

VISUAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF IDENTITY IN ECOC 2010:
THE AMBIGUOUS STATUS OF ISTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

VISUAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF IDENTITY IN ECOC 2010:

THE AMBIGUOUS STATUS OF ISTANBUL

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This study analyzes the visual representations of European Capital of Culture Istanbul 2010 through European identity and symbolic production of European Capitals of Culture. Within this context, European Capital of Culture project is elucidated through city marketing in terms of festivals and special events. European Capital of Culture is a cultural but also a political project to create sense of belonging through common identity in declining sovereignty of nation-states. Here, the symbolic production of EU and European Capital of Culture project is analyzed to identify indicators of European identity in visual discourse. Finally, the visual representations of ECOC Istanbul 2010 are analyzed to uncover the clashing identities of Istanbul as European and Ottoman / Islamic city.

Key Words: European Capital of Culture, European identity, symbolic production, visual representation, image of a city

ÖZET

2010 AVRUPA KÜLTÜR BAŞKENTİ GÖRSEL TASARIMINDAKİ KİMLİK: İSTANBUL'UN BELİRSİZ STATÜSÜ

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Bu çalışma, İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti görsel temsilini, Avrupa kimliği ve Avrupa Kültür Başkentleri'nin sembolik üretimi üzerinden analiz etmektedir. Bu kapsamda, Avrupa Kültür Başkenti projesi, kent pazarlamasında festival ve özel etkinlikler çerçevesinde açıklanmıştır. Avrupa Kültür Başkenti, kültürel bir proje olmasının yanında ulus-devletlerin azalan egemenliğinde aidiyet duygusunu ortak kimlik üzerinden yaratma amacıyla oluşturulmuş politik bir projedir. Görsel söylem üzerinden Avrupa kimliği göstergelerini belirleyebilmek için Avrupa Birliği'nin ve Avrupa Kültür Başkenti projesinin sembolik üretimi analiz edilmiştir. Son olarak, İstanbul'un birbiriyle çatışan Osmanlı / İslami kimliği ile Avrupalı kimliğini ortaya koymak amacıyla İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti görsel temsiliyeti incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Avrupa Kültür Başkenti, Avrupa kimliği, sembolik üretim, görsel betimleme, kent imajı

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1. Introduction

The European Capital of Culture (henceforth ECOC) is a project the roots of which date back to 1990. As the name implies, it is founded to construct a symbolic unity within Europe by highlighting selected cities as its cultural capital.

1.1. Problem Definition

Istanbul has gained the status of ECOC for the year 2010 along with Pécs and Essen for Ruhr. The main question of the thesis is; does Istanbul with its multiple cultural identities easily fit into the category of a European city the characteristics of which have been defined by the ECOC organization? Indeed, European Union (henceforth EU) and ECOC have their own symbolic production that aim to reflect elements of European identity. Istanbul's highly diverse identities became most clearly visible in its visual representations that were prepared for this occasion. This study focuses on the ECOC project and the visual discourse of Istanbul in the context of the European identity that has been defined by the ECOC organization.

In this analysis, Istanbul emerges as a brand city with multiple identities that consist of cross-cultural elements. The visual representations of Istanbul's urban image as ECOC bring into light the clashing identities such as Islamic/Christian, Ottoman/European, East/West. This study questions the relationship between these identity elements in European Capital of Culture discourse.

1.2. Aim

The aim of this study is to decode the symbolic discourse of ECOC Istanbul 2010 to understand the cultural status of Istanbul in the ECOC visual discourse. In its attempt to reveal the elements of identity in visual representations, the intention is not to judge the visual discourse, but to deconstruct its constitutive elements in an interpretative manner.

1.3. Structure and Method

This thesis is structured by the key concepts and elements that lead to the deconstruction of visual representations of identity elements of ECOC Istanbul 2010. The visual resources are derived from the promotional materials of ECOC Istanbul 2010 such as its official web site, 2010 program booklet, Istanbul 2010 Magazines, Istanbul 2010 Quick Guide Booklet and Istanbul 2010 Portable Art 2008-2009 Booklet. The classification of the identity resources for the ECOC scheme, on the other hand, are based on Giorgia Aiello and Crispin Thurlow's 2006 study which guided the framework for the analysis of visual references.

In chapter 2, terms such as "world city", "global city" and "entrepreneurial city" are defined. The growing importance of cities and how they market themselves in the global arena for competitive advantage is explained. The importance of festivals and special events such as ECOC, and their role in maintaining a positive city image is stated at both national and worldwide scales. Then the ECOC project is analyzed with its aim and content, the nomination and selection phases, organizational

structures and resources. Lastly, 2010 ECOC processes are explained with reference to i.e., Essen for Ruhr, Pécs and Istanbul.

In chapter 3, the construction of European identity, the place of Turkey in Europe and symbols of European identity are introduced. Brussels as capital of Europe and its symbolic production is analyzed through visual representations.

The visual symbolic discourse of ECOC is explicated in chapter 4. Here, in line with the ECOC visual representations of identity, ECOC Istanbul 2010's visual discourse is decoded. Istanbul's European and Islamic/Ottoman identities and their reflections on visual representations are analyzed throughout the realization of the ECOC 2010 scheme.

2. Marketing Cities

Today, globalization is often characterized by the formation of transnational industries, international regulations, increased power of communication technologies, high levels of mobility, interconnection of nations, and formation of global tastes. It has affected our social, cultural, economic and urban lives with its forceful and wide ranging transformative power. Changes in urban conditions ranging from the field of economics to culture resulted in the emergence of such new concepts as “world city” and “global city”.

Peter Hall (1966) is one of the earliest scholars who used the term “World City” and described its major roles as follows: In economic terms, world cities are centers of national and international trade and the most developed sectors are banking, insurance and related financial services where other related professional activities are also advanced. They are centers of political international and national power where there is a high level of consumption, information gathering and diffusion. World cities are also centers of arts, entertainment, and culture.

Along similar lines Anthony King (1990, pp.145-8) indicates that:

The world city is increasingly 'unhooked' from the state where it exists, its fortunes decided by forces over which it has little control. Increasingly the city becomes an arena for capital, the site for specialized operations of a global market. Forced to compete with its major international rivals, obstacles to that competition are independent of state policies, progressively removed. It is here where the interests of local populations are directly in conflict with, and sacrificed for the international capital.

In the last decade, the term global city has widely replaced its older counterpart i.e., world city. Saskia Sassen (2001) defines the global city as follows:

Beyond their long history as centers for international trade and banking, these cities now function in four new ways: first, as highly concentrated command points in the organization of the world economy; second, as key locations for finance and for specialized service firms, which have replaced manufacturing as the leading economic sectors; third, as sites of production, including the production of innovations, in these leading industries; and fourth, as markets for the products and innovations produced. These changes in the functioning of cities have had a massive impact upon both international economic activity and urban form: cities concentrate control over vast resources, while finance and specialized service industries have restructured the urban social economic order. Thus a new type of city has appeared. It is the global city (p. 3-4).

Global cities like New York, Tokyo and London are critical locations for leading industries like finance and service industries which generate large spatial requirements. For instance there are 283 foreign banks offices in New York (Jones, Geoffrey & Gálvez-Muñoz, Lina, 2002, p. 156), 3095 finance and insurance enterprises in London (Wilkins, Nigel, 2011, p. 2).

The growing importance of cities and their new roles in the global arena brought the need to market cities in highly competitive environments for inward investment, tourism revenues, and residents' living standards. The rise of the information society that started in the nineteenth century which ran parallel to the marketing of urban areas was an important turning point in the development of cities based on

competition and rivalry¹. Implementation of marketing methods to a place mostly developed from sub-branches such as marketing in non-profit organizations, social marketing and image marketing (Ashworth, Gregory & Voogd, Henk, 1990). The term 'entrepreneurial city' has come into the agenda for the city administrators to use marketing methods to run cities in a more businesslike manner that is characterized by risk taking, inventiveness, promotion and profit motivation (Hubbard, Phil & Hall, Tim, 1998). Entrepreneurial governance brought the need for a marketing strategy that is built on the notion of 'marketing mix (4P)²'. Philip Kotler et al. (1993) adopted this notion for places based on the following components:

- Place as character: A place needs a sound design that enhances its attractiveness and more fully develops its aesthetic qualities and values
- Place as fixed environment: Place needs to develop and maintain a basic infrastructure that moves people and goods in ways compatible with the natural environment
- Place as service provider: A place must provide basic services of quality that meet business and public needs
- Places for entertainment and recreation: Places need a range of attractions for their own people and residence (p.100).

Hubbard et al. (1998) defined a generic entrepreneurial model of city governance that helps to achieve the transformation of productive cities into spectacular cities of

¹ For extensive information on this phenomenon see: Beniger, James Ralph, 1986; Hall, Peter, 2000; Ward, Stephen Victor, 1998.

² 4P refers to marketing mix: product, promotion, place and price

consumption through such policies as advertising and promotion, large-scale physical development, public art and civic statuary, mega-events, cultural regeneration and public-private partnerships.

Apart from the application of marketing mix to a place, there are other approaches for the marketing of a place such as the notion of corporate branding and corporate-level marketing that is derived from product branding. In this approach, corporate-level concepts such as corporate image, corporate identity and corporate communication are used as strategies for marketing (Kavaratzis, Michalis, 2004).

Branding helps to create awareness and to establish trust and loyalty among customers. A brand is “a product or service made distinctive by its positioning relative to the competition and by its personality, which comprises a unique combination of functional attributes and symbolic values” (Hankinson, Graham & Cowking, Philippa, 1993, p.10). For the success of the branding strategy there has to be a harmony between the consumer’s needs, desires and the brand’s symbolic and functional features (Bhat, Subodh and Reddy, Srinivas K, 1998, p.32). Functional brands satisfy the consumer’s practical needs and product’s attributes or tangible aspects are important. Canon is a functional brand because of its features that is mostly used by professional photographers. Symbolic brands satisfy the need for prestige or personal image of the consumer, and their practical usage is not at the first place. For instance Victoria’s Secret is such as a symbolic brand that gives the feeling of self-esteem, being chic and attractive. Places also have branding strategies

to attract tourists, institutions, events or enterprises and uses soft³ and hard⁴ attraction factors for the place customers. (Kotler et al., 2002, p.163). A brand position gives the place customer a good reason to be interested in that place.

One of the most important success factors in branding a place is to create a differentiated, unique brand identity to maximize its attraction. Many marketing campaigns and slogans are used to create that unique identity for places. (Kotler et.al. 1999)

Stockholm: Inspired in Stockholm

Singapore: Live it up Singapore!

Scotland: Silicon Glen

Berlin: Capital of the New Europe

Munich: Insurance City Number One in Europe

Hong Kong: City of Life / Asia's World City

Helsinki-Region: Europe's Magnetic North

Glasgow: An Arts Capital of Europe

³ Soft attraction factors include niche development, quality of life, professional and workforce competencies, culture, personal, management, flexibility and dynamism, professionalism in market contacts, entrepreneurship (Kotler *et al.* 2002a:163).

⁴ Hard attraction factors include economic stability, productivity, costs, property concept, local support services and networks, communication infrastructure, strategic location and incentive schemes

Brand identity has an important role in image building processes (see Fig.1). A particular brand's positive image has a strong effect in creating its competitive advantages in the market. The meaning and significance of brand identity is described as follows:

The brand identity is how the brand is wanted to be perceived. The brand identity is a unique set of brand associations that the management wants to create or maintain. The associations represent what the brand stands for and imply a promise to customers from the organization (Aaker, 1996). Brand image is perceptions about a brand as reflected by the brand associations held in consumer's memory (Keller, Kevin Lane, 1998).

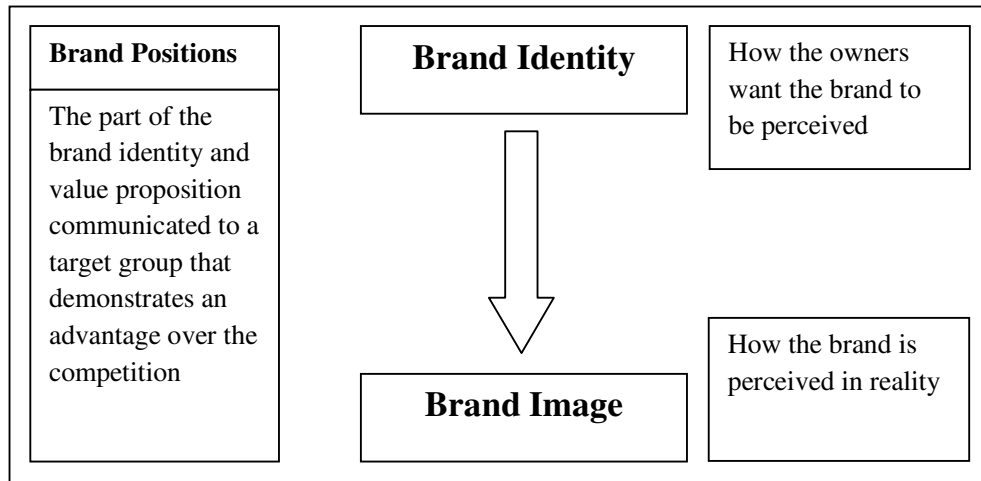


Figure 1. Relations Between Brand Image and Identity

Source: Rainisto, 2003, p. 48

Cities compete with each other by the creation of different identities and this identity is one of the most important attraction factors for their users. Although a strong

identity is effective on attracting people to a place, the “trademark” of the nation is also effective on its image both in positive and negative terms⁵. Spain can be attractive for a consumer group seeking for excitement, but it has a negative image on animal rights activists. Bullfight as the trademark of Spain directly or indirectly affects the image of Barcelona. See Table 1.

Country	First Five Images
Belgium	Brussels, chocolates, Tintin, beer, capital of Europe
Denmark	Vikings, Hans Christian Andersen, Copenhagen, Lego, football
Germany	Beer, Berlin, motorways, Goethe, serious
Spain	Barcelona, bullfighting, paella, art, Juan Carlos
France	Paris, wine, Gérard Depardieu, food, fashion
Ireland	Green, the Irish pub, James Joyce, Celtic design, U2
Luxembourg	Castles, banks, small court of justice, the Echternach dancing
The Netherlands	Van Gogh, tulips, drugs, Amsterdam, flat
Austria	Vienna, Klimt, Sissi, skiing, Mozart
Portugal	Port wine, the cock of Barcelos, Lisbon, explorers, Algarve
Finland	Lapland, Santa Claus, forests, saunas, telecommunication
Sweden	Blondes, cold, Nobel prize, Ingmar Bergman, Pippi Longstocking
United Kingdom	Shakespeare, London, BBC, The Royals, Beatles

Table 1. Images of countries

Source: Rainisto, 2003, p. 48

A city’s local character has a determining role in identity building. Sometimes the intended image and the received message don’t match. For instance the image of

⁵ Trademark refers to how we identify places and what that place resembles us. For instance, quality chocolates is a trademark for Belgium where as the Irish pub (located all around the world) is a trademark for Ireland.

India is built on mysticism, spiritual leadership and philosophical depth. This image foregrounds other realities of India characterized by poverty, hunger and deprivation (See Figs. 2 & 3). Constructed identities that mask lived realities negatively affect the intended image and marketing communication program. A research about the gap between expectation and satisfaction levels about India as tourist destination revealed that India is not perceived positively (Chaudhary, Manjula, 2000).

Underdevelopment mainly in infrastructure and safety negatively affects the intended image of “Incredible India” as a tourist attraction.



Figure 2. Lotus Temple in Kalkaji, Delhi and Taj Mahal in Agra

Source: <http://travelguideindia.wordpress.com>

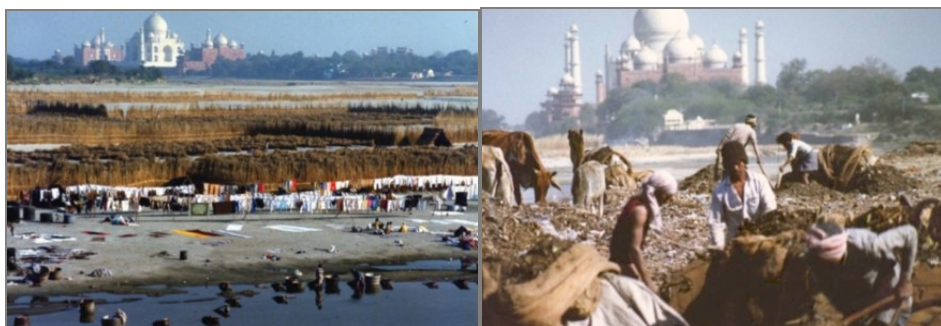


Figure 3. Behind Taj Mahal in Agra

Source: <http://www.world-traveler.eu>

In terms of marketing, what is important in the positioning of a place is its uniqueness, its attraction level and its added values. The brand identity of a city is

about its local character. Re-designing of physical elements and training of the residents help to change the local character or the identity of a city. For instance, since its independence in 1965, Singapore actively used modern architecture to define an identity constructed on business and tourism.

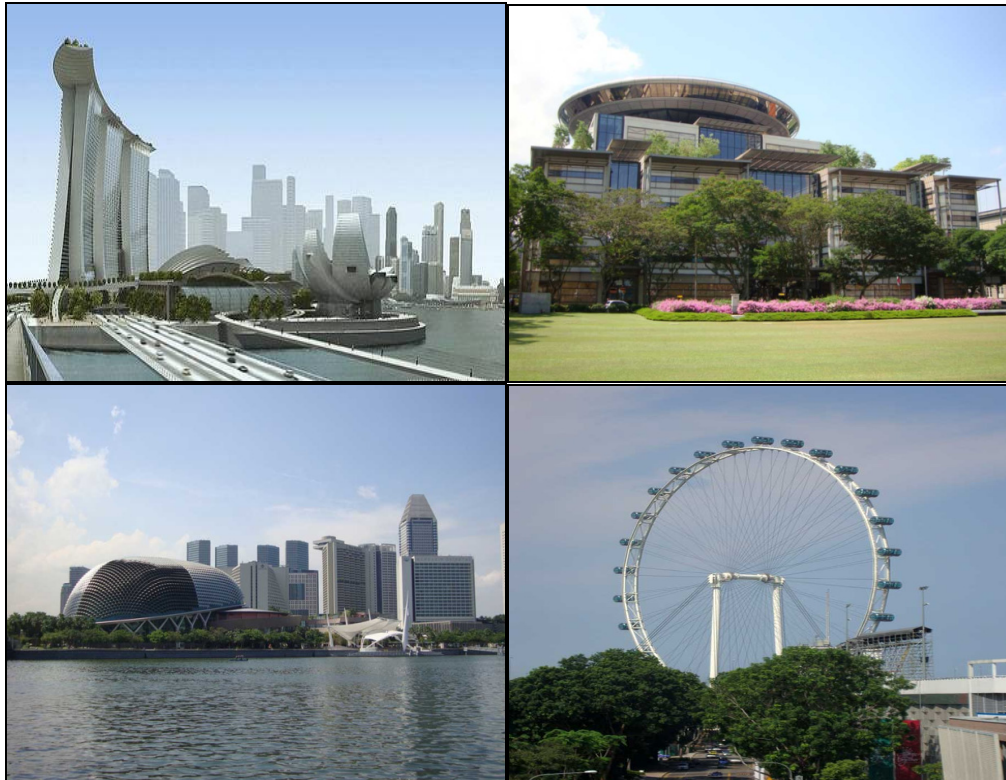


Figure 4. Marina Bay Sands (upper left), Supreme Law Court of Singapore (upper right), Esplanade Theatre (bottom left), Singapore Flyer (bottom right)

Source: <http://architecture.suite101.com>

The administrators of the city-state employed famous architects such as Ieoh Ming Pei and Kenzo Tange (winners of Pritzker Prize) and Norman Foster (winner of Stirling Prize) to transform the city into an international business center. World's tallest skyscrapers such as Union Bank Center and other famous buildings such as

Supreme Law Court of Singapore, Esplande Theatre and Singapore Flyer became the symbols of the city. Re-designing Singapore changed the local character of the city⁶ (See Figure 4.). But the perception of the image can be based on personal and cultural biases. A desired identity can be created, but whatever the intention may be, the reception of the image can not be determined and controlled. Singapore is perceived as attraction center for international business and tourism. Hence both the construction and the reception of the image of a place have a vital role in determining the performance of marketing its efforts.

2.1. The Image of a City

The term city refers both to a place composed of physical elements such as buildings, monuments or streets, and dynamic elements such as visitors, residents and tourists. The image of a city however, is often constructed by selected fragments that are based on its physical or experiential aspects. A city can be seen as an object that can be experienced, but also as a product that is modified by its creators including the residents, visitors, designers and marketers (Lynch, Kevin, 1960).

The image of a place, refers to “...the sum of beliefs, ideas and impressions that people have of a place” (Kotler et al., 1999). Those beliefs, ideas and impressions can depend both on first hand experiences and representations of a place. An image can be developed in two ways: the observer can be trained by symbolic instruments to create the desired image or the place can be redesigned (Lynch, Kevin, 1960).

⁶ For more information see <http://www.suite101.com/content/modern-architecture-in-singapore-a166740> Accessed on 20 May 2010

Whatever the instrument is, the critical part in creating the desired image is the way it is communicated. Kavartzis (2004, p.67) constituted a framework that identifies the types of communication to build an image for a city. His framework is based on primary, secondary and tertiary levels of communication (See Figure 5).

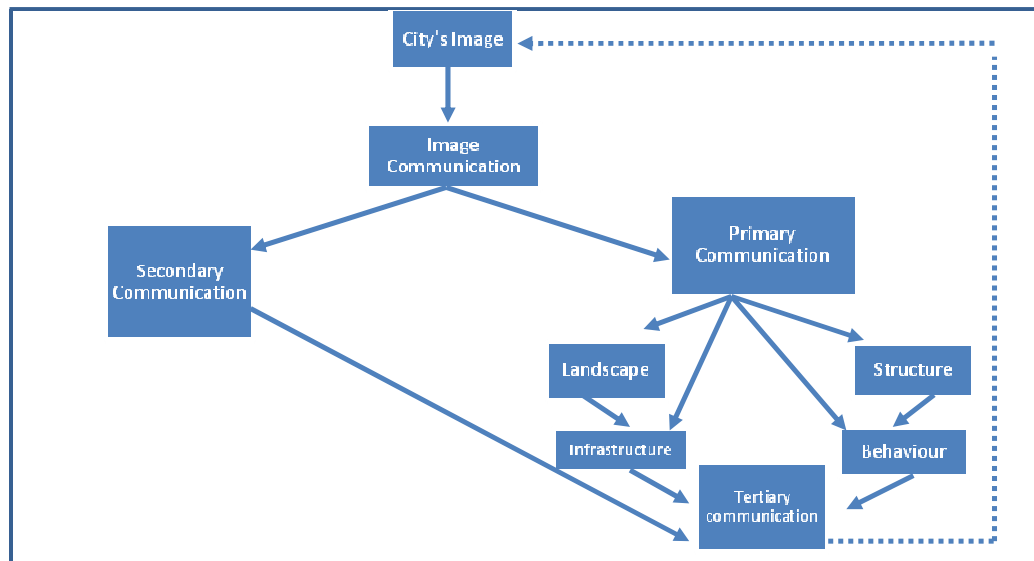


Figure 5. City Image Communication

Source: Kavartzis, 2004, p.67

Here, primary communication refers to the communicative effects of a city's constitutive elements where communication is not the main purpose. It is about the design of a city and refers to large-scale physical redevelopment. Primary communication is composed of four subgroups that are landscape strategies, infrastructure projects, organizational and administrative structure and behavior. Landscape strategies represents the plans and actions taken that are associated with urban design, architecture, green spaces and public spaces such as public art or heritage planning. Infrastructure projects represent the actions for improving the

infrastructure for accessibility, e.g., visitors to monuments or tourists to international airports. Actions are also taken for building or improving public facilities such as museums, conference centers, and theaters. Organizational and administrative structure is about the actions for developing the governance management skills of a city. Public-private partnership and residents' active role in decision making of city development is important for community development networks. Finally, the city's behavior is based on event-based strategies held in line with the visions of city administrators. The number and the quality of the services and events such as festivals, sports, leisure and mega-events represent strategies that determine the behavior of a city.

Secondary communication differs from the primary one with its conscious usage of marketing tools such as indoor and outdoor advertising, public relations and logo designs. Primary communication resembles the product component of 4P⁷ in marketing, whereas secondary communication is parallel to promotion. The success of secondary communication is dependent on its harmony with the lived realities of a city. It can easily fail if there is a gap between reality and image.

Tertiary communication can not be controlled by the city marketers, because it refers to third parties such as media, visitors and competitors who communicate their own ideas and experiences of the city. All other communication strategies intersect with tertiary communication because all controllable efforts are made to create positive tertiary communication as the final goal.

⁷ 4P refers to marketing mix; Product, Place, Promotion and Price

City administrators implement those communication methods to create positive image of cities to gain competitive advantage in the global marketplace. One of the main strategies that city managers use to promote a city and create a positive image at both national and worldwide scales is by organizing festivals and special events (FSEs) including cultural, business, political, sports, and religious activities. (Yuan, Liu & Chong, Cheng, 2007).

2.2. Festivals and Special Events (FSEs)

Events create dynamism and increase the interaction levels in urban life. FSEs are different from the everyday flow of urban life. They usually “accelerate the urban tourism and development, strengthen place consciousness, mold city image, promote place prestige, constitute the traveling products system as an organic traveling attraction, and draw the local infrastructure construction as the catalyst to promote the city status” (Getz et al. as cited in Yuan et al., 2007).

FSEs are important not only for the enrichment of the cultural and social life of a city but also for revitalizing tourism, investment and business. They have significant functions in building a city’s image (Yuan et al., 2007). One of the functions of FSEs is to create a subconscious link between the event and the city among the visitors and residents. New buildings are constructed for these events and they become symbols of the event that strengthens the link between the city and the event. For instance Eiffel Tower was built for the Paris World Expo in 1889 and the Beijing National

Stadium was built for the 2008 Summer Olympics in China (See Figs. 6 and 7).

These buildings turned to be representatives of Paris and China respectively.



Figure 6. Gustave Eiffel, Eiffel Tower, Paris, 1889

Source: <http://www.paris-in-photos.com/paris-photos/oldparis094.htm>

Figure 7. Herzog & de Meuron Architekten, Beijing National Stadium, China, 2008

Source: <http://en.beijing2008.cn/cptvenues/venues/nst/n214078095.shtml>

Another function of FSEs is their propagation capabilities through the media. During FSEs, intensive media efforts help to create the intended image of a city in a relatively short period of time. Promotional instruments of such as web sites, books, magazines and videos strengthen the host city's image. Other promotional materials such as clothes, souvenirs marked with slogans and symbols of the event increase and support the positive image of the city.

Sometimes cities inadvertently build negative images because of unexpected or uncontrollable developments such as wars, racial clashes, terrorist attacks and natural disasters. The media's tendency for sharing more negative than positive news strengthens the negative image of a city. FSEs help to reverse that negative image by propaganda activities and by attracting audiences. Hence the elimination of a

negative image is another function of FSEs. For instance, Germany and Japan eliminated their bad image since World War II by Munich Olympic Games in 1972 and Tokyo Olympic Games in 1964 (Yuan & Chong, 2007).

Paradoxically, FSEs may also have a negative impact on a city's image. Especially infrastructural and redesign operations may destroy the existing characteristics and clash with the identity of a city. High expenses required for the preparation of a city for an event may cause to diversion from its more vital needs. Especially in the eyes of the residents, the government can be distrusted because of waste of resources for a temporary event. For instance, the Rio Carnival is an important part of social, cultural and economic life of the city. More than 300 thousand visitors participate in the Carnival which is almost 1/6 of the total tourist per year. 1600 new temporary jobs are created and 200 million dollars are circulated in the whole State of Rio (Magalhães, Fernanda & Serdoura, Francisco and Nacif, Helia, 2002). The negative economic impact has been significant however. The construction of Sambódrome, an area built in 1984 for the official parade at the city centre of Rio caused such problems as transportation difficulties for its residents, demolition of houses for developing the area, high levels of sound pollution and considerable amounts of event garbage (Magalhães et al., 2002).

In the global market, image building strategies such as FSEs creates a competitive advantage in city marketing and provides continued development within the city. Liu Yuan and Chen Chong (2007) have identified “key factors” to design an ideal city image called City Identity System (CIS) which consists of three components; City

mind identity, city vision identity and city behavior identity. City mind identity refers to public ideals and culture. Specific slogans may be used in FSEs to represent the individual character of the city and to create a link between that character and the event. It is important to find a slogan that is easy to catch and accept. For instance, in 1996, Atlanta used the slogan “Atlanta: Come Celebrate Our Dream” for the Olympic Games’ that created a link between the characteristics of the city and the famous phrase “I have a dream” of Martin Luther King, who grew up in Atlanta (Yuan et al., 2007). City vision identity refers to memorial and experiential aspects of a city that strengthens its visual perception. Creating public recognition is critical in city vision identity and flagship projects create that recognition at FSEs. Flagship projects are used to make a city an attraction center with the construction and redesign of large-scale, symbolic buildings. Finally, city behavior identity refers to all activities in a city and their corresponding spaces. FSEs are part of those activities which are related to and limited by a specific time and place.

FSEs can be business oriented such as World Expos, sports oriented such as the Olympic Games, culturally and politically oriented such as European Capitals of Culture (ECOC). The image of a city often corresponds to the orientation of those events. This study focuses on the special event, ECOC, which plays an important role in both political and cultural arenas in creating a new city image.

2.3. The European Capital of Culture Project

“European Capital of Culture⁸” (ECOC) refers to a program and action plan of European Commission for Culture that is carried out as a part of European cultural policies⁹. According to Monica Sassatelli (2002) in the field of European Social Theory, economic and legal integration is not enough to create a united Europe, and the European Union (EU) introduced a program to establish cultural policies at the European scale to build a cultural identity for the EU countries. There are some symbolic instruments that create and perpetuate a unified identity such as the European passport, European flag, European anthem, European license and even a motto adopted by EU as ‘United in Diversity’ (Fointaine, 2006)¹⁰. European Capital of Culture is one of these symbolic instruments that serve to create European identity.

2.3.1. Aim and Content

The idea of ECOC was first launched by the Minister of Culture in Greece, Melina Mercouri, in 1983 in Athens at the meeting of the Ministers of Culture of the European Community. Mercouri announced:

I want to improve communication amongst artists and the intelligentsia in Europe. It is time for our voice to be heard as loud as that of the technocrats.

⁸ The abbreviation ECOC sometimes refers to European City of Culture

⁹ For details see the official website of European Commission Culture :

http://ec.europa.eu/culture/index_en.htm

¹⁰ The European passport is in use since 1985; The flag a circle of 12 gold stars on a blue background; Beethoven’s ‘Ode to Joy’ is chosen as the European anthem and the European licence is issued in all EU countries since 1996. See http://ec.europa.eu/publications/booklets/eu_glance/60/en.pdf
Accessed on 01 June 2011

Culture, art, creativity are not less important than technology, commerce and economy (Cogliandro, 2001, p.10).

ECOC, which is a product of this discourse, is “a city designated by the European Union for a period of one calendar year during which it is given a chance to showcase its cultural life and cultural development”.¹¹ The main objective of this program is to emphasize the richness and diversity of European cities and to showcase a unified cultural heritage that encourages a sense of belonging to the “European Community”. The program focuses both on shared elements among cities and elements of diversity and aims at increasing communication between European nations. The focus is on the cultural characteristics of the city, region or country involved. The selected regions flourish with the cultural contributions of the other member States. The ECOC program is based on activities like discussions, seminars and dialogues that enable the participation of the public to share various aspects of European cultural life. Although the program is an intergovernmental action, the city involved supplies most of the funds and implements the events locally. There are two main components identified within the application procedures of the ECOC program which are named as “European Dimension” and “City and Citizens”.

European Dimension encourages Member States to support each other in any cultural sector including cultural operators, artists and other agents. It aims to bring the shared aspects of European cultures together and emphasize the richness of cultural diversity. European dimension motivates intercultural dialogue and exchange among

¹¹See <http://www.en.istanbul2010.org/AVRUPAKULTURBASKENTI/avrupakulturbaskentleri/index.htm>
Accessed on 18 May 2010

different states. Exposing the specific features within European artistic and cultural life is appreciated. The themes and the way in which the events are organized, are the main indicators of the approach of the European Dimension. The priorities are to promote transnational mobility of people related to the cultural sector, to support the mobility of the artistic and cultural products and to encourage intercultural dialogue.

The City and Citizens component of the ECOC program encourages the participation of both the city and the region in question. Attracting the attention of the local and the visitor alike is one of the most significant challenges of the project. Totally local events and organizations are strictly avoided while the promotion of tourism at European scale is encouraged. The events should meet both the criteria of public participation by satisfying the local needs and emphasize European identity by focusing on shared cultural features.

The project also aims at contributing to the sustainability of long-term cultural and social development of the city in question. The idea is to design a medium to long-term event that functions as a catalyst. The event is seen as an opportunity to develop, change, consolidate, and transform the cultural practices in the city.

2.3.2. Nomination and Selection

Until 1990, the European program was only open to the member states of EU. With the 1990 decision of the Council of Ministers, nominations after 1996 were opened to “other European countries basing themselves on the principle of democracy,

pluralism and the rule of law” (Cogliandro, GiannaLia, 2001, pp. 14). The sequential nomination is replaced with a competitive form of selection for the candidate cities.

At that time particular, nomination criteria were determined to select the ECOC for a particular year which was listed as follows¹²:

1. As regards ‘the European Dimension’, the programme shall:

a. foster cooperation between cultural operators, artists and cities from the relevant Member States and other Member States in any cultural sector;

b. highlight the richness of cultural diversity in Europe;

c. bring the common aspects of European cultures to the fore

2. As regards ‘City and Citizens’ the programme shall:

a. foster the participation of the citizens living in the city and its surroundings and raise their interest as well as the interest of citizens from abroad;

b. be sustainable and be an integral part of the long-term cultural and social development of the city.

From that point on, the number of applications increased on 18 May 1990, the Ministers of Culture of EU countries introduced the “European Cultural Month

¹² See Official journal of the European Communities, 2006, Vol. 49, p.2-3

(ECM)” which was planned to take place in one city each year.¹³ Despite their different scales, both ECOC and ECM are organized to promote the European cultural heritage and identity. ECM is mainly introduced for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in order to provide a similar opportunity as ECOC but only for a period of 1-4 months. Cracow was the first city chosen for ECM in 1992 followed by: Graz (1993), Budapest (1994), Nicosia (1995), St. Petersburg (1996), Ljubljana (1997), Linz, Valletta (1998), Plovdiv (1999) Basel & Riga (2001) and St. Petersburg (2003)¹⁴. Politically, ECM is introduced to enable non-member countries to take part in European cultural initiatives in view of prospectives for enlargement and integration of new member states. It is also a kind of promotional activity to increase support for European identity. ECM is a smaller version of ECOC for non-member countries.

The Council of Ministers of the European Union awards the ECOC of one year. The European Commission, and particularly the Directorate-General for Education and Culture, monitors the selection of cities for the ECOC title.

The selection procedure for member states and others is different at the first phase of the event. Non-member states that are interested in ECOC, are required to submit an application while the others are nominated by The European Parliament and the Council. The latter established a community action plan for ECOC for the years

¹³ See Palmer/Rae Associates Report on European Cities and Capitals of Culture, 2004, p. 14

¹⁴ See http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc443_en.htm Accessed on 30 April 2010

2007-2019 and listed the member states that will select and designate a city for ECOC¹⁵ (See Table 2).

2007	Luxembourg	Romania
2008	United Kingdom	
2009	Austria	Lithuania
2010	Germany	Hungary
2011	Finland	Estonia
2012	Portugal	Slovenia
2013	France	Slovakia
2014	Sweden	Latvia
2015	Belgium	Czech Republic
2016	Spain	Poland
2017	Denmark	Cyprus
2018	Netherlands	Malta
2019	Italy	Bulgaria

Table 2. Order of Entitlement to Nominate a ‘European Capital of Culture’

Source: Official Journal of European Communities, 2006, Vol.49, p.6

There are two phases in the selection of ECOC. Each of the appointed Member States publishes a call for submission of applications for the candidate city. Interested applicants are required to submit an application six years prior to the event. In ten months, cities are expected to present an outline of their program. A selection panel composed of experts appointed by the country in question and those appointed by the European Institutions makes an evaluation in line with the selection criteria and objectives.¹⁶ The outcome of the selection panel is a short list of cities

¹⁵See <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2006:304:0001:0006:EN:PDF>
 Accessed on 15 June 2010

¹⁶ The selection panel consists of 13 experts; 7 designated by the European Institutions one of which is the Chair and 6 designated by the Member States concerned, in agreement with the Commission. The experts are appointed for 3 years. European Institutions are: Directorate General for Enlargement and Directorate General for Education and Culture of the European Commission, Members of the

that are going to be reevaluated according to their response to recommendations made by the selection panel on their progress and development. Then short-listed cities are expected to develop their program in line with the recommendations of the selection panel and present it at a second meeting after nine months. The panel then recommends one city for each Member State and provides directions for further preparations.

Each of the two member States nominates a city to the European Institutions in line with the selection panel report. The EU Council of Ministers then officially designates two cities to hold the ECOC title. The designation process takes place three and a half years before the event. After the designation process, the concerned cities can receive the ECOC title. (Table 3).

The preparations are monitored by the monitoring and advisory panel of seven people appointed by the European Institutions. There are three stages including mid-term monitoring, final monitoring and prize.

The monitoring and advisory panel meets the organizational bodies and the authorities responsible for implementing the program of selected cities at the mid-term monitoring stage which is two years before the event. Three months before the mid-term monitoring meeting, the responsible organizational bodies and authorities present a progress report to the Commission about the commitments made at the

Culture and Education Committee of the European Parliament, Members of the Commission for Culture, Education and Research of the Committee of the Regions.

selection stage. In the light of this report, the monitoring panel draws up a mid-term monitoring report for the arrangements to be made for the event.

Timeline (in years, <i>n</i> being the year of the event starting 1 January)	Stage in the procedure	Body responsible
n-6 (for example, end of 2006 for the 2013 title)	Call for applications	Member State (MS)
n-6+10 months	Deadline for responding to the call for applications	Candidate Cities
n-5 (for example, end of 2007 for the 2013 title)	Meeting of the panel for a pre-selection in the MS concerned => list of pre-selected cities (13 experts)	Member State (MS)
n-5 + 9 months	Meeting of the panel for the final selection in the MS concerned (13 experts)	Member State (MS)
n-4 (for example, end of 2008 for the 2013 title)	Notification of the application from a city to the European Institutions	Member State (MS)
n-4 + 3 months	Opinion of the European Parliament on this application	European Parliament
	Designation of the European Capital of Culture	EU Council of Ministers

Table 3. Selection Process for ECOC

Source: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc461_en.htm

At the final stage, eight months before the event, the monitoring panel meets the organizational bodies and the authorities responsible for the event to evaluate the preparatory work and the needed arrangements. Three months before the final monitoring meeting, the responsible authorities for the event submit a progress report

to the Commission including the achieved goals given at the mid-term monitoring stage. In this meeting the amount of the prize that is awarded in honor of Melina Mercouri and the budget are also discussed. The goals to be achieved until the event are communicated to the responsible bodies by the panel. The prize is a symbolic amount that is given no later than three months before the event to honor the designated cities that committed to the recommendations of the panels during selection and monitoring (Table 4).

Timeline (in years, <i>n</i> being the year of the event starting 1 January)	Stage in the procedure	Body responsible
n - 2 - 3 months (three months before the mid-term monitoring meeting)	Submission to the European Commission of the mid-term progress report on the designated cities	European Capital of Culture
n - 2 (for example, end of 2011 for the title in 2014)	Mid-term monitoring meeting of the monitoring and advisory panel (seven European experts) and the cities concerned	European Commission
n - 11 months (three months before the final monitoring meeting)	Submission to the European Commission of the final progress report on the designated cities	European Capital of Culture
n - 8 months	Final monitoring meeting of the monitoring and advisory panel (seven European experts) and the cities concerned	
n - 3 months	Prize	European Commission
n	Year of the event	European Capital of Culture
n+1	Evaluation of the results of the event	European Commission

Table 4. Chronological Monitoring Phase of ECOC

Source: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/pdf/doc633_en.pdf

At every step, even after the event, the European Commission closely follows the operation and its results to improve the effectiveness and success of the event. The organization is not only a cultural activity, but signifies an ideology of creating a unified and active union by supporting the members and candidate members to stabilize the harmony within the European social territory.

2.3.3. Organization and Resources

Since 1985, there have been three alternative organizational models to manage the ECOC project. The first one is based on an autonomous structure with legal status as a not-for-profit company, trust or foundation. The second one is direct administration within an existing local government structure such as municipality or mayor's office. The third model is a mixed one comprising both of the above. In all organizational models, the responsibility of the administrative bodies includes the planning, co-ordination and promotion of the event. In all cases, the funds are generated through the partnership of national & local authorities and the private sector¹⁷.

¹⁷ Historically, national authorities supported 40% and local authorities 50% of the total budget of the programs (J. Myerscough Report, 1994). Also the Directorate General on Education and Culture played an active role to fund the event since the beginning. According to the European Commission "European Capital of Culture" and "European Cultural Month" have received Community support of 2.241.000 ECU between 1985 and 1999 (The EU support between 1985 and 1999 for ECOC can be seen as follows (GiannaLia, 2001), (city, fund in Euro, year respectively): Athens 108.000 (1985), Florence 136.000 (1986), Amsterdam 108.000 (1987), Berlin 200.000 (1988), Paris 120.000 (1989), Glasgow 120.000 (1990), Dublin 120.000 (1991), Madrid 200.000 (1992), Antwerp 300.000 (1993), Lisbon 400.000 (1994), Luxembourg 400.000 (1995), Copenhagen 600.000 (1996), Thessaloniki 400.000 (1997), Stockholm 600.000 (1998), Weimar 600.000 (1999)). As of 2010, EU supplies financial support through a prize "in honor of Melina Mercouri". This prize is given only three months before the event starts and according to the relevance of the program to the recommendations of the panel, particularly according to the European Dimension of the event. The amount of the co-financing of the event can be up to 1.5 million Euros¹⁷. There are also structural funds like European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and the European Social Fund (ESF) that can be used towards the development of urban life, local infrastructures, local policies for innovation, growth and employment.

Palmer/Rae Associates International Cultural Advisors prepared a study for the European Commission including 21 ECOCs between 1995-2004. According to the findings of the study, it can not be said that there is an ideal organizational model although the autonomous form was mostly accepted as the most advantageous one because it leads to better partnership. Whatever the structure is, the most common problems were domination of the management group by political interests and political differences; difficulties between management and operation teams; underrepresentation of the management for the cultural interests; unclear distribution of roles and responsibilities; and large hierarchical structures.

One of the risks in the second and partly third model was diagnosed as the political changes in the government bodies. When the governance of the city changes, members of the management team also changes and creates difficulties. For instance in Graz, the city council changed at the beginning of the event year in January 2003, and members of the board changed although the former mayor and councilor for culture stayed which caused management problems within the organization.

In the third model with mixed structures, problems can arise about which authority will be empowered in the contribution of the funds to different projects. The findings of the Palmer Report on ECOCs indicate that whatever the system, the involvement of the public authorities often caused problems¹⁸. A newspaper report of May 21, 2010 states that, the management and operation teams of ECOC Istanbul 2010 blamed each other because of the unsuccessful organizational structure. Because of

¹⁸ See http://www.istanbul2010.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/ist2010_images/gp_585220.pdf Accessed on 18 March 2010

the bureaucratic and introverted structure, there are problems of delay. 2010 executive board member Korhan Gümüő stated that “everyone has their own version of 2010...the local government is doing its own business, with its own team and the ministry is doing its own business with its own team...an independent body should be established to take charge of 2010”¹⁹. For the effectiveness of the operational and managerial structures, it is important to clarify the precise roles and responsibilities, enrich the relations between operation and the management team, place competent and experienced personnel at all levels and hold a strong leadership to prevent personality clashes, communication problems and conflicting objectives and priorities.

The preparation of the event is a long and arduous process; it needs a clear concept, outline, implementation and strategies. From selection to implementation the selected cities are controlled in line with the main principles of unity and diversity. Europe uses cultural events like ECOC to eliminate the disadvantages of globalization like the disappearing of defined borders. The cultural events help to strengthen the feeling of “common belonging” and “European Identity” within the rising global culture.

2.4. The European Capitals of Culture 2010

In 2010 one region and a city carried the title of ECOC 2010 besides Istanbul: Essen for Ruhr (Germany) and Pécs (Hungary). Unlike Turkey, Germany (founder

¹⁹ See <http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/detaylar.do?load=detay&link=104868>
Accessed on 8 June 2010

member) and Hungary are EU members. Turkey is a candidate country for EU membership.

2.4.1. Essen for Ruhr

Ruhr region²⁰, is the largest agglomeration in Germany with a population of 7.3 million (2008). Industrialization began in the 18th century with iron works and continued with coal mining and steel industry. The coal-mining district of Ruhr became the largest industrial region of Europe today. The efforts for ECOC title goes back to the period of 1989-1999 which started with the Emscher Park International Building Exhibition²¹. The exhibition included 120 projects to strengthen the quality of life and constitute grounds for economic transformation within the Emscher region and north of the Ruhr region. High commitment from both the residents and businesses in the 53 local administrations resulted with a success in the cultural field including the organization of the Ruhr Piano Festival and the Ruhrtriennale²². “Essen for Ruhr” (EFR) was selected as ECOC 2010 using the motto “Change through culture - Culture through change”²³.

The main focus for selecting Ruhr as ECOC was to transform its “black image” that has emanated from the huge space allocated to industrial development into an image of dynamism through cultural integration of smaller cities of the region. The projects were selected according to criteria of urban identity and integration and were linked to three themes: the city of possibilities, the city of arts and the city of culture as

²⁰ Ruhrgebiet in German

²¹ See <http://www.essen-fuer-das-ruhrgebiet.ruhr2010.de/en/ruhr2010-gmbh/corporate-culture/history-of-application.html>

²² See <http://www.essen-fuer-das-ruhrgebiet.ruhr2010.de/en/organisation/unternehmenskultur/history-of-application.html> Accessed on 06 January 2010

²³ They're also using the slogan “Transformation through Culture – Culture through Transformation”.

reported by the Selection Panel for the ECOC 2010 in April 2009. Later in June 2009, the second monitoring and advisory panel reviewed and revised the driving themes of the program as follows²⁴:

1. Culture through change, change through culture (target group: youth)
2. Building a metropolitan identity (target group: the whole city population)
3. Moving Europe, including strong cooperation with Pécs and Istanbul (target group: Europe)

Cultural deputies of Ruhr Regional Association decided to apply for ECOC in 2001. From the start, they were in agreement about applying as a region and not as a single city in order to strengthen the whole district. According to the rules of the application procedure which required the name of a city, Essen was selected on behalf of the Ruhr region. At the national level, EFR competed against nine towns including Bremen, Lübeck, Postdam, Görlitz and Regensburg. The national jury selected Görlitz and Essen to represent Germany. After the application to the EU commission in January 2006, the EU committee announced the official decision as awarding EFR with the title of ECOC 2010 in November 2006. According to the selection panel of the EU commission, transforming an industrial region of 53 municipalities with 5.3 million inhabitants and 140 nationalities into a new living, cultural metropolis was the main challenge for EFR. In the Report of the Selection Meeting for the European Capitals of Culture it was stated that²⁵:

²⁴ See http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc/report2010ecoc_panel_monitoring2.pdf Accessed on 21 May 2010

²⁵ See http://ec.europa.eu/culture/pdf/doc674_en.pdf Accessed on 25 November 2010

Finally, it felt that this transformation of what was once Europe's biggest industrial region and the "coal pit" of Europe into a vibrant metropolis of the future via "Transformation through Culture" could become a symbol of the new role that culture needs to assume in any European metropolis, and could become a symbol to other city agglomerations in Europe that face similar challenges.

It is clear that transformation through culture is a need for most of the European cities and regions. Cultural programmes like ECOC use the transformative power of modernity for the recognition of cultural diversity to bring dynamism with cultural integration. The cultural transformation of Ruhr developed through cooperative projects between towns and cities which created new synergies and cultural networks within the region. For the program development, planning, management and implementation of ECOC activities a new organization called GmbH²⁶ was constituted in December 2006 in Essen. Since then, RUHR.2010 GmbH has been preparing to implement the Capital of Culture programme in 2010.

2.4.2. Pécs

Pécs is the 5th largest city in Hungary with approximately 160,000 people²⁷. The city was founded by Romans in the 2nd century and became an important Christian center in 4th century. The early Christian necropolis became an UNESCO²⁸ World Heritage Site in 1998 and won the UNESCO prize "Cities for peace" for preserving the cultures of minorities, and for its tolerance toward refugees of the Balkan Wars.

²⁶ The expansion of GmbH is "gesellschaft mit beschränkter haft" in German that means "Limited Company"

²⁷ See http://www.pecs2010.hu/Home/pecs_a_hatartalan_varos Accessed on 28 November 2010

²⁸ United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

Pécs was chosen as the third “Livable City” in 2007 and the second in 2008 by Livcom Awards²⁹. It is a center of culture, festivals and arts and home for the largest university with about 34,000 students. Young university population gives the city a character of dynamism, joy and knowledge. Pécs was selected as ECOC 2010 using the motto “The Borderless City”. The administrators that presented Pécs as the borderless city aimed it to become one of the cultural centers of an international region at the border of Western and South-Eastern Europe.

Event administrators also designed the event as “Cultural gateway to the Balkans”. The strategy constituted a partnership project involving 7 cities in the neighborhood that have strong historical bounds. The concept of the proposal is focused on three major themes: rediscovering urbanity, cultural shift in urban development and changes in urban cultural policy.

After the official selection of Pécs, one cultural event was planned for every year. 2006 was the year of cultural heritage, 2007 was the year of education and learning, 2008 was the year of environmental culture and health care and 2009 was the year of religious culture.

The themes included in Péc’s application for the ECOC title were:

- Cultural decentralization
- Equal opportunity for the minorities

²⁹ The Livcom Awards were launched in 1997 and are endorsed by the United Nations Environment Programme focusing on Best Practice regarding the management of the local environment. Its objective is to improve the life quality of individual citizens through the creation of livable communities. See <http://www.livcomawards.com/> for more detail. Accessed on 28 November 2010

- The cultural heritage of the socialist period
- The integration of East-Central European art into the international network of cultural institutions and the global cultural markets
- The relationship of youth subcultures to European (high) culture
- European experience in cultural urban planning
- Cultural constructs of “East” and “West”
- Centre and periphery in European culture

The city’s expenditure for the event was approximately € 141 million and operating expenditure for the period of 2006-2011 was approximately € 36. The source of the funds was mainly the state, followed by the city³⁰

2.4.3. Istanbul

Istanbul is a significant historical city at a world scale, which is marked by the reign of three empires: Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman. It’s strategic geographical location between Europe and Asia has been crucial in shaping its history. Although the city has historically been marked by traces of different cultures, massive migration that began after World War II, created a highly cosmopolitan social mix. Istanbul is one of the largest cities in the world with a population of 12 million.

Istanbul’s candidacy for ECOC was recommended after the official decision of EU that enabled non-member countries to be recommended as candidates for ECOC.

³⁰ See report of the selection meeting for the European Capitals of Culture 2010. Available at http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc/ecoc/2010_panel_report.pdf Accessed on 30 May 2011.

The first meeting about the candidacy of Istanbul was held on July 7, 2000 when ECOC established an Enterprise Group to take the required steps for candidacy. The initiative group included members from academic circles, city administrators, cultural and artistic groups, and representatives of NGOs. It was supported by a governmental group including the offices of Prime Ministry, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry for Culture and Tourism, and Istanbul city Governance.³¹ The application was submitted in May 2005, and Istanbul was selected on April 11, 2006 for being ECOC 2010. It was officially announced to be ECOC 2010 by the approval of the Council of Culture Ministers of the EU on November 13, 2006³².

Istanbul 2010 ECOC Agency was founded on November 2, 2007 for the planning and managing of ECOC project activities on culture, arts, tourism, publicity, urban implementations and preservation of cultural heritage. The agency was not a private organization. It was founded by a special Law³³ prepared by specialists from public and private sectors, municipalities and NGOs. This had been a commonly implemented management model for ECOC in Europe. The official structuring of the ECOC Agency consists of a coordination board, advisory board, executive board, and secretary general.³⁴ ECOC Agency set the primary targets in preparing and implementing projects. These included, exposing unique features of Istanbul, realizing specific projects, preserving cultural heritage, improving infrastructure promoting Istanbul through culture and arts, increasing Istanbul's share in cultural tourism and encouraging residents of Istanbul to participate in decision making

³¹ See <http://www.en.istanbul2010.org/index.htm> Accessed 01 June 2011

³² See <http://www.en.istanbul2010.org/SSS/index.htm> Accessed 01 June 2011

³³ Law on Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture, Law no. 5706, Date of Ratification: 2 November 2007

³⁴ See <http://www.en.istanbul2010.org/2010AKBAJANSI/resmiyapilandirma/index.htm> for more details Accessed on 1 June 2011

processes with such criteria as expertise, convenience, output and working methodology, sustainability and budget and cost efficiency.³⁵

Istanbul was to be promoted by “Four elements: earth, water, air and fire theme inspired from Aristotle’s four components of earth. Earth represents traditions, cultural richness and history of Istanbul, water represents the Istanbul and the sea, fire represents shaping the future through youth, technology and modern art and air represent living together on the land of Anatolia with its religious richness and tolerance”.³⁶

According to the advisory report for the ECOC 2010s, Istanbul was in a strong position in establishing “The European dimension” by “anchoring Istanbul to Europe”. The city had established permanent connections with European cities in the domain of culture and education. The cooperation was high with other ECOCs including Liverpool, Marseille, Weimar, and Tallinn. Its urban network was promoted in the international arena by means of such organizations as Eurocities, Water Forum and Alliance of Civilizations.³⁷

Istanbul 2010 ECOC Agency expenditure was 416.677.609 TL. by the end of March 2011 between the years 2008-2011³⁸ This amount included projects such as urban applications, culture and art, tourism and presentation.

³⁵ See <http://www.en.istanbul2010.org/PROJELERVEBASVURULAR/projearama/index.htm> for details Accessed on 1 June 2001.

³⁶ See http://www.en.istanbul2010.org/GENERIC/GP_585266 for more details Accessed on 1 June 2011

³⁷ Report of the second monitoring and advisory meeting for the ECOCs 2010, p.10 Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc/ecoc/2010_panel_monitoring_report2.pdf Accessed 01 June 2011.

³⁸ See <http://www.en.istanbul2010.org/2010AKBAJANSI/finansaltablolar/index.htm> Accessed 01 June 2011

Major benefits of the ECOC Istanbul 2010 project were defined by ECOC Agency as follows³⁹ :

- Creating an association all over the world through culture and art
- Managing the city's cultural heritage in a more sustainable way
- Transformation of Istanbul through urban renewal
- Creating an opportunity for the citizens of the city to meet new artistic disciplines
- Creating job opportunities for a large number of people from communications to organization, education, design, management and creative fields
- Promoting cultural artistic of Istanbul such as mosques, churches, palaces and museums
- Coming together with many people from the world of culture and the arts that will make a positive contribution to the promotion and branding of Istanbul

In lieu with these statements, the city's significance in the ECOC scheme was defined in ten categories:

First, the political dimension referred to the synthesis of different cultures, religions and languages. The artistic and architectural dimension referred to different influences of Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman empires on the built environment. The third dimension involved its location as being a "great dwelling place" united by the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn. The fourth dimension was identified to be about the life and social landscape of Istanbul where a cosmopolitan character was maintained

³⁹ See <http://www.en.istanbul2010.org/AVRUPAKULTURBASKENTI/istanbulakatkilari/index.htm>
Accessed 1 June 2011

with different lifestyles. The fifth dimension involved modernity referring to new concepts of design and creative freedom in an unlimited space.

Talent and creativity was stated to constitute the sixth dimension which was manifested in the city being host to international artistic events, and the international success of musical talents such as Tarkan, Sezen Aksu and Setap Erener. The seventh dimension was described as “real world: grit and grind” referring to diversified Turkish industries such as Matras, Mavi Jeans and Vestel. Commerce was named as the eighth dimension referring to Istanbul’s development as a business and finance centre. The ninth dimension was identified as spirituality where many religions were embedded in a secular public sphere. The worldwide influences of Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi were privileged in this context. Lastly, Istanbul was characterized as a melting pot which embraced many languages traditions and ethnicities.

3. European Identity and the Symbolic Production of EU

European Capital of Culture is a cultural but also a political project of European Union to create a sense of belonging based on a new world order called ‘Empire’ that is characterized by the lack of boundaries (Hardt, Michael & Negri Antonio, 2000). Sovereignty has taken a new global form that refers to the declining sovereignty of nation-states and their inability to control and regulate economic and cultural exchanges. The object of the Empire’s rule is the entirety of social life and it manages hybrid identities. Socio-cultural projects of the European Union such as European Capital of Culture is against Empire to create sovereignty through ‘European identity’ to gain control over the deterritorialization of nation states.

European identity is constructed mostly on the concept of identity as a “sense of belonging to some larger political unit” (Kohli, Martin, 2000, p.117). European identity is an outcome of its institutional structuring; cultural background constructed through communication and exchange; common economic and political system; cooperation of its institutions; and European-level organizations such as business and academic associations (Kohli, 2000). Martin Kohli (2000), a scholar in European social structures, categorizes four construction levels of European identity. In the first level, identity is perceived as the political identity of the community itself and its self-understanding on the international arena. The second level of meaning of European identity is discursive and comes from the ‘idea of Europe’. The definitions of intellectuals, politicians, historians and sociologists construct the idea of Europe; what it could or should be. The third level is based on cultural practices such as, celebrations, myths and holidays; buildings and objects such as monuments, museums or European flag. The fourth level of identity focuses on the individual perceptions of collective identity that is expressed by the citizens about belonging to the political and cultural unity of Europe.

Hence, being European does not only refer to territorial boundaries but also to the practice of a common history, norms traditions and values (Baç, Meltem Müftüleri & Taşkın, Evrim, 2007). European Union is an effort to define the borders of Europeanness. Focusing on the early phases of modernization, European Studies scholars Meltem M.Baç & Evrim Taşkın (2007) state that:

Modernization, which is oft-identified with Europe, started to spill over the rest of the world. Historical points of convergence, common experiences and the development of a particular appraisal of the world, humanity and life itself went beyond underlying cultural and ethnic differences. These differences, rivalries, enmities throughout all European history have to certain degree been instrumental in shaping the political and cultural map of Europe. At this point, Jewish, Arabic and Ottoman influences are worth mentioning in Europe's search for 'other' (pp. 38-39).

Although Europeans themselves played a key role to constitute commonalities under a common history, non-Europeans played an important role in identifying the differences of Europeans from the 'others'. Çiğdem Nas (2002, pp.220) argued that, the construction of a common history of Europeans and the latter's understanding of external threats and defense against these threats ran parallel⁴⁰.

European identity refers to a "we-feeling" that is shared by the people defined as European. Being European is the matter of being in or out of that community that shares the same we-feeling. Turkey presents a precarious case in this respect being located at the cross roads of Europe and the Middle East. Ellen Madeker (2006) has conducted a frame analysis focusing on identity constructions in the German public

⁴⁰ The origins of that threat was often located in the East: Arabic invasions to the Iberian Peninsula; Ottomans' march to the doors of Central Europe; the hegemony of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe are some prominent examples (Baç, M.M. & Taşkın, E., 2007). The threat of the East to the West increased and turned into Islam phobia After September 11, 2001.

debate on Turkish EU membership. In the discursive constructions of European identity, inclusive and exclusive identity frames show whether Turkey is in or out of Europe. The results of the analysis show that exclusive identity frames dominate the discourse and defines Turkey as Non-European 84%. (See Table 5).

	Inclusive identity frames			Exclusive identity frames		
Codes	Geography (a)	History (b)	Universal values (c)	Geography (d)	Culture	
					History (d)	Religion (f)
Standing	1.9%	6.4%	7.7%	24.2%	45.3%	14.5%
Total	16%			84%		
	100%					

Table 5. Frequency of identity frames in the German media debate on Turkey's accession to the EU⁴¹

Source: Madeker, 2006, p.4

Three of the exclusive frames are remarkably high that means in terms of geography, history and religion, Turkey is not seen as part of Europe. In terms of geography, only 5% of Turkey's territory and 8% of its population is located in Europe and the rest of the country is located in Asia and that small part of territory is not considered to be enough to be a part of EU. Political union is defined according to fixed geographical borderlines:

⁴¹ A total number of 160 frames were reconstructed in roughly 400 press articles taken from a German quality pres sample in the course of the year 2004.

The accession of Turkey to the EU is not a purely economic or political issue, but a geographical one, as only a part of Turkey belongs to Europe. If we're not aware of our natural borders, where shall Europe end? Some people say that the EU should be opened to peoples which are similar to us in economic and political terms. But what about Australia then? The EU should be for Europeans and Europe ends where its borderlines are. (Fornt, Xavier, *Die Welt*, 21.08.2004, translation Ellen Madeker; cited in Madeker, 2006, p. 8)

The second and third criteria under "culture" exclude Turkey in terms of uncommon historical background and religion. The European spirit is constructed through common experiences and Turkey is seen to lack the "mental foundations for developing European value system and identity" (Madedker, 2006, p. 9). According to a German newspaper article, "Turkey has not actively taken part in the spiritual and political development of Europe, but has merely played the role of an observer or recipient. That is why it has not developed a Western European civic society". (Schafberg, Herwig, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 06.08.2004, translation E.Madedker, cited in cited in Madeker, 2006, p. 9)

Europe has its strong historical bounds to Christianity, Greek Philosophy, Roman Law and the Renaissance or the Age of Enlightenment where Turkey is referred to as oriental and Middle Eastern or non-European" (Madedker, 2006).

Turkey's lack of European past constitutes an image of the "other" in terms of European unity. On the way to full accession to European Union, Turkey is in an effort to build an image that will prove her bonds with Europe. Although since 1963 Turkey has engaged in improvements on economic, legal and political areas to build integration with the European Union, the geographical, historical, cultural, religious and social differences from Europe is seen as a big challenge (Madeker, 2006; Kohli, 2000) according to a one sight of argument.

The other side of the argument tells that Europe passed through various different periods with different identities. "Europe" was used as a geographical term in the context where maps of the world consisted of three continents: Asia, Africa and Europe. The pressure of Ottomans caused Christian commonwealth to hang together. The continent of Europe became the Christian commonwealth, protected by God. The Enlightenment period in the 18th century changed the definition of European identity based more on culture than religion. Art, science, scholarship, expansion beyond seas and revolution became the symbols of Europe. The visual discourse can be seen in the allegories exhibited in the age of world exhibitions representing South America, North America, Europe, Asia, Oceania and Africa⁴² (See Figure 8). In the post-World War II years of Europe, Council of Europe encouraged European unity and symbols of Europe became an important issue. An identity emblem, European flag, was created with twelve golden stars in a circle against a blue background

⁴² The examples of the allegories are exhibited in the square outside the entrance to the Musée d'Orsay in Paris. Six bronze allegorical sculptural groups in a row are South America by Aimé Millet, Asia by Alexandre Falguière, Oceania by Mathurin Moreau, Europe by Alexandre Schoenewerk, North America by Ernest-Eugène Hiolle, Africa by Eugène Delaplanche

which symbolizes the unity and harmony of EU⁴³. After the new memberships of 12 states⁴⁴ with 2004 enlargement of the EU, it lost its homogeneous structure. In the 2000s EU reflected that social change to its image with symbolic production.



Figure 8. Statues at the Musee D'orsay, Paris, 1878

Source: <http://picasaweb.google.com/lindsayebrothers3/ParisPremierJour#5328195702096137138>

The emphasis on EU's unity in history, religion and geography turned into a self definition based on diversity in unity. Since 1990 the EU system has failed to deliver a satisfactory growth performance and growth became number one priority of EU⁴⁵. However, integration of new member states caused sharp economic and social

⁴³ See <http://www.eurotopics.net/en/archiv/magazin/geschichte-verteilerseite-neu/europaeische-nationalgeschichten-2008-05/apuz-schmale-eu-identiaet/1> Accessed on 02 March 2011

⁴⁴ Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovenia and Slovakia.

⁴⁵ See <http://www.euractiv.com/ndbtext/innovation/sapirreport.pdf> Accessed on 20 May 2011

differences. EU is no more a homogeneous group and EU uses the power of “symbols” to strengthen the boundary among its members.

3.1. The Symbolic Production of EU

Symbols play an important role in social systems such as culture, religion and politics. Rituals, myths and ideologies exist both in practice, in ideas and emotions.

Symbols are:

tangible formulations of notions, abstractions from experience, fixed in perceptible forms, concrete embodiments of ideas, attitudes, judgments, longings or beliefs (Geertz, Clifford, 1973, p.91)

Symbols are essential components of culture and one of their main functions is social control which refers to power structures and social order (Firth, Raymond, 1973, p.77). When symbols are used for justification of social institutions, such as holy books or national anthems, they effect peoples’ behavior. As economic anthropologist Raymond Firth (1973) explains:

The other type of control is when a symbol is under direct authority of, or capable of being manipulated by, the person wishing to affect the behavior of others (p.84).

In the political context, symbols are consciously selected to create the desired emotions, values and ideas in people’s minds to stimulate their actions and behaviors (Mach, Zdzislaw, 1993, p.37). EU as a political union creates “European Identity”

through symbolic production to create support and a “we” feeling among its citizens. The EU flag, anthem, passport, car registration plates, symphony orchestra, and sports events with “People’s Europe”⁴⁶ campaign by Adoninno group⁴⁷ are such attempts to contribute to that end. In 2001, one of the most important symbols of EU was launched in the Eurozone⁴⁸: new Euro banknotes which became legal tender on January 1, 2002. In the advertising campaign of Euro, “The Euro, Our Money” was used as the slogan to create public awareness and strengthen the European identity. European Commission President Romano Prodi declared that:

To millions of European citizens, the euro notes and coins in their pockets are a concrete sign of the great political undertaking of building a united Europe. As a symbol of that unity, the euro is having an even greater psychological impact than the abolition of passport controls at Europe’s internal borders. So the euro is becoming a key element in people’s sense of shared European identity and common destiny (Prodi, 2002).

Money, as the replacement of barter, became an “abstract guarantee by society to the holder of money that he would be able to continue to turn it to account and to dispose of it without a loss” (Frankel, Herbert S., 1977, p.31). The emergence of nation state

⁴⁶ A proposal from the Adoninno group in 1984, aimed to encourage Europeans to develop a common identity through common citizenship and adoption of European symbols. It also made proposals for wider European co-operation on education, health, drugs, terrorism and other popular social topics that went outside the primarily economic concerns of the original market. These were likely to engage the interests of citizens more and encourage them to develop loyalty and affection towards the EU similar to how many feel towards their own nation states. See <http://en.euabc.com/word/705> Accessed on 15 May 2010

⁴⁷ Named after the Italian member of the European Parliament who, in 1984, headed a working group for the European Council initiating wider proposals for “People’s Europe” that would encourage people to use the EU symbols to develop European consciousness. See <http://en.euabc.com/word/18> Accessed on 15 May 2010

⁴⁸ The euro area is an economic and monetary union of 17 EU member states that have adopted the euro (€) as their common currency and sole legal tender. The Eurozone currently consists of Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia and Spain.

in the late 19th century “one nation / one money” connection was popular representing the boundaries of political and social identities of nations. Beyond the economic functions, money served as a symbol of place, locality and power (Kaelberer, Matthias, 2004).

Not only Euro itself is a factor in creating a common identity, but also the symbols used on euro banknotes are deliberately designed to develop feelings of trust and belonging. The euro symbol as shown in Figure 9 is inspired by the Greek letter epsilon (E-uppercase; ε-lowercase). The Greek lowercase epsilon “ε” is mostly used as a symbol in mathematics, astronomy, chemistry, economics, computer science and statistics; shortly in science. In European history, science refers to the age of Enlightenment where legitimacy and authority is based on reason rather than religion. The euro emblem represents the founding roots of EU in the liberation of the human mind from the dogmatic state. The common point of European nations is their institutions, customs and systems built on rationality and science. The euro emblem also refers to the first letter of the word “Europe”.

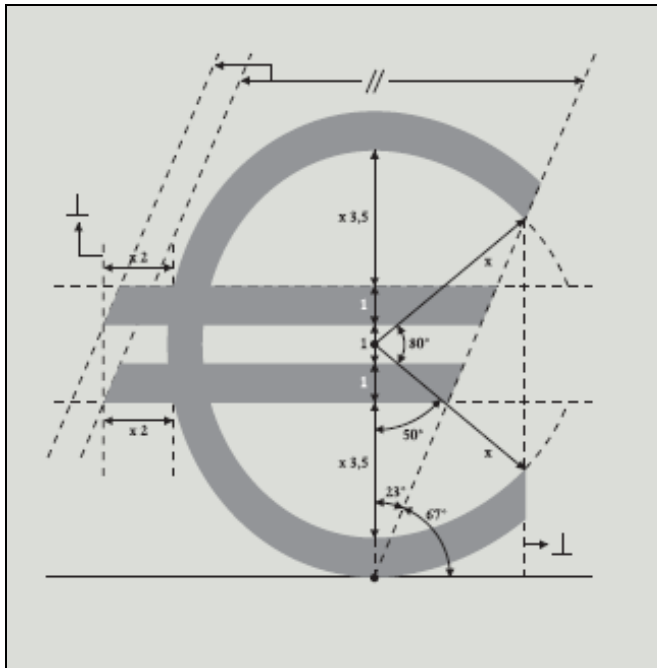


Figure 9. The euro symbol according to ISO standards

Source:http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/other/euro_became_our_moneyen.pdf?b0e59740882dd7b48f208217ebc1379e

The euro emblem design consists of two parallel lines in the middle to emphasize the stability of the currency (ECBP⁴⁹, 2007). Global fluctuations emanate from wars and global crises such as Great Depression in 1930s, 1973 oil crisis and the cold war until the late 1990s revealed a need for a stabilized economic and social environment. The Euro emblem that symbolizes stability suggests a united Europe in a secure economic and social environment.

Beyond the economic and political motivations to create a monetary union and a single market, the euro is an important part of European identity construction. Euro coins (Figure 10) hold a national symbol on one face which embodies: architectural and ornamental concerns; a figure that signifies the aims and ideals of the European

⁴⁹ European Central Bank Publications

union; or figures of European personalities. The shared European face of the coins are designed with a background of transverse lines to which are attached the stars of the European flag. The 1, 2 and 5 cent coins represent Europe's place in the world; the 10, 20 and 50 cent coins represent the gathering of nations as Union; finally 1 and 2 euro coins represent borderless Europe⁵⁰ (Figure 10). The 1, 2 and 5 cents of Italy are represented in Figure 10 with both faces.



Figure 10. Italian euro cents National faces of the coins show The Castel del Monte; Mole Antonelliana tower and Flavian amphitheatre respectively.

Source: <http://www.eurocoins.co.uk/italy.html>

Although euro coins use national iconography on one side, the design of euro banknotes does not represent any national item. Both sides of the banknotes reveal common European symbols and themes such as European flag and a map of Europe (See Figure 11). European Central Bank (ECB) interprets European identity construction as follows⁵¹:

⁵⁰ See <http://www.eurocoins.co.uk/eurocoinsimagesspecifications.html> Accessed 11 May 2011

⁵¹ See http://www.delrwa.ec.europa.eu/en/euro_and_you/5_banknotes.htm Accessed 11 May 2011

On the front of the banknotes, windows and gateways symbolize the European spirit of openness and co-operation. The 12 stars of the European Union represent the dynamism and harmony between European nations. To complement these designs, the reverse of each banknote features a bridge. The bridges symbolize the close co-operation and communication between Europe and the rest of the world.

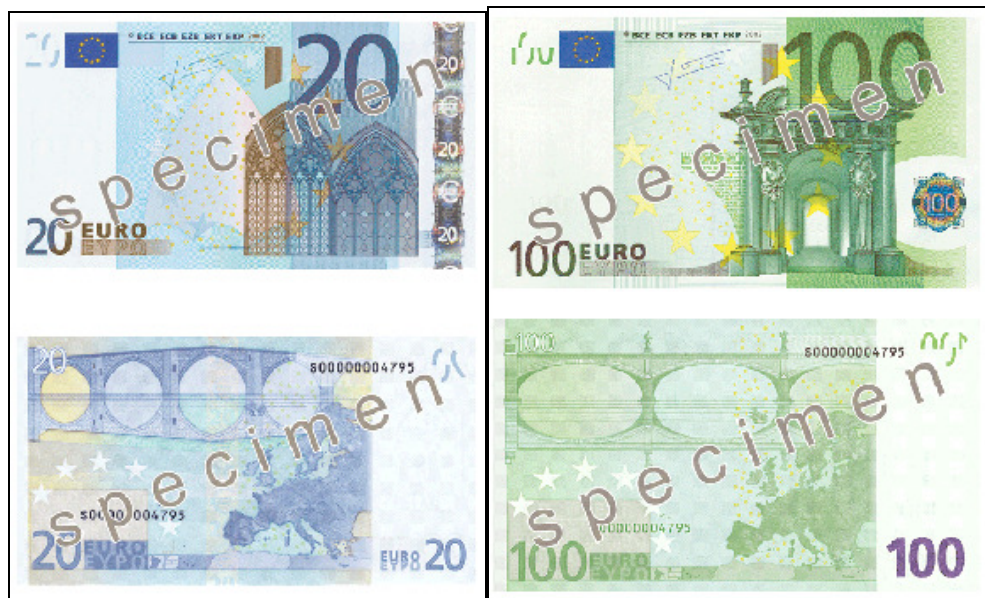


Figure 11. Euro Banknotes

Source:http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/euro/cash/banknotes/images_en.htm

The most significant difference of euro from the old national monetary units of Europe such as Deutsch Mark, English Sterling or Italian Lira is the iconographic change. Euro banknotes represent typical examples of architectural styles representing different eras in European architectural history instead of human figures (Hymans, Jacques E.C., 2004). Cultural focus of former banknotes was mostly represented by human figures. Changing iconographies represented the concerned nations' cultural shifts. In the period before 1920, popular female images and

mythical gods such as Britannia (Great Britain) and Minerva-Athena (Germany, Spain); in the period of 1920-1949, social classes such as the bourgeoisie (Germany), farmers and peasants (Belgium, Denmark); in the period 1950-1979, individual contributors to high culture such as Johann Strauss (Austria) and Isaac Newton (Great Britain) were depicted on national European banknotes (Hymans, 2006, Table 6). Euro banknotes, on the other hand, do not reflect any national themes; there is reference neither to a specific country nor to a specific monument.

The other important image on the back side of euro is the map of Western and Central Europe. The boundaries to the south are depicted clearly on the map, but the boundaries to the east are uncertain. On the South-East, only the boundary to the Western part of Turkey is shown; but it is lighter in color than the European area. From a European standpoint, this gives the idea of the unclear position of “Western Turkey” on the European map.

The following table is a matrix to clarify the centrality of human figures in currency iconography over time with examples from the American case. Jacques E.C. Hymans, (2004), scholar in international relations used Table 1 as a source in his study and focused on centrality of human figures in currency iconography of EU members over time and found that euro’s design is a departure from that of most national currencies. There are no human figures in euro design unlike the national currencies.

Actor/Goal	Traditional	Materialist	Post-Materialist (or Post-Modern)
State	State symbols in classical/antique garb, classical gods (e.g. Athena, 'Columbia'), or purely ornamental figures	Historical heads of state, generals, other statesmen (e.g. George Washington, Douglas MacArthur)	Representatives of 'official culture' (e.g. Francis Scott Key, Edward Teller)
Society/Classes	Classical/antique imagery of mass, class, sector or region representatives (e.g. allegorical figures 'Industry', 'commerce')	Imagery of realworld mass, class, sector or region representatives at work (e.g. farmers in the fields)	Imagery of realworld mass, class, sector or region representatives at play (e.g. kids playing baseball)
Individual	Historical nonstate actors from classical/antique era or representations of individual-level virtues (e.g. Aristotle, St Paul, 'Faith')	Historical nonstate actors who made significant social or economic contributions (e.g. Margaret Sanger, Henry Ford)	Historical nonstate actors who made significant contributions to the sciences or the arts and letters (e.g. Albert Einstein, Charles Ives, Herman Melville)

Table 6. Possible Iconographic Choices

Source: Hymans, Jacques E.C., 2004. p. 10

Although ECB clarifies the meaning of the iconography used on euro banknotes such as openness, cooperation, communication, dynamism and harmony, there are other levels of meaning embedded in the design of euro coins and banknotes, which reflect the trends in contemporary values. When deconstructing the visual discourse of euro, it is important to take into account the cultural context which euro was born in to.

Choosing the term postmodern to describe such context, Hymans (2004) states that:

For the postmodern rejects cultural ‘author/ity’ in favor of radical democratic vision of author and reader *jointly* producing the meaning of ‘text’. A currency fully in tune with postmodern cultural norms would therefore offer something rather abstract and open to multiple interpretations, enticing the citizen-consumer to identify with and, indeed, to form his or her own vision of community (p. 21).

European architectural styles are depicted on euro in the order of European historical eras so that the €5 has a typical rendition of the Classical Period, the €10 of Romanesque, the €20 of Gothic, the €50 of the Renaissance, the €100 of Baroque and Rococo, €200 of Art Nouveau and the €500 of Modern style. Although these architectural styles particularly symbolize the shared identity of Europeans, their obscure and unremarkable designs leaves the imagined identity to the holder. This gives the idea that “*Europe is all around us – but is nowhere in particular*” (Hymans, 2004, p.22).

Architectural spaces on euro banknotes are uninhabited. There is a shining light behind open doors, gateways and windows intending to create a desire to pass through. There is a symbolic invitation for habitation to the holder to a heavenly place that is actually nowhere. The metaphor here is that EU is not an ultimate destination, but a common destiny beyond nations.

EU, as an imagined community, is constructing its common identity not only through common currency but also other national symbols such as flag, anthem, emblem and

motto that unite people by creating visual, verbal and iconic representations. The most obvious visual representation after euro is the EU flag.

François Foret (2009), a scholar in political science states that:

A flag is a “lieu vide” (empty space) to be invested by strategies of interpretation. The detour by its materiality is a way for political actors to objectivise a collective project and to give substance to an evanescent political body... The flag at the border signals the limit where Otherness begins. The flag is also a way to mark the places of power when displayed on public buildings and in political rituals... The flag is both an instrument of domination, a resource for contestation and a stake in the struggle for legitimization (p. 314-315).

The usage of the European flag is mandatory in every official speech made by the President of the European Council and official meetings of EU. It is a symbol that is used in every political ritual of EU. The history of the flag goes back to 1955⁵²The European flag was adapted by the Council of Europe as a symbol which Europeans can identify with. In 1983, the Council of Europe encouraged other European

⁵² At that time, the European Union existed only in the form of the European Coal and Steel Community, with just six Member States. See http://europa.eu/abc/symbols/emblem/index_en.htm Accessed on 25 May 2011

institutions to adapt the same flag and in 1985, the flag was adopted by all EU heads of State and government as the official emblem of the European Union⁵³.

When we analyze the EU flag in terms of design components such as the circle of stars, shape and colors, we can see that there is a pantone reflex blue background with twelve pantone yellow stars arranged in a circular fashion at the center. All the stars are equidistant from the centre representing a unified and non-hierarchical organization.

At the official website of the Council of Europe⁵⁴, the European flag was symbolically described as follows:

Against the background of blue sky, the stars form a circle, symbolizing union. The number of stars is fixed, twelve being the symbol of perfection and completeness and bringing to mind the apostles, the sons of Jacob, the labours of Hercules, the months in the year, etc.

The official description of the EU flag points out that the unification and completeness that is symbolized by the twelve stars have religious references such as the sons of Jacob or apostles of Jesus Christ. Twelve stars also refers to the crown of

⁵³ In those days, EU was called as the European Communities.

⁵⁴ See <http://www.coe.int/aboutCoe/index.asp?page=symboles> Accessed on 20 April 2011

stars which is the vision of Virgin Mary of the Revelation (12, 1)⁵⁵ and it is the symbol of excellence of popular Marian iconography (Prisacariu, 2007). In particular, Arsène Heitz himself, the designer of the EU flag, laid claim to his own role in designing the flag and to its religious inspiration when he said that ‘the flag of Europe is the flag of Our Lady’ in 1987 (Gialdino, Curti Carlo, 2005). We can clearly see the historical bounds of Europe to Christianity in its symbolic production. Blue background represents the common shared space, “the Western sky”.

The number of stars, (twelve) is also known as the symbol of perfection. There is no link between the number of stars and the number of Member States. Twelve is considered to be an ideal number used for 12 hours on a clock, 12 months in a year, 12 symbols of zodiac which represent the universe, 12 Olympian gods, and 12 hues in the color wheel in western art.

The stars arranged in circular manner do not touch each other. This symbolizes EU’s openness both to its member states, candidate countries and the rest of the world. Number 12 is the multiple of four and three. Three is a divine number (the trinity) and four symbolizes four cardinal points of the earth. Number 12 is the “union between the divine and the terrestrial world” which symbolizes the central mystery of Christianity (Prisacariu, Ioana-Sabina, 2007, p.60).

Colors of the EU flag also carry symbolic value. Blue is the color usually used to represent issues related to spirit and intellect. Its connection to the sky represents

⁵⁵ Revelation 12, 1: “And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars” See <http://www.odbible.com/cgi-bin/ob.cgi?search=Search&keywords=twelve+stars&method=m&version=kjv&startbook=gen&startchapter=1&endbook=rev&endchapter=22&nverse=10> Accessed on 25 May 2011

eternity, immensity, time and space. Blue is also linked to truth (no clouds to hide it), loyalty, fidelity, constancy and chastity⁵⁶. Blue is traditionally used as the color of the European continent. The color yellow is associated with light, intellect and faith⁵⁷.

One of the promoted symbols of EU is the European anthem “Ode to Joy” which represents not only European Union, but also Europe as a whole⁵⁸. The melody of the anthem comes from the Ninth Symphony composed by Ludwig Van Beethoven in 1823. The symphony finalizes with the poem “Ode to Joy” written by Friedrich von Schiller in 1785 that expresses the idealistic vision of the human race becoming brothers – a vision both Ludwig Van Beethoven and Schiller shared.

The European motto “United in diversity” is explained in the official website of European Union as follows:⁵⁹

Europeans are united in working together for peace and prosperity, and that the many different cultures, traditions and languages in Europe are positive asset for the continent.

This motto reflects the changes in the EU after its 2004 enlargement when it lost its homogeneity. The motivation behind unification and coming together had been the

⁵⁶ “Dictionary of Symbolism”. In *Fantasy and Science Fiction Web Site*. University of Michigan College of Engineering. Retrieved 29 April 2011, from:

<http://www.umich.edu/~umfandsf/symbolismproject/symbolism.html/>

⁵⁷ “Dictionary of Symbolism”. In *Fantasy and Science Fiction Web Site*. University of Michigan College of Engineering. Retrieved 25 May 2011, from:

<http://www.umich.edu/~umfandsf/symbolismproject/symbolism.html/Y/yellow.html>

⁵⁸ See http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/india/press_corner/all_news/news/2010/20100504_01_en.htm Accessed on 20 May 2011

⁵⁹ See http://europa.eu/abc/symbols/index_en.htm Accessed on 20 May 2011

sense of commonality between people and cultures the diversities in languages, cultures, economies and politics of the member states have been the main challenges to create a united Europe. However, French politician Jack Lang⁶⁰ (2002) explicated the phrase “unity in diversity” as “diversity is not division (...), difference is not indifference, union is not uniformity” (p.18). This point of view signifies the founding values of the EU which are human dignity, liberty, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights⁶¹. For the consolidation of those principles and values, the establishment of “Europe Day” was of prime importance for the information, guidance and discussion of European Union themes.

The ideas behind the EU were first presented by French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman on 9 May 1950 which was later celebrated as “Europe Day”. Europe Day is an opportunity to share the European identity through its symbolic elements such as flag and anthem. These symbols are important to transform intangible feelings of relatedness, unity, common identity into tangible and real representations. Direct contacts of national, regional and local authorities; personal contacts of citizens of different cultures with exchange visits, twin city events, and festive events bring Europeans closer and help to create the feeling of belonging. Every year a particular theme is linked to Europe Day. For example, “Know your rights, use your rights” is selected for the year 2011 (See Figure 12).

⁶⁰ Jack Lang was a member of the European Parliament from 1994 to 1997.

⁶¹ See http://europa.eu/scadplus/constitution/objectives_en.htm#VALUES Accessed on 20 May 2011

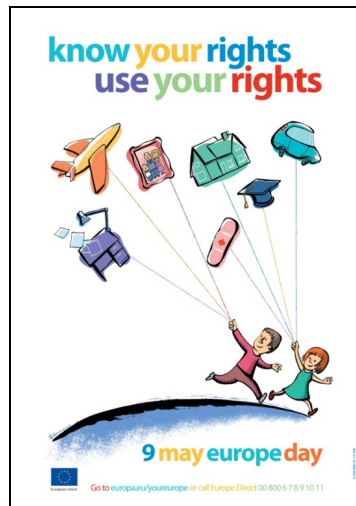


Figure 12. Europe Day 2011 poster

Source: http://europa.eu/abc/symbols/9-may/gallery_en.htm

This theme is based on how EU protects EU consumers' rights, prosperity and wellbeing through EU laws which are designed to ensure a transparent market. A document is prepared to share 10 basic rights for EU citizens' usage regardless of their location in the EU⁶².

Europe Day is an actual strategy to construct European identity through rituals that are celebrated in every member state of the EU. Ritualization has an active role in creating the image of social order, because it is repetitive, formal and it is the social action itself that draws people together. It creates mental models of the idealized world. Europe Day shapes the community by showing how Europeans act, behave, socialize, share and experience in the proposed order. Symbolic production of EU creates a common identity by shaping relations through emotional and ideological constructions that are signified by images.

⁶² See http://ec.europa.eu/consumers/e.cd/docs/Leaflet_consumerDAY_en.pdf Accessed on 18 May 2011

3.2. Visual Construction of EU through Capital of Europe: Brussels

In May and September 2001, the president of European Commission, Romano Prodi, and the Belgian Prime Minister, Guy Verhofstadt, invited a group of intellectuals including European academics, artists, planners, business people, and designers to discuss the expectations, needs and the functions of Brussels as capital of Europe⁶³ and how Brussels could best express these. The key result of the discussion was that a European capital should not follow the example of national capitals. It should be a stable one that links the diversities through exchanges and cultural contacts rather than the reduction of differences and establishment of hierarchies. Before 2001, the needs, functions and meaning of “European Capital” were still vague and indefinite. Once these became established, symbols, messages and appropriate forms of communication could be consolidated.

The meetings were led by medievalist, semiotician, philosopher and novelist Umberto Eco and architect, architectural theorist and urbanist Rem Koolhaas. Umberto Eco, in his representation, favored the “soft capital” concept. He mentioned two types of urban structures in European history. One is a tree structured capital in which every aspect of social life is defined, decided, supported and exported to every minor province of a given kingdom. The capital is composed of both material and intangible elements including enterprises, activities, markets, public administrations, exchanges in sciences and arts, the production of religious beliefs, fashions and norms. The other is a network-like system where the server does not dictate the

⁶³ Brussels is called the capital of Europe, it became the headquarters of the then European Economic Community (now the European Union in 1958), and the administrative centre of NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) in 1967. The European and international institutions in Brussels are the European Union, the European Commission, the Council of the European Union, the European Parliament, the Committee of the Regions and NATO.

policy of any of the computers it connects. For instance Italy did not have a national government for centuries and each city had its own cultural, commercial and political tradition even after the birth of the nation state. According to Eco, the European capital must be more like a network than a tree. Multi-lingual, multi-religious and multi-ethnic Europe must be presented by a capital where diversities are encouraged and harmonized and themes like tolerance, fundamentalism, integration, and globalization must be moderated. European identity is not a “hardware” problem but a “soft” one. Eco places importance on two forms of representation of the European Union’ identity: first through verbal and visual communication and second through material representation including buildings of the European Institutions⁶⁴.

In Roland Barthes’ terminology European Union formed a new myth. Barthes in Counsell, Colin and Wolf, Lourie (2001) defines myth as a system of communication, a mode of signification and a form, explaining that:

Speech of this kind is a message. It is therefore by no means confined to oral speech. It can consist of modes of writing or of representations; not only written discourse, but also photography, cinema, reporting, sport, shows, publicity, all these can serve as a support to mythical speech (p.12-13).

Visual communication including signs and symbols are crucial for EU to perpetuate its validity and power. In the Brussels meeting, Rem Koolhaas lead the meeting based on specifically prepared graphic material. For the communication of the character of Europe some of the following representations were introduced:

⁶⁴ http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/policy_advisers/archives/publications/docs/brussels_capital.pdf Accessed on 18 May 2011

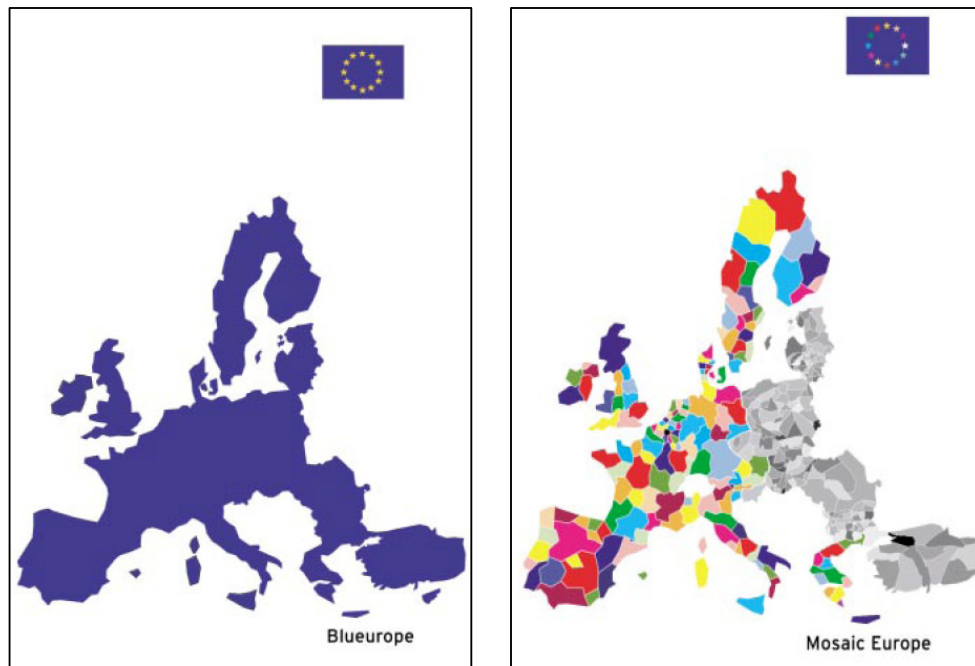


Figure 13. Blueurope versus Mosaic Europe

Source: http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/policy_advisers/archives/publications/docs/brussels_capital.pdf

Figure 13 shows the transition from uniformity to diversity within Europe by means of a colorful map. Blueurope on the left is shown in a single dark blue shade. Dark blue is the color of the EU flag and symbolizes its unionized identity. The Mosaic Europe map is composed of primary (red yellow and blue); secondary (green and purple); and tertiary (magenta and yellow-orange) colors where color modulation is also used (Macnab, 2008, p.84-85). For EU members who joined in 2001, a more saturated multicolored scheme was used where non-member states were represented monochromatically. According to Gunther Kress and Theo Van Leeuwen (2006), there is a relationship between the use of colors and the level “the truth value or credibility of statements about the world” which they call modality (pp.155). They say:

We judge an image real when, for instance its colors are approximately as saturated as those in the standard. When color becomes more saturated, we judge it exaggerated, 'more than real', and excessive. When it is less saturated, we judge it 'less than real', 'ethereal', for instance, or 'ghostly... What is the difference between uses of color? We would put it this way: the more that is taken away, abstracted from colors of the representation, the more color is reduced, the lower the modality. (p.159)

In Koolhaas' map European identity is characterized by different colors and color modes that represent the core and the hybrid identities in unison. The color saturation in Figure 14 stresses the realness of EU and abstraction of "others" from the map even when they are part of Europe but a non-member of EU.

In 2001, a writing competition was launched by the weekly "The European Voice"⁶⁵ to contribute to the search for common values and appropriate ingredients of the capital of Europe. The winning essay indicated that the European capital should not be based on a national state model: "Europe needs a capital like a tree needs a chainsaw. Trying to force Brussels to be seen as and act like a traditional capital for Europe would be absurd and dangerous to the European project"⁶⁶. This statement parallels the Capital of Europe final report of 2001.

⁶⁵ Europeanvoice.com is the website of European Voice which is a weekly newspaper with an independent view of EU. Its mission is to promote informed debate, openness and progress in the EU.

⁶⁶ Robert Geyer, "Europe needs a capital city with a difference" in the Europeanvoice.com , 13-19 September 2001, p.19. See <http://www.europeanvoice.com/article/imported/writing-prize-winner-europe-needs-a-capital-city-with-a-difference/43272.aspx> Accessed on 22 May 2011

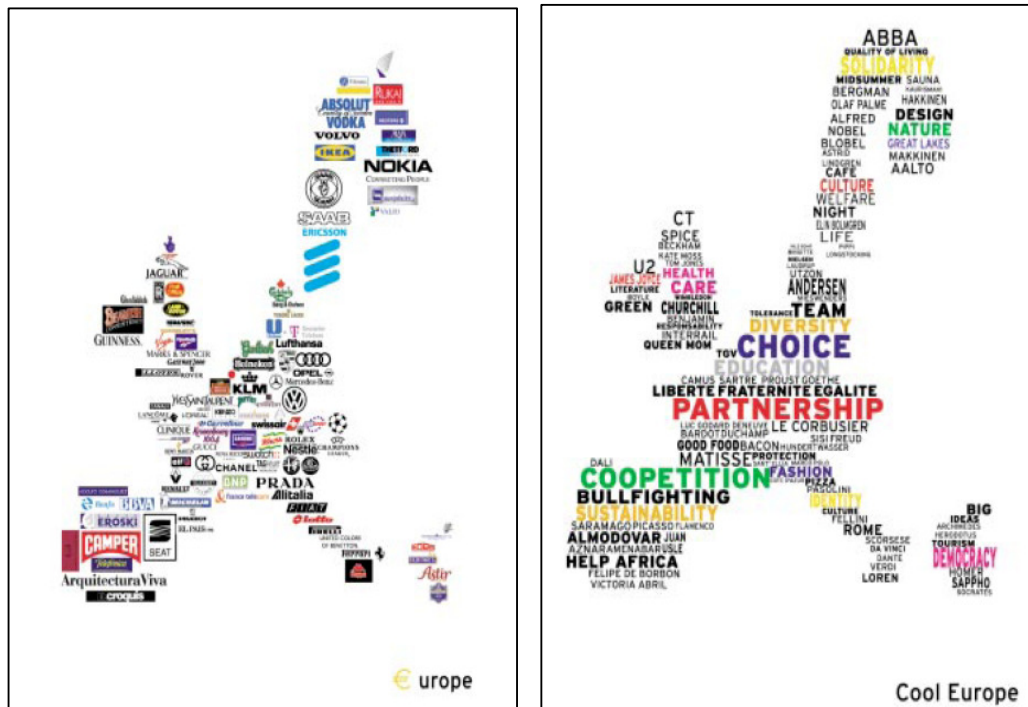


Figure 14. Europe and Cool Europe Maps.

Source: http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/policy_advisers/archives/publications/docs/brussels_capital.pdf

Figure 14 represents the vanishing nations in EU and highlights the powerful brands in several areas such as Volvo cars and the music band U2. The map on the right points to common values like partnership and cooperation, democracy and liberty.

Regarding the construction of the sense of belonging, Stuart Hall (2002-2003, p.61) states that:

[N]ations and supra-national communities – if they are to hang together, and construct a sense of belongingness amongst their members – cannot simply be political, economic or geographical entities. They depend on how they are represented and imagined; they exist within, not outside, representation, the imaginary. Stories, symbols, images, rituals, monuments, historic events, typical landscapes and above all myths, told and retold, lend significance to

our humdrum existence by connecting our banal, everyday, lives with a larger, more poetic destiny which predates and will outlive us.

As the Brussels meeting clarifies, European Union discourse aims to construct and consolidate collective identities through symbolic –specifically visual–production.

4. The Visual / Symbolic Discourse of ECOC and Istanbul 2010

Europe's redefinition of itself is a continuous act that requires the production of visual representations of European identity. In the process of the shift from manufacture-based to service-driven economies at the global scale, "semiotics" became an important tool. (Lash, Scott & Urry, John, 1994). In the symbolic economies, products turn into symbols of lifestyles, ideals and images, the values of which are represented in visual and linguistic forms. In the making of Europe, ECOC is one of EU's spaces for the production of cultural narratives that characterize today's Europe.

4.1 Elements of ECOC Visual discourse

Scholars in communication theory, Giorgia Aiello and Crispin Thurlow (2006) analyzed the visual discourse of ECOC scheme. They offered a social semiotic critique of a range of visual resources deployed in the promotional texts of 30 of the 43 cities either nominated or competing for the title of ECOC between 2005 and 2011. They found that various resources are deployed through two main modes of production. The texts include literal/figurative images such as cityscapes, fireworks, children, and maps which have symbolic and iconic meanings. These are created through the particular way images are presented or stylized. The design choice, how

it is presented and the usage of semiotic material determine the significance of the image. Six main resources are used for the representation of ECOC (Aiello, G. & Thurlow, C., 2006).

The first resource is cityscapes. Many themes such as photographic images (Figure 15) or stylized representations (Figure 16) of cityscapes are used for the promotion of ECOC. The ideological dimension becomes visible when we focus on what is excluded rather than what is included in the images. In Figure 15, the focus of the picture is the urban scape rather than its inhabitants. The photograph is taken from a distance and it privileges physical geography over human geography. The historical monument at the center is clearly meant to be an object to be looked at, a qualification made clear by means of the two viewers who are shot from behind.

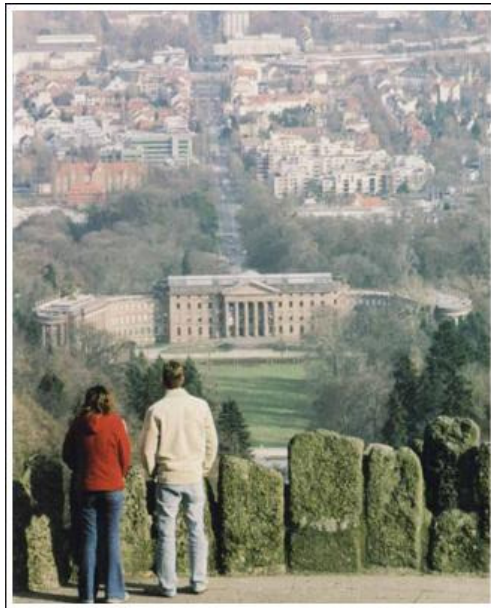


Figure 15. Cityscapes (Kassel brochure)

Source: Giorgia Aiello and Crispin Thurlow, 2006, p. 153



Figure 16. Cityscapes (Patras website banner)

Source: Giorgia Aiello and Crispin Thurlow, 2006, p. 153

The second resource of ECOC representations is fireworks as iconic images (Figure 17). Fireworks are a tool of celebration mostly used in special events. They signal the sense of victory regarding the competitive ECOC status. Fireworks as a visual motif are highly generic and cross-culturally effective. The generic usage of this visual resource was also used in the design of the euro banknotes.



Figure 17. ECOC logo of Cork

Source: Giorgia Aiello and Crispin Thurlow, 2006, p. 152

Another major visual resource of the ECOC scheme is the image of children (Figure 18). Children symbolize innocence. Their representations are strategically safe and unthreatening. They also represent the intercultural potential.



Figure 18. (Child picture) Liverpool ECOC 2008 Seasonal Guide

Source: http://www.liverpool08.com/Images/Music_tcm146-122788.pdf

Another common image used by many ECOC cities is maps. Maps create a focus on the location and highlight its bonds to Europe. The use of contrast coloring, centralizing the location by bigger fonts and dots, specifying the location by only its name and ECOC date, draw attention to its significance (Figure 19).



Figure 19. Map of Linz (Linz website image)

Source: <http://www.linz09.at/en/kulturhauptstaedte.html>

Collaged images are another example of visual resources used in ECOC campaigns. These emphasize the richness of social heterogeneity, cultural diversity and cultural activity of Europeans. For example, in Figure 20, pictures such as historic buildings, monuments and churches embedded in collage work represent the cultural identity of Pécs that is shared all around Europe. The title, “Roots of the Future”, refers both to the common history of Europe and the common future of EU. Commonality is embedded in both the history and the future of Europeans.

The last nonliteral visual resource that G. Aiello and C. Thurlow (2006) presented in their research is metonymy which is used to refer to high-cultural practices.

Metonymic expressions are realized through a selection and exclusion process which makes them highly ideological. For instance in Figure 21, the picture of a concert hall is a metonymic expression of high culture.

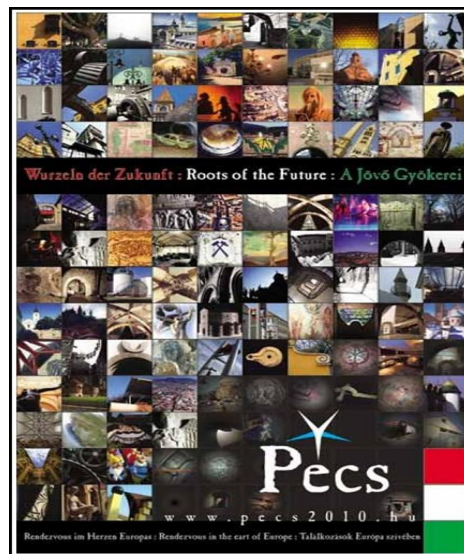


Figure 20. Diversity and Detail (Pécs brochure)

Source: <http://faculty.washington.edu/thurlow/europe/detail.html>



Figure 21. Metonymy (Görlitz web page image)

Source: <http://faculty.washington.edu/thurlow/europe/other.html>

Metonymic references in images that contain theatres, museums, exhibition halls or neoclassical buildings are intended to invoke the sense of a shared European high culture. Those images make the shared culture visible to everyone by reducing culture itself to material artefacts, spaces and practices.

Representations of ECOC generate the sense of shared European identity through images of common history and privilege certain themes such as high culture, uniformity, and diversity. Visual representations are important to politicize Europeans by generic cultural details and identity markers.

One of the important aspects of the visual representations of ECOC involves the presence or absence of people. Images of uninhabited spaces are meant to be symbols of a shared culture for every European. The process of assigning a meaning to a space is left to its beholder. For instance Figure 22 is retrieved⁶⁷ from the official

⁶⁷ Retrieved on 13 May 2011 from http://www.pecs2010.hu/Home/Hirek/Muveszettol_az_eletig_Berlinben

website of ECOOC Pécs 2010 in which the Berlin Bauhaus Archiv-Museum für Gestaltung is represented as an “uninhabited” space.



Figure 22. “From art to life-Hungarians in Bauhaus” exhibition in Bauhaus Archive Museum by Jan-Peter Böning

Source: http://www.pecs2010.hu/Home/Hirek/Muveszettol_az_eletig_Berlinben

Here, the artworks of the Hungarian Bauhauslers are introduced as the symbols of a shared European culture.

According to B. Kumaravadivelu, a scholar in applied linguistics, (2008)⁶⁸ the concept of ‘cultural reality’ is defined as follows:

The fast-changing cultural life of the contemporary world is being influenced by four realities: the global reality that marks the advent of global neighborhood with shrinking space, time, and borders; the national reality that nurtures robust nationalism partly as a reaction to the onslaught of perceived global cultural homogenization; the social reality that is created and sustained through social institutions such as families and communities; and

⁶⁸ Related book is the winner of the 2008 Kenneth W. Mildener Prize, given by the Modern Language Association

the individual reality that depicts the individual as complex, contradictory, and dynamic (p. 171)

Visual representations of ECOC are often highly selective. They are composed of generic and iconic figures that construct European identity within the competing forces of the global, national, social and individual realities. The nonlinguistic characteristic of visual representations enables perception and exchange of ideologies across cultures and nations. European Capital only exists in the eyes of its citizens and it can only be created through the emphasis on a common history. The visuals are selected according to common/generic elements of culture and are repeated as identity markers of Europeans. Managing and manipulating semiotic resources and controlling the mechanisms of representation provide a political power of authority (Aiello, G. & Thurlow, C., 2006).

4.2. Visualizing Istanbul

Istanbul was selected as ECOC along with Pécs and Essen for Ruhr for 2010 while Turkey still held its pending position concerning EU membership. EU members such as Germany and France had reservations about Turkey's membership. In 2002, former French President Giscard d'Estaing manifested that Turkey's membership 'would be the end of the European Union'. Besides the economic reasons for the stance against Turkey's membership, cultural difference was emphasized as a main barrier. Especially, after the September 11, 2001 attack, Islam phobia reached its peak and strengthened the perception of Turkey as a threat for the Christian/Western world (Göktürk, Deniz; Soysal, Levent & Türeli İpek, 2010, p.5).

ECOC Istanbul 2010 was an effort to prove Istanbul's and hence Turkey's bonds to Europe on the way to its membership to the European Union. The official opening ceremony on January 16, 2010 was marked with the cost of 8,5 million TL., and a labour force of 9550 people. The president and the prime minister inaugurated the opening ceremony. Addressing an audience of national and international politicians, intellectuals like European Union and European Commission authorities, the president of the German parliament, Culture Ministers of Albania, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Iraq, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Kosovo, Latvia, Moldova, Portugal, Slovenia and Ukraine; Foreign Ministers of Bosnia, Bulgaria, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Kosovo, The minister responsible for EU of England, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan stated that "...Istanbul alone is a concrete proof that Turkey is a natural member of European Union...Feel at home..."⁶⁹ He also mentioned that Istanbul was a capital of tolerance as much as a capital of culture; the sound of ezan⁷⁰ never drowned the voice of church bells or the prayers in a synagogue. The speech of the Prime Minister was an effort to construct an image that Turkey was a country of individual freedom. "Individual freedom" is used as one of the main indicators of the European value system. ECOC Istanbul 2010 was an effort to prove Istanbul's and hence Turkey's Europeanness to Europe on the way to its membership to the European Union.

To understand Turkey's attempts to build a European identity, analyzing the symbolic production of ECOC Istanbul 2010 can give an insight on competing

⁶⁹ Press news: Cumhuriyet, 17.01.2010, pp. 8; Sabah, 17.01.2010, pp.16 Accessed on 01 April 2010

⁷⁰ Islamic call to prayer

strategies in the production of meaning. The symbolic dynamics of ECOC Istanbul 2010 can be analyzed through its visual communicative space in terms of emblems, images and videos.

4.2.1. Istanbul as European city

Since the 1990s, EU cultural policy and European identity has been frequently framed around the idea of “unity in diversity” (Shore, Chris, 2006). This gives a base for design strategies of cities selected as ECOC for emphasizing their belonging to the unity.

The same idea can be observed in the logo for Istanbul as ECOC. Logos are important genres of design resources because of their advantage of repetition and “smallest effective difference” for maximum perceptual effect. (Aiello, Giorgia, 2007). Logos are the most commonly used design element in promotion and it is important also to create a city brand identity. When we analyze the logo design of ECOC Istanbul 2010, different saturated colors are used for the same logo design. Arches are used above the word “Istanbul” heading which connect the letters “i” and “u”; “t” and “b”; “n” and “l” (Figure 23).



Figure 23. Logo Designs of ECOC Istanbul 2010, Glasgow 1990 and Ruhr 2010

Sources:

<http://www.istanbulistanbul2010.org/AVRUPAKULTURBASKENTI/avrupakulturbaskentinedir/index.htm>

<http://beatrizgarcia.wordpress.com/category/european-capital-of-culture/>

There is no official explanation of the logo design in the website of ECOC Istanbul 2010. However, in European identity discourse, ECOC Istanbul 2010 logo represents diverse identities in union with its colorful characteristic like “Mosaic Europe” of Koolhaas. In ECOC discourse, different color modes represent the cultural richness of the city in question and support the “united in diversity” slogan of EU. In Figure 23, we can see logo designs of ECOC Glasgow 1990 and ECOC Ruhr 2010 with ECOC Istanbul 2010, referring to different traditions, cultures and languages and how they came together in EU. High color saturation of the logo creates high modality which refers to the truth value of hybrid identities in union. Flat colors expresses the essential quality of things (the sky is blue) while modulated colors are specific to a situation (the color of sky changes according to time of the day and the weather). (Kress et al., 2006). Saturated and flat color schemes are usually used in the visual communication of EU ideals (Aiello, Giorgia, 2007). Hence, the ECOC Istanbul 2010 logo is designed in accordance with EU color schemes.

The arches used in the ECOC Istanbul 2010 logo resemble open doors and gates that are used in the design of Euro banknotes which symbolize the European spirit of openness and co-operation. Artists, as well as social scientists have often used the metaphor of the bridge in describing the location of Istanbul in global maps and cultural imaginaries (Göktürk, Türeli et al., 2010, p. 3) Arches can also be interpreted as bridges that symbolize the strategic location of Turkey, particularly Istanbul, connecting Asia to Europe.

One of the iconic images mostly used in the ECOC scheme was fireworks. In Figure 24, we see the opening ceremony image of Istanbul with fireworks that represent the excitement of gaining ECOC status. Şekip Avdağ, the Chairman of Executive Board of ECOC Istanbul 2010 Agency explained the heading “Now is time for Istanbul” in Figure 24 as follows⁷¹:



Figure 24. Fireworks at Opening Ceremony of ECOC Istanbul 2010

Source: Istanbul 2010 Magazine Issue 2, p. 26

⁷¹ Istanbul 2010 Magazine Issue 2, p. 27

In the 21st century the whole world is witnessing both the excitement and anxiety of major changes. In such a period, Istanbul, too, is entering New Year with a new title: European Capital of Culture. Our goal is to introduce Istanbul to the entire world, and promote its rediscovery... Istanbul is a sacred stamp uniting Europe and Asia. Now it is time to proclaim this stamp to all corners of the world... Now it is time to rediscover Istanbul... It is time to watch Istanbul... It is Istanbul's time...

The fireworks represent the excitement for the opportunity to become "European capital". In Western Europe, Turkey was categorized as a Middle Eastern country and represented as "other" because of its cultural, social and economic differences and Muslim identity. Samuel Huntington (1996) stated in his book that:

European Union officials, agreed that the Union is a "Christian club" and "Turkey is too poor, too populous, too Muslim, too harsh, to culturally different, too everything". The "private nightmare" of Europeans... These attitudes in turn generated the "common perception among Turks" that "the West sees no place for a Muslim Turkey within Europe (p. 146)

ECOC title is a remarkable step for Istanbul to be named as "European" in the world arena and the fireworks are symbols of victory for not being "Other" for the first time.

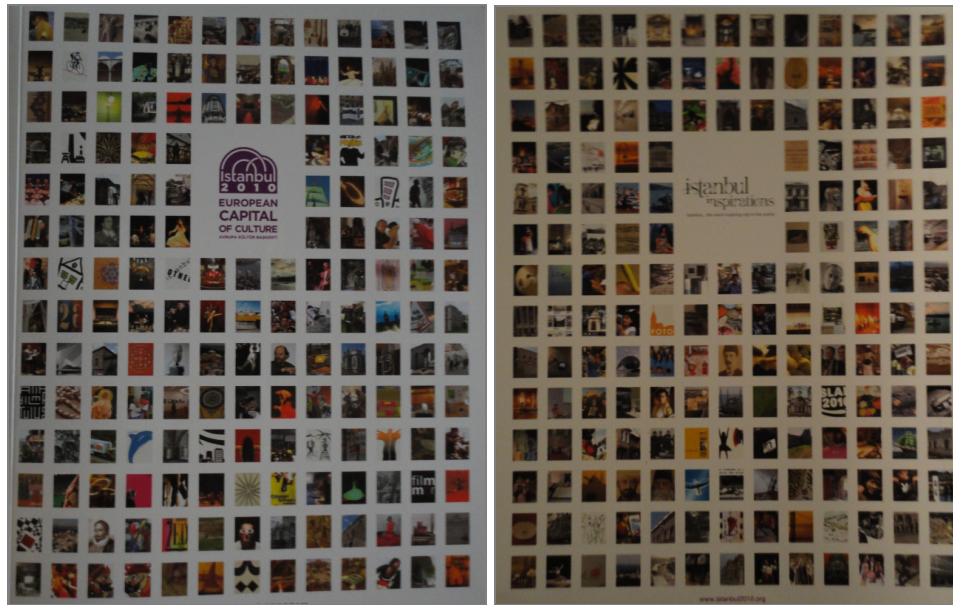


Figure 25. Front and back covers of ECOC Istanbul 2010 Program Booklet

Source: Photo by Author

ECOC public communication materials mostly include compositions of multi colored images, frames and scripts symbolizing the cultural diversity and richness of ECOC cities (Aiello, Giorgia, 2007). Figures 25 and 26 are examples that are in harmony with the visual discourse of ECOC scheme. The work in Figure 24 is similar Figure 20 which represents Pécs' self-promotion strategy as ECOC 2010. The discourse of cultural diversity can be seen not only in visual representations, but also in texts (Aiello, Giorgia, 2007). Below are some examples of texts used in promotional materials supporting the visual representations of Istanbul.



Figure 26. Banner of Istanbul 2010 information room at official web site

Source: <http://www.en.istanbul2010.org/AVRUPAKULTURBASKENTI/istanbul2010bilgiyasi/index.htm>⁷²

Civilization Passages/Inns get to be the main arguments like “alliance of “civilizations” “making of a common identity” “establishing cultural bridges” and “richness stemming from diverse cultures” which have been mentioned quite often. They are common culture melting pots of Istanbul, the heart of the world, frequented by famous Asian and European travelers and scientists, who have been seeking for new horizons⁷³.

Istanbul has been a city that has nurtured different cultures, religions and languages and moulded them into enduring synthesis.⁷⁴

⁷² Accessed on 29 May 2011

⁷³ ECOC Istanbul 2010 Program Booklet, p. 119. Available from: http://www.en.istanbul2010.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/ist2010_images/gp_631027.pdf Accessed on 28 May 2011

⁷⁴ Application file for ECOC: “Ten reasons why Istanbul will be an unforgettable European Capital of Culture” p.1 Available from: http://www.en.istanbul2010.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/ist2010_images/gp_540563.pdf Accessed on 28 May 2011

We are happy to support this project that will enable Istanbul to share its rich cultural heritage with Europe and reinforce its reputation in the international arena.⁷⁵

Many semiotic resources are used in line with visual discourse such as phrases, nouns or adjectives (e.g. melting point, alliance of civilizations, cultural bridges, rich, synthesis, different); terms which include references to various dimensions of diversity (e.g. languages, religions, cultures); specific nationalities or geographical areas (e.g. Asian, European); and trades and religious or ethnic affiliations (e.g. travelers, scientists). One of the ECOC Istanbul 2010's videos adopted in a quantitative approach emphasizing the richness and variety of the city's cultural resources with statements such as "760 exhibitions", "1584 concerts", 1130 dramas, shows and performances" and "over 10.000 audience"⁷⁶.

Cityscapes of Istanbul used as one of the main resources of ECOC representation scheme. Cityscapes reflect cultural manifestations and transformations of populations' cultural-psychological demands. The physical geography of Istanbul is privileged over its inhabitants in Figures 27 and 28. Both illustrations offer a sanitized picturesque view of the city with emphasis on its waterfront and silhouettes of historical edifices.

⁷⁵ ECOC Istanbul 2010 Magazine Issue 3, p. 110. Available from: http://www.en.istanbul2010.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/ist2010_images/gp_742376.pdf Accessed on 28 May 2011

⁷⁶ ECOC Istanbul 2010 video Available from: http://www.en.istanbul2010.org/IST-VIDEO/index.htm?video=GP_824615 Accessed on 29 May 2011



Figure 27. The Historical Peninsula Silhouette - Official website banner

Source: <http://www.en.istanbul2010.org/index.htm>⁷⁷



Figure 28. Istanbul cityscape

Source: Istanbul 2010 Magazine Issue 4 p.3

Architecture has become a significant cultural expression of EU identity due to its important role in creating social and political imaginations. Architectural styles of European cultural history that are depicted on Euro banknotes were significant icons in codifying European identity. In the case of Istanbul, this is constructed through memories and works of Greek and Armenian architects in the 19th century (Figure 29) who are represented as the evidence of Westernizing Istanbul.

⁷⁷ Accessed on 29 May 2011



Figure 29. Greek and Armenian buildings in Istanbul

Source: Istanbul 2010 Magazine Issue 4 p.79

Metonymic expressions are other nonliteral visual resources in ECOC scheme that is used also in representations of ECOC Istanbul 2010. In Figure 30 and 31 we see photographic images of Yapı Kredi Nedim Tör Museum and Enka İbrahim Betil Auditorium. These images, devoid of the representations of their audience, are represented as references to “high culture”. As such, they are meant to convey images of open spaces for performances of “diverse” cultures.



Figure 30. Yapı Kredi Vedat Nedim Tör Museum

Source: Istanbul 2010 Magazine Issue 1 p.18



Figure 31. Enka İbrahim Betil Auditorium

Source: Istanbul 2010 Magazine Issue 2 p. 22

According to social anthropologist Ernest Gellner (1983), since industrial societies are highly mobile and diverse, the difference between ordinary people and the elite is rendered invisible and specialty is a must in working operations. Those mobile societies require a shared and codified culture.

As Elisabeth Bakke (1995), a scholar in European studies explains:

In this (industrial) society, your worth is not tied to what you are, but what you know and you do (merit). As competence and participation is limited by the “high culture” within which you were trained, your skills are valid only in the area in which codified culture is valid. This is the new, expanded horizon of industrial man. It replaces the local loyalties, which are dissolved by an increasingly mobile society. Culture replaces structure as the foundations for identity (p. 5)

Istanbul as European Capital of Culture represented itself with high culture elements of Europe. Figures 30 and 31 support the idea that it is a part of European codified culture. It shows that European traditions are available in the formation of national identity. In Figure 32 and 33 we see images of children which is one of the design resources of ECOC scheme. In these images children are represented as performers in photographic arts and music. These images are manifestations for the sustainability of European “high culture” by the creators of the future. In Figure 33 two schoolgirls, one photographing the other, who is playing the violin, are represented to such ends.

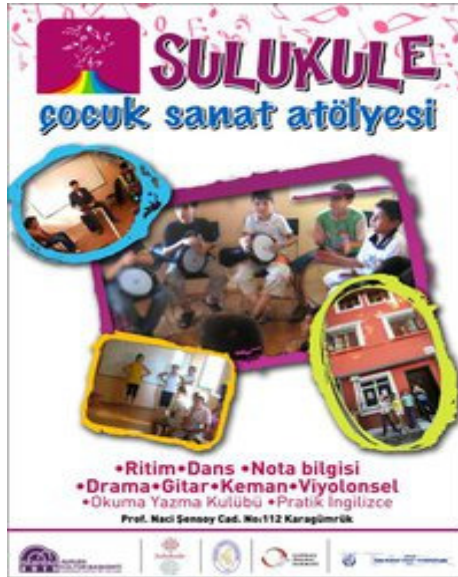


Figure 32. Sulukule Art Workshop Poster

http://www.en.istanbul2010.org/HABER/GP_857638



Figure 33. Wonderful Kids Exhibition Visuals

http://www.en.istanbul2010.org/HABER/GP_776665



Figure 34. Map of Turkey in ECOC Istanbul 2010 Quick Guide Booklet, p. 10

Source: Photo by author

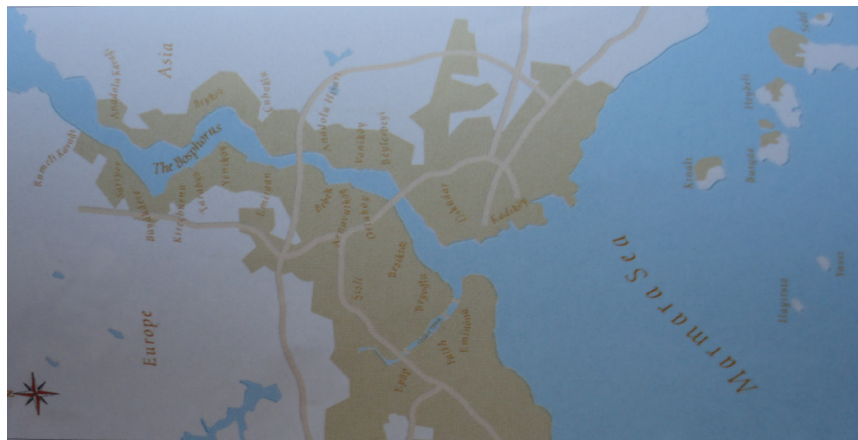


Figure 35. Map of Istanbul in ECOC Istanbul 2010 Quick Guide Booklet

Source: Photo by author

Many ECOC cities used maps to create visibility of their location and stress their significance in Europe. In Figure 34, we can see the map of Istanbul under the map of Turkey in the ECOC Istanbul 2010 Quick Guide Booklet. On the map of Turkey, we only see the names of three big cities; Istanbul, İzmir and Ankara while other Turkish are excluded. Interestingly, European lands beyond the national boundaries are also missing as their inclusion would highlight Turkey's weak connection to Europe. In Ellen Madeker's (2006) analysis on identity constructions on Turkish EU

membership in the German public debate, one of the identity frames was geography. In this analysis, Turkey was not seen as part of Europe in terms of geography since only 5% of its territory is located in Europe. Another map, where only Istanbul is depicted can be seen as a response to this mentality. Here, European lands are generously included, covering the same surface area of the map as Istanbul (Figure 35).

4.2.2. Istanbul as an Ottoman-Islamic city

Islamism in Turkey is developed by the Islamist Refah (Welfare) Party in the 1990s and promoted as an alternative national ideology that is constituted on East-oriented Ottoman-Islamic nationalism. Refah Party idealized Islam not as a religion, but as a culture deeply rooted in the Ottoman past and defended the idea of an Ottoman-Islamic civilization as Turkey's true national culture. The Party received the majority of the votes in Istanbul in the local elections in 1994. The Islamist city administration under the mayoralty of Recep Tayyip Erdogan, signalled the governmental politics of the 2000s, mobilized by the 2002 election victory of Adalet ve Kalkınma - AK (Justice and development) Party led by Erdogan. The latter became the prime minister and combined economic and political liberalism with conservative social values and cultural policies that took Islam as its essential defining value (Çınar, Alev, 2005).

Interventions of Islamic activities in art, literature, music and in public space such as rearrangement of public squares, the alteration of concert halls, promotion of Islamic holy days and rituals and publicized images of women with religious headscarves

had affected the ECOC project of Istanbul in terms of the 2010 activity program and visual discourse. Symbols and representations of Islamic / Ottoman identity of Istanbul became integral to the visual discourse of ECOC scheme.



Figure 36. Islamic iconography – Mosques 1

Source: Istanbul 2010 Magazine Issue 1 p.20-21

In this context, the mosque was one of the iconic images in the promotional material of ECOC Istanbul 2010. In Figure 36, we see a stylized representation of cityscape of the Istanbul cityscape with the phrase, “2010: The year in which change begins.” The scripts are placed under the silhouette of minarets and mosques. The red sky indicates dawn which is the time of call for the morning prayers and can also be associated with the “change” that is indicated in the heading.

The ideological dimension of the image is evident in what is excluded as well as what is included. (Aiello, G. & Thurlow, C., 2006). This is made evident when we compare Figure 36 with Figure 16 which is the stylized representation of ECOC

Patras 2006 cityscape, where we can see a set of icons of the city such as Saint Andreas Church⁷⁸, Rio-Antirrio Bridge⁷⁹, Paros lighthouse and Apollo Theatre. However, in Figure 29 other iconic elements of Istanbul such as the Galata Tower, Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge, Galata Bridge, Bosphorus, Maiden's Tower or Dolmabahçe Palace are missing, let alone any trace of modern Istanbul.



Figure 37. Islamic iconography – Mosques 1

Source: Istanbul 2010 Magazine Issue 4 p.36

Figure 37 is the banner of an interview with the co-president of the Greens⁸⁰ printed in Istanbul 2010 Magazine. In the banner, two main subjects are represented which are the Greens and Istanbul. The Greens' commitment to environmental protection is represented by the figures of the wind turbine, tree and cyclist. On the other side, Istanbul is represented by Islamic iconography.

⁷⁸ It is the biggest Orthodox Church in the Balkans

⁷⁹ It is the longest cable bridge in the world with the length of 2.250 m.

⁸⁰ The Greens / European Free Alliance is a European parliamentary group made up of Greens and representatives of stateless nations and disadvantaged minorities. For more information see <http://www.greens-efa.eu/> Accessed on 28 May 2011



Figure 38. Istanbul in Children's Eyes Project Photos on official website

Source: http://www.Istanbul2010.org/FOTOGALERI/GP_721780

Figures of children too are used in ECOC material with an Islamic focus. In Figure 38, we can see a little boy, photographing Islamic writings and ornaments. On the right side of the picture the minaret's reflection is shown on the glass lens of the camera. Reflections of Islamic identity are evident in the images of "Istanbul in Children's Eyes" project. Islamic elements are naturalized through seemingly innocent eyes of children.

Images of women too are mobilized to similar ends. Figure 39, shows images of women with Islamic headscarves in an exhibition hall that symbolizes "high culture" in the ECOC scheme (See Figures 21-22-30-31). In the 1990s the Islamic headscarf emerged as the political symbol of Islam by Refah Party as a reaction to the unveiling of women in the construction of modern Turkish identity after the foundation of the Republic. The headscarf became a symbol of political Islam not only in Turkey but all over the world and arguably became even a stronger symbol than the mosque. The headscarf is still a symbol of the political ideology of the AK Party government. However the latter is committed to eliminating negative images of

Islam as being backward, uncultured, and hostile by advancing modernist and liberal ideals such as economic liberalization, privatization, democratization and striving for EU membership. The liberal-Islamist perspective tries to combine economic and political liberalism with conservative social values that are deeply rooted in Islam (Çınar, Alev, 2005). Figure 39 represents this ideal by centering veiled women into European “high culture”.



Figure 39. Images of Women with Islamic headscarf at “Neighbourhood Exhibition”

Source: ECOC Istanbul 2010 Portable Art 2008-2009 Booklet p. 48

The compatibility of Islam with modern culture is represented in rather familiar Orientalist images as well. In Figure 40, we see a jazz saxophonist performing in front of the scenery of Istanbul. In the image, Istanbul is again symbolized with

Islamic iconography, i.e., mosques. Another Islamic element in the poster is visible in the text where the Islamic holy month of Ramadan is linked to Western music.



Figure 40. Jazz in Ramadan Poster

Source: Istanbul 2010 Magazine Issue 3 p.14



Figure 41. Music on Istanbul stage presentation image

Source: ECOC Istanbul 2010 Program Booklet p.68

In a similar vein, in one of the images for the ECOC Istanbul 2010 booklets, domes of the mosques turn into a stage for ballet performers. The desire to bring East and West together serves for the establishment of Islamism among modernizing forces. Those images give the projection of Islamism as capable of producing its own educated and cultured elite, which appreciates Western performing arts and music.

Conclusion

The ECOC project, involves political, economic and cultural aspects. At all levels, its aim is to create the image of a unified Europe and highlight the latter by means of elevating the status of selected cities. Therefore, Europe and the EU do not use symbols that are specific to a nation but those that are assumed to belong to a “common culture”. For instance, on the Euro banknotes, there is no “Notre Dame de Charters” of France, no “Palazza Formese” of Greece or no “St. Gereon’s Basilica” of Germany. But instead, there are generic architectural styles such as “Gothic”, “Renaissance” and “Art Nouveau”. The EU flag too refrains from the use of any culturally or nationally specific elements by featuring blue as the color of the sky and the number 12 as a generic symbol of time.

In the ECOC Visual discourse, highly generic symbols are achieved by the exclusion of culturally or nationally specific figures from urban or architectural scenes and the inclusion of images of children as presumably neutral agents. Hence a particular image of Europe is evoked, which shares particular cultural features and common historical memories.

The problem here is that, geographically Europe ends at the Ural Mountains and the Bosphorus where a variety of different cultures, religions, political forms and economic systems are embedded. Culturally, Europe is bordered with Islam on one side and Christianity on the other. Christianity itself is divided between Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant identities. Even if Europe encompasses stable and functioning economies and policies, it still has diverse elements in terms of language, tradition and history. To say the least, while Western Europe is more liberal, the East is more authoritarian. (Bakke, Elisabeth, 1995).

While the EU identity discourse embraces shared values and features such as liberty, high culture, democracy, communication, geography, and history nationalist references are seen in conflict with this discourse. Therefore the symbolic production of particular values is essential and important to create a shared culture and sense of belonging within the union.

ECOC Istanbul 2010, created a visual discourse that is both compatible and in conflict with the European symbolic discourse at different levels. Islamic and Ottoman representations are two conflicting elements within the context of EU identity. At first sight, the Ottoman/Islamic elements of the city's culture seem to be in opposition to what is identified as European characteristics. Those are the elements that have historically identified the Empire as the other of the West. Traces of such othering still mark the status of Turkey in European eyes. The visual discourse of ECOC Istanbul 2010 strived hard to produce a cultural identity that both subscribed to European shared values and included symbols of Islam. Somewhat

paradoxically, the generic images produced by the EU and the ECOC organization helped in the production of Istanbul 2010 images, in neutralizing differences not only within Europe but also between Europe and its historical other.

Besides this, Istanbul 2010 with its nationalist representation of Islamic / Ottoman identity elements, challenges the ECOC as well as the European identity schemes. Istanbul enforced the identity frames of ECOC that is highly generic and strategically devoid of national elements. However, the visual discourse that was mobilized by ECOC Istanbul 2010, not only evoked the shared historical memories of Europe, but also elements of Islamic / Ottoman identity. In that way, it poses an implicit challenge to the ideals set forth by the ECOC project.

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