager to be interviewed. In these long conversations, locals told their stories concerning demolitions, evictions and their lives after these. In this part, I focused on how ambiguous property rights in the neighbourhood caused problems and how displacement affected Sulukule's Romani dwellers. Interviews with the residents of Çarşamba helped to document the prejudices towards the Roma and their lifestyles and pointed out the 'ethno-cultural dimension' of this project. Both interviewees affirmed 'bulldozer renewal' in Sulukule. In general, all three groups provided data for the formation and activities of the urban social movement (the Sulukule Platform) in Sulukule. Further, during my frequent visits to the neighbourhood before and after demolitions, I had the chance to observe Romani lifestyles, conditions that the locals were forced to live in and their reactions to authorities.

In the last and longest phase, data were collected from several tourism authorities in Istanbul and Helsinki. These included the Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency, The Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul, The Tourism Directorate of Istanbul, The Ministry of Tourism and Culture (Turkey) and City of Helsinki Tourist and Convention Bureau. In order to draw a broad tourist-city profile, 37 documents for Istanbul and 28 documents for Helsinki were collected from the

above-mentioned tourism authorities. These documents included tourism guides, booklets, guidebooks, brochures, maps, advertisements, campaign texts and slogans, movies, pictures and illustrations. The materials substantially vary by length (from a single page brochure to a 96-page newsletter). All these tourism materials were in English, not only to avoid misunderstandings stemming from translation differences, but also to understand and interpret the external images of the cities. The data also included tourism statistics, domestic and international tourism reports, and surveys that support empirical findings. In addition, I acted as a tourist in both Istanbul and Helsinki; participated in tours, frequently visited main tourist attractions, followed tourist itineraries, attended tourist events and took research notes. Being a former resident of Istanbul and a foreign student in Helsinki helped me to develop a comparative perspective in analysing urban tourism in both cities.

Two major methods were used in this phase: content analysis (the articles III and IV) and semiotic analysis (the article IV). Content analysis (the articles III and IV) has become popular among tourism researchers due to the increasing amount of easily accessible tourism promotion materials, also available on internet. Content analysis provides "convincing readings of cultural texts; it helps to draw various conclusions from them, by looking at the texts themselves rather than at the ways in which people actually consume the texts' (Slater, 1998: 234). Thus, content analysis enables the analysis of the content, which 'refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any message that can be communicated' (Neumann, 2003: 219). In the thesis, texts on tourism promotion materials are grouped into content categories in order to find out the 'themes' used in city branding (the article IV) and to compare tourism strategies of Helsinki and Istanbul (the article III). Words with similar meanings that refer to the same themes were categorized, and the frequency of key words was identified.

Semiotic analysis is used only in the article IV as a secondary method in a relatively brief fashion, particularly to analyse logo and banners and rethink over multiple meaning of slogans. The study benefited in general from aspects of social semiotics (Van Leuween, 2005) and the cultural reading of texts (Lehonen, 2000), and in particular from the literature on city branding, in which several urban tourism scholars applied semiotic analysis. These studies covered analysis of symbolic expressions in tourist brochures (Jenkins, 2003), encoding brands in semiotic modes of language and images (Koller, 2008), and the analysis of 'recurrent' and 'interesting' words and phrases, capital letters, fonts and colours, quotation marks, titles and subtitles (Vanolo, 2008b). Semiotic analysis helped to understand semiotic expressions in tourist brochures, the language preferred for tourism promotion, and to discover and interpret 'meanings' in different contexts.

In the final stage, the recurrent words and phrases were transcribed and coded with the assistance of The ATLAS.ti software. The software helped to categorize,

compare and interpret the collected data. In analysing city of Istanbul's tourism materials, 42 main codes were created and classified under five main categories, which were later developed into 'themes' in the city's brand.

6 THE ARGUMENT OF THE THESIS

This thesis analyses urban tourism from several perspectives. The backbone of the thesis is the analysis of urban regeneration, mega-events, city marketing and branding, and the impacts of urban tourism. First, the thesis identifies connections between three processes of urban tourism: urban regeneration, mega-events and city marketing and branding. The Istanbul case provides empirical data to understand regeneration of the industrial landscape in order to provide facilities for mega-events (e.g. the European Capital of Culture). ECOC as a mega-event provided an extensive budget for the implementation of urban regeneration projects. Regeneration of historical neighbourhoods influenced the city's branding efforts. New tourist zones were created in line with the recent branding policy. More importantly, religious buildings and landmarks, which have a central position in Istanbul's brand, were renovated. Furthermore, the close connection between mega-events and city marketing and branding can be clearly observed in the Istanbul case. ECOC was an opportunity for building and presenting Istanbul's brand. The event also provided a motivation to unify all the previous city marketing efforts under a single and coherent city brand. The themes that were used in Istanbul's city brand were also observed at the activities which were organized in the year of ECOC. It is also expected that this mega-event will contribute to Istanbul's international status and make the city's image memorable in the minds of tourists and visitors. A city with a well-known image can have more chances to host even larger scale of mega-events (e.g. Istanbul's recent Summer Olympics bid for 2020).

Second, the thesis suggests that the impacts of urban tourism are complex; they can be either beneficial or negative. For example, tourism-led regeneration projects in a deindustrialised landscape may contribute to urban tourism growth. Physical regeneration projects in such areas can help to transform abandoned facilities to culture and art centres, museums, and convention halls, all of which can facilitate tourism development in cities. The "positive" impacts of regeneration in Istanbul included boosting urban tourism by creating new sites of tourist attraction and new facilities to satisfy the needs of visitors (the article I). On the other hand, impacts of urban tourism are not necessarily positive. Tourism policies may have devastating consequences, particularly for local communities. In the shadow of a booming tourism industry in Istanbul, perhaps the most noticeable of these 'negative impacts' is the regeneration of neighbourhoods in the city centre. Tourism-led urban regeneration projects have 'cleaned up' historical neighbourhoods from their rich cultures to provide 'a polished city' for visitors. The Romani neighbourhood Sulukule was totally demolished despite protests. Demolitions of buildings caused evictions,

displacement of the locals, and unemployment and poverty in the long run. The case study in Sulukule showed the dark side of tourism policies, negative economic, spatial and socio-cultural impacts over the urban population. It is ironic that the local Romani subculture was stigmatized at the time when the city was celebrating its title of ECOC. Many of these positive and negative impacts of urban tourism strategies and policies can be unintended the remedy of which may not even be in the domain of tourism policy. The Sulukule case also demonstrated some possibilities for urban social movements that to oppose tourism-led regeneration projects.

Third, the single case study on Istanbul and the comparative case study about Helsinki and Istanbul demonstrate that tourism promotion materials can be significant tools in understanding and analysing city marketing and branding policies. The aims and methods of tourism policies on the one hand and city marketing and branding strategies can be the same: to make the city known in the world by exploiting local distinctive features or imitating strategies applied in other cities. One of the findings of the thesis was that similar symbols and slogans used in different cities' tourism promotion materials may have different meaning and refer to different urban, cultural, social and historical assets.

Fourth, urban tourism strategies may lead to changes in urban policies, challenging the belief that urban policy is made for local people by local people. The thesis demonstrates how mega events and city marketing strategies designed for outsiders can affect urban administration as a whole. As a case, the thesis discusses a recent change in Turkey's tourism administration. As the city of Istanbul has become a popular tourist destination, tourism policies are increasingly decentralised. Although the central government's influence on tourism strategies is still strong, the Minister of Culture and Tourism's monopoly over tourism promotion has ended. Local authorities such as the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and the Istanbul 2010 European Capital Agency have recently become the dominant policy makers regarding tourism. In the past decade, the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality has become the main actor for tourism-led regeneration projects thus intervening the domain of urban planning. Similarly, the Istanbul 2010 European Capital Agency became responsible for producing tourism promotion materials as the development of urban tourism in Istanbul required new urban representations.

In sum, the study of Istanbul's urban tourism shows that urban tourism is a complicated social phenomenon. Comprehensive understanding of it requires a multifaceted analysis of the visitor economy; tourism industry's impacts on urban space, property rights and land use; subcultures; urban social movements resisting the selling of the city to outsiders; image construction and marketing; the role of city's heritage in these; city's position on the global market; and changing forms of urban governance. Thus, the main contribution of this thesis is in suggesting a framework for analysing the complex phenomenon of urban tourism. This is to understand the connection between the promotion of urban tourism and urban development and the implications of these to practical policy making.

7 CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The thesis studies urban tourism and introduces a theoretical framework for analysing this complex phenomenon. The focus is on the city of Istanbul and one aim is to draw a tourist city profile of Istanbul. The thesis analyses urban regeneration, mega-events, city marketing and city branding and economic, spatial and social impacts of urban tourism, city marketing and city branding.

Two main limitations of this thesis need to be mentioned. First, the focus on urban regeneration, mega-events, city marketing and branding and impacts of urban tourism eclipses an analysis of other aspects of urban tourism, such as visitors' satisfaction, cost analysis of tourist facilities, sustainability of tourism projects, and the questions of transportation, infrastructure and other facilities. These are just some suggestions for further research. Second, the thesis covers a five-year period (2007–2011), identifying the European Capital of Culture in Istanbul (2010) as a turning point in tourism policies in Istanbul. Freezing the research to a limited time period does not do justice to understanding either urban tourism or urban development. They are both constantly changing. Some recent urban regeneration projects in Istanbul have been cancelled or revised due to organized urban protests or due to a decision by a high court (Council of State). City branding and marketing strategies are easily worn out and there is a need for new strategies. This means that research on urban tourism together with urban development requires constant updating. Since we cannot stop here, it is the author's hope that the framework introduced in this thesis will inspire further research on the relationship between urban tourism and urban development.

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Article I

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Cultural Tourism as a Tool for Urban Regeneration in Istanbul

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Abstract

In recent decades, cities have been acting as entrepreneurs to attract visitors. Cities develop marketing strategies in order to have a competitive advantage over other cities. Cultural tourism, one of the main motivations behind these marketing strategies, has been widely adapted as an urban policy. This paper discusses how cultural tourism has become a tool for urban regeneration and how sustainable cultural tourism can be compatible with urban regeneration policies. The case for this study is Istanbul, and this paper evaluates Istanbul's year as The European Capital of Culture in 2010. The European Capital of Culture event is a case study in cultural tourism and its effects on urban regeneration.
Keywords: cultural tourism, urban regeneration, Istanbul, European Capital of Culture

1- Introduction

Cultural tourism has become a new source of revenue for cities. As an important driver for the expansion of cultural facilities, cultural tourism is assumed to contribute to the urban economy and urban growth more generally. The development of facilities for tourists often causes physical changes in the built environment. The close relationship between cultural tourism and culture-led urban regeneration has been a delicate topic which has aroused protests by citizens as well as academic interest. In this paper, we discuss this relationship and evaluate the dynamics of culture-led urban

regeneration in the case of Istanbul. First, we discuss the relationship between cultural tourism and urban regeneration. Then we investigate Istanbul's recent emergence as a 'tourist city'. After that, we analyze urban regeneration in Istanbul in consideration of the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) title and its associated events in 2010. Lastly, we critically evaluate the outcomes of culture-led urban regeneration in Istanbul and explore how sustainable and profitable cultural tourism strategies can be implemented.

2. Cultural Tourism and Urban Regeneration

2.1. Conceptual Expansion

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, structural adjustment policies and new cultural dynamics triggered what are called "urban cultural policies" (Bianchini, 1993) **[1]**. Culture's role in urban development strategies became consolidated due to the competition of cities on a global scale, in an effort to attract visitors and foreign investment. In this context, culture has become an increasingly prominent part of tourism, with a rising interest in heritage, art, history and lifestyle (Williams, 2010) **[2]**. Cities, which are centres of "cultural industries", seek to market their cultural assets to secure a position in the ranks of globally attractive tourist markets (Russo and Borg, 2002) **[3]**. Because tourists looking for culture are likely to stay more nights and spend more **[4**] than business travelers, the regeneration of whole urban neighbourhoods believed to have cultural or historical value has become significant in cities' tourism strategies. The World Tourism Organization confirms that 37% of international travels are motivated by culture **[5]**.

Policy-makers' expectations from cultural tourism often go beyond short-term benefits, as they seek long-lasting and sustainable changes in the built environment to attract tourists. In the long run, culture-led urban regeneration can contribute to conservation and the promotion of urban heritage, redevelopment of city centers, and the revival of former industrial zones and waterfront sites (Evans, 2005**[6]**, Binns, 2005) **[7]**. Culture-led urban regeneration is also considered as a tool to protect and promote urban cultural diversity (Garcia, 2004) **[8]**. Similarly, Shaw, Bagwell and Karmowska (2004)**[9]** emphasize that

cultural tourism adds value to a given area by promoting ethnic and cultural identity.

As a result of culture-led regeneration, an increased number of visitors come to a city. Motivated by an assumption that investing in culture makes a city more attractive, an increase in tourism revenue eventually makes it possible to fund further improvements in built environment. However, this circle does not necessarily function well. Although the rhetoric to legitimize culture-led urban regeneration often emphasizes the wellbeing of citizens, greater participation and democracy (Evans 2005) **[6]**, revitalization of cultural life (Miles and Paddison, 2005) **[10]** and empowerment of local communities, it may also contribute to poverty (via unemployment, gentrification, eviction and displacement of city dwellers) (Evans 2005 **[6]**, Binns, 2005 **[7]**), the denial of local identity (Miles and Paddison, 2005) **[10]** and limited economic recovery for certain groups or areas (Evans, 2003) **[11]**. Despite these problems, culture-led regeneration strategies have become popular because they are related to four other popular urban strategies: city branding, flagship projects, mega events and the creative milieu.

2.2. City Branding

According to Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2004, 2007, 2009) **[12][13][14],** cities try to differentiate themselves from each other and to market their assets and promote a certain image. Through a comprehensive branding policy, a city can turn its image into a city brand and make it well-known (by using a catchy slogan and well-designed logo, for example). Urban regeneration and branding strategies may have close ties (Paddison, 1993), **[15]** feeding each other such that "*cultural projects give emotional 'fuel' for successful destination brands and cultural brands can be adopted by commercial regeneration projects"* (Tibbot, 2002) **[16]**.

2.3. Flagship Projects

Culture-led regeneration aims to "bring life" to cities with "hard cultural infrastructure" (Binns, 2005) **[7],** including building cultural centres like museums, art galleries and theatres. Such infrastructure sometimes includes the construction of costly iconic buildings and

symbolic landmarks (e.g. Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Baltic Four Mills in London, Kiasma in Helsinki and Kunsthaus in Graz) which are later used in city marketing campaigns. In addition, investing in cultural infrastructure plays a considerable role in future visions of cities (Dündar, 2009) **[17]**. City leaders also assume that investing in culture contributes to the socio-economic and physical sustainability of the target area.

2.4. Mega Events

With the increased competition between cities, one strategy has been to host international events to attract visitors and investment. Mega events (or hallmark events) not only contribute to the image of a particular city and boost local pride, but also become a catalyst for urban regeneration (Binns, 2005, **[7]** Garcia, 2004 **[8]**). Particularly, Olympic Games, major sporting events, and rotating awards like ECOC or 'World Design Capital' play important roles in changing the built environment while also encouraging cultural tourism. Mega events generate considerable revenue for the cities, though in some cases they may cause catastrophic financial debts. Thus, mega events may work for the benefit of the inhabitants or they may result in political, social or environmental damage (Hall, 1992) **[18]**.

2.5. The Creative Milieu

According to Richard Florida (2002) **[19],** human capital is the key to urban economic growth and 'successful' urban regeneration. Despite criticism against Florida's idea that clustering human capital increases creativity, attempts to create 'creative milieu' for cultural industries and develop cultural infrastructure have become a popular strategy to promote economic development (Garcia, 2004) **[8]**.

3- Cultural tourism and urban regeneration in Istanbul

3.1. Istanbul: a rising tourist city

Since the 1980s, the tourism industry in Turkey benefited from financial priorities, incentives and subsidies (public lands were leased to entrepreneurs at favorable terms) (Aykaç, 2009) **[20]**. The Tourism Encouragement Law of 1982, which introduced new incentives to the private sector, provided a legal basis for the subsidy of the development of tourist facilities (Kocabaş, 2006 **[21]**, Yüksel

et. al., 2005 **[22]**). The law had considerable effects on Istanbul's tourism agenda, and paved the way for particular districts to be developed as tourism zones. Consequently, with Antalya and Istanbul as its leading destinations, Turkey has increasingly become a "tourism country" since the late 1980s (Urry, 1993) **[23]**.

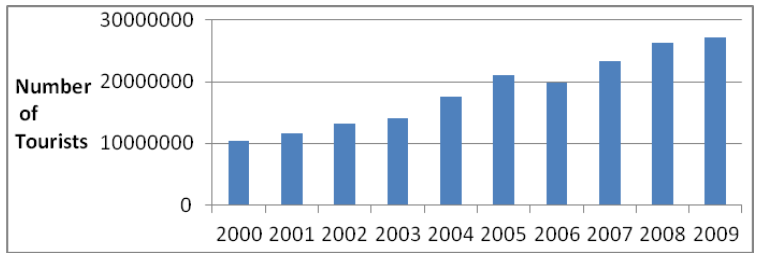

Figure 1 Number of tourists in Turkey 2000-2009 (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2009) **[24]**

In 2009, Turkey was ranked the 7th most visited country in the world, with about 27 million tourists **[4] [24]** (see figure 1). Istanbul is ranked 9th on the list of the most visited cities in the world, with more than 7.5 million international visitors **[25]** (see figure 2). Istanbul also enjoyed the fastest growth in top ten destinations globally (see table 1).

City	**Rank**	**Arrivals 2009, '000**	**% growth 2008/2009**
London	1	14,059	-4.7
Bangkok	2	9,986	-2.2
Singapore	3	9,683	-4.3
Kuala Lumpur	4	9,400	5.2
Antalya	5	8,868	3.5
New York City	6	8,479	-10.7
Dubai	7	7,783	2.6
Paris	8	7,750	-6.9
Istanbul	9	7,543	7

Hong Kong	10	7,011	-3.8

Table 1 Top City Destination Ranking (Euromonitor, 2010) **[25]**

Istanbul has improved its tourism facilities for hospitality management in the last five years (see table 2). The number of international events has doubled in the last decade, and the number of participants in those events exceeded 75,000 (see table 3). In terms of convention participants, Istanbul is ranked as the 4th in the world in 2009 **[26]**.

Year	Number of Facilities	Number of Rooms	Number of Beds
2007	842	49,529	98,999
2008	1,077	54,399	108,506
2009	1,134	53,541	106,191
2010	1,235	69,762	139,949

Table 2 Development of Tourism Facilities 2007-2010 (Directorate of Culture and Tourism of Istanbul, 2010) **[27]**

Year	Number of International Events	Number of Participants
2000	29	17,888
2001	35	46,806
2002	35	26,365
2003	47	42,631
2004	52	31,655
2005	59	47,121
2006	76	44,547
2007	79	30,536
2008	82	56,179
2009	80	75,768

Table 3 Development of Congress/Convention Tourism in Istanbul 2000-2009 (International Congress and Convention, 2010) **[26]**

In 2013, it is estimated that Turkey will host over 40 million tourists, with USD $1000 spending per tourist, and receive approximately $50 billion in tourism revenue [28].

3.2. Cultural tourism as a tool for urban regeneration in Istanbul

Urban regeneration in Turkey is a recent phenomenon, and can be traced back to the 1980s in Ankara, the capital of Turkey. By the 2000s, urban regeneration had been adapted as a popular urban policy. Unlike urban regeneration projects in Europe and North America, Istanbul did not aim to redevelop its city center in the post war period, or to revitalize its city center because of abandoning due to suburbanization. Instead, urban regeneration policies in Istanbul have been motivated by the Marmara Earthquake (1999), the presence of informal housing, an increase in international investment, Turkey's EU candidacy and the country's adaptation process to EU policies. Over the last two decades, the methods and practices of urban regeneration and the role of local governments in it have been discussed widely (Özden, 2000) **[29]**. Consecutively, the regulations (particularly new legislation in 2005) have provided a legal basis for urban regeneration. Urban regeneration projects, which initially were implemented only in residential areas and waterfronts, have recently been carried out as a tool for promoting cultural tourism as Istanbul bears the title of ECOC (Özden, 2008) **[30]**.

'Intangible heritage' has a significant role in cultural tourism. Turkey signed The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, prepared by UNESCO in 2003. In the convention, intangible cultural heritage is defined as "*the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith"* **[31]**. The convention recognizes that "*communities, in particular indigenous groups and in some cases, individuals, play an important role in the production, safeguarding, maintenance and recreation of the intangible cultural heritage, thus helping to enrich cultural diversity and human creativity*" **[31]**. Despite the rhetoric to save intangible heritage, recent regeneration projects in Istanbul focused on seeing and 'consuming' these places have instead destroyed them. This is because urban renewal projects have ignored the dependency of intangible cultural heritage on its particular neighbourhood. In the last five years, urban regeneration projects were implemented in several districts, such as Küçükçekmece, Halkalı, Çatalca, Zeytinburnu, Esenler, Esenyurt, Maltepe, Güngören, Başakşehir, Ataşehir, Kartal, Gaziosmanpaşa-Sarıgöl,

Fatih-Sulukule, Fener-Balat, Müze-kent, Topkapı industrial zone, Eminönü-Hanlar Area, Ayvansaray, Yenikapı–Yalı Neighbourhood, Süleymaniye and Beyoğlu-Tarlabaşı-Galata-Tophane. In particular among these, the Tarlabaşı Urban Regeneration Project and the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project were criticized for neglecting cultural heritage of the neighbourhood.

The Istanbul Environmental Plan of 2009 considers both banks of the Golden Horn, The Historical Peninsula, Sütlüce and Tophane as cultural tourism districts (see figure 3). The change in the banks of the Golden Horn began with the transformation of former industrial plants and waterfronts into cultural places. Recently opened art galleries, thematic museums, and culture and conventional centres indicate the drastic change in the area (see figure 4). Flagship projects like Santral Istanbul, Kadir Has University, Feshane, the Sütlüce Congress Centre, Miniatürk, the Rahmi Koç Museum, and the Istanbul Modern Art Museum have contributed to this transformation and have emerged as attractive locations for cultural tourism.

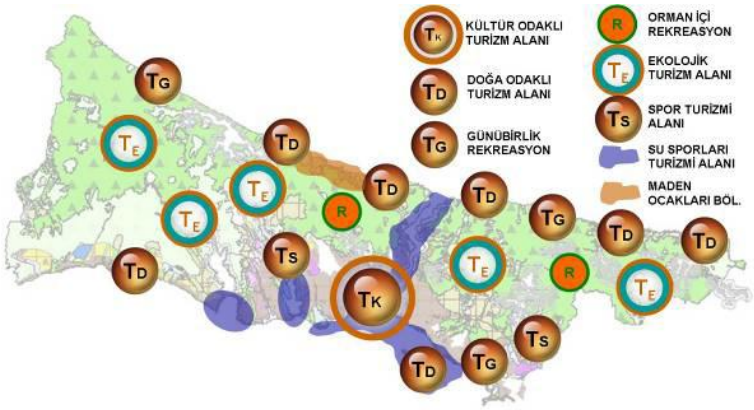

Figure 4 Function Centers of Istanbul (Istanbul Municipality, 2009) **[32]**

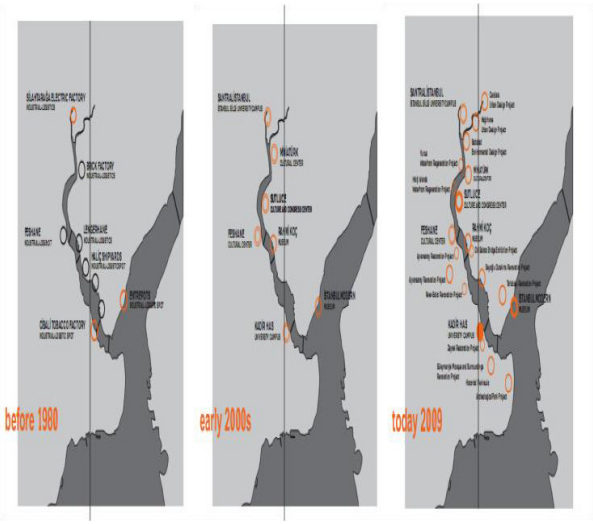

Figure 5 Cultural Tourism led urban regeneration in Istanbul, 1980-2009 (Mutlukent, 2011) **[33]**

The Istanbul Metropolitan Planning and Urban Design Center unit, which is responsible for preparing the Istanbul Environmental Plan, recommends that Istanbul's tourism potentials should be developed in accordance with the changes in the cityscape **[5]**. The agency urges that "cultural heritage, museums, culture and art festivals and congress tourism are not only crucial to promote Istanbul on the global scale but also equally significant for a live and vivid urban cultural life" **[5]**. In this context, both the Historical Peninsula and the Golden Horn have been foci of cultural tourism and urban regeneration. Turgut and Özden, 2005 **[34]** regard the Historical Peninsula in particular as the "showcase of the city" and suggest that cultural tourism-led regeneration is inevitable for this area.

3.3. Istanbul 2010 the European Capital of Culture

The European Cities of Culture title was renamed the European Capital of Culture in 1999. On 11 March 2006, Essen from Germany, Pecs from Hungary and Istanbul from Turkey were selected by the EU Council as European Capitals of Culture for 2010. Since 1985,

more than 30 cities have been designated ECOC. Following this decision, The Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency was established in 2007. The agency was responsible for planning all exhibitions, concerts, conferences, urban projects and tourism activities with cultural and social content; to make recommendations to cooperating institutions and organizations about the urban regeneration agenda; and to provide coordination between public institutions, trade associations, NGOs and volunteers. Further, the agency was in charge of preparing projects for maintenance, repair and restoration of immovable cultural assets, and making recommendations on construction of new culture and art centers. The Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency's aims covered a wide scope of activities, some of which directly refer to cultural tourism and urban regeneration. The agency introduced both typical and abstract objectives, such as promoting Istanbul's unique urban identity as a center of art and culture, increasing Istanbul's share in the cultural tourism market, integrating with the European cultural sphere, and encouraging Istanbulites to participate in decision-making. Some objectives (like implementing projects for conservation of the cultural heritage, developing cultural infrastructure, building new cultural and art places, and increasing the quality of life in Istanbul) are closely associated with culture-led urban regeneration **[35]**. Consequently, in 2010 ECOC initiated a remarkable change in Istanbul's built environment. Besides numerous amounts of daily cultural activities and festivities, several projects were implemented to make permanent changes to Istanbul's cultural landscape. For example, two new museums (Museum of Prince Islands and The Mimar Sinan Research Center Museum) were built. Vortvots Vorodman Armenian Church and Otağ-ı Hümayun (The Sultan's Garrison Quarters) have been restored and transformed into cultural centres. Other remarkable urban projects in 2010 were restorations of Imaret Mosque, Hagia Sophia and Topkapi Palace, along with project works in Kariye Museum.

	Expected Revenue (TL)	Real Revenue (TL)	Spent on Projects
2008	240,273,000	78,487,387	10,755,410
2009	805,156,000	260,230,546	27,201,383

2010	303,200,000	224,983,685	126,725,629
2011 (Until June)	178,761,664	(until March) 13,603,244	35,268,694

Table 4 The Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency's Budget (The Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency, 2010) **[35]**

Approximately 60% of the agency's budget was spent on restoration projects (see table 4). About 50 million liras (out of 250 million liras budget for the agency) was spent for the conservation of World Heritage sites. With the Istanbul Environmental Plan in 2009, the agency provided funding for the Field Management on Historical Peninsula Unit. In this restructuring process, as Evans (2007) **[36]** stated, the number of "attractive" locations for cultural tourism increased significantly. In summary, Istanbul 2010 ECOC has been a significant opportunity to implement and evaluate culture-led urban regeneration projects, which contributed in the long run to cultural tourism.

4. Conclusion and assessment

Measuring both short-run and long-term social, economic and environmental impacts of urban regeneration is problematic (Evans, 2005 **[6]**, Miles and Paddison, 2005 **[10])**. It is similarly difficult to define what makes urban regeneration projects 'successful'. On the other hand, in the context of ECOC 2010 Istanbul, it is relatively easy to evaluate the outcomes of culture-led urban regeneration. We discuss some positive and negative outcomes.

Positive Outcomes: At first glance, ECOC was a great opportunity for Istanbul to reclaim its historical and cultural assets. New cultural centers, museums and art galleries were opened. The Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency organized hundreds of activities which revitalized culture and art scenes in Istanbul. The ECOC agency, a combination of private-public partnerships, non-governmental organizations, professionals and academic units, employed several projects to encourage citizen participation and promote city identity. Finally, the most remarkable success is the

restoration of particular churches and mosques, which are valuable assets of Istanbul's cityscape.

Negative Outcomes: What we also see in the Istanbul case are general concerns about culture-led urban regeneration. Miles and Paddison (2005) **[10]** question regeneration narratives by asking "*what do such developments actually mean in terms of the lives of those people who live in that city?"*. Social inclusion, one of the primary goals set for culture led urban regeneration, is often understood in terms of an individual's or social groups' "*relationship to marketplace*" and their roles as "*customers*" - underestimating the value of culture for the people (Miles and Paddison, 2005) **[10]**. The Sulukule tourism-led urban regeneration project, in a Romani neighborhood in the very centre of Istanbul, disregarded local culture. In the year of ECOC, urban regeneration caused the complete destruction of an ethnic and cultural enclave. As a result, Romani residents were evicted and displaced and suffered from unemployment, poverty and homelessness (Özden, 2008) **[30]**. ECOC urban regeneration projects in Istanbul also ignored social and cultural needs of locals and denied cultural diversity in exchange for "legitimate culture".

Suggestions: According to Russo and Borg (2002) **[3],** tourism developments bring further expenditures in the long run. Cultural tourism policies need to take such costs into account. In the Istanbul case, ECOC has been a significant learning experience in developing a cultural tourism agenda. We suggest that urban regeneration projects should consider social, cultural and environmental sustainability. Bailey, Miles and Stark (2004) **[37]** give a welcome warning: "*we should avoid any temptation to generalize interests of culture led urban regeneration...successful examples of culture led urban regeneration do in fact engage with a pre-existing collective sense of local identity*". Based on the Istanbul case, we also believe that promoting multi-cultural, ethnic and religious diversity may hinder negative outcomes of urban regeneration. In promoting sustainable cultural tourism and redeveloping Istanbul's unique neighborhoods, culture-led urban regeneration projects should also pay attention to intangible assets (i.e. local (sub) cultures) and

rehabilitation of locals' socio-economic and cultural conditions rather than simply transforming physical space.

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II

Article II

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An urban social movement challenging urban regeneration: The case of Sulukule, Istanbul

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ABSTRACT

Urban regeneration projects have become a focus of attention in Istanbul due to tourism promotion, particularly great expectations from the European Capital of Culture 2010 Event. Sulukule, a Romani neighborhood on the historical peninsula of Istanbul, was designated as an urban redevelopment zone. The Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project is one of the recent efforts to present "a better urban environment" to foreign visitors and investors. The project has accelerated the struggle for land, causing dispossessions, evictions and demolitions. Locals' needs and rights are denied. Consequently, the citizens in Sulukule started to oppose regeneration and formed an urban social movement. This paper attempts to analyze the urban social movement in Sulukule, the Sulukule Platform, which emerged as an urban coalition challenging tourism-led regeneration.

Introduction

The Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project is one of the recent regeneration projects in Istanbul, which has caused tensions between the authorities and activists. In Sulukule, a mixed group of activists have organized themselves as the Sulukule Platform (SP), challenging state-led urban regeneration for tourism promotion. The activists monitor Roma identity in Sulukule, which is one of the oldest Roma settlements in Europe. Urban regeneration in Sulukule is related to the 'cultural turn' in urban studies. As the government and the municipalities define a legitimate 'urban culture', while the 'Romani subculture' in Sulukule is viewed as threatening the cultural sustainability of the city. Moreover, urban resistance in Sulukule claims the right against accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2008) and urges evictions to stop. Thus, the Sulukule case calls for a broad, multidisciplinary analysis. With awareness of this socio-economical and cultural complexity, I introduce and describe the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project and analyze SP as an urban social movement.

In this paper, I ask the following research questions: How did the activists gain capacity to resist urban regeneration? How did the activists present their demands? In which ways did SP contribute to the struggle against urban regeneration? To what extent have the activists influenced the urban process in Sulukule?

The research covers two periods: May–September 2009 (during large scale demolitions) and May–July 2010 (after demolitions). During these periods, I occasionally visited Sulukule. Therefore, my personal observations were the first motivation for beginning this study. Eight interviews were conducted in total and categorized into three groups for analysis. The first group of interviews was conducted with activists and professionals. The focus was on how SP opposed regeneration. Second, I interviewed with locals in Sulukule who encouraged the documentation of individual stories. I focused on how ambiguous property rights caused problems and how displacement affected the Roma. Third, I conducted interviews with the residents of the adjacent neighborhood, Çarşamba. I was able to document the prejudice against the Roma in Turkey, which later played a role in SP's fate. Further primary data sources consisted of newspapers, petitions, court documents, statistics, domestic and international reports, surveys conducted by the Fatih Municipality and SP, and websites and portals of SP and the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and the Fatih Municipality. In analyzing data, I focused on the causal relationship between the events. I tried to find out how the locals struggled with dispossessions, eviction and displacement and how SP consequently reacted and organized locals against urban regeneration.

I will begin by discussing urban social movements (USMs). Then, I will introduce Sulukule and the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project, following which I will analyze the demands presented by SP. Finally I will critically evaluate the achievements and effects of SP, its role in the struggle against urban regeneration in Istanbul and future prospects.

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Urban social movements

The term 'urban social movements' was introduced by Manuel Castells. Castells, using Louis Althusser's structuralism, categorized organized social unrest, uprisings, pressure groups and oppositional fronts as USMs, which claim political power and participation. Castells expected that USMs and working class organizations together produce a radical change in political power, an urban revolution (Castells, 1977, 1978b, 1983; Pickvance, 2003a, 2003b, p. 103). Despite his break with the Marxist epistemology, Castells continued to study USMs in the 1980s and introduced cultural perspectives into his theory. His emphasis changed from national revolutionary urban movements to the protection of territorial and local identities (Nichols, 2008, pp. 842–843), and his focus shifted from class issues to actors (Milicevic, 2001, p. 767).

Castells (1983, p. 322) defined USMs using the following four elements.

1. Accomplish the transformation of urban meaning in the full extent of its political and cultural implications, an USM must articulate in its praxis in the three goals of collective consumption demands, community culture and political self-management.
2. It must be conscious of its role as an urban social movement.
3. It must be connected to society through a series of organizational operators, three in particular: the media, the professionals and the political parties.
4. A *sine qua non* condition: while USMs must be connected to the political system to at least partially achieve its goals, they must be organizationally and ideologically autonomous of any political party.

Castells' research on USMs inspired many scholars and has been re-read and re-formulated several times (Pickvance, 1986, 2003a, Hanniga, 1985; Staeheli, 2006; Mayer, 2006; Miller, 2006; Ward & McCann, 2006; Nichols, 2008).

Since Castells's research in the 1970s, there have been radical changes in USMs. According to Pickvance (1995), several aspects, such as regime transitions and the relationship between the parties, USMs and the state's roles, have reshaped USMs. For Mayer (2000), new competitive forms of urban development, the erosion of traditional welfare rights and the shift from government to governance has influenced the change in USMs. Mayer (2009, pp. 364–365) describes four phases of USMs. In the first phase, 1960–1980, USMs emerged due to the crisis of Fordism. As Castells (1977) stated, having sharp national and regional differences, USMs struggled for fundamental changes in politics and society. The second phase of USMs, 1980–1990, was a reaction towards the neoliberal paradigm that eroded Keynesian-welfarist and social-collectivist institutions. USMs organized increasingly varied and fragmented protests to address unemployment, poverty and housing matters. However, as Kavoulakos (2006) notes, USMs were not radical anymore; they gradually became less political on collective consumption issues. According to Mayer, the third phase, 1990–2000, began when the neoliberal market mechanism transformed cities into assets wherever possible. De facto erosion of social rights triggered the emergence of USMs against gentrification and urban regeneration in several cities. Finally, Mayer argues that the fourth phase has begun due to the integration of financial markets and the increase in flexibility of international capital. Cities, as global competitors, have adapted entrepreneurial strategies to attract more investment. Such strategies often ignore or sacrifice districts where economically vulnerable dwellers live, which eventually causes urban protests and converts into activists those citizens who rally against the lack of sustainability and destructiveness of neoliberal forms of urbanization (Brenner, Marcuse, & Mayer, 2009). Nevertheless, USMs today are also different than the ones in previous phases. According to Mayer (2009, pp. 365–366), USMs are becoming more organized and globally linked. They have discovered the connection between the 'local' and the 'global', and they now attack global neoliberalism in the form of global corporations. Activists, by efficiently using communication technologies, organize anti-globalization rallies (Leontidou, 2006a).

USMs often oppose institutional logic, leading to confrontations with the state (Castells, 1978a). However, state-civil society relations have changed since the 1970s. Politics at the local level has gained importance, while politics at the national level has been in decline (see Jessop, 2000). The role of USMs in the provision of social services has been recognized and has caused the institutionalization of USMs. However, institutionalized USMs have lost their radical nature and have become compatible with the Post-Fordist mode of regulation (Kavoulakos, 2006). USMs have become important vehicles for transmitting radically diverse grievances and views of the civil society to the state (Nichols, 2008, p. 78). They may have direct influence on the state at the local level as 'critical urban planning' agents (Souza, 2006). On the other hand, USMs are not always in cooperation with the state. Instead, they often stand against corporate capital and the entrepreneurially minded state apparatus (Harvey, 2008). Thus, at the local level, the state stigmatizes USMs, follows divide-and rule strategies, blocks the connections between activists and uses physical force to disintegrate USMs (Nichols, 2008).

USMs emerge after a particular *stake* (urban crisis, urban regeneration, housing or development projects and displacement). USMs appear on a *social base*, which eventually causes *mobilization* and *action*, turns into *a social force* and then creates *action* (Castells, 1977, 1978a, 1983; Pickvance, 1986). USMs have specific and clearly defined *demands*, which are represented through various means of *action* such as demonstrations, marches and writing petitions to local and global authorities; cultural events such as movie festivals, song contests and exhibitions; and academic events such as conferences and declarations. Demands determine the rise and fall of the USMs. USMs may continue to exist if the other demands are sufficiently encouraging enough to keep them active. According to Castells (1983), political support is a key element to analyze the success and the failure of USMs.

Nichols (2008, 2009) discusses how USMs are formed. He develops three concepts to analyze the formation and activities of USMs: networks, contact points and strong/weak ties. Networks play a vital role in coordinating activities; they allow activists to establish connections among themselves and with distant allies. Networks make the flow of information and financial and political support possible. Developing networks depends on contact points (meetings, protest events, forums, public places, political institutions and demonstrations) where diverse activists gather and exchange ideas (Nichols, 2009, pp. 83–85). Nicholls also discusses strong and weak ties. Strong ties between the activists enhance collective capacities and increase motivation for action, whereas weak ties generate opportunities to access new resources and information (Nichols, 2008, pp. 844–845, 856).

In addition, a USM requires a specific location, such as a neighborhood, district or a whole city, to function (Castells, 1977). USMs are specific to national and cultural contexts (Castells, 1983, p. 123, 324). There is a growing number of case studies on USMs, such as individual case studies (Body-Gendrot, 2000; Castells, 1978b, 1983; Lelieveldt, 2004; Kavoulakos, 2006; Olives, 1976), comparative studies (Clarke & Mayer, 1986; Hamel, Lustiger-Thaler & Mayer, 2000) and regional research introducing Latin (Castells, 1977, 1983) or Latin American (Souza, 2006), Anglo-American (Castells, 1977, 1978a, 1983; Fainstein & Fainstein, 1985; Mayer,

2009), European, Eastern European (Pickvance, 2000) and Mediterranean (Leontidou, 2006b) perspectives.

In analyzing Sulukule, Castells' analysis on the rise and fall of USMs, Castells' and Pickvance's concepts of USM formation (*stake*, *mobilization*, *action*, *social force*, *action*, demands) and Nicholls's research on networking and contact points will be combined.

Sulukule

Sulukule (officially called Hatice and Neslişah Sultan but widely known as Sulukule) is a Romani neighborhood in the Fatih district of Istanbul. Sulukule is located on the borders of the historical peninsula, near the ancient Theodosian Walls. The neighborhood is around 8000 m^2 with 571 households.

Sulukule has been regarded as the capital of the Romani people in Turkey for centuries with its splendid and unique urban culture. Many think that the first Romani communities settled in Sulukule in the 11th century (Marsh, 2008). After the Turkish conquest of Istanbul, Sulukule became the first neighborhood in the world to be permanently settled by the Romani people. The Roma mostly dealt with music, dancing and entertainment during the Byzantine and Ottoman times (Göncüoğlu & Yavuztürk, 2009; Yavuz & Göreci, 2008).

Sulukule suffered discrimination and isolation for generations. During the Byzantine rule, Sulukule's dwellers faced frequent pressure from the Christian Orthodox Church. Romani families were forced to live in camps outside the city (Foggo, 2007, p. 41). During the Ottoman reign, the Roma was discriminated against because of their entertainment and drinking habits. Their 'cultural separateness', due to having a different language, loud debates and fights on the streets and playing with animals, was often considered impure (Mischek, 2002). Romani people in Istanbul were relocated several times and subjected to compulsory public work. Since the 19th century, Ottoman modernization affected the civil status of the Roma, who did not abandon their semi-nomadic lifestyles (Somersan & Kirca Schroeder, 2008). The Republican period did not bring any improvements, and Sulukule suffered demolitions in the mid-1960s and in 1982.

Sulukule has always been a vivid entertainment center. In Sulukule, Romani families have fostered a unique style of entertainment with fortune telling, acrobatics, bear shows, music and dance performances in private residences. The entertainment houses (*devriye* or *eğlence evleri*) in Sulukule have traditionally been the main source of income for its residents. In these family enterprise houses, the musicians were often fathers, sons and male members of the families, whereas the dancers were daughters and mothers (Foggo, 2007, p. 41). Middle and upper-class customers often rented the entire house or a room and enjoyed food and spirits (Akçura, 2007). The entertainment culture in Sulukule is widely known amongst Turkish society and has been represented in numerous movies and TV series. However, in the early 1990s, following claims that Romani people in Sulukule were dealing drugs and engaging in prostitution, the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality closed down the houses (Somersan, 2007). In 1992, police intervention was harsh against the inhabitants of Sulukule. Police beat some musicians and destroyed their instruments (Foggo, 2007).

Because most residents in Sulukule earn their living from entertainment, closing down the houses drove up unemployment and paved the way to urban decay. Since the 1990s, local governments have neglected Sulukule. Sulukule has been denied access to basic municipal services such as transportation, sanitation and education and has been abandoned to its own fate (Özden, 2008b). The neighborhood has since turned to a slum area and suffered from poverty (Karaman, 2008, p. 522). In this period, Sulukule's population decreased from 10,000 to 3500 (Foggo, 2007, p. 45). Before the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project, it was estimated that 3000–3500 ethnic Romani people used to live in Sulukule, constituting at least 80% of the whole population[1] (Radikal, 2007; Rroma Foundation Sulukule Report, 2008). The Fatih Municipality's survey shows that 31% of the population is illiterate, 34% have primary education and 5% have finished junior high school. Only 4% of the population are high school graduates. Economic indicators are alarming as well; 77% of the inhabitants are unemployed and 64% have no social insurance. A survey by SP indicates that about a quarter of the incomes of the locals are below 300 Turkish Liras (approximately 150 Euros) and half of them earn less than 500 Turkish Liras monthly (Foggo, 2007). The average household size is over six persons and each family has at least two children (Placing Sulukule Report, 2007). Grandparents and grandchildren often live together and are sometimes forced to share a flat with other families. The private land ownership rate is 40%.

There is a sharp contrast between Sulukule and Istanbul in terms of education and employment. In Istanbul, the illiteracy rate is 3.8%, 27% of the population has primary school education, 15.9% are junior high school graduates and 18.2% are high school graduates. The unemployment rate in Istanbul is 14%. The average household size is three persons (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2009). As I discuss next, authorities used indicators of poverty and physical decay in Sulukule to construct a 'regeneration rhetoric'.

The Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project

Urban regeneration as an urban policy was introduced to Turkey in 1996 at the Habitat II Conference (Güney, 2009, p. 29). In 2004 and 2005, several amendments were made in municipal laws to foster the municipality's authority in urban policies and decentralize planning power (Bartu and Kırlı, 2007; Özden, 2008a). Municipalities began to take leading roles in regeneration projects and cooperate with the private sector. In June 2005, the Turkish Parliament passed Law 5366 for Renovation, Protection, Cherishing and Use of Worn Historical and Cultural Immovable Properties (*Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun*), which became the main legal background for urban regeneration in Turkey. The law authorized municipalities to implement large scale urban regeneration projects with the right of expropriation in deteriorated historic areas and zones of degeneration. The Law of Municipalities, Article 73, was amended in 2010, delegating extensive powers to municipalities. Municipalities now can implement regeneration projects to build public housing estates, industrial and trade zones, technology parks and recreational areas, protect and restore deteriorated urban areas, conserve historical and cultural heritage and take precautions against earthquake risks.

In January 2006, the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Council discussed and approved the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project. The decision was announced in the Official Journal in December 2006. Three actors jointly implemented the project: The Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, The Fatih Municipality and The Mass Housing Administration (*Toplu Konut İdaresi* or TOKI).

The Sulukule Case represents what Edelman (1964) differentiates as politics of 'big issues', as compared with politics dealing with the distribution of goods and services. In the Sulukule case, the project used the 'big issues' and refused to discuss how goods and services are distributed. The municipality website describes the project as a necessity, stating as follows: "Neslişah and Hatice Sultan neighborhoods have witnessed urban decay and turned into slum areas, in the centre of Istanbul. These neighborhoods have not

[1] The Fatih Municipality claims that the Romani people constitute only 17% of the population.

only been physically ruined but also become homelands for socio-economic problems" (http://www.fatih.bel.tr/bpi.asp?caid=631&cid=1155). The rhetoric introduces physically decayed Sulukule as a social threat and continues as follows: "Sulukule has been occupied by low income and low cultural groups who came as immigrants without having a sense of belonging to the city. There is no trace of a homogeneous culture in the neighborhood" (http://www.fatih.bel.tr/bpi.asp?caid=631&cid=1155).

The text uses a biased and offensive usage of words like 'low cultural groups' to convey an obvious message of disapproval of the target population. The project simply ignores the Romani identity. Romani residents in Sulukule are considered as temporary and are accused of not integrating with the urban culture. The authorities often underline the significance of the location of Sulukule in Istanbul. "Sulukule is an important part of Istanbul", says Mustafa Demir, Fatih Mayor, "They live in squalid conditions. Most have no electricity or water. The infrastructure is inadequate ... I should definitely do something about such a chaotic situation" (The Guardian, 2008). Clearly, this discourse played a part in legitimizing urban regeneration in Sulukule. Another criticism on the website is on property issues. According to the project, "the property-owner relation is not clear in Sulukule. This contributed to physical decay as tenants or occupants did not pay attention to repairs of buildings". The rhetoric again blames the dwellers for causing physical decay. The project uses this ambiguity in property rights, which will be discussed later. Lastly, the project discusses the condition of the houses, which are vulnerable to earthquakes: "the risk for earthquakes in Istanbul is to be considered as the built environment in Sulukule may cause serious problems to inhabitants". It is disingenuous to present the earthquake topic because the risk is not isolated to Sulukule and is used as a subterfuge to clothe the true intentions of the policies. Recent studies estimate that 25% of the buildings are vulnerable in Istanbul. These buildings are scattered in numerous districts; urban regeneration in one neighborhood is not a solution to the threat of earthquakes (Hürriyet, 2010).

The official objectives of the project are the following: the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project aims to "preserve national and world heritage, particularly historical tissue in Sulukule including ancient walls, to stop physical decay and to secure the sustainability of the neighborhood, to maintain economic development, to promote urban integration, to increase standards of living in Sulukule and to encourage dwellers to participate in urban policies" (http://www.fatih.bel.tr/bpi.asp?caid=631&cid=1155). The regeneration plan in Sulukule includes the redesigning of three major avenues, ten streets and 22 historical sites. Four hundred and eighty "Ottoman style" wooden houses with modern infrastructure, a cultural center, a primary school, new stores and hotels are to be built in Sulukule to reinvigorate the neighborhood's stagnant economy, to protect cultural dynamics and to promote tourism (http://www.fatih.bel.tr/bpi.asp?caid=631&cid=1155).

The authorities offered three options to Sulukule's residents: buy the new houses, buy the stores (paying the difference between the construction costs and the property value with long-term loans, which burdens the locals) or leave Sulukule and accept the property value decided by the project committee. Expropriation was approved by the government in December 2006. The neighborhood is to be demolished and the locals are supposed to settle in TOKI flats in Taşoluk, in the outskirts of Istanbul, which is approximately 40 km away from Sulukule.

The Sulukule Platform

Social movements in Turkey, especially in Istanbul, have a long history. Nonetheless, USMs opposing spatial interventions and planning strategies are rather a new phenomenon. Over the past few decades, USMs in Istanbul have mostly appeared in gentrified neighborhoods such as Kuzguncuk, Arnavutköy, Ortaköy, Fener, Balat, Galata and Cihangir. New comers found movements to protect the identity of gentrified neighborhoods and defend dwellers' rights (Uysal, 2006).[2] However, the Sulukule case is a different type of local resistance (see Appendix I).

In his research on the Mission District in San Francisco, Castells (1983, pp. 123–124) underlines three structural issues about the American experience of USMs: neighborhood, poverty and oppressed ethnic minority. Despite the difference in national patterns, a similar structural analysis is valid for Sulukule. SP was founded in a particular neighborhood. Poverty played a significant part, in both the project's rhetoric and SP's demand for better living standards. Oppressed ethnic minorities have specific demands. Demanding the right to an area, SP was formed as a reaction to an urban regeneration project. NGOs like the Sulukule Association of Advancement of Romani Culture and Solidarity (*Sulukule Roman Kültürünü Koruma ve Yaşatma Derneği*), the Human Settlements Association (*İnsan Yerleşimleri Derneği*) and the Accessible Life Association (*Ulaşılabilir Yaşam Derneği*) began to organize and act together (Tan, 2007). Conferences and meetings were arranged, notably The Forty Days and Forty Nights Festival organized by activists, referring to the remaining 40 days until the first demolitions. The festival was launched on the 24th of March in 2007. It was not only a festival of music performances, art exhibitions, workshops and screenings but also academic panels, conferences and community gatherings, which caused the formation of a permanent coalition in Sulukule and *mobilization* of the activists. On its official portal, SP is defined as a grassroots organization, with no hierarchical structure, consisting of people from different backgrounds who contribute in their own ways. As an urban coalition, SP consists of several actors, as follows (see Appendix II):

1. NGOs (Association of Advancement of Romani Culture and Solidarity, Human Settlements Association, Accessible Life Association and, later, Sulukule Volunteers' Association)
2. Locals in Sulukule (organized by the Association of Advancement of Romani Culture and Solidarity)
3. Independent activists (professionals, artists, academics and researchers, mostly non-Romani and non-resident)

The first group is responsible for organizing activities to obtain support for the cause. The second group consists of locals led by the Association of Advancement of Romani Culture and Solidarity, which directs the activities in Sulukule and supervises the coordination between locals and other NGOs. The third group acts as a mediator, advocates the Sulukule case publicly and contacts potential allies. The connection between these groups depends on the activists, who can be members of more than one group.

The urban coalition in Sulukule relied on meetings, demonstrations, gatherings, exhibitions and festivals, which Nichols (2008) calls 'contact points.' Contact points brought activists into interaction and allowed them to exchange ideas. Following the framework in Nichols (2008, 2009), both strong and weak ties have made SP operational. Strong ties among locals contributed to generating social capital, consolidating solidarity, easing collective activities and accelerating the flow of information. On the other hand, the third group played a significant role in establishing weak ties with distant allies and obtaining domestic and international attention.

Before the discussion of the demands of SP and how they are

[2] Association of Kuzguncuk, Arnavutköy Neighborhood Initiative, Neighborhood Association of Ortaköy and Protection of Fishermen, Association of Fener Volunteers, Neighborhood Association of Balat, Association of Galata Neighborhood and Association of Cihangir are neighborhood-based urban social movements in Istanbul.

presented to mobilize activists, it is useful to consider the forms of capital in Sulukule. Activists enjoyed four types of capital: *social capital* (strong community ties, solidarity among locals and collective habitation), *cultural capital* (Roma identity, ethnicity and language), *human capital* (music, dance and other entertainment skills) and, to some extent, *symbolic capital* (occasional visits and supports of influential figures). Activists informed the public opinion about what was happening in Sulukule and why Sulukule was in danger on a daily basis with regards to the threats against Sulukule's social, cultural and human capital. Using print media, websites and online social networks, SP invited organizations and individuals to participate in the urban coalition.

The activists' demands can be summarized in three points. First, the activists claim that the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project's prospects for Sulukule are illusionary. Instead, the project aims to create a gentrified area in the old town. The project also has nothing to do with the conservation of Sulukule or improving the quality of life; rather, it aims to displace locals. Second, the project ignores local needs; a decision was made for locals without their participation (Çavdar, 2008).[3] On the contrary, SP presented an alternative approach: a sustainable Sulukule with adequate facilities and municipal services. Third, the activists demanded that demolitions must be stopped and that displaced families should return to Sulukule. "It is the Romani people who give the unique identity to the neighborhood", as stated on SP's website (The Sulukule Platform Portal, http://www.sulukulegunlugu.blogspot.com/). The chairman of the Sulukule Association of Advancement of Romani Culture and Solidarity and an activist in SP, Şükrü Pündük, calls for urgent reform in the project: "We need urban transformation; however this is not a transformation; this is simply a dispossession. We demand better conditions in Sulukule, we want opportunities to live and improve our culture, we want sustainable economic and educational development in the neighborhood; however this project is issued to expel us from the place we were born."

In framing rights to the city, SP initiated activities to attract domestic and international attention to Sulukule. These activities included exhibitions, academic conferences, declarations, workshops and meetings in Sulukule and other places in Istanbul, petitions written to authorities and trials against the implementation of the project. SP's main stress is on Romani culture, particularly music. SP organized cultural activities such as music festivals, concerts, sports tournaments and competitions in both Istanbul and Sulukule and encouraged local and foreign Romani bands to participate. The activists frequently appeared on TV, seeking support to change the fate of Sulukule.

The three major groups (NGOs, locals and independent activists) played different roles in SP. NGOs attempted to mobilize public opinion, making the issue a public matter as much as possible. They organized activities representing Sulukule's cultural assets. Activists in Sulukule also dealt with locals' needs by providing legal assistance, volunteering to teach children how to read and write and organizing workshops to improve the professional skills of the residents. Locals assumed the main role in demonstrations, notably as the effects of urban regeneration became more evident and demolitions began. Locals became marginalized and did not hesitate to defend their claims and forcibly make them public. Independent activists, most of whom were professionals, such as architects, city planners, artists or scholars, carried the case to different platforms such as universities, professional chambers, local assemblies, the media and others. Individuals also contributed by providing expertise such as legal assistance, health services and voluntary tutoring and represented SP on international platforms.

Domestic support for SP was provided by The Chamber of City and Regional Planners, The Chamber of Architects, Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects, academics, independent researchers, social workers and professionals who do not reside in Sulukule. They treated the project as an urban reconquest threatening cultural heritage and causing displacement, homelessness and unemployment. The Chamber of City and Regional Planners appealed to the court and argued that Law 5366 is incompatible with the constitutional rights. According to the Chamber's petition (Sulukule Dava Metni, 2008), the law contradicts articles about issues of expropriation, conservation of cultural and historical assets, human rights and political participation. The Chamber of Architects, Helsinki Citizens Assembly, European Roma Rights Centre, Sulukule Association of Development of Romani Culture and the locals appealed to the court and reported the violation of human rights in Sulukule. Other NGOs such as The Collaborative Planning Workshop and The Popular Urbanism Movement supported activists in Sulukule (Karaman, 2008). Moreover, SP inspired an opposition in universities where various academics formed an initiative called STOP (Autonomous Planners without Limits/*Sınır Tanımayan Otonom Plancılar*), which introduced an alternative plan to the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project. The STOP initiative agreed that there is an urgent need for transformation in Sulukule; however, they stated that the project should not be a tool of displacement. Instead, it should revitalize the neighborhood by creating opportunities for employment; the residents should stay in Sulukule (Kuyucu, 2009; Sulukule Toplumsal Gelisme ve Ekonomik Kalkinma Plani ve Mekansal Gelisme Stratejileri). Many criticized Law 5366, stating that it has nothing to do with conservation but instead paves the way to urban regeneration (Özden 2008a, 2008b; Güney, 2009, p. 30).

SP gained considerable international support. UNESCO and the International Alliance of Inhabitants expressed their concerns about the project (Radikal, 2008). The UNESCO Report criticizes Law 5366 for the legitimization of demolitions. The report regards regeneration as a threat against the unity and originality of the region because it leads to radical changes in urban tissue and the replacement of traditional Romani houses by higher buildings and tourist facilities. The UNESCO Report recommends the establishment of a balance between conservation, social needs and the identity of local communities (UNESCO World Heritage Centre Report, 2009). Scholars from the University of London College visited Sulukule and prepared a report as well. The Romani director Tony Gatliff, musicians Manu Chao and the Romani band Gogol Bordello are other prominent supporters of the Sulukule campaign.

SP represents a unique experience of local resistance in Istanbul. It has several distinctive features as a USM. First, SP emerged as an opposition against gentrification. Unlike previous USMs, it was not founded only by middle class gentrifiers but also by locals who have been living in Sulukule for generations, though professional supporters played important roles in raising the profile of SP. Second, SP has an ethnic and cultural identity. The emphasis on ethnicity and culture made SP a spokesman for all the Roma in Istanbul. Third, no USM has attracted as much attention, neither in Istanbul nor in Turkey. Unlike other social movements in Istanbul, SP gained not only wide domestic support but also international assistance. Fourth, the *political effects* of SP were noteworthy. SP played a part in refreshing political debates on the so-called participative character of local governance. Activists called attention to decisions that uncovered the fact that local authorities had, knowingly, ignored local needs. This presentation contributed in redefining political opinions, which in turn impacted the municipal elections of March 2009.[4] Finally, this

[3] Islam (2009) states that there was participation at some levels. Initially, the Fatih Municipality *informed* the property owners about the project. According to Islam, *informing* was regarded as participation by the municipality, which "mutated" the meaning of the term. SP's survey indicates that 7.5% of the local residents declared that their opinion was asked.

[4] JDP's votes decreased from 46.57% to 38.78%.

experience of urban resistance encouraged locals to openly express their Romani identities. For generations, many had been hesitant to even use the word 'gypsy' or 'Roma' (Somersan, 2007); nevertheless, while framing their right to the city, Sulukule residents contacted international Roma groups and began to claim and celebrate their cultural legacy.

Aftermath: a neighborhood in ruins

Demolitions in Sulukule ended in November 2009. Approximately 500 families were displaced under the direction of policy forces (Radikal, 2009; Çavdar, 2008). Locals who refused to leave Sulukule faced deteriorated living conditions, with the cessation of electricity, water and heating services to houses. The rubble left behind after the demolitions, compounded by non-potable water, created serious health risks. The Roma who had chosen to leave Sulukule were not spared either, having lost their chief source of income as entertainers. Living in Taşoluk, a distant district consisting of separate apartment flats, has become hard. Romani families were often unable to afford the high rents, bills and mortgages in Taşoluk, a far cry from their former arrangements where shared flats and bills were the norm (Gönenç & Baştürk, 2009; Gümüş, 2007). 'Regular' and 'ordered' daily life in Taşoluk has become a problem. Taşoluk has a different socio-cultural profile, which has caused the isolation of the displaced dwellers (Saymaz, 2007; Özden, 2008b). Because they are poor and unemployed, some have resorted to robbery, illicit drug trafficking and prostitution, which has irritated the locals of Taşoluk (Somersan, 2007, p. 726). Displaced families complained about their difficulty in adapting to the mass houses. According to the Fatih Municipality Survey, 74% of the residents do not want to leave Sulukule. There are several reasons for this. First, almost all of them have lived in Sulukule their entire lives. "I was born here, just like my parents and my grandparents," says Burçin K. "All our life is here, I know everybody; when I'm in trouble there is always someone to ask for help. What will I do when I live in Taşoluk?" In May 2009, only a few insisted on staying in totally or partially destroyed buildings when the municipality police were authorized to expel "occupants". Ferdi Celep was one of them. "A big thank you to the municipality," says Celep, who is unemployed. "Thanks to them I will sleep on the street with my wife, my new-born child and the 4-year-old. We have nowhere to go" (Cheviron, 2009).

According to Pündük, Romani families experienced several difficulties in Taşoluk. They eventually left the place, simply because they could not live there. "We are Romani people, we have a unique life style," says Pündük. "We can't live in flats, which are totally different from Sulukule's two-floor houses with gardens. In Taşoluk, we can't practice music training with our children due to neighbors' complaints. The solidarity has been lost; we were settled far from each other. This resettlement caused problems of transportation; we usually work in the entertainment sector till after hours, how can we go back to Taşoluk, which is too far from center? Therefore, people returned here and found flats near Sulukule, which cost much more than their previous rents." By September 2009, 215 families (out of 223) had returned to Sulukule.

The Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project has also developed into a political issue. Because many residents could not afford to buy flats in Taşoluk, they preferred to sell their houses to third parties who offered more than the municipality. The Republican People's Party, the major opposition party in the Turkish parliament, documented that notables, who have close ties with the government, bought properties in Sulukule (Radikal, 2009).

Analyzing the Sulukule Platform: failure or success?

By September 2009, all the buildings in Sulukule were demolished and the Romani people were displaced. The neighborhood is now a construction site. Why did SP fail to preserve the neighborhood, despite the considerable support? What were the obstacles that SP experienced? In the following, these questions will be answered by analyzing property rights, strong opposition to the coalition, insufficient domestic support and divisions in the movement as major obstacles.

As mentioned, property rights are not clear in Sulukule. According to Haila (2008, p. 811), property relations are reconstructed continuously and require constant legitimation. In Turkey, the informal characteristics of housing contribute to the blurred nature of property rights (Buğra, 1998). In Fatih, the illegal squatter (*gecekondu*, which can be translated as "built over night") houses make it hard to clearly define property rights (Kocabaş, 2006). The situation is even more complicated in Sulukule, as owners and tenants are usually unable to prove their property titles. Land titles of over a 100 years old and written in the Arabic script are not uncommon and contribute to the precariousness of the situation. Romani families are sometimes unsure as to whether they are property owners or tenants. Approximately 55% of the tenants lack documents to prove their status (Gümüş, 2007). Although there is nothing unusual about the uncertainty of property rights, the project exploited the situation to the disadvantage of the locals. The fact that the locals did not have documents to prove their ownerships obstructed their legal claims and accelerated the dispossession process. The Umaç family is one of the victims of this uncertainty. As Levent Umaç reports, his family has been living in their current residence for approximately 150 years; however, the title was lost with his dead uncle. Although SP provided him legal assistance, he was unable to prove his title without 'necessary' papers (Aral, 2009). Mehmet Bıçkıcı, a small business owner in Sulukule, complains about the 'official' requests. "Before this project, nobody asked anything from us, nobody questioned whether we are fine or not, our children are going to school or not, while our roofs were collapsing and the streets were in mud. Now they want us to document everything. Where were they when everything was 'unofficial' here?" Mustafa Özkula, a former tenant, is another victim of missing 'papers'. "The municipality demanded papers from me to prove my tenancy. I had no contract although I have been a tenant for 40 years. They wanted me to show some bills instead, but I couldn't. We used to live in a house with three other families; the landlord has his name on bills. Then they wanted me to show a criminal record which indicates my residence. I had no such a record. So should I commit a crime to prove that I live in Sulukule? They asked me to wait 3 months after when they were supposed to compensate my losses. When I claimed my rights in the municipality, they denied this promise and asked for documents again. There are about 120 people who also cannot prove that they are tenants. I don't trust this municipality; they simply kicked us out from our homes. Now, I live near Sulukule and pay 700 liras per month for a rent for 10 months. I can't afford it."

Urban regeneration has caused different effects for the inhabitants. Landlords who could prove their titles sold their properties instead of relocating to Taşoluk. The price of houses ranged from 2500 Euros (for those who sold in the early stages of urban regeneration) to 20,000 Euros (for those who waited a couple of months after the project launched) (Islam, 2009). For the tenants, the situation was much more severe; most of them were not even eligible to settle in Taşoluk due to the lack of documents.

The ambiguity of the property rights accelerated the land speculations. The Fatih Municipality determined an average value for a flat (approximately 25,000 Euros/250 Euros per square meter).

According to the survey by SP, 54% of the property owners were informed by the Fatih Municipality that their houses would be expropriated by the state unless they agreed to the conditions offered (Foggo, 2007, p. 44). Third parties, however, offered more than the estimated sum. Property owners in Sulukule were tempted by better offers because they were mostly poor and unemployed. They simply lacked the means to pay the difference between the average value and the construction costs with long term mortgages of up to 15 months, which explains the drastic change in property ownership between 2005 and 2008. SP claimed that those actions were initially planned; the decision for expropriation was used as a threat to the inhabitants. SP was, however, unable to stop the dispossessions.

Lack of widespread support is another obstacle. According to Harvey (2008), urban regeneration takes place more effectively when there is a strong political opposition. Fatih is known for its conservative constituents. Local elections in March 2009 proved this trend, despite the decline of moderate and fundamental Islamic parties.[5] Sulukule, on the other hand, is an enclave in a conservative district with its 'entertaining' and 'drinking' culture. Inhabitants of adjacent neighborhoods, particularly in Çarşamba, do not approve of Romani lifestyles.[6] "We are different from them," says Muharrem Yılmaz, a shopkeeper in Çarşamba. He adds, "What they did for years always disturbed us; we don't want such a place nearby". Salih G., a phone salesman, claims, "Decent believers of Çarşamba are not content with the situation in Sulukule". Instead of supporting their neighbors, some residents in Çarşamba applaud the "cleaning up" in Sulukule.

Another obstacle is the ethnic dimension. The effects of urban regeneration on the poor, the underprivileged and politically marginalized groups are often harmful (Harvey, 2008, p. 33). Sulukule's Romani people are vulnerable because they are not considered an official minority in Turkey (Oran, 2004). Until 2006, the Settlement Law (1934), which forbade immigrant Roma to enter Turkey, was in effect. Article 134/9 of the Police Service Regulations describes Roma as "prone to commit crimes" and underlines "the security risk" (Somersan & Kirca Schroeder, 2008). In addition to official discrimination, prejudices towards Roma are strong in Turkey. They have always been treated as potential criminals and a threat to the public because they often do not follow the mainstream moral codes and values. Necati D, a taxi driver in Çarşamba, was surprised about my visits to Sulukule, epitomizing a common feeling among many. "What are you doing in that filthy place?", he asked, curiously. "You better be careful of your belongings, those black thieves can take your wallet in a glimpse of an eye".

In addition, SP faced a strong opposition by the actors involved in the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project.[7] Particularly, the Fatih Municipality stigmatized activists and accused them of jeopardizing Istanbul's tourism potentials. The project committee never agreed to discuss alternative models until the demolitions began (Kuyucu, 2009). Moreover, both municipalities, the Fatih Municipality and the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, belong to the Justice and Development Party (JDP), which has an absolute majority in the Turkish parliament. The cooperation between the central and local governments facilitated the implementation of the project.

According to Castells (1983, p. 129), transforming a community organization into a political force is one of the key elements in achieving objectives. Such a political shift did not occur in Sulukule. Instead, SP acquired limited support in the political arena. First, only a few deputies from the political opposition supported SP.[8] Public authorities often ignored the issue. Instead, the government occasionally stigmatized the neighborhood and revitalized prejudices against the Romani people. In 2007, during a meeting at the parliament, the JDP deputy Köksal Özer stated that "that place has nothing to do with entertainment ... 13-, 14- and 15-year-old girls are forced into prostitution ... We have to change that place". "That is not the way we entertain in Turkey, it is not a culture but moral corruption," says the Chief Consultant of the Fatih Municipality, Mustafa Çiftci (Placing Sulukule Report, 2007). Prime Minister Erdoğan defines Sulukule as a 'freak neighborhood', which has to be converted into a modern district for tourism (Şahin, 2009). Similarly, an official from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism denied SP's calls, claiming that "a bunch of clarinet players do not represent a culture". The Human Rights Commission of the Turkish Grand National Assembly did not find any evidence for the destruction of the Romani culture (Başaran, 2008). Harsh police treatment also contributed to the stigmatizing of activists. Fear of the police in Sulukule was not a new sentiment; the police have been known to publicly terrorize locals and close down their entertainment houses. Although police harassment was almost a daily occurrence before regeneration, since 2007, police raids in Sulukule have increased (Somersan & Kirca Schroeder, 2008). Municipal crews' excessive activities (marking the house with 'X', demolishing houses and cutting access to electricity and water) have intimidated locals.

Lastly, fragmentation of the groups caused problems for SP. According to Nichols (2009, p. 80), place-based social networks often strengthen the ties among activists and lead to stronger solidarity; however, they also create new cleavages. In Sulukule, the first signs of division occurred due to different treatment of property owners and tenants (Islam, 2009). Murat Yalçıntan, a member of the STOP initiative, urges that locals criticized their efforts for an alternative solution as they hoped to move into new flats in Taşoluk after years of isolation and poor conditions of tenancy (Kuyucu, 2009). Some wanted to accept payments for their properties because they had never seen such 'big' amounts of money before. The hope to become landlords and the fear of strong opposition played a significant role in fragmentation (Çavdar, 2008). Eventually, many broke their ties with SP. According to Somersan and Kirca Schroeder (2008), the division was present before urban regeneration. Intra-community solidarity had become vulnerable since the decisive victory of the conservative JDP in the 2002 Elections. A group of locals adopted Islamic identity and explicitly criticized the 'degenerate' situation in Sulukule. Furthermore, the Fatih Municipality founded an organization called the Neslişah and Hatice Sultan Neighborhoods' Support and Solidarity Association (*Neslişah ve Hatice Sultan Mahalleleri Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Derneği*), also known as the Neslişah Association (*Neslişah Derneği*), which weakened the unity in Sulukule. At a meeting of the Turkish Grand National Assembly Human Rights Commission, a representative of the Neslişah Association accused the Roma of having an inclination to commit crimes such as illicit drug trafficking and prostitution (Ozan, 2008). Locals who had close ties with the ruling party joined or supported the Neslişah Association (Somersan, 2007; Somersan & Schroeder, 2008, p. 103). The Chairman of the Sulukule Romani Association and a participant of SP, Şükrü Pündük, states that with direct financial support of the municipality, this new organization has become a spokesman for the project. The Neslişah Association had notable effects on locals who desperately needed a solution to homelessness. Nevertheless, he continues, "They are regretful now,

[5] In Fatih, moderate JDP received 42.83%; the far right FP received 13.37% (5.2% in overall) of the votes.

[6] Çarşamba is often associated with Islamic cults and fundamental groups.

[7] Please see "The Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project" earlier in this paper.

[8] The most noticeable support came from Ufuk Uras, the chairman and the only deputy of the Freedom and Solidarity Party in parliament. Deputies of Istanbul, Mehmet Sevigen and Çetin Soysal from the Republican People's Party, spoke in parliament on behalf of the Romani people (Cingöz, 2008).

especially after Taşoluk, they realized that they made a mistake. However, this dispute did great harm to us and broke solidarity in Sulukule."

In summary, SP failed to preserve the housing stock in Sulukule. Ambiguous property rights and legal and bureaucratic obstacles limited SP's *actions*. Lack of wide political support due to ethnic prejudices and the conservative character of the Fatih district restrained the *social base*. Strong opposition against the urban coalition weakened *mobilization* and delayed the formation of *social force*. Finally, the authorities used conservatism and different consequences of property rights to divide the movement.

SP might be considered 'unfortunate' because these obstacles came together and caused the failure. However, this interpretation is not sufficient. With the exception of strong opposition and divide-and-rule strategies (typical threats to any USM across the globe), debates aroused by SP have created opposition. Romani lifestyles, based on intra-communal solidarity and collective living, contributed to the 'ambiguity of property rights'. While the activists defend these lifestyles as a significant part of Istanbul's culture, authorities consider them as a threat to the "legitimate" city culture. Such interaction occurred when SP failed to obtain sufficient public support. The activists could not break prejudices towards the Roma. Instead, Fatih's conservative dwellers criticized SP's emphasis on Roma identity. While SP presented Romani culture as a valuable asset and called for its preservation, the authorities treated it as an absurd subculture, which has nothing to do with Istanbul's cultural heritage. In this sense, Sulukule's assets have also served as obstacles (see Appendix III). The Sulukule case reflects general challenges to both USMs and case-specific factors. The Sulukule experience demonstrates that cultural framing is important, though it is not sufficient to secure victory without political support. Networking played a vital role in organizing activists and distant allies; however, close neighbors and even some locals did not join the cause. As stated in the beginning, the Sulukule case is a complicated urban process; it covers a state-led regeneration project and conflict for land, an urban resistance, an ethnic and cultural struggle, a disputed legal framework, national and international activists and transnational networks. SP's fate can only be understood if this complex picture is considered and extended beyond the boundaries of the city.

On the other hand, it is significant to note which demand(s) is/are achieved and which ones still keep SP together. Despite SP's failure to achieve the physical preservation of Sulukule, negotiations over the resettlement of the Roma and changes in the project are in progress. Therefore, the Sulukule case is not a complete failure because some demands are not abandoned yet. After demolitions, SP continued its struggle and forced the Fatih Municipality and TOKI to negotiate. In August 2009, TOKI gave permission to SP to present an alternative project, which may affect future decisions in Sulukule. Despite the uncertainty of the process and the loss of the neighborhood's historical tissue, activists are still hopeful. According to Şükrü Pündük, it is still not too late to reverse the process. "We believe in saving our culture, which can only survive with people. When Romani people return to Sulukule, we will win our fight," he says. In this sense, SP was successful in drawing authorities to the negotiation table. The urban coalition still stands to negotiate for further concessions in the future. Furthermore, what is happening in Sulukule is an open-ended, unsolved urban process. As Pündük defines, 'winning the fight' is not unreal but is perhaps a long shot.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have analyzed SP as an USM in Istanbul, challenging the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project. I introduced SP by focusing on its formation and structure. Then, I discussed the criticism that SP presented to acquire domestic and international support to stop urban regeneration. I also evaluated its role in the struggle against urban regeneration and its distinctive features as a unique urban resistance. Furthermore, I presented the demands and activities of SP and analyzed the major obstacles that SP experienced. Finally, I evaluated the achievements and failure of SP in the physical preservation of the neighborhood.

Despite its optimistic rhetoric, the Sulukule Regeneration Project did not fulfil its promises. Promises concerning preservation turned into demolitions; economic development to unemployment, homelessness and poverty; integration turned to eviction and participation turned to exclusion. None of the changes provided benefits for Sulukule's Romani population. All the traditional houses were demolished. SP did not manage to preserve the historical heritage of Sulukule. Authorities violated residents' property rights, displaced them and forced them to live in a different environment. The ones who chose to stay faced miserable living conditions.

Although demolitions took place at a large scale, SP survived without disintegration. SP continues to challenge local authorities, and thus, the neighborhood's fate is unpredictable. Therefore, it is still too early to declare SP as a complete failure. Activists continue their struggle by demanding that the local authorities negotiate and compromise. If they accomplish the return of the locals to Sulukule, the process may gain a new dimension. Only then will it be possible to discuss conservation of an ethnic culture and socio-economical redevelopment in Sulukule.

Interviews

Pelin Pınar Özden (Former Chairman of The Chamber of City and Regional Planners, Istanbul) 28.07.2009 Beyazit/Istanbul.

Şükrü Pündük (The Chairman of the Sulukule Association of Advancement of Romani Culture and Solidarity, activist in SP) 06.08.2009 Sulukule.

Mustafa Özkula (former resident in Sulukule) 10.08.2009 Sulukule.

Necati D. (taxi driver in Fatih) 10.08.2009 Sulukule.

Burçin K. (former resident in Sulukule) 17.08.2009 Sulukule.

Mehmet Bıçkıcı (shopkeeper in Sulukule) 17.08.2009 Sulukule.

Muharrem Yılmaz (resident in Çarşamba) 28.05.2010 Çarşamba.

Salih G. (resident in Çarşamba) 28.05.2010 Çarşamba.

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Appendix I. Chronology in Sulukule

10th–11th Centuries First Romani settlements in Istanbul.
1960s Demolitions in Sulukule.
1982 Demolitions in Sulukule.
1992 Entertainment Houses were closed down.
June 2005 Law 5366, for Renovation, Protection, Cherishing and Use of Worn Historical and Cultural Immovable Properties (*Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun*) was issued.
January 2006 The Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Council introduced the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project.

28 June 2006 Sulukule Association of Advancement of Romani Culture and Solidarity hold a press conference and warned locals about a possible eviction.
July 2006 Mass Housing Administration (TOKI), the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and the Fatih Municipality signed a joint protocol for regeneration in Sulukule.
December 2006 The Sulukule Regeneration Project was approved and published on Official Journal.
24 March 2007 40 Days and 40 Nights Festival (40 days before the first demolitions) was launched in Sulukule. The Sulukule Platform was founded.
March 2007 Demolitions began in Sulukule.
7 June 2007 First meeting between the Fatih Municipality and the Sulukule Platform was held.
29 September 2007 Petition Campaign and Press Conference by the Sulukule Platform.
09 October 2007 The Sulukule Platform's presentation in Council of Conservation, Eminönü.
November 2007 Deputies and politicians visited Sulukule
08 November 2007 Representatives of the Sulukule Platform visited European Parliament.
13 November 2007 Representatives of the Sulukule Platform visited Turkish Parliament.
14 November 2007 The situation in Sulukule was discussed in Turkish Parliament.
24 November 2007 Academics visited Sulukule.
3 December 2007 The Fatih Municipal Assembly discussed The Sulukule Urban Regenearation Project.
December 2007–July 2008 Apartment flats in Taşoluk were completed.
March 2008 Municipal crews 'x marked' the houses in Sulukule.
7 April 2008 The Chamber of City and Regional Planners initiated legal proceedings for the stay of execution.
15 April 2008 Romani film director Tony Gatliff visited Sulukule.
May 2008 Petition Campaign by the Sulukule Platform.
6 May 2008 Deputies of the European Parliament sent a letter to Prime Minister of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.
10 May 2008 Unesco Commission visited Sulukule.
28 May 2008 Governor's Human Rights Commission visited Sulukule.
27 June 2009 Gogol Bordello visited Sulukule.
06 July 2008 UNESCO Report for Istanbul was presented.
10 July 2008 The Sulukule Platform's press conference on UNESCO report.
23 July 2008 Press conference by the representatives of the Chamber of Architects in Sulukule.
28 August 2008 Demolitions continued intensively.
29 August 2008 Deputies visited Sulukule.
September 2008 Alternative urban development strategies were discussed by academics in several meetings in the neighborhood.
October 2008 Petition Campaign for "Alternative Sulukule".
November 2008 Sulukule was mentioned in Turkey's Accession Report to the EU.
12 December 2008 The Fatih Mayor, Mustafa Demir informed the public about the urban regeneration project in Sulukule.
23 February 2009 Locals demonstrated near the Fatih Municipality.
March 2009 Municipal Elections, Justice and Development Party lost considerable support in Fatih.
May 2009 Large scale demolitions took place in Sulukule.
May 2009 Several exhibitions about Sulukule in Istanbul.
21 May 2009 Helsinki Commission in American Congress condemned the demolitions in Sulukule.
29 May 2009 Sulukule Exhibition in Lille, France.
25 June 2009 In UNESCO Report stated that, Istanbul's cultural heritage was in danger.
28 June 2009 Council of Europe Commissioner Thomas Hammerberg concludes visited Sulukule and met the Sulukule Platform activists.
September 2009 The last house was demolished in Sulukule.
2 October 2009 The report about Sulukule was issued by Commission for Human Rights of the European Council.
September- November 2009 Sulukule turned to a construction site.
14 June 2010 Bulldozers on archeological sites in Sulukule. The Sulukule Platform organized a press conference.
3 August 2010 European Court of Human Rights accepted The Sulukule Platform's application.

Appendix II. Urban protest in Sulukule

Support for the conservation of Sulukule	Support for The Sulukule Regeneration Project
1. The Sulukule Platform	1. The Sulukule Regeneration Project Operators
a. Sulukule Association of Advancement of Romani Culture and Solidarity	a. The Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality
b. Human Settlements Association	b. The Fatih Municipality
c. Accessible Life Association	c. The Mass Housing Administration
d. Sulukule Volunteers' Association	2. Domestic Support
e. Locals in Sulukule	a. Central government
f. Independent activists (mostly professionals)	b. Locals in adjacent neighborhoods
2. Domestic Support	c. The Neslişah Association
a. Universities/Academics	
b. The STOP Initiative	
c. NGOs	
i. The Chamber of Architects and Engineers	
ii. The Chamber of Architects	
iii. The Chamber of City and Regional Planners	
iv. Helsinki Citizens' Assembly	
v. The Popular Urbanism Movement	
vi. The Collaborative Planning Workshop	
d. Political Opposition (partially, limited to number of deputies)	
e. Professionals/Individuals	
3. International Support	
a. Universities/Academics	
b. Romani associations and networks	
i. European Roma Rights Center	
ii. Rroma Foundation	
iii. Roma Rights Network	
c. UNESCO	
d. Influential Figures (Tony Gatliff, Gogol Bordello, Manu Chao)	

Appendix III

Sulukule's assets	Weaknesses and obstacles
1. Social Capital	1. Ambiguous property rights
a. Strong communal ties	2. Stigmatization by the government and the municipality
b. Vivid community solidarity among locals	a. Practical (police, municipal crews)
c. Collective habitation	b. Rhetorical (speeches, texts, declarations)
2. Cultural Capital	3. Ethnic Dimension
a. Roma identity, cultural continuity in Sulukule for generations	a. Official discrimination
b. Ethnicity	b. Prejudices towards Roma
c. Romani language	4. Fragmentation and internal conflicts in Sulukule
3. Human Capital	
a. Music, dance and other skills of entertainment	
4. Symbolic Capital	
a. Support of influential figures (Gogol Bordello, Manu Chao, Tony Gatliff, etc.)	

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Article III

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Urban Tourism Promotion: What Makes the Difference

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Abstract: Research on urban tourism promotion has recently gained a considerable importance. Urban tourism promotion plays a crucial role in raising the tourism profile of the city. Given the difference of cities, it is astonishing to discover that cities' tourism promotion materials repetitively use similar slogans, phrases and expressions. This study evaluates tourism promotion of two different cities, Helsinki and Istanbul, which rely on three common selling points: 'the city between the East and West', 'the city of tolerance' and 'city size'. The study examines tourism materials by using content analysis in order to identify how these categories are used and how they represent Helsinki and Istanbul.

Keywords: City marketing, content analysis, Helsinki, Istanbul, tourism promotion, urban tourism

INTRODUCTION

Urban tourism is an expanding industry. It has several economic and societal benefits to a city; it can help to generate income and provide employment as well as improve urban physical environment. No wonder that cities have started to develop tourism strategies to attract tourists. Such strategies play a crucial role in raising the tourism profile of cities. In some cities, tourism strategies significantly contribute urban economy. Cities such as Los Angeles (due to construction of successful image following the Summer Olympics in 1984), Barcelona (due to effective tourism strategies since the 1990s) and Bilbao (as a result of effective city branding since the 1990s) have become role models.

There are several case studies on tourism promotion such as Glasgow (Paddison, 1993), New York (Greenberg, 2003), York (Meethan, 1997), Helsinki (Bottà, 2008; Vanolo, 2008a, b), Rotterdam (Richards and Wilson, 2004), Berlin (Weiss-Sussex, 2006), Barcelona (Smith, 2005), Turin (Vanolo, 2008c) and Liverpool (Boland, 2008), Cape Town (Bickford-Smith, 2009). Case studies primarily focus on one city and its distinctive features. Such features range from abstract and general elements drawn from history, culture or architecture of cities.

Comparative research on tourism promotion is rather rare; four examples deserve mention. In their analysis on New York and Los Angeles, Gladstone and Fainstein (2001) discuss tourism development and its impacts on labour markets. They analyse how the benefits of tourism are distributed and patterns of employment and unionism. Ooi (2002) compares tourism strategies of Copenhagen and Singapore and focuses on tourism authorities. Ooi analyses the contrast between tourism authorities concerning business relations, tourism management and public-private cooperation. Comparative perspectives of tourism promotion also include analysis of cities as competitors in a particular context (e.g., Nordic or Mediterranean). Van den Berg *et al*. (1995) compare eight destinations in Europe and analyse how these cities safeguard a position on the competitive tourist market. Vanolo (2008a) discusses how 'external images' of Helsinki, Espoo and Vantaa were created for tourism promotion. He analyses tourism materials, policy documents with market orientation and official portals of three cities. Among these four areas of study (labour, institutions, competition and marketing) this study adopts the fourth approach and focuses on analysis of tourism materials (Appendix).

In tourism marketing, several elements such as safety, cleanness, quality of services, culinary scenes and city symbols are repetitively used. Given the difference of cities, it is astonishing to find out that cities' tourism materials use similar expressions and phrases. Furthermore, slogans that are used for different cities are strikingly similar. Such similarities aroused my interest to conduct a comparative research on urban tourism to find out whether these same words used mean the same thing. At first glance, Helsinki and Istanbul look very different; both cities have different historical and cultural heritage. Nevertheless, they rely on three similar looking selling points in their tourism promotion: 'the city between the East and West', 'the city of tolerance' and 'sizes' of both cities. This study looks at how the cities of Helsinki and Istanbul represent themselves in their tourism promotion materials. The study begins by introducing data and methods. Next, urban tourism development in Helsinki and Istanbul is briefly discussed. Then the following chapters explore, compare and critically evaluate three common selling points in both cities: "the city between the East and West", "the city of tolerance" and "city size".

DATA AND METHODS

The data in this study were collected through analysis of tourism materials (Appendix). Tourism materials have become valuable sources to understand how tourism promotion is formulated. They are powerful means of promotion designed to communicate with the tourists (Molina and Esteban, 2006; Jokela, 2011). 55 English language documents (28 from Helsinki and 27 from Istanbul) were analysed to find out how these selling points were used. The data consists of four types of documents: tourism brochures, tourism booklets, newsletters and tourism reports. Tourism brochures include mostly visual images, a few expressions and slogans whereas tourism booklets offer more comprehensive information about the city. Newsletters are periodicals that inform readers about the updated events and happenings in the city. Tourism reports mostly present tourism developments, trends, statistics, short-term and long-term goals but sometimes they include statements with strong marketing orientation.

For the Helsinki case, 25 (out of 28) documents were published by the City of Helsinki, which is the prominent tourism authority in Helsinki. Most of the documents used in this study were published between 2008 and 2011. In Istanbul, The Istanbul (2010) European Capital of Culture Agency, a combination of private-public partnerships, non-governmental organizations, professionals and academic units, was the main local tourism authority between 2007 and 2010. The agency was the main producer of brochures, booklets and newsletters. The agency's tourism documents (14 out of 27) were analysed. The Turkish Ministry of Tourism and Culture, a tourism authority on the national level, also publish promotional materials. The Ministry's tourism documents (eight out of 27) were analysed. The Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and other national bodies are less concerned with tourism promotion; their reports were considered as secondary data. The quotes are from tourism materials unless otherwise indicated.

To analyse the data, this study uses content analysis. Content analysis, a commonly used method in social sciences to analyse a wide range of textual data (Çukurçayır and Eroğlu, 2010; Krippendorff, 2004; Weber, 1990), has become popular among tourism researchers because of the increasing amount of electronic data, online texts and websites (Jenkins, 1999, 2003; Nickerson, 1995; Ooi, 2004; Ryan and Cave, 2005; Stepchenkova *et al*., 2009). Texts on tourism promotion materials were grouped into fewer content categories. Words with similar meanings that refer to the same themes were categorized. The frequencies of certain words and phrases were identified. Then the study explored the meanings of these words and phrases. Moreover other data include those from observation (the researcher acted as a tourist and participated in tourist activities).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION: WHAT MAKES THE DIFFERENCE

A tourist tale of two cities: Over the past decade, both Helsinki and Istanbul have enjoyed gradual developments in urban tourism. Tourism is one of the fastest growing sectors in Helsinki (Hall *et al*., 2009). City of Helsinki identified five major dimensions that facilitated this growth: accessibility (increasing number of airlines and cruise ships), investments in global internet-based tour operators, developments in traditional Finnish agencies specializing urban tourism, improvements in Helsinki's image and Helsinki's promotion in foreign media (City of Helsinki Tourism Statistics, 2010). Istanbul, one of the top ten tourist cities in the world, also enjoyed a steady increase of tourist arrivals between 2000 and 2010. There have been significant improvements in the hospitality industry. For instance, in 2007 there were 842 tourism facilities with about 99.000 beds. In 2010 there were 1.235 facilities with approximately 140.000 beds (Directorate of Culture and Tourism of Istanbul, 2011). Furthermore, the European Capital of Culture event in 2010 revitalized urban cultural life temporarily (over 3.000 activities in 2010) and permanently (e.g., new museums, urban regeneration and waterfront developments).

Helsinki and Istanbul have different tourism profiles due to differences in history, cultural heritage, climate and geography and city size. Table 1 compares the tourism industries in Helsinki and Istanbul. Istanbul, which is about 20 times more populated than Helsinki with seven times larger in size, attracts more tourists than Helsinki. Istanbul has busier international passenger traffic and more beds for tourists. The busiest months are different due to different climate conditions. The average length of stay remains short in both cities (6.1 in London, UK National Statistics, 2010). In Helsinki, there have been efforts to extend the duration of stay (it was 1.8 in 2002) (Bottà, 2008) but it still remains low in comparison to other leading destinations in Europe. Duration of stay in Helsinki is low also due to vast amount of cruise trips passengers who do not stay in hotels. Therefore, in terms of room occupancy rate, Istanbul surpasses Helsinki.

There are common features as well. Top three tourism markets are Germany, Russia and Great Britain. Helsinki and Istanbul both have UNESCO World Heritage Sites and they were European Capitals of Culture in 2000 (Helsinki) and 2010 (Istanbul). Furthermore, both cities serve as access points. Helsinki claims to be an access point to the Arctic landscape whereas Istanbul is a gateway to the south (Turkey's sun, sand and sea triangle). Helsinki is the leading

Table 1: Urban tourism in Helsinki and Istanbul (Facts about Helsinki 2011, Helsinki Tourism 2011, Turkish Statistical Institute 2011, Directorate of Culture and Tourism of Istanbul Tourism Statistics 2011)

	Istanbul	Helsinki
Founded in	330 (Byzantium 667 B.C)	1550
Population	13.120.596 (2010)	588.195 (2010)
Area	5.343 km^2	715 km^2
Overnight stays	10.1 million (2010)	3.3 million (2011)
Airline passengers	23.9 million (2010)	14.9 million (2011)
Most busy months	July, August, October	August, July, June
The average length of stay (nights)	2.3 (for foreign visitors) (2009)	2.07 (for foreign visitors) (2010)
Room occupancy rate	75% (2011)	70% (2011)
Number of beds	139.949 (2010)	16.031 (2009)
Biggest markets	Germany, Great Britain, Russia	Russia, Germany, Great Britain
UNESCO world heritage site	Historical peninsula	Suomenlinna fortress
Number of museums	63 (2009)	71 (2009)
Recent mega-events	2010 European capital of culture, 2011 European capital of sports	2000 European capital of culture 2012 world capital of design

destination of both domestic and foreign tourism in Finland (Vuoristo, 2002). In Turkey, Istanbul comes second after Antalya in terms of number of tourists (Euromonitor International (Strategy Research Centre), 2011). This simple statistical comparison shows differences between Helsinki and Istanbul as tourist cities. Despite these differences their tourism promotion strategies are surprisingly similar. The analysis of tourism materials identified that both cities are representing themselves by using three selling points: 'the city between the East and West', 'the city of tolerance' and 'city size'. These points are rather abstract and broad and can mean several things. In the following the use and meanings of these selling points are examined as categories in tourism promotion.

The city between the east and west: The first category was the use of the slogan 'the city between the East and West'. The use of East-West dichotomy in tourism promotion is not new; several cities such as Berlin, Singapore, Hong Kong and Dubai employed this slogan. Interestingly, content analysis identified that four dimensions play key roles in promoting 'the city between the East and West': location, history, architecture and culture.

Location: Firstly geographical locations of Helsinki and Istanbul deserve mention. Helsinki, one of the peripheral capitals of the EU, is approximately 200 km far from the border of Russia. Given the vicinity of Russia Helsinki is often regarded a way to the East (Cantell, 1999; Vanolo, 2008a). Istanbul is about 250 km from the EU border and serves as a crossing point from the West to the East. More credibility to Istanbul's claim as the city between the East and West gives the fact that Istanbul is the only city in the world that is located on both the European and Asian continents.

Tourism materials mention geographical location of Helsinki as an advantage for travelling. The city is introduced as a place where "Eastern exotica meet Scandinavian chic". Helsinki offers "easy access to Russia" with high-speed trains and "visa-free cruises". Furthermore, Helsinki-Vantaa Airport is positioning itself as a European gateway to Asia (Airport Area Marketing Oy and City of Vantaa Aviapolis, 2011) (Appendix). The airport has several connecting flights to the Eastern destinations. Helsinki's proximity to Russia and its capacity to accommodate cruise ships make the city "a paradise for tax-free shoppers". Similarly, tourism materials in Istanbul emphasize the city's extraordinary geographical location which "brings east and west together" and "makes Asia and Europe joined together each day". There is often a detailed description of city's unique geography. Istanbul is introduced as a crossing point. References to a waterway or a bridge which "connects East and West" and "embraces two continents with one arm reaching out to Asia and the other to Europe" are repetitively used. Interestingly both cities represent themselves "unique" in terms of their geographical location. Tourism portals of Helsinki and Istanbul highlight their uniqueness: "Helsinki's location is unique among Northern European cities" and "Istanbul is among the special cities of the world with its position as a bridge between Europe and Asia".

History: A historical comparison between these cities is equally interesting. Helsinki is less than five centuries old and has been under the rule of two powers, Sweden and Russia until 1917. Istanbul has a longer and more complicated past but also was of two powers: The Byzantine and Ottoman Empires. Istanbul was conquered by the Ottomans in 1453. It served as a capital of these empires for nearly 1600 years. Perhaps the only common point of these different tales is that both cities are in the crossroads of "the East and West".

Historical references are frequent and repetitive. Promotion materials often begin with the foundation of Helsinki by the Swedish King Gustav Vasa in 1550. City's "mixed" past is often emphasized on the first paragraphs. Helsinki is introduced as a city which experiences "a rich historical mix of rule from both the Swedish West and the Russian East". In fact the whole history of Helsinki is connected to this mixture. Expressions like "throughout its 450-year history, Helsinki has swung between the currents of Eastern and

Western influences" and "Eastern and Western influences from the past 460 years can be seen everywhere" foster the narratives of the city between East and West. However, Helsinki is represented more than only a mix of two worlds; "It has grown into a vibrant European capital with a character all its own".

Historical references are more detailed and descriptive in the Istanbul case. Istanbul's significance in history and international politics is often mentioned. The city served as capital to both "Western and Eastern empires". It was "formed on the crossroads of the Eastern and Western civilizations" and played as an "intersection point of societies. A common slogan, which was also used in the official promotion movie of the city since 2005, Istanbul, is considered as the "capital of civilizations". In tourism materials, the city's past is simply divided into three periods: The Roman and Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empires which represent the "Western" presence, The Ottoman Empire which represents the "Eastern" legacy and The Republic of Turkey, which represents both East and West in the domain of a modern, democratic and secular state.

Interestingly different narratives of history were told in a similar way in tourism promotion. Both cities use history to represent the slogan "the city between the East and West" underlining two aspects: connecting two worlds and being unique. Helsinki's historical journey was shaped by Sweden and Russia but the city has found its "own genuine character". Similarly, Istanbul was "the centre of civilizations" representing "the East and West". It is now a "unique" metropolis, enjoying both legacies as a contemporary city in "modern" Republic of Turkey. Istanbul has gained "a new character" as well.

Architecture: The third dimension is architecture. Although Helsinki has a short urban history and it is without medieval centre, it hosted Neoclassical, Jugend style, Modern and Postmodern architectural schools. Helsinki is often represented to be between Western and Eastern architectural models. The city centre was designed as a symbol for to demonstrate the imperial power Russia. The Senate Square, the symbol of city and a tourist site, represents Russian Empire's vision of city planning (Hospers, 2011; Treib, 2009; Vanolo, 2008a). In addition to Russia's neoclassical legacy, Jugend style sights can be found in the centre. Helsinki's cityscape also has traces of functionalism (e.g., Alvar Aalto's works). According to one commentator, Helsinki even had features of an Eastern European socialist city (Cantell, 1999). Istanbul also hosts a multiplicity of architectural schools. Due to its longer history Istanbul has become an architectural melting pot. Historically, the architecture of Istanbul benefited from ancient Greek, Byzantine, Genoese, Ottoman and Modern Turkish heritage. The historical peninsula as an urban palimpsest reveals the city's Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman architectural heritage (Simmel, 2002). In the 19th century, grandiose palaces, foreign embassies and new residential buildings were built in Neoclassical and later Art Nouveau styles.

In the Helsinki case, the cityscape is represented as a stage reflecting the architectural history of Helsinki. Such expressions as "the colourful layers of the past and the impact of different periods can be seen in the city's architecture" and "the Byzantine-Russian architectural tradition is represented by Alexander M. Gornostajev's Uspenski Cathedral, the largest orthodox church in Western Europe" underline how Helsinki is proud of its Eastern and Western architectural heritage. Helsinki has always been "a city of contrasts, where the architecture of the city reflects both the East and West". This contrast is used as a colourful mix in Helsinki "where national Romantic gargoyles reach out to entire decorative Jugend style neighbourhoods overlooking modernist marvels". No wonder that Helsinki's cityscape was used as a simulacrum of Leningrad and Moscow in several American films at a time when it was not possible for Hollywood film makers to shoot original sites during the cold war (Cantell, 1999).

However, Eastern and Western influences on Istanbul's cityscape often point out an abstract journey from the past to the present through an architectural synthesis and continuity. Expressions such as "from the massive fifth-century Theodosian walls that encircle the old city to the innovative elegance of D'Aronco's Art Noveau creations, Istanbul's buildings represent a unique historical treasure", "the glittering glories of its Byzantine churches were succeeded by the luminous domes of Sinan's mosques", "unique architectural heritage of centuries", "Art Nouveau stands together with ancient heritage" and "a delightful mixture" indicate manifestation of Istanbul's architectural heritage.

In summary, city authorities in Helsinki and Istanbul use architectural heritage to demonstrate Eastern and Western influences. Words like "synthesis", "mixture", "harmony" "blend" indicate togetherness of different architectural styles.

Culture: The fourth dimension, the culture is the most popular element in tourism materials. It is also the most comprehensive one including references to geography, history and architecture. Helsinki is described as "a cultural city that has found its own niche between East and West", whose identity was formed by Eastern and Western cultural influences. The city is introduced as a meeting place and a synthesis of old and new through expressions like "the capital where Eastern and Western cultures meet" and "old traditions mix with the latest contemporary trends". Helsinki is represented as "a unique and diverse city, where traditional Eastern exotica meets contemporary Scandinavian style" and

"culturally blended from East and West". The words "uniqueness" and "mixture" are used to mention how "exotic" Helsinki is. It is an "ideal and exotic location, culturally between East and West".

In the Istanbul case, cultural references are equally rich. The city benefits from two cultural entities. It "perpetuates culture in both the East and the West". Furthermore, Istanbul has not only a "foot in each, celebrating the best of both cultures" but also it "nurtures both Western and Eastern cultures". Hence, Istanbul is not only a simple intersection point but it also contributes to both Eastern and Western cultures. The city blends cultural differences of "two worlds". Such notion of synthesis can be seen in phrases like the "melting point of Eastern and Western cultures into a beautiful harmony", "an enchanting blend of Eastern and Western cultures" and "bringing Western and Eastern musicians for producing a single musical voice".

Once more "uniqueness" and "synthesis" are mentioned. Although both cities have been influenced by the East and West, they have managed to create a unique identity. Helsinki is considered as a Western city with Eastern influences. It is represented as a cultural "frontier" of the Western world. However, Istanbul's cultural position is rather ambiguous; the city is represented "in between Eastern and Western cultures".

European west vs. mythical east or Christian west vs. Islamic east: For both cities, East-West dichotomy is repeated in various documents. In all four dimensions (location, history, architecture and culture) Helsinki and Istanbul are representing themselves as cities between the East and West. However, the comparison between Helsinki and Istanbul shows that "the city between the East and West" means different things in these cities. What is the East and what is the West in Helsinki and Istanbul? Helsinki's East refers to Finland's neighbour; "Slavic", "Russian" and "Soviet" (Bottà, 2008). Tourism materials use this slogan as mythical revival of the past. "West", on the other hand, clearly indicates Europe. Helsinki is described as a "modern European city" and considered as a "gateway" to the East. Helsinki is a "Western" frontier city that enjoys Eastern influences.

The representation of Istanbul is more ambiguous. East and West have religious meanings. The East implicitly refers to Islam whereas the West stands for Christianity. Geographical, historical, architectural and cultural references in tourism materials (Appendix) indicate that East-West dichotomy in Istanbul is interpreted in the religious sense. Firstly, Istanbul's geographical location is represented as the "meeting point of Asia (Eastern and Islamic) and Europe (Western and Christian)". Secondly, historical references also foster this dichotomy. Thirdly, references on Istanbul's architecture confirm how religion is central in tourism promotion. Byzantine Empire's (also known as "Eastern" Roman Empire) architecture is represented as samples of "Western architecture" in Istanbul just because the empire once identified itself on the basis of Christian faith. Finally, cultural values of Christian minorities (e.g., Easter and Christmas) are considered as Istanbul's "Western culture" although minorities such as Greeks and Armenians are historically "Eastern".

The city of tolerance: Another common feature in the tourism promotion of Helsinki and Istanbul is "tolerance". Early urban scholars such as Simmel (2002) and Wirth (1938) wrote on how urbanization resulted in more universalistic attitudes and tolerance among the urbanites. How can a city cherish the idea of tolerance? Before analyzing how tourism materials used the idea of tolerance, it is essential to distinguish between two contemporary approaches to tolerance. Richard Florida regards tolerance as one of the key features that boost urban economic development and innovations. Florida (2002) a city's diversity and its level of tolerance create an 'inviting' environment; it encourages 'creative' and talented individuals to visit that particular place. For example a 'tolerated' homosexual population boosts urban economic growth. Tolerance and high level of diversity are analysed as indicators of urban development and technological success (Florida and Gates, 2001). Another narrative on tolerance is based on religion. It consists of behaving tolerantly towards members of religious communities, mutual recognition of everyone's religious freedom and coexistence of different religious groups (Habermas, 2004). The next chapter discusses tourism promotion in Helsinki and Istanbul referring to tolerance either in the sense of diversity or in the sense of religion.

Helsinki welcomes lifestyles and multicultural diversity: "Helsinki is a tolerant, active and friendly city that welcomes all visitors" stated at the city's official portal. How does Helsinki welcome the idea of tolerance? There are two issues that the City of Helsinki highlighted in its tourism promotion: lifestyles and multiculturalism.

Firstly, tourism materials consider tolerance to lifestyles as a significant element in marketing Helsinki. Such materials defined Helsinki as a city which has "deep-rooted urban lifestyle and vibrant cultural life". There is a "good mix of styles to suit all tastes". The Nordic Oddity campaign (Bottà, 2008) was a representation of Helsinki welcoming different lifestyles. The youth jargon is everywhere ("the coolest comic shop", "cool haircut", "trendy bars", "sounds crazy"). Helsinki is a "crazy place where you can even swim naked". Tourist materials also welcome GLBT (gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender) tourists.

Helsinki's official tourism portal states that **"**Helsinki has an open and active gay culture". The portal provides particular maps of attractions for GLBT tourists. Several brochures underline the location of gay clubs and "gay-lesbian friendly parks" (e.g., Karhupuisto) in Helsinki. A recent newsletter published in 2011 introduced Helsinki as "an attractive destination for GLBT tourists" and "a tolerant city" where "tourist experience is regardless of sexual orientation". Materials increasingly mention "alternative lifestyles". They introduce attractions in Helsinki not only for mainstream tourists but also for "Bohemian", "hippie", vegetarian and "vegan" and "backpacker" tourists. They address different lifestyles mentioning vegetarian and vegan restaurants, inexpensive accommodation, camping activities, second-hand shops, eco-friendly shopping and ecological festivals. Tolerance in the case of Helsinki also includes activities tolerated by the private landowners. 'Everyman's right' (a legal concept in Finland that allows a right to access the land and waterways and right to collect natural products no matter who owns the land) was referred to demonstrate free use of natural environments. In Finland, everyone can "walk, ski or cycle freely, stay or set up camp temporarily in the countryside pick wild berries, mushrooms and flowers, fish with a rod and line, row, sail, use a motorboat and swim in the countryside". Tourism materials often encourage tourists to "enjoy Finnish way of life in the nature" with a few restrictions.

Secondly, the City of Helsinki uses multiculturalism to attract tourists. This strategy has a background. Helsinki is the capital of one of 'the most homogeneous' country in the EU; however there is an increasing rate of migration to Helsinki. In the early 1990s, only about 5.000 foreigners resided in Helsinki (1% of the population); in 2000 the number rose to about 25.000 residents of foreign background (5% of the population) (Heikkilä and Peltonen, 2002, Vanolo, 2008a). In 2009, there were 38.654 foreign nationals (6.7% of the population) in Helsinki and 58.405 inhabitants (10.1% of the population) had a foreign background (City of Helsinki Urban Facts Helsinki Region Trends, 2010). Helsinki was selected as the European Capital of Culture in 2000 which lead to the preparation of multicultural agenda that set multiculturalism as a common goal for the city (Peltonen, 2005). There were expectations to develop Helsinki as a "tolerant, safe, attractive and service-minded city" for which multiculturalism and immigrants' skills are a key success factor (City of Helsinki, Helsinki's International Strategy, 2008). Such developments paved the way for multiculturalism to become a significant element in tourism materials. Tourism materials include significant amount of references to Helsinki's multicultural vision such as introducing cultural centres where "multicultural diversity is celebrated" in Finland. The materials also introduce international culinary scenes, ethnic shopping and multicultural festivals or districts like Kaisaniemi where it is possible to enjoy multicultural music, art, theatre and food.

Istanbul:

Promoting religious tolerance: In the case of Istanbul tolerance is not associated with lifestyles, but rather to Istanbul's multi-religious past. Istanbul has a multi-religious history. The city was the capital of the Roman Empire (330-395), the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire (395-1204 and 1261-1453), the Latin Empire (Armies of IV. Crusade established a short lived state, 1204-1261) and the Ottoman Empire (1453-1922). The empires identified themselves on the basis of Orthodox, Catholic and Islamic faiths. Two ecumenical leaders of Christian Orthodoxy (The Patriarch of Constantinople) and The Caliph (Ottoman Sultans bore this title since the early 16th century) resided in Istanbul for centuries. Even the short lived Latin Empire was the most prominent Catholic rule in the East. During the Ottoman times, each religious community had specific rights, including the right to reside in particular neighbourhoods, having their own religious places and representative bodies, laws, taxation, guilds and even dress codes, which is called the Ottoman millet system (Inalcik, 1997). The system was based on a mutual contract between the non-Muslim communities and the state which granted religious freedom and cultural autonomy for non-Muslims (Ortaylı, 1999). Consequently different religious groups lived together in Istanbul for centuries.

Istanbul's religious heritage is evident on the cityscape as well. The historical Peninsula, the Beyoğlu district and both banks of the Bosporus are decorated with numerous mosques, churches and synagogues. City officials in Istanbul extensively used this multi-religious background and religious landscape in tourism promotion.

Firstly, Istanbul's role as a religious city (although Istanbul is not a city to pilgrimage) is underlined. Istanbul is represented as the "meeting point of faiths", "capital of divine tolerance" and "capital of religions in the very centre of the ancient world". Istanbul's ancient significance is mentioned in order to attract the attention of the reader. Secondly, Istanbul is not only an intersection point but also a host of "tolerance". Istanbul "embraces religions with tolerance on the crossroads of two continents". The city has the ability to "combine identities on the crossroads of cultures", "collect different voices and create a peaceful synthesis". Particularly, the notion of "synthesis" is represented as a significant element of religious tolerance. Peaceful synthesis of different faiths are not contradicting but feeding each other. The city is represented as a "glorious opera scene where churches

Table 2: Tolerance and tourism promotion

City of tolerance	Helsinki	Istanbul
Narratives	Multicultural diversity	Religious diversity
Focus	Lifestyles, individual liberties	Peaceful coexistence
Form of tolerance	Individual	Collective
Goal	Creative city	Political

and mosques create a unique sound scape". Religious tolerance also includes togetherness and solidarity in Istanbul where "the sounds of prayers rising from minarets never surpasses the sound of church bells, mosques, churches and synagogues stand side by side". The city is "one of the few places in the world where you can see churches, synagogues and mosques built within a short distance of each other".

Tolerance for lifestyles or religions: Both Istanbul and Helsinki introduce "tolerance" as a selling point. However, the interpretation of tolerance is different. Table 2 summarizes various aspects of tolerance: narratives (theoretical framework and research on tolerance), focus (how tourism materials use the idea of tolerance), form of tolerance (how tolerance is interpreted) and goals (why the idea of tolerance is used in tourism promotion).

Florida's narratives on creative city are not unknown in Helsinki. Several reports on Helsinki's economic growth and international strategy (The Economic Map of Urban Europe, 2007; City of Helsinki, Helsinki's International Strategy, 2008; The State of Helsinki Region, 2009; City of Helsinki, Urban Facts Helsinki Region Trends, 2010) used terms drawn from his approach to tolerance and diversity. Creativity has been emphasized as an urban policy to make the metropolitan area more attractive (City of Helsinki, Helsinki's International Strategy, 2008; Kepsu and Vaattovaara, 2008; Vanolo, 2008b). City of Helsinki used Florida's works in order to introduce Helsinki as a "tolerant" "gay friendly" city that "welcomes different lifestyles". Helsinki tourism materials (Appendix) mention multicultural diversity with a focus on lifestyles and individual liberties. Tolerance was interpreted on the 'individual' level to achieve the goal of creative city.

Nonetheless, religious diversity is the main narrative in promoting Istanbul. Tourism promotion interprets multiculturalism in the domain of religion. Unlike Helsinki, Istanbul's tourism materials focus on coexistence of different religions; they rely on 'collective' forms of tolerance. Tourism promotion in Istanbul is motivated by political concerns and Turkey's foreign policy, particularly Turkey's accession to the EU. The European Capital of Culture Event in 2010 was a fine opportunity to demonstrate that Istanbul is a valuable asset of European culture (Appendix).

City size: humble Helsinki vs. pompous Istanbul: How does the size of a city play a role in tourism? Comparing Helsinki and Istanbul may answer this question as the sizes of both cities are used to boost tourism. In this chapter, the focus is how Helsinki and Istanbul tourism materials use city size in tourism promotion. Helsinki's size and population are often mentioned favourably in tourism materials. Helsinki is introduced as a "pocket-sized metropolis", "mini-metropolis" and "manageable city". The benefits of the small size are proximity, a problem-free city and liveability.

Firstly, the phrase "walking distance" is frequently used. Helsinki allows tourists to explore it easily "on foot". For those who visit Helsinki for a short time period such as attendants of conferences, "proximity of everything" in Helsinki offers a good time management of visits. Because "most sights are situated within a convenient walking distance of the city centre", a tourist can see "a lot in a short time period". Secondly, being small in size helps to overcome some problems of metropolitan areas. Traffic is one example: "traffic in Helsinki is still relatively uncongested, allowing you to stroll peacefully even through the city centre", "traffic in the Helsinki region is smooth and traffic jams are rare", "travel time from the city centre to the outskirts is a half hour at most, even during the rush hour". Brochures often remind the tourists that Helsinki is different from the rest of the metropolises in Europe; "unlike other European big cities, traffic is never jammed in Helsinki." Finally, Helsinki's quiet, peaceful and liveable (often supported by the liveability index) environment is repetitively used. Helsinki is a city "where one can walk in peace". Tourism brochures used expressions like "tiny little kiosk", "tiny Thai restaurant", "small intimate cafe", "small bars in Kallio", "tiny establishment" and "unique tiny boutiques" to underline Helsinki's leisure activities.

Nevertheless tourism materials always underlined Helsinki's "urban" features. Helsinki is maybe "pocked-sized"; but it is a metropolis. Tourism advertising in Helsinki relies on this dual nature; on the one hand, Helsinki is represented as a metropolis, offering top quality urban good and services, on the other hand the city has the "cosy atmosphere" of small city of half a million people residents.

It is quite the opposite in the Istanbul case. Throughout the history (between the 4th and the 7th, the 11th and 12th centuries and finally in the 17th century) Istanbul has been the largest city in the world. Istanbul was simply known as the Polis (city) until the Turkish conquest (Ortaylı, 2004). Today it is among one of the largest cities in the world. The city's vast size, population and historical legacy are occasionally used in tourism promotion. There are four categories to represent Istanbul's largeness: its historical significance, never ending options, landscape and landmarks. Firstly, Istanbul's vast size, its historical significance and golden ages are often mentioned.

Table 3: The use of phrases in tourism materials

Categories	Helsinki	Istanbul
Area	Tidy, accessible, small, walking distance	Glorious, large, huge, vast, big
Urban	Pocket-sized metropolis, mini-metropolis, peaceful, manageable	World-class city, world-city, world metropolis, capital of culture
Landmarks and sights	Small, little, tiny, humble, peaceful, quiet	Magnificent, huge, stunning, glorious, massive, grand, elegant
Daily life	Tidy, ordered, intimate, uncongested, convenient	Chaotic, calls for discovery, adventurous

Istanbul is introduced as "one of the most glorious cities in the world", "one of the largest cities in the world", "splendid city", "a city with a scale of a country" and "huge modern metropolis". It is considered as "the most inspiring city in the world", "world metropolis" and a "world class cultural centre". The city's historical significance is always mentioned with expressions such as "glorious past", "once ruled lands on three continents", "crucial role in shaping history", "the capital of three empires", "unique cities of the world in terms of cultural wealth" and "great capital of culture and civilization".

Secondly, Istanbul is represented as a city with never ending options. It is a "world within the world". "The endless varieties and innumerable options" provide a "huge wealth to explore". There is "too much to see in Istanbul", it is impossible to cover everything at once. The city is large enough to discover something new in each visit. Thirdly, Istanbul's landscape is described with grandiose expressions. Istanbul has "stunning views", "a glorious, unrivalled physical legacy" "with Golden Horn, one of the best natural harbours in the world". Bosporus is illustrated as a "natural treasure" flowing across the city. Finally, Istanbul's landmarks are portrayed in the same manner. Expressions such as "world's greatest suspension bridges", "supremely elegant Imperial Mosques", "The Imperial Fatih Mosque has vast size and great complex", "magnificent Dolmabahçe palace", "Hagia Sophia, unquestionable one of the finest building of all time" "Topkapi palace: a grand design", "The Blue Mosque, the magnificent work of Turkish art and the crowning glory of the city" glorify the city with pride.

Table 3 summarizes the expressions used to refer to the "city size" in tourism materials. The use of phrases concerning city size was analysed in four categories (area, urban, landmarks and sights and daily life) in order to understand how city size is used as a selling point. In Helsinki, metropolitan area is defined by the use of 'humble' phrases underlining smallness and accessibility. Slogans like "pocket-sized metropolis", "mini-metropolis" and "manageable city" also foster the representations of a small size city. Tourism materials (Appendix) defined landmarks and sights and daily life in the same way by introducing secondary elements such as tidiness, peacefulness and order to draw a small city profile. However in the Istanbul case, pretentious phrases are commonly used. Istanbul's area, landmarks and sights are introduced with pompous expressions like "magnificent, huge, grand and glorious". The city is defined as a "world city" "world-class city or metropolis". Unlike Helsinki, daily life in Istanbul is not "tidy" and "ordered" but rather "chaotic" and "adventurous".

Despite radical differences in expressions, promotion materials end up on the same point: city size is used as a selling point to boost tourism. A small, manageable city offers "intimate" tourist ambiance for tourists who come from crowded and busy metropolises. Conversely, but not necessarily in contradiction, Istanbul as huge metropolis, offers endless options. Descriptions on city area, urban features, landmarks and sights are followed by phrases explaining why city size is an advantage. In terms of daily life, this "advantage" in Helsinki derives from tidiness, order and intimacy whereas Istanbul relies on chaotic and adventurous tourist experiences.

CONCLUSION

This study compares tourism promotion in Helsinki and Istanbul. Both cities use three selling points to attract tourists: 'the city between the East and West', 'the city of tolerance' and 'city size'. Firstly, in promoting Helsinki and Istanbul as a 'city between the East and West', geographical location, history, architecture and culture have different meanings. In Helsinki, East refers to the Slavic, Russian and Soviet legacy and West to Scandinavia, Northern Europe, and the EU; or Europe and Western industrialized world in a broader sense. In the Istanbul case, both East and West have 'religious' meanings, East representing Islam and West standing for Christianity. Secondly, both Helsinki and Istanbul have adopted 'tolerance' as a selling point; however, tourism materials include different narratives of tolerance. In Helsinki, tolerance consists of individual lifestyles, liberties and multicultural diversity whereas in Istanbul tolerance is interpreted in religious sense. Finally, in both cities 'city size' is introduced as an advantage and again in different meanings. For Helsinki it is the smallness and for Istanbul it is the vast city size that creates an advantage for visitors. In all these common categories, both cities emphasize their strengths by presenting themselves unique and original.

Previous research on tourism promotion showed how similar words and phrases also travel from one city to another. Research findings of this study indicate that repetitively used words and phrases or even clichés can be of vital importance in tourism

promotion. In case studies without a comparative perspective, the logic behind using such common words may go unnoticed. However this study, by comparing two peripheral cities in Europe, Helsinki and Istanbul, showed that the same slogans, expressions and phrases that are used in promotion materials mean different things. Because they are not necessarily simple catchy phrases or empty slogans; but they reflect city's identity and reveal historical and societal realities behind them. In doing so, the study also underlines an alternative strategy to cities' lust for uniqueness. Instead of employing only local features in city marketing, 'universal' concepts can be effectively used in order to build an image of a 'locality'.

APPENDIX

Helsinki:

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Article IV

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Original Article

Branding Istanbul: Representations of religion in promoting tourism

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ABSTRACT There has been an increasing trend in recent years for cities to build their own brands in order to attract investments, international companies and tourists. It is believed that such branding is effective in terms of gaining competitive advantage over other cities. City brands characteristically draw on local characteristics and seek to emphasize uniqueness. Istanbul, a rapidly developing financial centre and a popular tourist destination, is no exception. The city was one of the European Capitals of Culture in 2010, which prompted the tourism authorities to create a new Istanbul brand. This article analyses the components of this new brand, as evidenced in various tourism materials. The findings show how tourism marketers have used religion as a major theme in the branding process.

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Keywords: city branding; urban tourism; Istanbul; religion; European Capital of Culture

INTRODUCTION

City branding has become a recognized urban policy worldwide. Deindustrialization and declining public revenues have fostered the search for new strategies to generate sources of income. Cities therefore seek to market and represent themselves as centres of creativity, innovation and culture in the belief that this will give them a competitive edge. The many but not necessarily mutually exclusive goals include creating the conditions for a competitive urban economy (for example, attracting inbound investment, and promoting creativity, innovation and productivity), profoundly transforming the built environment, boosting civic pride and credibility, and promoting and conserving the urban cultural heritage. City branding policies also play a crucial role in fostering urban tourism. New York is a good and internationally recognized example of this, with its long-standing logo and well-known slogan (I love NY; see Greenberg, 2003; Bendel, 2011). Tourist magnets in Europe include Barcelona (as a result of effective city branding since the 1990s) and Bilbao (due to urban regeneration and branding through architecture). These success stories have inspired a wide range of cities worldwide to initiate branding campaigns. Following its selection as one of the European Capitals of Culture (ECOC) in 2010, Istanbul actively embarked upon this process.

The tourism authorities in Istanbul pursued three major strategies in building up the city's brand. First, they exploited its rich historical and architectural heritage and emphasized its imperial, multicultural and

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multi-religious past. Second, policymakers launched promotional campaigns and published materials exclusively for the city of Istanbul, which had not been common practice. Third, the authorities organized several events in 2010 to celebrate Istanbul's ECOC status, thereby providing a platform on which to present the Istanbul brand to relevant audiences. These strategies are also self-evident in recently published materials promoting tourism. Among the themes covered in these representations, one emerged more frequently than others: religion.

Religion and tourism: A city at a religious crossroads

The relationship between tourism and religion is historical, integrated and complicated. On the historical level, pilgrimage routes are among the world's oldest, pilgrims being the ancient equivalent of today's tourists – voluntary travellers who temporarily leave their place of residence for a specific destination (see Vukonic, 1998; Cohen and Cohen, 2012). In terms of integration, 'pilgrimage tourism' or 'religious tourism' may include novel and secular features such as shopping, entertainment and leisure-time pursuits. Conversely, non-religious types of tourism may accommodate religious activities (see Horner and Swarbrooke, 2007) in that religion is embedded in historical, cultural, architectural and art features that attract tourists. Finally, this integration culminates in such a complex relationship that it is often hard to distinguish between a pilgrim and a tourist (indeed, pilgrims are counted as tourists in the statistics). Furthermore, some sacred sites are open to both religious visitors and tourists, which constitute overlapping groups with different motivations behind their visits. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that religion is a leitmotif in tourism. Although Istanbul is not a city of pilgrimage, it has always been home to multiple religions. Its founder was the first Christian Roman Emperor, Constantine the Great, and it was literally 'the capital of civilizations', which is a frequently used slogan and the title of the official ECOC promotional film. The city was the capital of the Roman Empire (330–395), the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire (395–1204 and 1261–1453), the Latin Empire (the Armies of the Fourth Crusade established a short-lived state, 1204–1261) and the Ottoman Empire (1453–1922). These empires identified themselves on the basis of the Orthodox, Catholic and Islamic faiths. Two ecumenical leaders of Christian Orthodoxy (The Patriarch of Constantinople) and The Caliph (Ottoman Sultans had this title since the early sixteenth century) resided in Istanbul for centuries. The Byzantine Empire and the Ottoman Empire were the strongest Christian Orthodox and Muslim powers in the Middle Ages. Even the short-lived Latin Empire was the most prominent Catholic state in the East. If Sephardic Jews, who arrived in 1492 as refugees, are also taken into consideration, the picture of three monotheist religions is complete.

Istanbul's multi-religious heritage is also evident in its cityscape. Anyone roaming around the Historical Peninsula, located between the Golden Horn and the Sea of Marmara, must be aware of the religious nature of the city. The Historical Peninsula, as an 'urban palimpsest', tells the multi-religious story of Istanbul (Gül, 2002), whereas numerous mosques, churches and synagogues decorate Galata and both banks of the Bosporus. Some Byzantine churches were converted into mosques and have become models for the newer constructions. This historical and architectural heritage plays a significant role in Istanbul's brand.

Taking these tourism organizations, Istanbul's ECOC status and its multi-religious past into account, it would be interesting to see what kind of images the authorities have used to market Istanbul. This study discusses the city of Istanbul's brand before and in conjunction with its selection as an ECOC. It identifies and analyses the brand attributes and discusses how they were used in the promotion of tourism in the form of a 'projected image'. The article continues with a review of the literature on city branding. The following sections introduce the methods and data, analyse the themes that emerged in the promotion materials and discuss how these themes are represented.

LITERATURE REVIEW

There is scholarly interest in how cities market themselves. The extensive literature on city branding falls into three overlapping categories: theoretical contributions, the critical approach and case studies dealing with practical applications worldwide.

Researchers seeking to identify the components of city branding have found several common features (see Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005, 2007, 2009; Grodach, 2009; Hospers, 2009; Zhang and Zhao, 2009; Ooi, 2011). First, branding as a strategy exported from the commercial world is a marketing tool that is designed to give a competitive edge over other cities. The aim is to mould and modify people's perceptions about the city. Second, city brands always emphasize the distinctive and the unique, convey only interesting, exciting and attractive messages, and always focus on positive attributes. Third, city officials responsible for branding campaigns tend to use catchy slogans, captivating phrases and specially designed logos to represent particular attributes or themes. Slogans tell the story of the city in a 'condensed expression of symbolic values' (Stigel and Frimann, 2006). Some of them, such as 'I love New York' and 'I Amsterdam' are easily recalled. However, many scholars argue that the significance of the logo is overestimated: it is operational only when it is articulated with the branding strategy (see Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2009; Hospers, 2011). In its composition and design, the logo represents the city's assets such as its well-known physical features, its history, and various heraldic and abstract elements (Koller, 2008). Finally, city branding relies on the city's identity, which comprises several contextual variables and values such as its history, demography, economy, politics and policies (see Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005; Smidt-Jensen, 2006; Zhang and Zhao, 2009).

Branding strategies vary, with some cities possessing considerable advantages over others. Easily identifiable images are more likely to stick in people's minds. Paris and Venice, for example, are associated with romance, New York and Berlin with diversity, Los Angeles and Rio de Janeiro with entertainment, Singapore and Tokyo with modernity, Washington and Moscow with politics, and Stockholm with science (see Zhang and Zhao, 2009). The built environment with its landmarks, particular districts, iconic buildings and symbolic structures, alongside associations with famous personalities such as Gaudi with Barcelona and Kafka with Prague, make cities easily identifiable among increasingly accessible destinations worldwide (Anholt, 2006; Ashworth, 2009; Hospers, 2011). Another strategy is to organize events to attract visitors. It is widely acknowledged that out-of-the-ordinary activities (for example, royal weddings, papal coronations and the inauguration of a world leader) also enhance the competitiveness of the host city (Dwyer and Kim, 2003). Mega-events such as The Olympic Games, World Trade Fairs, festivals and ECOC happenings may act as a catalyst to initiate branding exercises (see Nobili, 2005), or constitute the branding strategy (see Zhang and Zhao, 2009). These features make cities imageable; those that lack them are generally hard to brand (Hospers, 2011).

Another issue discussed in the literature concerns the outcomes of city branding. Previous studies identify two major types of analysis in understanding these outcomes: perceived image and projected image. It is, of course, crucial to understand how people perceive the city in order to evaluate the effectiveness of the branding (Zhang and Zhao, 2009). Perceived image analysis focuses on a constellation of ideas in the minds of visitors before the visit (Govers *et al*, 2007), and on the direct experiences of individuals (Richards and Wilson, 2004). Thus, measurement of the perceived image is problematic because it relies on personal ideas and experiences. However, the development of analytical categories helps to counteract this subjectivity. Anholt (2006, 2007), for example, used six categories to measure people's perceptions of a city: presence (the city's international status and standing), place (its physical aspects), potential (economic and educational opportunities), pulse (vibrant urban lifestyle), people (inhabitants' attitudes towards visitors) and prerequisites (how people perceive the basic amenities of the city such as schools, hospitals and public transport).

Projected image analysis, in contrast, relies on the evaluation of branding efforts such as the selection and filtering of the city's values and their transformation into representations (for example, slogans, themes, symbols, logos and banners) to communicate to relevant audiences (see Seissdedos and Vaggione, 2005; Stock, 2009). Given that official tourist organizations are responsible for the projected image (Selby and Morgan, 1996), the analysis of documents (for example, tourism materials) may highlight the city's branding strategies. However, the methods employed for analysing perceived and projected images vary. Measuring individual expectations and experiences calls for a demand-side approach involving the use of surveys, questionnaires and polls, for example. The supply-side approach, on the other hand, features methods such as interviewing (for example, key informants in charge of branding strategies), and textual and visual analysis (of documents). However, perceived and projected images are not mutually exclusive: projected images may modify perceived images through various channels of communication (Bramwell and Rawding, 1996).

The limitations of city branding have aroused the interest of scholars. According to Anholt (2006, 2007), in some cases, advertising and marketing are a waste of time and may be ineffectual in never being able to make a bad city look good. Anholt (2008) also notes the 'big difference between observing that places have brand images and claiming that places can be branded, which is an excessively ambitious, entirely unproven and ultimately irresponsible claim'.

Other researchers point out the inadequacy of exporting a commercial concept to urban studies. Places are too complex to be treated like products because they are not products, governments are not producers and users are not consumers (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005, p. 510). Such complexity challenges the marketing of cities under a single brand (Weiss-Sussex, 2006). Furthermore, city branding triggers a constant debate about 'representation'. According to Greenberg (2003, p. 413), city brands reveal little about the reality behind the commodity they promote. One of the biggest challenges is that its brand may represent different interests among various groups in the city (Zhang and Zhao, 2009): the questions of who is branding and what is excluded remain open (Zukin, 1995; Bianchini, 2006). Ooi (2011), in turn, critically evaluates city branding in terms of three paradoxes. First, it is an ongoing process: as the city changes over time, the brand is updated to reflect 'successful' cities. Thus, as cities develop they and their brands become increasingly alike. Second, city brands are essentially original and reflect the identity of the place, although the branding may destroy its original spirit. Third, branding themes must be attractive and authentic, although locals and visitors may interpret the messages differently. Outsiders look for attractive and rather simple messages, whereas locals may appreciate more complexity and authenticity. These aims may be contradictory.

Subjects of case studies on city branding include Glasgow (Paddison, 1993), New York (Greenberg, 2003), York (Meethan, 1997), Arriyadh (Saleh, 2001), Helsinki (Vanolo, 2008a), Rotterdam (Richards and Wilson, 2004), Barcelona (Smith, 2005), Turin (Vanolo, 2008b), Liverpool (Boland, 2008), Cape Town (Bickford-Smith, 2009), New Orleans (Gotham, 2002), Seoul (Hunter, 2012), Tokyo (Braiterman, 2011), Singapore (Yuen, 2005) and Beijing (Zhang and Zhao, 2009). The analyses primarily focus on one city and its distinctive identities, which include abstract and general concepts such as creativity (Vanolo, 2008b), religion (Saleh, 2001) and modernization (Spio, 2011), or specific features such as green spaces (Braiterman, 2011), annual events (Gotham, 2002) or even a single mega-event (Zhang and Zhao, 2009). According to the findings, city branding serves multiple purposes: as a tool to overcome an urban crisis (Greenberg, 2003), to promote negative stereotypes of crime, disorder, terrorism or natural catastrophes (Gotham, 2007) and to transform a blue-collar past into a vibrant, cosmopolitan and innovative future (Hannigan, 2003, p. 354).

The following analysis of Istanbul's brand is based on Vanolo's (2008a, b) framework for identifying components of city branding in

materials promoting tourism. The study also benefits from Zhang and Zhao's (2009) study on mega-events, Ashworth's (2009) research on famous personalities and city branding, and the works of Koller (2008), Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2009) and Hospers (2011) on slogans and logos.

METHODS

The data analysed in this article were collected mainly from tourism materials. Such materials not only pack together information about goods and services but also portray the city's identity. They are a means of promotion and tools for marketing designed to communicate with visitors (Molina and Esteban, 2006). The analysis covers 24 English-language documents (tourism brochures, booklets, newsletters and maps), the aim being to locate symbols, keywords, expressions and connotations. The quotations listed are from tourism materials unless otherwise indicated. Tourism statistics and reports complemented the information. The research covers the period between 2007 and 2011, when its ECOC status was the main focus of Istanbul's tourism strategies. Events arranged in 2010 were categorized in line with the listings in the tourist booklets 'Events Bulleting' and 'ECOC Programme'.

The analysis followed a multidisciplinary case study approach that draws upon observation, content analysis and semiotic analysis. It was supported by critical readings of the literature on city branding. During the first phase, observation as a qualitative method provided preliminary information about tourist activities in Istanbul. The researcher acted as a tourist, participated in tourist activities, witnessed happenings in tourist spots and recorded research notes.

The second phase focused on content analysis, which is a method that is commonly used in the social sciences for analysing a wide range of textual data (Krippendorff, 2004; Weber, 1990). It has become popular in tourism research due to the increasing amount of electronic data, online texts and Websites (Nickerson, 1995; Jenkins, 1999, 2003; Ooi, 2004; Ryan and Cave, 2006; Stepchenkova *et al*, 2009; De Jager, 2010). According to Slater (1998, p. 234), content analysis provides 'convincing readings of cultural texts; it helps to draw various conclusions from them, by looking at the texts themselves rather than at the ways in which people actually consume the texts'. It thus enables the analysis of the content, which 'refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or nay message that can be communicated' (Neumann, 2003, p. 219). A four-stage content analysis model was developed for the purposes of this study, drawing from the works of Neumann (2003) and Okumus *et al* (2007). First, the researcher gathered tourism materials from The Istanbul European Capital of Culture Agency (ECCA) and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The second stage involved reading these materials in order to preliminarily identify the most frequent representations (words, phrases, slogans and concepts). Third, these recurring representations were categorized under analytically interesting 'themes': Atlas.ti software was used to prepare a coding scheme that helped to classify representations with similar meanings under the same headings. Finally, the results were refined, the relationship between the categories was analysed, the findings were interpreted and the ground was established for further discussion. The reason for using content analysis was to identify frequently used words and classify them into meaningful categories, which appeared as 'themes' in Istanbul's city brand.

Semiotic analysis was used in the third phase of the process to identify the slogans, logo and banners in the materials. Among the broad applications of this method, this study benefited from aspects of social semiotics (Van Leuween, 2005) and the cultural reading of texts (Lehonen, 2000), which essentially helps to uncover meanings in various contexts. Account was also taken of the use of semiotic analysis in previous research on city branding, such as the analysis of symbolic expressions in tourist brochures (Jenkins, 2003), encoding brands in semiotic modes of language and images (Koller, 2008), and the analysis of 'recurrent' and 'interesting' words and phrases, capital letters, fonts and colours, quotation marks, titles and subtitles (Vanolo, 2008a).

RESULTS

Interestingly, one theme emerges frequently from the materials: religion. This raises the question of the religious image these tourism materials promote. In order to answer this question, the representations were analysed and classified in themes. The results are discussed below.

The logo and banners: A religious picture?

Istanbul's ECOC logo is commonly used in the tourism materials. Although it lacks 'an official explanation', it seems to depict three arcs that represent Imperial mosques or the basilica domes of Byzantine churches (Figures 1a and 1b).

Furthermore, in the opinions of some the arcs may have a religious meaning. As Bıçakçı (2012) observed, they may simply refer to three monotheistic religions. The word 'capital' in the international version, which has the biggest font size, may have a dual meaning referring to both the capital of culture and Istanbul's historical legacy as capital of three empires (see Bıçakçı, 2012, p. 1002).

Figure 1: ECOC logos.
Source: Various tourism promotion materials.
(a) European Capital of Culture; (b) Avrupa Kültür Başkenti.

ECCA's Website banner depicts the historical peninsula of Istanbul (Figure 2). It shows the Topkapı Palace (the Sultan's residence until the mid-seventeenth century), Hagia Sophia (which was built as an Orthodox church, was converted into a mosque following the Turkish conquest and now serves as a museum) and two Imperial mosques (the Sultanahmet and the Süleymaniye Mosques). With the headline 'The most inspiring city in the world' and its tones of grey, the banner portrays a mystical city.

Another banner that was used in some of the promotional materials (and also as the cover of an album launched by the ECCA) portrays multiple features of Istanbul's identity including its landmarks (the Galata Tower, the Maiden Tower, the Bosporus Bridge and the Topkapı Palace) and landscape features (the Bosporus, forests, blue sky and even Istanbul's symbolic bird the seagull) (Figure 3). However, the most remarkable features are the font and the style. Istanbul's name features the religious symbols of Islam, Christianity and Judaism. The form of the letters (resembling confetti) could symbolize the celebration of this religious diversity. The use of colours is equally interesting: the turquoise background seems to represent Turkey and the green fonts may stand for the city's Islamic heritage.

Figure 2: The ECOC Website banner.
Source: Various tourism promotion materials.

Religious vocabulary

The promotion materials exploit Istanbul's rich heritage. A word-frequency analysis identified several themes. Table 1 lists the keywords and six of the main themes: religion, the capital of civilizations, multicultural diversity, Orientalism, the city between the East and the West, and tolerance.

Figure 3: Banner and album cover, released in 2010.
Source: Various tourism promotion materials.

Words referring to religion constitute one-third of the keywords, and 'the capital of civilizations' over 30 per cent. The remaining four themes occur less frequently. The main difficulty in the analysis concerned the overlapping concepts and identifying words that cover more than one theme. In order to resolve this problem, words were coded according to the context in which they occurred. Surprisingly, 'non-religious' keywords are also used in a religious sense. For example, 'the capital of civilizations' and 'the Ottoman and Byzantine Empires' often have religious connotations, as do East and West – East representing Islam and West Christianity. This reflects the multi-religious heritage of Istanbul. 'Multicultural diversity' as a theme is interpreted in the same way. For example, the words 'Greek' and 'Armenian' are often used to refer to a religious community (for example, the Greek Patriarchate and the Armenian Church) rather than ethnicity, culture or language. Similarly, Islamic terms such as harem, concubine and veil represent 'Orientalism'. Finally, 'tolerance' is interpreted in a religious sense as harmonious and peaceful

Table 1: Istanbul's brand and the represented themes: The 2010 ECCA's newsletters

Keyword	*Frequency*	*Keyword*	*Frequency*	*Keyword*	*Frequency*
Ottoman	227	Diversity	23	Multicultural(ism)	10
East	107	Peace	22	Jew(ish)/Judaism	9
West	92	Orient/Orientalism	21	Synagogue	9
Mosque	77	God/Allah	19	Friendship	9
Islam/Islamic/Muslim	73	Faith/Belief(s)/Believer	18	Holy	7
Byzantine	65	Saint	18	Kurd(ish)	7
Church	64	Carpet	18	Veil	7
Religion/Religious	61	Constantinople	17	Hamam	4
Greek	53	Calligraphy	15	Fraternity	4
Civilization(s)	39	Tolerance	13	Sacred	3
Roman (Empire)	38	Harmony	13	Catholic	3
Armenian	33	Orthodox	11	Alevi	2
Continent(s)	29	Concubine/slave girl	11	Fez	2
Harem	24	Christian/Christianity	10	Ethnic(ity)	2

No.	*Theme*	*Share (%)*
1	Religion	32.6
2	The capital of civilizations	31.7
3	Multicultural diversity	11.1
4	Orientalism	10.2
5	The city between the East and the West	9.2
6	Tolerance	5.2

coexistence among different religious communities.

Table 1 also shows the frequencies of the keywords and the concepts that are overrepresented and those that occur less frequently. For example, 'church' as a word is used almost as frequently as 'mosque', although there are 30 times more mosques than churches in Istanbul. There is also slight emphasis on communities such as *Alevis* (a sect in Islam).

A spiritual city: Slogans and catchphrases

Several slogans are used repetitively to promote tourism in Istanbul. Maps, city guides, booklets, brochures and Web portals use expressions such as 'the most *inspiring* city in the world', 'a city with a multicultural *soul*', 'the city of *mystic* energy and *magic*', 'a city of *creative energy* and transformative dynamism', 'a beautiful waterway with a touch of *magic*', 'Istanbul invites you to discover the *magic*', 'a unique city with its *spiritual mood*', 'the city that has been *blessed* with an unrivalled cultural legacy' (*emphasis added*). These expressions tend to occur on the first pages of the materials and the homepages of the Web portals. They introduce Istanbul as a spiritual and mystical city. The next step is to link this 'unworldly' city to religion, representing the city as a 'meeting point of faiths' with 'its minarets and church bell towers, which are symbols of the city's spiritual wealth'. This spirituality is manifest in the domain of religion in expressions such as 'Istanbul has nurtured the values and holy places of three great Abrahamic religions' and 'embracing religions with tolerance at the crossroads of two continents'. Some texts emphasize the coexistence of different religions: 'people of different faiths have lived side by side for hundreds of years' and formed 'a choir that lives together'. Direct references to Istanbul's multi-religious heritage reiterate clichés such as 'the capital of divine tolerance', 'an enchanting blend of beliefs', 'the meeting point of three different religions' and 'the capital of three religions'. The city is 'one of the few places in the world where you can see churches, synagogues and mosques built within a short distance of each other'.

Three slogans that are often used as headlines deserve closer attention:

(1) The most inspiring city in the world (official ECOC slogan and used in the logo)
(2) The capital of civilizations (official film title)
(3) The capital of religions (the most common slogan in the tourism materials)

The first of these emphasizes Istanbul's superior status as a city with its superlative form and its pretentious and biased expression (*inspiration*), both of which suit the particular year of culture and art and the city's acclaimed mystical/magical ambiance. The other two slogans, which are used interchangeably, build on the polysemous word *capital*. Capital here refers to Istanbul's historic heritage as an administrative centre of empires, to a locus (of civilizations and religions) and to its recent status as ECOC.

Holy city: How 'they' see Istanbul

There have been efforts in recent years to link Istanbul with famous personalities. This was manifest in the ECOC context in the organization of special tours (for example, The Nobel Laureate Orhan Pamuk's Istanbul, Ernest Hemingway's Constantinople and Agatha Christie's Orient Express). The tourism materials also frequently quote statements indicating how well-known people experienced Istanbul, and religion also emerged as a theme in this context.

Historical and contemporary figures are among the people quoted in the materials. Poets praise Istanbul's multi-religious identity: Rumi refers to 'tolerance and respect for other faiths', and the French poet La Martine describes Istanbul as a place in which 'God and human, nature and art are together; they have created a perfect place that is worth seeing'. Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, a prominent Turkish poet, is quoted in introducing Istanbul as a 'holy city living in memories and dreams'. The contemporary Turkish poet Yaşar Miraç, in turn, likens Istanbul to a beautiful woman, describing her in these

words: 'The minarets are clips in her hair, the church bells are rings for her ears'.

The words of contemporary political figures are also quoted. For example, Kadir Topbaş, the Mayor of Istanbul, proudly states in a tourist booklet: 'Istanbul has hosted different religious identities and melted them into the concept of Istanbulite'. Similarly, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan refers to an Istanbul in which 'the sound of prayers rising from the minarets never surpasses the sound of church bells, and where mosques, churches and synagogues stand side by side'. European Ministers of Culture (from France, Portugal, Ukraine, Serbia and Slovenia, for example) praise Istanbul's ability to 'combine identities at the crossroads of cultures', 'collect different voices and create a peaceful synthesis' and 'gather civilizations together'.

Religious events

Numerous events including festivals, concerts, exhibitions, conferences and workshops were arranged to celebrate the ECOC in 2010. Table 2 lists the themed events. The most common was a religious theme (55.7 per cent of the events), followed by urban daily life (11.5 per cent), neighbourhood identity (9.6 per cent), the urban collective memory (9.6 per cent), modernization (3.8 per cent), creativity (1.9 per cent) and ecology (1.9 per cent). Interestingly, non-religious themes were sometimes also connected to religious diversity: representations of urban daily life included religious practices, for example. Indeed religion plays an important role in the collective memory and neighbourhood identity in historical 'non-Muslim' neighbourhoods such as Kuzguncuk, Ortaköy, Samatya, Fener and Balat (Mills, 2006).

Table 3 summarizes the types, frequency and content of events adopting religion as a theme: this was not restricted to artistic events (music, literature, cinema, opera and theatre), but also included academic conferences and workshops, and sporting events. These events tended to emphasize Istanbul's multi-religious heritage, religious diversity and tolerance.

Table 2: Events with a theme

Theme	*Number of major events*	*Share (%)*
Religion	29	55.7
Urban daily life	6	11.5
Neighbourhood identity	5	9.6
Collective memory	5	9.6
Modernization	2	3.8
Creativity	1	1.9
Ecology	1	1.9

Source: ECCA Events Bulletin, 2010; ECCA Programme, 2010.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study concerned the brand of Istanbul, which was introduced after the city had been awarded ECOC status. The focus was on representations in materials promoting Istanbul as a tourism destination prepared by the official tourist organizations. The representations were classified in five groups: logos and banners, religious vocabulary, slogans, quotations from famous personalities and events. Religion turned out to be a dominant theme in all five groups. First,

Table 3: Events with a religious theme

Type of event	*Frequency*	*Content*
Music	6	Religious music
Film screening	6	Various documentaries on Istanbul's multi-religious heritage
Art exhibition	6	The images of religions in Istanbul
Opera and theatre	3	Religious tolerance
Conference	3	Religious tolerance and the coexistence of diverse religions in Istanbul
Literature exhibition	3	Multi-religious heritage and diversity
Workshop	1	Religious tolerance and cultural encounters
Sports	1	Intercontinental tolerance race

Source: ECCA Events Bulletin, 2010; ECCA Programme, 2010.

the logos and banners have religious attributions, the colours and fonts pointing to the multi-religious heritage of the city. They also portray several of its assets (history, architecture, landmarks and landscape, for example), although religion seems to be the leitmotif behind these features. Second, the tourism materials are rich in religious representations, and here, too, religion is a dominant theme. Although five other themes (capital of civilizations, the city between the East and the West, tolerance, multicultural diversity and Orientalism) emerged, they appear less frequently. Furthermore, they are interpreted in religious terms in a way that reduces ethnic, lingual and cultural diversity in Istanbul to religious diversity. Intercultural encounters are seen in terms of dialogue between different religions. Third, repeatedly used slogans and catchphrases highlight Istanbul's 'mystical' ability to accommodate different religions. The three main slogans (the most inspiring city in the world, the capital of civilizations and the capital of religions) were used occasionally to position Istanbul as a historical and contemporary religious centre. Fourth, the materials quote famous personalities, but again the emphasis is on religion. They refer to how Istanbul's religious diversity and tolerance nurtured culture and art, and how its 'mystical' ambience inspired their works. An unusual phenomenon in the period under study was the involvement of contemporary political figures in promoting tourism. However, 2010 was a milestone for the city of Istanbul, and it was no coincidence that national and international political figures made their voices heard. Finally, more than half of the events organized in the ECOC year adopted religion as a theme. As with the representations in tourism promotion, religious diversity and tolerance dominated the major events that took place in 2010.

The study produced results that corroborate the findings of previous research in this field. In fact, multiple components of city branding are to be observed in the Istanbul case. The Istanbul brand comprises logo and banner designs, slogans and catchphrases, representations of the built environment and the city's heritage, statements quoting famous personalities and even a mega-event (ECOC). At first glance it may seem like a prototypical city brand. However, one feature stands out. Thus far, 'distinctiveness' has been a significant dimension in city branding. What is distinctive in the case of Istanbul is that the brand is not only a combination of local features, it also introduces a universal concept that is understandable to all and appeals to a broad group of visitors: religion. Nevertheless, Istanbul is not a holy city in pilgrimage terms. Religions played a considerable role in its history, but it is not a pilgrimage destination. It is highly speculative to posit the reasons that lie behind this branding policy. It may have something to with Istanbul's integration into the global network of cities, Turkey's political aspirations and particularly its future membership of the EU, the religious affiliation of the Justice and Development Party (the conservative party in power), and international political objectives (for example, taking the initiative in the United Nations' Alliance of Civilizations Project, which is based on religious tolerance). Alternatively, it may be connected with the promotion of urban tourism, which is a relatively under-valued and less-developed form of tourism in Turkey. Regardless of the objectives, however, Istanbul's religion-oriented brand is surprising and unusual.

The findings reported in this article make noteworthy contributions to the current literature. First, a lesson to be learned from the Istanbul case is that materials promoting tourism may be of significance in understanding city brands. Second, it seems that city branding policies sometimes follow an alternative path in using universal concepts for marketing a destination instead of focusing only on local distinctive features. Finally, the study has made some progress in enhancing understanding of the complicated relationship between religion and tourism: cities that are not pilgrimage destinations may also exploit their religious connections to boost urban tourism. The heritage of religious diversity and tolerance could be regarded as a catalyst for promoting non-religious activities in the fields of culture and art.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This research has several limitations. The study focuses on tourism promotion before and after the achievement of ECOC status, thus the document analysis covers a 5-year period (2007–2011). Furthermore, the study looks at the representations of the brand (supply side) rather than people's perceptions (demand side), as Istanbul's brand is still 'brand new'. Thus, for the time being it is not possible to forecast the long-term outcomes. Another challenge is the 'non-uniformity' of city brands, many of which address multiple target groups (not only tourists but also residents, investors and 'creative' professionals). A further complication in this case is that cultural and tourism policies in Turkey are integrated (they are covered by a single ministry, the Ministry of Tourism and Culture). The advantage of the integration is that analyses of tourism materials give a detailed picture of branding, but, on the other hand, it makes it difficult to determine the goals of the aforementioned target groups. Therefore, some parts of the branding process in Istanbul remain a mystery. It would be interesting in the future to investigate the socio-cultural and political motivations lying behind the branding efforts. In addition, further research into the long-term outcomes of Istanbul's brand would add a new dimension to the literature.

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