PRAGMATISM AND UTOPIA
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF NEOLIBERALISM:
TURNING OUT TO BE CITTASLOW OF SEFERIHISAR

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

CAN GÜNDÜZ

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

SEPTEMBER 2012

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

————————————————
Prof. Dr. Meliha Altunışık
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

————————————————
Prof. Dr. Ayşe Saktanber
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

————————————————
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Erdoğan Yıldırım
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç	(METU, SOC)	————————————
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Erdoğan Yıldırım	(METU, SOC)	————————————
Prof. Dr. Tansu Açık	(AÜ, HUM)	————————————
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Bülent Batuman	(BU, LAUD)	————————————
Assist. Prof. Dr. Pelin Tan	(KHAS, NM)	————————————

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name : Can GÜNDÜZ

Signature   :

ABSTRACT

PRAGMATISM AND UTOPIA
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF NEOLIBERALISM:
TURNING OUT TO BE CITTASLOW OF SEFERIHISAR

Gündüz, Can
Ph.D., Department of Sociology
Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Erdoğan Yıldırım

September 2012, 205 pages

This thesis tries to identify the new city-governance mechanisms deployed in the Western Aegean small town of Seferihisar, following the town's membershipto the international *Cittaslow*association of small towns. The membership has quickly transformed the place into a yearlong touristic destination, while leading several other agendas for the improvement of the*urbanquality of life* in the town. Regarding Turkey's EU Accession Process, this thesis regards *Cittaslow* as a *multi-scalar meta-governance* mechanism, which guides the municipalities of small towns in rescaling their urban governance as *tailor-fit* to their corresponding sociospatial specificities. The thesis argues that the social-democratic municipality in Seferihisar plays a key energizing role in the "joining-up" of the "bottom-up" community inertia by constantly counterbalancing the state's neoliberal policies at the local. The proactive outlook of the municipal leadership in the town is particularly operational in the staging of a neo-communitarian, self-regulatory gesture by the community, since (a) this outlook is more and more demanded by the "good institutions" of the global neoliberal order, which are now functioning in socially and environmetally (re)embedded protocols, and (b) the restructuring and rescaling policies of the central government have to be made compatible in the local through a risk sharing attitude by all parties in order to make the contradictions of the neoliberal state manageable. The essential finding of this thesis is that*multi-scalar meta-governance* mechanisms are far more operational in our daily lives than ever, as part of the restructuring and rescaling processes of the state.

ÖZ

NEOLİBERALİZMİN GÖZETİMİNDE PRAGMATİZM VE ÜTOPYA:
SEFERİHİSAR'DAN BİR CITTASLOWÇIKARMAK

Gündüz, Can
Doktora, Sosyoloji Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Erdoğan Yıldırım

Eylül 2012, 205 sayfa

Bu tez çalışması, bir Batı Ege kıyı kasabası olan Seferihisar'ın uluslararası *Cittaslow* şehirler ağına üyeliği sonrası yeni yönetişim mekanizmaları aracılığıylakasabaya getirilen düzenlemeleri *kültürel siyasal iktisat*yaklaşımıyla ele almaktadır. *Cittaslow* üyeliği Seferihisar'ı bir anda sezon aşırı turistik ilgi gören bir yer haline getirmenin ötesinde, yerleşimin *kentselyaşam kalitesini*geliştirmeye yönelik pek çok farklı projeyi gündeme taşımıştır.Bu tez çalışması, Türkiye'nin AB uyum sürecinde gündeme gelmesi bakımından, *Cittaslow*'u bir *çok-ölçekli yönetişim-sonrası* mekanizması olarak ele almaktadır. Bu mekanizmalarıkent-bölgesel politikalar düzeyinde gündeme getiren küresel gelişmeler tartışılmaktadır.Son dönemde Türkiye'de gerçekleştirilen yerel yönetim reformları ile birlikte devletin yerelde yeniden ölçeklendirilmesi sürecinin *Cittaslow* modeliyle alışverişi önemli bir analiz kriteri olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu bakımdan *Cittaslow*, belediye öncülüğünde kasabada toplumsal kalkınma dinamiklerini harekete geçirerek,yukarıdan aşağıya aktarılan yeniden ölçeklendirme ve yeniden yapılandırma politikalarını yerelde dengeliyici bir model olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Belediye öncülüğünde kasabanın kendi kendini yönetme yönünde bir irade sahnelemesinde özellikle iki unsur öne çıkmaktadır: (a) toplumsal ve çevresel ilişkilere yeniden yerleştirilme sürecindeki küresel neoliberal düzenin "iyi kurumlar"ı, yerelde kendi kendini örgütleyen bir iradenin mevcudiyetini proje ortaklıklarının olmazsa olmazı haline getirmektedirler, (b)neoliberal devlet, yeniden yapılandırma ve yeniden ölçeklendirme politikalarının sunduğu çelişkileri yönetilebilir hale getirmek için riski yerelde olabildiğince fazla tarafa aktarmak/ paylaştırmak durumundadır. Bu bakımdan tezin en önemli bulgusu, belediye öncülüğünde yürütülen *Seferihisar'dan bir Cittaslow çıkarma* girişiminin, günümüz neoliberal kentleşme süreçlerinin "üretkenlik-sonrası" paradigmabağlamında sunduğu "alışveriş merkezleri" ve "kapalı konut siteleri" gibi kamuya tamamen kapalı mekansal örgütlenme biçimlerinin *yanna* ve*karşısına*"küçük şehirler" seçeneğini yerleştirmiş olduğudur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yavaş Şehir, Sakin Şehir, Yaşam Kalitesi, Yeni Kurumsalcılık, Özyönetim.

To my grandmother
İffet Köken

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

x

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABPRS   Address Based Population Registration System

AKP   Justice and Development Party [*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*]

ANAP   Motherland Party [*Anavatan Partisi*]

ARCI   Italian Recreational and Cultural Association

ASEAN   Association of Southeast Asian Nations

BIE   International Exhibitions Bureau

CHP   The Republican People's Party [*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*]

DİE   State Institute of Statistics [*Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü*]

DSP   Democratic Left Party [*Demokratik Sol Parti*]

ESDP   European Spatial Development Perspective

ESPON   European Spatial Planning Observatory Network

EU   European Union

MERCOSUR   Southern Common Market

MHP   Nationalist Movement Party [*Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*]

NAFTA   North American Free Trade Agreement

NUTS   Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics

PCI   Italian Communist Party

RDA   Regional Development Agency

RA   Regulation Approach

CPE   Cultural Political Economy Approach

SAARC   South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

SADC   South African Development Community

SPA   Special Provincial Administration [*İl Özel İdaresi*]

TUİK   Turkish Statistical Institute [*Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu*]

UCLG-MEWA   United Cities Local Governments-Middle East and West Asia

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> Catch only what you've thrown yourself,
> all is mere skill and little gain;
> but when you're suddenly the catcher of a ball
> thrown by an eternal partner
> with accurate and measured swing
> towards you, to your center, in an arch
> from the great bridgebuilding of God:
> why catching then becomes a power—
> not yours, a world's.
>
> Rainer Maria Rilke,
> quoted in Truth and Method
> by Hans-Georg Gadamer,
> NY: Continuum, 1975.

This thesis focuses on the catalyzation of change in the leisurely socio-spatial practices in Seferihisar, where the city branding efforts, instead of resorting to the usual ways of creating temporal distinctiveness, have taken on a 'reflexive' tone with the recent *Cittaslow* membership[1]; thus, counterbalancing, in many ways, the 'crisis-management' strategies of the neoliberal state restructuring and rescaling processes by fostering a spirit of urban citizenship, workfare and, socially and culturally embedded entrepreneurialism.

Seferihisar district of Izmir embarked upon an alternative model for repositioning the competitiveness of the 'peripheral' coastal town in the national and the global market led by its recently elected mayor in the local elections held on March 29, 2009. The mayor, Tunç Soyer, a renowned urban elite figure within Izmir's *wannabe*-world city pursuits, especially during the EXPO 2015 candidacy process, has been elected on the ticket of the *Republican People's Party* (CHP), replacing the *Motherland Party* (ANAP) mayor who had served two terms in a row (1999-2009). Unlike the former mayor and his predecessors, Soyer is noted to be the first non-native mayor of Seferihisar. This change can partly be assigned to the increase in non-native local resident population in Seferihisar due to in-migration from several diverse regions

---

[1]Seferihisar is the 121st member of the organization, which currently has 150 members from 25 countries of the world by March 2012.

1

of Turkey over the last 20 years.[2] However, under the (neoliberal) circumstances, such 'vertical mobility' in the city governance field has been registered, before all else, as a symptom of 'urban restructuring'; thereof leading us to regard it as a 'research hunch' towards the possibility of sighting new spaces of neoliberalism in the horizon as the expression of a possible 'growth machine' seeking 'urban fortunes' in Seferihisar. On the other hand, the early insights gained from the preliminary contacts with a wide array of 'urban professionals' located in Izmir with hands-on experience of processes on urban change in Izmir led me to the necessity of reviewing the validity of such 'growth machine/ urban restructuring' assumption with serious reservations. Because, after having been heavily plundered throughout the last 20 years, the current development plan decisions in effect over the land use of the whole Urla Peninsula region were far from leaving room for another round of 'land use abuse'[3]; thus, rendering my initial assumption as unduly cynical. In the meantime, the most obvious direct consequence of the 'vertical mobility' in the city governance field of Seferihisar, has been announced by the mayor himself, six months after his winning the mayor's office, that Seferihisar won the membership to the International *Cittaslow* Association in November 28, 2009. Moreover, the membership was awarded for the first time in its history by the delegation having considered it unnecessary to pay a visit to the candidate city. This fact has been acknowledged by the mayor as a due recognition of their commitment to the *Cittaslow* philosophy already at their successful presentation at the *Cittaslow* Headquarters in Italy. However, considering the extended diplomatic work and hard labor Tunç Soyer had paid during Izmir's *EXPO 2015* candidacy earlier[4], this 'easy' achievement was rather regarded as "hardwon effortlessness" on behalf of the Seferihisar community, as an informant wittingly commented: "We asked for EXPO, yet we got settled with *Cittaslow* as its bonus". Given the fact that *Cittaslow* has been critically acclaimed as an 'alternative urban development model' in the European experience, its conjunctural reception in Izmir's *wannabe*-world city context as EXPO's 'bonus' or 'consolation prize' seemed quite contradictory, which was particularly enhanced by the sudden upsurge of

---

[2]It should be noted that Soyer is a long-time resident of Seferihisar and a local business owner, a resort hotel inherited from his father in Sığacık. Regarding his winning the office, however, the increasing non-native resident population can rather be argued as an 'indirect factor', in that, the considerable rise of the AKP votes in Seferihisar seems to have worked against the former mayor.

[3]Seferihisar, after following the traditional development pattern of a central historic town surrounded by several disparate rural villages for over centuries, had faced agricultural land use abuse by the partial development plans of the second residence boom after 1980s. "Thanks" to the natural and historical protection sites, as well as the vast military areas which are off-limits even to the day-based touristic activities of the civilians, let alone the rentier-contractor class, the further destruction of the shoreline and the relatively untouched forest areas has been indefinitely prevented.

[4]Tunç Soyer has served as the *Secretary General* of the *Izmir EXPO 2015 Executive Committee* during the three years long candidacy process, which entrusted him with extensive authority in the *Izmir EXPO 2015 Executive Committee* that was formed by the Turkish Council of Ministers in November 2006, Law nº5750 (adopted in 2008). The *Bureau International des Expositions* (BIE) announced that Milan will host *EXPO 2015* over rival Izmir on 31 March 2008. Tunç Soyer ran on CHP ticket in 2009 Local Elections and took office in 31 March 2009.

interest to Seferihisar in the local and national media; in effect, working towards affirming our earlier research hunch, albeit perplexingly with a 'model' not quite designed to serve these ends in the first place.

In the following couple of months in 2010, *Cittaslow* has been quickly adopted and adapted by the municipality not only to guide its *Cittaslow*-oriented actions but also to make up for the general 'lack of identity' in Seferihisar, which had been growingly experienced as a 'governance failure' with respect to the unsuccessful management of the distinguished natural and historical assets of the town. Thus, *Cittaslow* has been the umbrella 'concept', through which the municipality started to coordinate and introduce several other projects and organizations in order to make Seferihisar, what I am tempted to call, a *downsized* 'world city', bringing forth 'culture', in its many senses, as a 'yearlong-tourist-attraction-event', in the manner of EXPOs leveraging the restructuring of the engaged cities, only tailored to the capacity of a small town. Among such projects, Tunç Soyer has recently introduced a 'Creative Writing Center' to be opened in Seferihisar jointly by the Oxford, Ferris and the Ondokuz Mayıs Universities with the following statement:

> Together with the end of the Industrialization Age, starts this 21st century that we are in; some call it the Knowledge Age, some call it the Technology Age. Anyhow, it seems so that we entered an age where the human creativity became prominent. Because, we are entering an age where the nations are gradually losing their borders, currencies and flags, whereas human freedom and creativity comes to the forefront. In this age, creativity and free thought counts much more than capital. In that sense, creativity is getting to become a much more valuable, much more empowering and liberating element in our lives. In fact, the Creative Writing to be founded by these three Universities is not only a literary thing, but a center that will pave the way for the development of free thinking, enabling humans to be much more productive in this sense. We already had a small project confluent with that, we were imagining a Writer House, where writers would spend two or three months working on their novels, writing their poems, that is, producing their work during their stay. Now we are merging it with this project as well. Lastly, this is also a reestablishment of reputation for Teos. We talked about this before, that 'Teos is a City of Artists'. It has been such a pleasant coincidence that a Creative Writing Center is now being opened at where once an Actors' Guild, that is a Syndicate of the Artists, was located for the first time in history. I think it is much more meaningful to have it here than anywhere else in Turkey.[5]

---

[5]TV interview with Tunç Soyer, aired live on TRT 1, Sabah Aktüel (11.18.2011), transcription/ translation mine:

"Sanayileşme çağının bitmesinden sonra başlayan bu 21. yüzyılda, işte kimi Bilgi Çağı diyor, kimi teknoloji çağı diyor, ama galiba insanın yaratıcılığının öne çıktığı bir çağa girmiş olduk. Çünkü, uluslar sınırlarını, paralarını, bayraklarını yavaş yavaş kaybediyorlar ve çok daha insanın özgürlüğünün öne çıktığı, insanın yaratıcılığının öne çıktığı bir döneme giriyoruz. İşte bu dönemde, sermayeden çok insanın yaratıcılığının, özgür düşüncesinin para ettiği bir çağ bu. Bu anlamda yaratıcılık çok daha değerli, çok daha güç veren, özgürlük kazandıran bir unsur olmaya başladı hayatımızda. İşte, bu üç Üniversitenin kurmuş olacağı Yaratıcı Yazarlık sadece edebi bir şey değil aslında, yani insanın özgür düşünmesinin gelişmesine yol açacak ve bu anlamda da çok daha üretken olmasını sağlayacak bir merkez. Bizim de bir küçük projemiz vardı onunla birleşen, bir yazar evi yapmayı hayal ediyorduk. Yani dünyanın her yerinden yazarların gelip iki ay, üç ay kalıp romanlarını, şiirlerini yazacakları, bu sürede ürünlerini verecekleri bir ev hayal ediyorduk. Onu da bu projeyle birleştiriyoruz. Son olarak şunu da söyleyeyim, bu aslında Teos için bir iade-i itibar projesi. Daha önce de konuşmuştuk, Teos bir Sanatçılar Şehri diye. Tarihte ilk kez Aktörler Birliği'nin, yani bir tür Sanatçılar Sendikası'nın kurulduğu Teos'ta, böylesi bir Yaratıcı Yazarlık Merkezi'nin kurulması çok da hoş bir tesadüf oldu. Türkiye'nin herhangi bir yerinde kurulmasından çok daha anlamlı oldu diye düşünüyorum."

However, Seferihisar's appropriation as a *downsized* 'world city', reaches its full sense within the context of a scalar urban division of labor, where Seferihisar's seasonally "shrinking"[6] urban space is endowed with new 'extra-occupational' responsibilities corresponding to the old and new middle-class segments of the social structure, especially those elements of it, Offe (1985: 831-832) argues, which work in the human service professions and/or the public sector; elements of the old middle class and a category of the population consisting of people *outside the labor market or in a peripheral position to it* (such as unemployed workers, students, housewives, retired persons). On the other hand, while Seferihisar is being appropriated as a 'post-productivist space' via the exclusion of the two traditional classes of the 'capitalist society' (namely, the 'industrial working class' and the 'business class'), the 'new class' is being conspiciuosly led by those ex-members of the latter, who have come to realign themselves with the emergent new economies and their linked subjectivities.[7]

1. The Aim and the Scope of the Study

The thesis addresses Seferihisar's *Cittaslow* experience with the following key problematizations: Firstly, the 'vertical mobility' of entrepreneurial capacity is argued as symptomatic of the transformation from "managerialism to entrepreneurialism" (Harvey, 1989) in urban governance, which timely parallels the processes of "devolving of the management of crisis downwards" (Jessop, 2002) in Turkey, especially in the context of *Public Sector Reforms*[8] initiated by the AKP government since 2002. In order to do this, we need to view Seferihisar in the wider political-economic context of the Aegean Region, where Izmir, as a port city, emerges as a site of "relative deprivation" (Offe, 1985) beginning with the 1980s and increasingly with the restructuring and rescaling policy adjustments of the neoliberal state.

---

[6] Oguz *et al.* (2010) observe that while Izmir metrolpolitan area grows in population, sprawling towards the periphery in order to form new suburban settlements, there are hidden processes of shrinkage and decline in some cities. Districts of the Urla peninsula, with seasonal in and outflux of summer population, embody such disparate settlements of low-density second homes with inadequate urban public services, reduced choices of living and weakened community connections.

[7] The mayor of the Yenipazar *Cittaslow*, Yüsran Erden is noted as a retired CEO. The town is currently 'hosting' the distinguished political figure Mehmet Ağar at its 'slow' facilities. On the subject matter, the mayor surrealistically commented as follows: "Gerek Sayın Ağar, gerekse de Adalet Bakanlığı yetkilileri eğer sakin şehir olmasından dolayı ilçemizdeki cezaevini tercih ettiyse, hiç şüphesiz ilçemiz bundan fayda sağlayacaktır. Doğrusu ben, seçimin neye göre yapıldığını bilmiyorum. Biz eskiden beri, ilçemizin yerel güzelliklerini hem kendi sakinlerimiz, hem de misafirlerimizle paylaşıyoruz. Sayın Ağar'ın yakınları ve sevenlerinin ilçemize gelmesi ekonomik canlılık yaratacaktır. Biz de bundan mutlu oluruz".Hürriyet online: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/20417304.asp, 25.04.2012; Accessed: 12.06.2012.

[8] Beriş and Dicle (2004) discuss how "Turkey's public administrative system remained ineffective and failed to match extensive economic liberalization that took place in the 1980s. Recognizing this gap and Turkey's low performance compared to many other countries around the world, the AKP included Public Sector Reform into its Urgent Action Plan in 2002, in addition to its government program." Beris, Yakup; Dicle, Ebru (March, 2004)"Reforming Public Management and Managing Reform in Turkey" in *TURKEY in FOCUS,* Issue: 4.

I briefly discuss how the 'historical bloc' of urban capital in Izmir, in search of a remedy for their "ebbing power"[9], has been facilitative in the construction of the quasi-cultural identity of the 'secular', 'urbanite' "*Izmirli* positive stereotype" (Demirtaş-Milz, 2010:403). Accordingly, I discuss the extent to which Seferihisar *Cittaslow* relies on the mobilization capacity of the urbanite middle-classes in the form of 'human capital'[10] participating in and organizing the activities during the 'capacity building processes' of the town. The importance of the figure of Tunç Soyer in enabling the "intermittent corporeal co-presence" (Urry, 2001) of such 'human capital' in Seferihisar is addressed. Similarly, given the strategic role that Soyer had come to take in the moderation of the contested relationships between the local urban elite and the AKP prefecture during the Izmir *EXPO 2015* bidding process, the effectiveness of his role as a "facilitative mayor" (Stoker, 2008) in the vested hierarchical local authority environment, will be better understood.

Secondly, I discuss that the *Cittaslow* style local entrepreneurialism, or what Jessop (2002) calls 'neocommunitarianism', beyond the 'caliber' of the leader, is about building regulation and rescaling of place governance as *fit* to the "sociospatial specificity of the economic development of small cities" (van Heur, 2010). The social-democratic municipality in Seferihisar, by adopting a "neocommunitarian" development model (i.e., *Cittaslow*) plays a key energizing role in the "joining-up" (Stoker, 2008) of the "bottom-up" community inertia, paradoxically *with* and *against* the rescaling strategies of the neoliberal state policies. We argue that the simultaneous '*with* and *against*' attitude of the leadership of the municipality is necessary in the staging of a 'communitarian', 'self-regulatory' gesture by the community, which has to be both reactive and pro-active in outlook for at least two reasons: (a) this outlook is more and more demanded by the neo-liberal market forces in order to be able to follow the updated protocols ("Post-Washington consensus") of the global actors in their legitimized ways of (re)embedding the economy into the society and the environment, (b) the restructuring and rescaling policies of the central government have to be made compatible in the local through a risk sharing attitude by all parties (i.e., political, civil, private) in order to make the contradictions of the neoliberal state manageable (i.e., new-alliances, shared social responsibility, integrated management).

Thirdly, although in this thesis our scope will be limited to Seferihisar's *Cittaslow* experience, as such on the peripheral side of the *EXPO-Cittaslow* 'continuum'[11], I highlight

---

[9] White, Jenny (Dec., 2007) "The Ebbing Power of Turkey's Secularist Elite" in *Current History*.

[10] Offe (1985:833) argues that the structural characteristics of the new middle class core of activists and supporters of new social movements include "high educational status, relative economic security (and, in particular, experience of such security in their "formative years"), and employment in personal-service occupations".

[11] These events seem to be planned as complementary to one another in terms of the socio-spatial division of labor ascribed to them. The bid theme of the Izmir EXPO 2015 was designated as *Health for All/New Routes to a Better*

certain features of *EXPO*s and their large-scale and long-term impacts on the mega-event hosting and bidding cities, sincemega-event hosting and bidding processes are viewed as 'capacity-building processes' for the cities involved,while generating competition among cities (Erten, 2008). Moreover, dated from the bidding process of *EXPO 2015* and together with its recent candidacy to the *EXPO 2020*, Izmir's extended mega-event bidding processes keeps occupying the city's agenda for quite a long time now. This fact renders Brenner and Theodore's (2002, vii) Lefebvrian insight valid for Izmir's ongoing *EXPO* experience: "neoliberalism represents a strategy of political-economic restructuring that uses space as its "privileged instrument" (Lefebvre, 1978:262)". We discuss how the recent 'integrated approach' and 'strategies' in administrative, planning and urbanism practices positions the center and the touristic periphery by diversifying activities to new destinations[12]. Therefore, an intra-scalar analysis of the *Cittaslow* project in Seferihisar and its mode of operation in *everyday life*[13] within both the city and the city-region requires the highlighting of its events as attempts towards constitutive of "economic imaginaries" (Jessop, 2002) linked to "spatiotemporal fixes" (Harvey, 2003: 115) that facilitates "the displacement and/or deferral of the contradictions and dilemmas of capital accumulation" (Jessop, 2003:11) through the social and institutional regulation of economic development.

2. Research Questions

Since this thesis was largely motivated by a desire to gain a deeper understanding of the sociospatial practices that set 'philosophically grounded' *ideas* (e.g., slowness) as "normative" and "life-regulatory" in the local urban administrative context of a Turkish small town, the research questions were directed towards exposing the incidence and the conditions of occurence of *Cittaslow* in Seferihisar. Given the municipality's central leadership role in the *Cittaslow*movement, and the fact that this research had to correspond to an early stage in the

---

World. The location of the EXPO sitewas contestedly planned in İnciraltı,nearby the Çeşme Toll Road Entrance,to allow visitors to EXPO to combine their visit with access to the touristic resorts in the Çeşme-Urla-Karaburun Peninsula. The contestation still continues in the Izmir EXPO 2020 process especially between the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the Chamber of City Planners, Izmir Chapter, with the latter carrying their protests to court.

[12]"With the Sixth and Seventh Five Year Development Plans, the State Planning Organization stressed the diversification of tourism activities to new destinations, prolongation of the tourism season to the entire year by developing golf tourism, thermal and health tourism, winter tourism, mountain, yacht, convention, ecotourism activities and so on." Gürkan, İnanç (2008:9) "Tourism as an Agent of Change: Izmir–Alaçatı Case", Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments, Middle East Technical University, unpublished thesis.

[13] "Although neoliberal projects are being pursued on many different and often tangled scales, it is in cities and city-regions that the various contradictions and tensions of "actually existing neoliberalism" (Brenner and Theodore, 2002:15) are expressed most saliently in *everyday life*. It is also on this scale that one can find major attempts to manage these contradictions and tensions in the hope of consolidating the neoliberal turn through supplementary and/or flanking strategies and policies" (Jessop, 2002: 105;my emphasis).

implementation of the "model", the thesis confined itself principally to the identification of the *economic imaginaries* that set off the further restructruing processes in the town, to find out:

> Can restructuring processes be harnessed by progressive institutions and social movements to promote democratized, socially just and environmentally sustainable forms of political-economic organization?

This question had to be answered particularly with respect to a possible counter-argument that regarded the role of the municipal leadership as operational in the staging of a neo-communitarian, self-regulatory gesture by the community, where the neoliberal restructuring and rescaling policies of the central government were made compatible in the local context. Thus, the answer had to be extended to the discussion of the several possible "thirdway" options in between "salvation" and "co-option" with their own tensions and contradictions.Accordingly, the *Cittaslow* experience of Seferihisar also had to account for the sub-question:"whether cities, regions or nations achieve competitiveness in similar ways to firms, and, if not, do they at least pursue economic competitiveness in the same way as each other?" (Jessop, 2002: 187).

CHAPTER II

THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

1. Social sciences and the changing 'rules of engagement' with urban politics

In his seminal work *TheRise of the Network Society*, Manuell Castells, opposes the "timeless time" of the dominant functions and powerful social actors in the network society with the "glacial time" of a counterpower operating through *other* conceptions of time.[14] The notion of 'Slow', I believe, find its most general characterization and inspiration in these counter-hegemonic forms of conceiving and practicing *time*, and *space*, as linked to several alternative projects of organizing society. Nonetheless, it is still necessary to begin with a commentary on the quite strategic appropriation of the term 'Slow', which seems to have gradually evolved in time from an 'instantaneous philosophy' and 'culture' to eventually signify a 'social movement' (*Slow Food*) and an 'alternative urban development model' (*Cittaslow*). It should be noted in advance that the leap of the term to come to incorporate such complex phenomena under its banner was no coincidence, but rather the outcome of a consciously engaged pragmatics of institution-making with both a clear-cut purpose of intervening into the hegemonic field of policy making and an ambition for bridging the gap between 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' institutional forces. In this framework, "Slow" seems to be cherishing an enjoyable life as the "bottom-up" substitute of "reflexivity", a rather unfortunate notion which had been stripped of its specific social scientific sense in the hands of the International Relations scholars.

Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992: 37) meticulously trace the social scientific conceptions of "reflexivity" from "self-reference" to "self-awareness" and further to the "constituent circularity [...] of a 'problematic phenomenon' woven into the fabric of the organized activities of everyday life", to find out, however, what is missing is the "idea of reflexivity as a *requirement and form of sociological work*"[15]. In this respect, it should be stated in advance that the realm of

---

[14] According to Castells (2004: xlii), *glacial time* "is a slow-motion time that human perception assigns to the evolution of the planet. It is sequential time, but moving so slowly, as perceived from the brevity of our lives, that it seems to us to be eternal. And in fact it is, because we can only follow the planetary sequence when we rejoin nature in the eternity. This is the conception of time present in the environmental movement when activists declare intergenerational solidarity".

[15] For instance, the work of Giddens (1984, 1987, 1990b), as Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992: 37) observe, refers to reflexivity in all three senses and with three referents: *agency*, *science*, and *society*:"Subjects are said to be reflexive insofar as they are "concept-bearing animals" who possess the capacity to "turn back upon" and monitor their own actions. Social science is reflexive in the sense that the knowledge it generates is "injected" back into the reality it describes. Finally, society can be said to be reflexive as it evolves the capacity to control and program its own development (what Touraine puts under the notion of historicity). What is missing from all these conceptions is the

"slow" phenomena, which is currently overly empirical and under theorized, remains in the shadow of the popular acclaim and the quasi-academic status of the "phenomenon of Slow" particularly with respect to the 'idea of *slow* as a requirement and form of sociological work'. Thus, any researcher willing to study anything "slow" beyond an "abstracted empiricism"[16] of some idiosyncratic practices has to face the challenge of critically establishing the widely missing social-scientific correlations among the "slow" phenomena at stake with the relevant analytics, in order to be able to articulate the empirical and theoretical implications of its allegedly "reflexive" characteristics as historically manifested by its 'philosophy', 'movement' and 'model'.

The review of such social scientific attempts, on the other hand, provides us with amazing insights into the changing 'rules of engagement' with the 'object(s) of study' that are constituted in the broader context of the hegemonic shift from the Keynesian-Fordist-welfarist global economic order to a post-Fordist-workfarist one. The symptoms of this change can be readily located at the level of the (re)appropriation of certain social scientific concepts by scholars working in global policy-making institutions. The problem particularly arises when scholars with developmental-economics mindset refer to such concepts as "social capital" and "reflexivity" by diluting the earlier critical contributions of several radical sociologists and philosophers, in order to argue for a criticism-proof paradigm. This situation seems to be further complicated by the recent changes taking place within the quasi-academic world of the World Bank, where Fine (2011) observes that the so-called 'post-Washington consensus' created an opening for social theorists, who have otherwise been dominated by economists, both in numbers, focus and influence. Although for some, the reintroduction of the 'social' into the field of 'economy' has been heralded as an opportunity; according to Fine (2011) it has the troubling dual aspect both of rhetorically smoothing the acceptance of, at most marginally altered, economic policies and of broadening the scope of justifiable intervention from the economic to the social in order to ensure policies are successful: "Social, and covert political, engineering is to complement economic engineering, with 'social capital' providing a client-friendly rhetoric".

---

idea of reflexivity as a *requirement and form of sociological work*, that epistemological program in action for social science, and as a corollary a theory of intellectuals as the wielders of a dominated form of domination."

[16]Charles Wright Mills warns us against "abstracted empiricism" as early as 1959, as a methodological fallacy that "seizes upon one juncture in the process of work and allows it to dominate the mind [whereby] the methodological inhibition stands parallel to the fetishism of the Concept [...] There is a pronounced tendency to confuse whatever is to be studied with the set of methods suggested for its study. The *intellectual administrator* and the *research technician*—both quite new types [back in 1959] of professional men—now compete with the more usual kinds of professors and scholars [...] This style of research, in brief, is accompanied by an *administrative demiurge* which is relevant to the future of social study and to its possible bureaucratization" (Mills, 1959/2000: 50-75, emphases mine).

In the academia 'proper', on the other hand, as Keil (2000) observes, the shift in the real world of urban politics from the *left* ('urban crisis' context of the 1970s) to the *right* ('regeneration' during the boom of the 1980s) has been accompanied by an even more profound attack on the foundations of critical urban scholarship that characterized the earlier decades[17], to the degree of questioning the very right of scholars and activists to expose "their" city, or other cities, to a fundamental critique. According to Keil (2000) progressive urban intellectual and academic circles have responded to the limitations imposed upon their practices by eventually positioning themselves in two broad camps, namely, the "critics" and the "changers". What seems to have changed on behalf of the "changers", in terms of 'topicality' and 'strategy', is the general framework of engaging with the possibilities for urban social liberation; that is, by way of aligning with the institutional struggles of an 'action-' and 'policy-oriented' strand of analysts that are working with concepts such as democratization, civil society, citizenship, social and environmental justice. In this new institutional mode of urban activism, the potential role of the local administrations in the reintroduction of the concept of 'civil society' into a perspective on planning and progressive urban change has been recognized as promising, especially after the exemplary struggle given by local administrations in Curitiba for the inclusion of a "chapter 28" into the *Agenda 21* in order to initiate *Local Agenda 21* processes in cities all over the world[18]. On the other hand, the EU regional policy field, as Telò (2007) argues, has developed its own realms of discursive development, institution-making and political mobilization, affecting broader discourses on spatial economic development and innovation at the European level. While the emphasis in regional policy field is still effectively on "competitiveness" and "endogenous development" as obvious marks and embodiments of neoliberal thinking, EU politics is argued to have made a clear difference in

---

[17]Keil (2000) argues that "one or two generations of radical scholars in sociology, geography, and political economy had grown up to view the urban question as central to social theory and political action in the capitalist West. The "urbanization" of Marxism in particular had been triggered by the pathbreaking work in the 1960s and 1970s of Europeans Manuel Castells and David Harvey, both of whom had been influenced, in different ways, by the spatial and urban theory of Henri Lefebvre. While diverse in their respective approaches to the urban problematique, these authors shared a common interest in "the wild city" (Castells), which had been the most visible site of boom-and-doom of post-World War II western capitalism (Fordism). Rebellions, rent strikes, transit-fare struggles, urban social movements, and countercultures spread through the Western world in the 1960s and 1970s like a wildfire, from the Watts ghetto in Los Angeles to the West Bank of Paris. These events—which often took place in close vicinity to the alleged success stories of post-World War II urbanism; i.e., inner-city redevelopment sites and peripheral housing estates—became the backdrop for a radical urbanist practice throughout the next two decades".

[18]In *Agenda 21*, "chapter 28" is titled *Local Authorities' Initiatives In Support Of Agenda 21* in line with the emphasis given to the issue of "forming global partnerships for sustainable development". However, the inclusion of this chapter in the *Agenda 21* was not easy.In the preliminary meetings organized by UN before the Rio Summit, several central government representatives in national boards would disagree with the content of chapter 28. It was going to be included only in the final draft of the Agenda 21 by virtue of the initiatives and pressures of the local administrations and civil society organizations that met in another city in Brazil (Curitiba) shortly before the Summit. In the 1992 Curitiba Bulletin of Local Administrations it was mainly argued that "because so many of the problems and solutions being addressed by Agenda 21 have their roots in local activities, the participation and cooperation of local authorities will be a determining factor in fulfilling its objectives". Accordingly, it was agreed that local administrations of all nations would initiate a participatory process and form the Local Agenda 21of their cities in dialogue with the citizens, local public and private institutions (Emrealp, 2005: 19).

addressing the complex link between economic development, spatial cohesion and the role of the region. Thus, in many ways, "changers" have been redefining the stakes of 'the class struggle within urban politics', while re-positioning themselves for the opportunities of counter-hegemonic action at a constantly rescaled city-regional arena of urban competition.

Interestingly, these developments once again brings 'urban middle-classes' back into the arena of urban politics, however, this time as incorporated within the innovative institutional modes of urban governance. In the context of the Slow movement, Carp (2011: 119) proposes the term "adaptive comanagement" in order to refer to the "place-based process of incremental intervention", which is ideally performed, according to Schultz (2009; quoted in Carp), "by a diverse *network* of actors to enable a balance between the coordination capacity of centralized structures, and the learning capacity of decentralized structures [where the] core features are *learning*, *collaboration*, and *multi-level governance*". In this renewed framework of the spatial turn in governance studies, the notion of "emergence" is given a privileged theoretical role with regards to the constitution of new sites of 'struggle' in the form of new research agendas to be 'reflexively' coordinated by a network of engaged scholars ("changers"), intellectuals, activists, and most importantly, local administrators. For instance, the latest volume of the *Regions and Cities Book Series*, published by Routledge in 2012, is devoted to the topic of *Cultural Political Economy of Small Cities*, presenting a very recent body of academic work that contributes "to an *emerging* small cities research agenda and to the development of policy-relevant expertise that is sensitive to place-specific cultural dynamics" (Lorentzen & van Heur, 2012). In this volume, *Cittaslow* is discussed as an international network of small towns in the European context with reference to the notion of "reflexive polycentricity" by Paul Knox[19], in order to emphasize the novelty in *Cittaslow*'s 'governmentality' with respect to the "institutional polycentricity" of the EU's new regional policy substratum, from which *Cittaslow emerges*; that is, as a "relatively autonomous" form, to put in the Althusserian terminology of the "regulation" theorists. On the one hand, the theoretical appeal of network society's 'Slow' counterpower to the *Regulation Approach* can also be taken as a consequence of the institutionalized mode of engagement with urban politics. Particularly, the replacement of the "transhistorical" concept of the "mode of production" with what regulationists call a "model of development" (i.e., in the manner of a 'structure' that *emerges*[20] contingently in particular times and places) seems

---

[19] Paul Knox is a University Distinguished Professor of Urban Affairs and Planning, and a Senior Fellow for International Advancement at Virginia Polytechnic Institute. He is a member of the *Cittaslow Scientific Committee* and one of the earliest academicians that has drawn attention to *Cittaslow* along with his wife Heike Mayer with the case studies they have conducted across Europe. Heike Mayer is a Professor of Economic Geography at the University of Bern in Switzerland and an adjunct professor in Urban Affairs and Planning at Virginia Tech in the United States. For the full list of the members of the *Cittaslow* Scientific Committee, see the *Cittaslow* homepage: http://www.*Cittaslow*.org/section/scientific-committee (Accessed: 12.04.2011).

[20] Graham & Gibson (1996: 28) trace Althusser's influence on Alain Lipietz's work (1993) and refer to the "regulation" theory as "the multivocal body of political economic thought, from which come the concepts of

necessary in the recasting of the "counter-hegemonic" potential of the small cities within the new regional Europe. Informed by Lefebvre's "transhistorical" critique of the "production of space" at the level of everyday struggles, however, Brenner (2009: 359) is nonetheless able to reconcile what regulationists refer to as "new space" or a "new model of development" with the critique of the "production of space" perspective:

> In a seminal discussion that spatializes some of Gramsci's key concepts, Lipietz (1994:35) has underscored the ways in which processes of capitalist restructuring are articulated in the form of struggles between "defenders of the 'old space'" (to which he refers as the "conservative bloc") and proponents of a "new space" or a "new model of development" (to which he refers as "the modernist bloc"). For Lipietz, *the production of new spaces* occurs through the conflictual interaction of conservative/preservationist and modernizing or restructuring-oriented political forces at diverse scales, generally leading to *a new territorial formation that eclectically combines elements of the old geographical order with aspects of the "projected spaces"* sought by the advocates of (neoliberal and/or progressive) modernization. This conceptualization provides a useful basis for examining the political, institutional and geographical transformations that unfolded following the crisis of Fordism.

It is, however, necessary to *slow down* at the crossroads of 'political economy' and 'culture' in order to be able to perceive the theoretical dilemmas accompanying this somewhat heuristic mechanism of *emergence*, with regards to the "naturalization" of neoliberalism as a planetary 'automaton' that releases new 'political economies' as *fit*[21] for each and every geographical scale, like the patches of a less-than-perfect global order, as if it were 'the only paradigm left standing' for building "common sense" across 'cultures'.

2. *Slowing down* at the crossroads of 'political economy' and 'culture'

Michael Hardt (2000) argues that Karl Marx characterized capitalism in its early phase by the primary dialectic between 'capital' and 'labor': labor, as a foreign force to capital, had to be *abstracted*, *recuperated*, *disciplined*, and *tamed* within the productive processes (e.g., "formal subsumption of labor under capital"). In its later phase, however, through the

---

Fordism and *post-Fordism* that have gained such currency on the left". They note that "according to Alain Lipietz (1993), Althusser enabled a vision of *complexly structured social totality made up of relations irreducibly multiple and various, without a center or origin, existing as "a fabric, an articulation of relatively autonomous and specific relations, overdetermining one another"* (p.127). On the basis of this Althusserian social conception, the regulationists were able to theorize the forms and activities of the state, the institutions of the civil society, and the realm of ideas and culture as something other than "supports for capital" (p.112), and thus to conceive of the project of concretely specifying, for particular historical periods, how they might nevertheless come to play that role" (emphases mine).

[21] In Turkey, Local Administration Reform Programme was launched in 2004-2005 through the adoption of new primary legislation on Municipalities, Metropolitan Municipalities, Special Provincial Administrations and Unions of Local Authorities, as well as of a new Law on Public Financial Management and Control adopted in December 2003 (which also applies to Local Administrations). Accordingly, local authorities are required "to develop and implement *strategic plans* for the development of local communities, to efficiently administer public financial resources allocated to them and to deliver high quality local services". What is crucial here is that politics, leadership, and political economy (the interaction of economic and political forces and *choices*) are regarded as centrally important with respect to the allowable variance around the choice of an economic model and the institutions and politics that embrace growth and development.

socialization of production and through scientific and technological innovation, Marx recognized that capital tends to create new labor processes and destroy old ones, setting in motion a *specificallycapitalist mode of production* (e.g., "real subsumption of labour under capital"). In this new scheme, the labor-capital dialectic no longer holds the central role, and capital no longer needs to engage labor or represent labor at the heart of production. This means that, what is *subsumed*, what is accepted into the process, is no longer a potentially conflictive force but a product of the system itself. In very brief summary, then, Marx identifies a three-stage shift in the source of capitalist production, from "individual labor" to "social labor" and finally to "social capital". In the *specificallycapitalist mode of production*, productive labor—or even production in general—no longer appears as the pillar that defines and sustains capitalist social organization. Social capital appears to reproduce itself autonomously, as if it were emancipated from the working class, and labor becomes invisible in the system. What is crucial to our concern in the present discussion is that Marx recognized this passage from the "formal" to the "real subsumption" in 19th century society as a *tendency*, but it seems that this passage has only recently come to be *generalized* in the most decisively capitalist countries in our times.

In the context of urban studies, Henri Lefebvre is the earliest thinker to redirect our attention to Marx's insights about this qualitatively different 'nature' of "social capital" in late capitalism, which necessitates a corresponding *specifically sociospatial approach*. For Lefebvre, spatial relations represent a rich and constant source of social contradictions that require analysis on their own terms; that is without being dismissed as mere reflection of the internal contradictions of the production process. Thus, Lefebvre's main argument is that, space is produced like no other commodity; it has the property of being materialized by a specific social process *to act back upon itself and that process*. It is simultaneously the *product*, the *medium* and the *reproducer* of material objects and social relations. Accordingly, Lefebvre constructs his own distinctive tripartite conceptualization of "material space" (perceived space), "representation of space" (conceptualized space), and "spaces of representation" (lived space) as a *trialectics*, where the resolution of two conflicting terms in a synthesis is constantly undone or opened up by the third realm, of *experience*, for the further production of conflicts and contradictions. It should be emphasized that, for Lefebvre, this experiential realm is far from being a given property; and has yet to materialize in practices that amount to a *critique of everyday life* in order to be able to reverse the tendency of capital to surround us with ready-made experiences, which, in turn, prevent us from perceiving the contradictions in our immediate surroundings. Thus, as Gottdiener (1985: 151) puts it, Lefebvre wishes to introduce two modes of reasoning into Marxian mental activity, the "utopian" and the "strategic". Lefebvre's utopianism, however, should be distinguished from that of the earlier "utopian socialists", Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen. In fact, they were also criticized by Marx, as Baker (2008) argues, not for being

"utopians" though, but rather for *not being utopians enough*; in that their "utopias" were not filled with desire and will but by "rational" artifacts, a kind of rational and cerebrally formulated order imposed upon reality. In that sense, they were rather "planners", the founders of modern "city planning" in many respects. For Lefebvre, on the other hand, the production of socialist space meant the end of private property and the state's political domination of space, implying a passage from "domination" to "appropriation" and the primacy of "use" over "exchange". Thus, Lefebvre's utopianism is interwoven with the immanent "strategies" of appropriating space *as lived*. However, things get complicated beyond this point, as Lefebvre's appeal to "utopia" and "strategy", which he framed as a spontaneous counter-hegemonic "creation" within the *urban* context, has either been unduly criticized (particularly by Castells) or opportunistically misappropriated (most significantly by the third-way urbanists) as if Lefebvre's thinking were imputing *emergentproperties* to the increased social density of urban interaction, Castells (1977: 90) argued, in the manner of the environmental determinists such as Wirth and Ficher. Similarly, Castree (2006: 205) argues as a Lefebvrian influence, the tendency in late twentieth-century Marxists to define the determining power of capital vis-à-vis *supposedly autonomous factors*—culture, politics and gender—in *creating* social life in cities, as follows:

> City appeared to be one of those *creations* entirely constructed by human action, they both reflect underlying social structures and shape them in unpredictable ways. Moreover, in contrast to rural life, cities create a tangible aura of difference—a way of life that emphasizes hazard, strangeness and free choice: a mental paradigm that seduces and abandons. Influenced by Henri Lefebvre, sociologists and geographers of the 'new' urban sociology tended to make an analytical distinction between the *economically determined organization of urban space* and a *culturally freer urbanism that serves as a form of collective self-expression*. Manuel Castells boldly declared that there was no 'urban' world outside of modern capitalism; where as David Harvey more cautiously separated *'the city as a built form'* from *'urbanism as a way of life'* (emphases mine).

For Castells, theorizing the urban space with *emergent* mechanisms or with any biological metaphors, for that matter, is justifying the unjustifiable and fostering capitalism like an organism beyond the reach of political economic criticism; as if it were always already *open* or *more* than the sum of its parts. According to Castells, specific processes do take place in cities, including a distinctively urban kind of organization of social relationships in space as well as the patterns of consumption collectively organized by the state, in order to ensure that capitalism has the level and character of urban space and consumption that it requires. In this respect, Lefebvre's "utopia" and "strategy" within the dynamics of urban space, can perhaps be reconciled with the *de Certeauan* arguments on 'consumption': in urban everyday life, in addition to there being a space of consumption or a space as the impact area for collective consumption, there is also the *consumption of space*, or space itself as an 'object of consumption', where the abstract commodity character of space is *potentially* reappropriatable, provided that it

is materialized by a 'slow' process *toact back upon itself and that process*.Thus, in so far as we are able to recognize urban space as the "medium" of transformative everyday practices, we are all potential candidates for sociospatial struggle: "To 'change society', to 'change life' means nothing if there is not the production of an appropriated space" (Lefebvre, 1973: 72). Gottdiener (1985: 155) showsthat as we accept the revolutionary potential of sociospatial praxis as something which *complements the class struggle*, entire areas of social action which were once trivialized or even dismissed by orthodox Marxists assume a new significance:

> Environmentalism, previously viewed as too fragmented and spealized a mode of strategic intervention, takes on immense importance. Such a movement cannot be understood as a manifestation of concerns covered by collective consumption theory or by a discursive expropriation of Lefebvre's theoretical concept of everyday life in favor of some nominalist reference to the quality of life(Castells, 1984). From the perspective of sociospatial praxis, the environmental movement has invented an entire conceptual apparatus and vocabulary for specifying the nature of transformational interventions in space.

From the viewpoint of the problematique of our 'subject matter', however, we still need a certain analytics to distinguish the collective attempts to "renegotiate the social costs of capitalist economic development" (Gottdiener, 1985) from that of the recent "contradictory re-regulation of everyday life" (Keil, 2002) that characterizes the temporality of neoliberalism. For one thing, Gottdiener (1985: 156) argues that the sociospatial practices that are appealed by the Lefebvrian optics possess an origin in the "holistic dependency of everyday life on the use value of community space", rendering both the assumptions of 'collective consumption' and 'exchange value' obsolete:

> The importance of communal space to everyday life cannot, as many Marxists contend, be reduced to a category of *political economy* […] The concept of social space is dominated by *culture*, so that the analysis of any local neighborhood must focus on the confrontation between *use* and *exchange values*—on the complex articulation between symbolic universes of meaning, capital accumulation, and space (Gottdiener, 1985: 157; emphases mine).

Consequently, any 'production of space' perspective requires an articulation of Marxian political economy and critical discursive approaches. Thus, to figure out how to come to terms with the theory-inflicted character of the 'subject matter', without compromising 'criticality' and the possible ever *emergence* of a novel 'object of study' at the same time, presents a major challenge in itself. Mostly because, for better or worse, "we are now witnessing the breakdown of the established disciplinary boundaries as well as the rediscovery of space and time as socially constructed, socially constitutive of relations, rather than mere external parameters of disciplinary inquiry" (Jessop and Sum, 2001). The 'Slow' claims of conducting alternative sociospatial practices on the ground and across disciplines are therefore situated within an ongoing *debate* in the social sciences that brings up the complex roles that 'culture'

has come to play over the studying of urban 'political economy'. The proponents of what has come to be called as 'new social theory' posit the problematique as a general intellectual response to the "dramatic transformations that the world has been passing through"(Gane, 2004: 1)[22], whereas Psychopedis (2000: 71) from a rather orthodox Marxist position, argues that the debate is mostly interested in figuring out whether such claims towards the explanatory failure of the 'structuralist' theories of social action as well as the theories of social cohesion and continuity are to be taken seriously or not.

In this respect, David Harvey, with Lefebvrian critical discursive insights on the social production of space, introduces his own spatio-temporal frames of the 'absolute space', 'relative space' and 'relational space'. Harvey believes that the Marxist theory often produces conceptual confusion due to its failure to acknowledge the interplay between these different sociospatial frames. He discusses the 'absolute space', as the space of private property and other bounded territorial designations (states, administrative units, city plans and urban grids). 'Relative' view of space requires a shift of language from space and time to space-time or spatio-temporality. The uniqueness of location defined by bounded territories in 'absolute space' gives way to a multiplicity of locations that are equidistant from, say, some central city location. The movement of people, goods, services, and information takes place in a relative space because it takes money, time, energy, and the like to overcome the friction of distance. Relational view of space holds that there is no such thing as space or time outside of the processes that define them. Processes do not occur *in* space, but rather they define their own spatial frame. According to Harvey, certain critical topics, like the political role of 'collective memories' in urban processes can only be approached in this way. For Harvey, the problem of the proper conceptualization of space is resolved only through human practice with respect to it. The three spatial frames should be kept in dialectical tension with each other, in order to be able to think through the interplay among them constantly. This also enables him to comment on the so-called 'global-local' relations delineating the different spatio-temporal frames involved. For instance, when a factory closes down in one 'absolute space' (e.g., in Mexico), it is related to the changing concrete conditions of labor in another 'absolute space' (e.g., in China). We cannot say that the value relation causes the factory to close down as if it is some external abstract force; the changes in China are mediated through exchange processes in 'relative space-time' that transforms 'value as a social relation' in such a way as to bring the concrete labor process in Mexico to closure. According to Harvey, however, an important

---

[22] "The world today is passing through a number of dramatic transformations, not least those arising from the increased technological mediation of interpersonal relations, the blurring of boundaries between human subjects and interpersonal objects, and the proliferation of new global social and cultural forms. These developments demand a new sociological imagination and perhaps, in turn, a new conceptual vocabulary, one better equipped to negotiate the daunting complexity of contemporary world than the classical one that is still commonplace today". Gane, Nicholas (2004) *The Future of Social Theory*, London: Continuum International Publishing Group.

cultural change takes place in the transformation from Fordism to flexible accumulation (and from 'modernity' to 'postmodernity') in the human experience of space and time. Harvey (1990: 240) advances the concept of "time-space compression" to signal "processes that so revolutionize the objective qualities of space and time that we are forced to alter, sometimes in quite radical ways, how we represent the world to ourselves". He similarly points out that many of the transportation and communication technologies advanced by capitalist corporations have had the effect of *shrinking* space: spatial barriers have been overcome largely through increases in the speed of sending material goods, information, and people. These change in the sense of space and time carried over to the financial arena. With faster and far-flung telecommunications, financial markets came to encompass the entire globe in very short time spans. This theoretical insight enables Harvey to interpret the historical geography of capitalism as a "restless formation and re-formation of geographical landscapes" in which configurations of capitalist territorial organization are incessantly created, destroyed, and reconstituted as provisionally stabilized "spatial fixes" for each successive regime of accumulation. From this perspective, social space operates at once as a presupposition, medium, and outcome of capitalism's globalizing developmental dynamic. Space is not merely a physical container within which capitalist development unfolds, but one of its constitutive social dimensions, continually constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed through a historically specific, multi-scalar dialectic of de- and re-territorialization.

Saskia Sassen, similarly denounces as superficial any study of globalization that does not take the discipline of urban geography seriously, that is without placing the city (or city networks) at the center of its analysis; since what we see is rather "a re-scaling of the *strategic territories* that articulate the new system" (interview; Gane, 2004:126, emphasis mine). Sassen further discusses that capital mobility cannot be reduced simply to that which 'moves' or to the technologies that facilitate 'movement'. Rather, multiple components of what we keep thinking of as capital fixity are actually components of capital mobility. We need to distinguish between the capacity for global transmission/ communication and material conditions that make this possible. Even the most advanced information industries have a production process that is at least partly place-bound because of the combination of resources it requires even when the outputs are hypermobile. In brief, a focus on cities makes it possible to recognize the *anchoring* of multiple cross-border dynamics in a network of places, prominent among which are cities, particularly global cities or those with global city functions. This, in turn, *anchors* the various features of globalization in the specific conditions and histories of these cities and in their variable insertions in the national economies and in various world economies across time and place.

On the other hand, Knox and Mayer (2010), argue that although researchers paid considerable attention to the effects of globalization and technological change in the context of large cities and city regions, there is a relative lack of research into *small towns*. It is interesting to note that, this *emerging* small city research agenda draws most of its discourse from the earlier 'cultural economy'[23] research agenda while furthering the basic underlying position; that the earlier theoretical investments to understand the cultural ramifications of the shift from the 'Fordist' to the 'Post-Fordist' society, has actually started to pay back on the level of the institutions, in terms of both restoring trust to the active self-binding capacity of the agency (i.e., reflexivity of the policy making elite) and making sure that through the institutional struggles of this agency what has been taken away from the society is now being literally, that is, financially, *paid back*. Linked to this is the assumption that a plethora of 'cultural economic' strategies currently exist and are being handsomely adopted by "good institutions" to make up for the disembeddedness of the economy from the society that was caused by an earlier, vulgar phase of capitalism. In spite of the existence of a certain common academic criticality about not omitting the role of the 'state' in the articulation of 'culture' and 'economy', these approaches are still criticized for their tendencies to justify a naïve governance optimism, since the general 'crisis' corresponding to the constitution of 'polity' at the local scale is only enhanced by the incorporation of the 'civil society' into the 'political society'. In this respect, Hardt (2000) rightly argues that the erosion of the state capitalism with its complex amalgam of institutions corresponds to the 'withering away of the civil society', particularly in its 'social welfare' embedded form; and not, unfortunately, to the 'withering away of the State'.

3. *Cittaslow* and the *Cultural Political Economy(CPE)* Approach

In the presence of the contested approaches to both the temporality of neoliberalism and the articulation of 'culture' and 'political economy', I find Jessop's reinterpretation of the *Regulation Approach* (RA) towards a *Cultural Political EconomyApproach* (CPE)[24] most insightful for

---

[23]Amin & Thrift(2004: xviii) demarcate 'cultural economy' asa new academic post-discipline, "concerned with the processes of *social* and *cultural* relations that go to make up what we conventionally term the *economic*" (emphases mine).

[24] "The Lancaster School CPE project (Jones, 2008) has largely been developed by Bob Jessop, Ngai-Ling Sum and their colleagues and students. Drawing on a complex amalgam of Marxist political economy, the regulation approach, institutional economics, critical realism and Antonio Gramsci, the Lancaster CPE project aims to acknowledge the cultural turn in the social sciences while simultaneously holding on to the 'bigger' claims of the political economy tradition. The goal of CPE, in other words, becomes to resist the temptation of 'soft economic sociology', which subsumes "economic or political categories under general sociological (or cultural) analysis so that the analysis loses sight of the historical specificity and materiality of economics and the dynamics of state power" (Jessop and Oosterlynck 2008: 1168). This can indeed be understood as the key contribution of CPE in comparison to mainstream cultural economy: whereas the latter –with its grounding in a cultural studies tradition– tends to be highly sensitive to the complexity of cultural-economic practices in specific sites, the CPE approach has developed a sophisticated vocabulary to conceptualize the ways in which these practices and sites become stabilized (if at all) over longer periods of time and on multiple scales" (Lorentzen & Van Heur, 2011: 4).

an analysis of the implementation of *Cittaslow* in Seferihisar without falling into 'territorial traps'. Jessop (1997) argues that RA has no single political line; in that, it has been deployed by a wide range of political currents, which can be summarized in the three contrasting responses:

> First, there are updated but still orthodox Marxist-Leninist views on the role of Fordist crisis in reinforcing tendencies to state monopoly capitalism and hence the need for a communist vanguard response; or, from a more heterodox position, the need to pursue a self-management response to take advantage of the post-Fordist potential of the scientific, technical and information revolutions. Second, there is the well-known reformist appropriation of the RA as a theoretically impoverished story about the transition to the 'New Times' of post-Fordism times that both demand and enable *a more market-friendly, broad left alliance formed by Eurocommunists, social democrats, organized labour and new social movements*. And, third, there have been proposals for a democratic response based on an extended political ecology (rather than narrow Marxist political economy) in which capitalism and industrialism are the targets and new social movements, as well as leftist parties allied in participatory democracy, are the agents (Jessop, 1997: 318; emphasis mine).

It can be noted in advance that the implementation of *Cittaslow* in Seferihisar particularly corresponds to the *second* political line mentioned above that appeals to a "reformist reapproriation of the Regulation Approach", where the 'opportunities' of the 'New Times' of post-Fordism are held in high esteem for both resolving and/or muddling through the entrenched structural dead-locks of the territory. All in one breath, the dead-locks of Seferihisar can be summarized as follows:

Following the enactment of the *Scale Reform Law* of 2004 (no5216) on 'Establishing Districts in the Borders of Metropolitan Municipalities' and the Municipalities Law of 2005 (no5393), Seferihisar municipality has lost most of the decision-making authority over its territory to the disposal of the Metropolitan Municipality. This situation significantly ties the hands of the local administration in putting plans into operation for the use and the development of their natural assets such as rich jeothermal energy resources. With the same Law, the two formerly 2nd-tier municipalities have been incorporated as districts to the central municipality of Seferihisar, critically jeopardizing the 'subsidiarity' principle in the provison of the public services to these peripheral settlements. The same goes for the large military zone area in the middle of the district disconnecting the center and the periphery as well as repelling touristic investments. Large forest areas are under constant threat of sabotage fires as well as the vast natural and historical protection sites that cannot be integrated into the everyday life of the inhabitants; consequently, regarded as obstacles in front of the 'development' of the town. Moreover, Seferihisar is on a major fault line, and there are over 200 unorganized summer house cooperatives in the district, which comprise disparate vulnerable settlements, some of them with serious infrastructual problems due to landslides on the shoreline. The seasonal in and outflux of the population in these secondary residence settlements also lead to social problems due to the weakened community connections as well as exclusion and

segregation with the increase of gated communities. On the other hand, the sudden rise of wealth in the local community during the 60s with the transition to tangerine cultivation seems to have engendered an agricultural rentier class, the younger generations of which lack the adequate skills and the disposition to take part in the possible new 'political economic' futures of the town. Today, not only that there are already several incidences of volatile substance addiction among the youth, in the abscense of policies specifically addressed to these social problems, it is very likely that these younger generations will end up finding themselves in the position of the 'undeserving poor' in the very close future.

The crucial point here is that, while *Cittaslow* is by no means the answer to these dead-locks, it takes on the role of the 'cultural vanguard' in the "governmental" transition from the golden age of Fordism and its Keynesian Welfare National State with the dominance of the national scale in economic and social policy-making to post-Fordism and its associated "rediscovery of the heterogeneity of place, a relativisation of scale, and a multiplication of nodal scales for delivering economic and social policy" (Jessop, 2009: 85). In Turkey, the introduction of the 'subnational regional scale' within Turkish state space is a very recent issue accompanying Turkey's willy-nilly EU accession process. In 2002, following the landslide victory of the *Justice and Development Party* (AKP) in the general elections, the government committed itself to meet all the EU criteria on regional policy. After the formation of new statistical units at the regional level (NUTS-2), 81 provinces have been gathered in 26 new regions according to their similar geographic and economic characteristics. The setting up of the *Regional Development Agencies* (RDAs) was another significant step toward the implementation of subnational regional development policies as well as EU's structural funds at the level of the NUTS-2 regions in accordance with the EU accession process. The following step has been to reach out to the municipal scale in order to encourage the relations between municipalities and other bodies as well as the formation of unions among local administrations, strengthening the legal framework for NGOs. Currently, the *Local Administration Reform* is in its second phase and as a report prepared within the scope of the "Support to Further Implementation of Local Administration Reform in Turkey Project (LAR Phase II)" reveals, several European models of municipal cooperation are being reviewed by the Ministry of Interior to be advised as networks "that can support the deeper integration of Turkey within the international community". It is interesting to note that, in this report *Cittaslow* is suggested as a suitable cooperation network for smaller municipalities.[25] Thus,

---

[25]Jackson, John & Üskent, Sezin (September, 2010) *Municipal Partnerships Support Network*, report prepared within the scope of the "Support to Further Implementation of Local Administration Reform in Turkey Project (LAR Phase II)" which is financed by the EU and executed by UNDP for the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Affairs. LAR website: http://www.lar.org.tr/uploaded/dosyalar/b27982bb5c46f1c06b5a485aafa7bc45.pdf (Accessed: 02.05.2012).

although *Cittaslow*'s *entry*[26] into the Turkish municipal scene was enabled by the individual entrepreneurial efforts of the mayor of Seferihisar, it is important to note that *Cittaslow* is a government-*approved* organization besides its academic status as a "legalized approach to claiming the urban" (Pink, 2009).

Thus, on the one hand, we have to face with the tensions and contradictions of *Cittaslow*'s ongoing European experience; on the other hand, we have to come to terms with the tensions and dilemmas in *Cittaslow*'s adoption and implementation as a "Sustainable Development Model"[27] in Seferihisar. The presentation of *Cittaslow* in the European context reveals how *Cittaslow*'s 'issues of concern' are growingly accorded to the EU-led "meta-governance" and "multi-level governance" methods in relation to different policy sectors. Given the impact of EU Local Administration Reforms at the re-scaling of urban administrative institutions in Turkey, and the corresponding "multi-faceted spatiality of governance", following Jessop (2009), I find it a theoretical necessity to study *Cittaslow* and its territorial implementation from a "multi-scalar meta-governance" perspective that emphasizes, as equally at stake, both the path-dependent aspects of "governance of governance", and the role of the formation of strategic new subjectivities (e.g., reflexive citizens as 'lay-experts') in the evolutionary 'variation', 'selection', 'ongoing realization' and subsequent 'reinforcement' of new "economic imaginaries". In this regard, the Cultural Political Economy (CPE) approach elaborated by Jessop (2005) strongly encourages to look beyond the "territorial trap(s)" (Agnew, 1994) and pay attention to the strategic discursive battles over 'scenarios' at diverse scales by which urban development opportunities for Seferihisar are cast from outside of the town's municipal borders. According to Jessop (2004), the use of meta-governance means that the state retains a relative monopoly of organized intelligence, combined with an overall monitoring of agreed governance procedures. At the same time, Jessop is not blind to governance *failures*. The new forms of governance, so often heralded as an alternative to state government and a salvation of state failure, do not offer a panacea. They inherently imply "complexity reduction" and, hence, are vulnerable to errors. Thus, Jessop's CPE approach does not justify a naive governance optimism nor introduces "another plea for rational management at a higher level" (Jessop, 2009: 79). Moreover, institutional changes are often

[26] In fact, in Turkey, municipalities actually require prior authorization of the Ministry of Interior in order to join an international organization. An amendment regarding this Law is brought up in the latest monitoring report of the *European Council's Congress of Local and Regional Authorities*, 20th session (1 March 2011): "The Government should seek to amend the Law on Unions to remove the need for Ministry approval of overseas links for municipalities" (CG(20)6, 2011:III.10 and V.52.g).

[27] Tunç Soyer,in his speech at the "Peninsula Seed Exchange Festival" in Seferihisar introduced *Cittaslow* as "a sustainable development model in Cevat Geray's terms", the Turkish social scientist who produced most of the discourse on "community development" during the 1960s as part of the post-war import-substitution growth strategy.In the same speech, Soyer also mentioned the "Local Produce" ("Yerli Malı") days nostalgically as "Those were the days" ("Ne güzel günlermiş onlar") 05.02.2011, Seferihisar.

much more difficult to realize than politicians and policy-makers think. Jessop (2009) observes that, while there is certainly a substantial body of work on market and state failure, less has been written on network failure and little on the limits of solidarity, even if they are truthfully implemented in the first place. Thus, a critical assessment of any governance theory or steering philosophy is very much needed.

In this regard, Jessop (2009) summarizes the basic problem of governance in four general statements. First, all activities are grounded in particular places and times; second, activities are not reducible to their coordinates in space and time but have other material and discursive dimensions that contribute to their specificity as potential "objects of governance"; third, the conditions for successful performance of activities nonetheless exceed these times and places; and, fourth, the repercussions of activities, successful or not, spread out in space and time. Because one cannot govern all aspects of this potentially infinite set of features, governance poses the problem of "complexity reduction"; that is, of identifying a subset of features of relevant activities that are sufficiently governable to enable relatively successful steering of the current conditions of existence, the substantive activities themselves (including their location and timing), and at least some of their short-term repercussions. This entails a paradoxical dialectic between the 'governance of complexity' and 'complexity of governance' and requires a solution based on a combination of "requisite variety" in the means of governance, "requisite reflexivity" in the reduction of complexity, and the desirability of "romantic public irony". An important aspect of this argument is that, whereas "requisite reflexivity" mainly concerns the capacity of the agents of governance to reflect on the course of governance relative to its intended outcomes, "requisite variety" mainly concerns the *modes*, *instruments*, and *objects of governance*. Thus, effective governance requires a rough correspondence among modes, subjects, mechanisms, and objects of governance. On the other hand, the implications of these remarks for the spatial dimensions of governance have to be considered with constant reference to place, territory, scale, and network.

4. Methodology and Methods of the Study

In the previous sub-sections, I tried to address thetheoretical and ideological limitations of the *engaged*-academic work on *Cittaslow*. In turn, I employed a *critical realistmethodology* and a *cultural political economic(regulationist)approach*to overcome the extra-difficulty posed by the "constructed-ness" of the relations between the 'cultural', the 'economic' and the 'political'.

The thesis research has started with an early inquiry phase trying to clarify different aspects of the *Cittaslow*concept with respect to the Lefebvrian trialectics of the *perceived*, the *conceived* and the *lived*.Since I was not familiar with the Slow movement, I had to pay a

chronological attention to figuring out the extent that the *Slow Food* movement has come to inform the *Cittaslow* movement, bothin form and in style. The answers in response to these early questions are obtained through a review of the literature on the European experience of *Cittaslow*. In the meantime, the problematique of the 'subject matter' also revealed as necessary the conduct of a considerable amount of corollary reading and inquiry into the discursive practices of several international policy producing institutions, particularly with regard to the field of urban economic development, however, as linked to the cultural and technological developments constantly informing the field.Thus, the posing of the research questions and the narrowing down of the sample frame had to rely on an extended *retroductive* research-cycle..

My inquiry on the resources on the history of Seferihisar and the region luckily coincided to the commissioning of a local historian by the municipality, Ilhan Pınar from Urla, to work on the publishing of a series of booklets "Seferihisar on the Track of Travelers" based on the original works of the travelers ("mediums") who had visited Seferihisar during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries: Evliya Çelebi [1671], Edmund Chisull [1699], Richard Pococke [1739], Félix Marie Charles Texier [1834] and William John Hamilton [1836]. More recent information on Seferihisar was made available by the 2004 dated Symposium Book on Seferihisar[*Dünden Yarına Seferihisar Sempozyumu*] published by the local governership.What should be noted as a major research difficulty at this stage was the non-traceable 'bulk' nature of the data regarding the fundamental indicators such as the characteristics and the change of the population, the socioeconomic activities over the years, and the history of the town with respect to both the older and the more recent waves of migration.[28]

Moving on from this extended phase of literature review, separately on *Cittaslow* and Seferihisar, I contended that the implementation of *Cittaslow* as an 'urban regime', despite its localization in the territorial borders of the corresponding towns' municipalities, required the coordination of several strategic actors, primarily those in academic positions in the fields of urban planning, design and governance, with the *disposition* of involvement in the implementation and conduct of *Cittaslow* as an 'alternative' model of urban development. Accordingly, I contacted several academicians, professionals and administrators from different disciplines, who have been directly or indirectly involved in the decision-making practices over

---

[28]It should be noted, however, that the ambiguous sudden rise of the population from 2009 to 2010 have been effectively appropriated by the mayor in making his case for the 'tailored-*fitness*' of the '*Cittaslow* model' to the town.In his *2nd Year Speech* at March 31, 2011, the mayor mentioned that "the Turkish Statistical Institution (TUIK) has announced the good news that according to the 2011 census data Seferihisar is the most preferred place to live among the districts of Izmir". The fact that TUIK has no parameters in the census for assessing "the most preferred place to live" revealed that the mayor's assumption was based solely on the remarkable increase in the population (over 4000) in a single year. However, further investigation and correspondence with the TUIK headquarters in Ankara revealed that this sudden increase was most probably due to the recent change in TUIK's census system that had started to incorporate the *formerly uncounted* temporary forms of residency (e.g., military garrisons, boarding schools) into the municipalities' population since 2007. This has also been affirmed by the subsequent sudden fall of the population in the following year's census.

different aspects of the urban development of the city-region of Izmir and particularly in the *Cittaslow* project of Seferihisar[29]. This preliminary research strategy has been very helpful not only in gathering data but also in rendering the sociospatial concerns *visible* in the Lefebvrian sense; since for Lefebvre, "*space* is split up across many disciplines, each of which is partial, and which make *social space* invisible as a result"[30].

Having been informed about the structural and territorial problems in Seferihisar, including the ones generated by the recent *Local Administration Reform* and the regional and metropolitan scale planning decisions, I started to attend the 'field' for the "ground-truthing"[31] of the representations and concerns regarding the 'physical' and the 'social space' of Seferihisar. For this purpose, a number of *qualitative research* and *data collection methods* have been employed:

> i. Observing people (by naked eye and through video-recording) in Seferihisar intheir everday activities and during the organizational activities (participant and/or non-participant observation in events such as Seed-exchange Festival, Tuna fish farm protest, Producers' Markets, Seferihisarlite Days, Tangerine Festival);
>
> ii. Conducting in-depth interviews with locals who are actively involved in some kind of formal or non-formal economic activity (25 representatives from six distinct sub-groups listed below);
>
> iii.Conducting focus-group interviews (one on the use of second residence in the Gödence village, with the participation of two separate residents.);
>
> iv. Following the local newspapers and reading local columnists on a regular basis (print and on-line);
>
> v. Following the daily updated municipality website on a regular basis;
>
> vi. Following the news on Seferihisar and the peninsula region on local and national print and national media on Seferihisar;
>
> v. Using video and photography as recording media during the organizational activities.

The sample frame of the in-depth interviews was formed after several attempts at narrowing down the scope of the study. In the earliest contacts starting by mid-2010 in

---

[29]See *Appendix B*for a list of the 'urban professionals' in the order of date interviewed in Izmir at this preliminary stage of the thesis, which have proved to be essential in forming a basis both to the field study conducted in Seferihisar and to the further follow-up interviews throughout the thesis process.

[30]"It is a question of discovering or developing a unity of theory between fields which are given as being separate, […] which fields? […] First, the *physical*, nature, the cosmos, –then the *mental* (which is comprised of logic and formal abstraction), –finally the *social*. In other words, this search concerns *logico-epistemological* space –the space of social practices, –that in which sensible phenomena are situated in, not excluding the imaginary, projects and projections, symbols, utopias" (Lefebvre 1974a:19; quoted in*Henri Lefebvre Lecture*,Shields, 2010), http://www.ualberta.ca/~rshields/f/lecture.ppt (Accessed: 14.11. 2010).

[31] The notion of "ground-truthing" is coined by Jana Carp (2008) in order to refer to the "practice of using field observations tointerpret, analyze, and verify remotely sensed information about physical features ofan area. Without ground-truthing, the representing information may miss or obscuresignificant characteristics on the ground, thereby calling intoquestion the validity of ensuing interpretations, analyses, anddecisions. Simply put, the problem concerns the degree towhich the representation is an abstraction of the ground andthe extent to which abstraction compromises accuracy. Theproblem applies similarly to the representation of socialspace".

Seferihisar, Ifollowed an open interview approach with less direct quetions, wandering freestyle over several issues regarding daily life in Seferihisar. In 2011, I started to participate in the municipal organizational activities in order to observe whether the municipality was sincere in actually implementing the 'model' as a long-term 'economic imaginary' without abusing its concepts to achieve short-term ends. Branding intensive activities of the municipality, particularly the advertising of the town's *Cittaslow* membership through media coverage in this respect seemed rather contradictory with the 'reflexive' mode of operation of the foundational small towns in Italy as well as the early members in Germany, where the 'model' was embraced by the existing, locally situated activists. In return, Seferihisar did not have a *Slow Food* background or any other similar group or organization operating in the town prior to the *Cittaslow* membership of the town. This was experienced as a major limitation, since in the current *Cittaslow* literature case studies were usually conducted over a social base of theoretically-informed individuals positioned next to the municipal leadership. In our case, the mayor was the only authority who produced ideas and made decisions regarding the *Cittaslow* practices. At this point, I decided to narrow down the research on the immediate impact of the *Cittaslow* as experienced by those involved in economic and social-entrepreneurial activities to see how their *economic imaginaries* were influential in the casting of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic urban regimes in Seferihisar with respect to the present and future of the *Cittaslow* experience of the town. Accordingly, the sample frame was limited to an account of the ongoing processes as experienced by the individuals involved in the emergent institutions and associations as well as other individual entrepreneurial attempts at this moment of local capacity making:

A. City Governance Actors:

A.1. Mayor of Seferihisar

A.2. Ex-mayor of Seferihisar [1999-2009]

A.3. Ex-mayor of Seferihisar [1989-1999]

A.4. CHP Member of the Seferihisar Municipal Assembly; Central town

A.5. Head of AKP Seferihisar

A.6. Expert, Strategy Development Directorate, Seferihisar Municipality

A.7. Sociologist, Counseling Center for Women, Seferihisar Municipality

A.8. Lay-expert, Directorate of Environment Control, Seferihisar Municipality

A.9. Head of the City Council

A.10. Head of the neighborhood governance (Muhtar); Sığacık

A.11. Head of the neighborhood governance (Muhtar); Turabiye

B. Representatives of Unions, Cooperatives and Associations:

B.1. Head of Nature Association, Orhanlı Village

B.2. Head of Orhanlı Agricultural Development Cooperative, Orhanlı Village

B.3. Head of Gödence Agricultural Development Cooperative, Gödence Village

B.4. Head of the Izmir Province Small Cattle Breeders Union; Tepecik

B.5. Head of the Seferihisar Tangerine Producers; Central town

B.6. Women's Association, Founding Member; Sığacık

B.7. Private Library and Writers Center; Ürkmez

C. Local Small Business Owners:

C.1. Café Owner inside the Sığacık castle, Sığacık

C.2. Local Producers Market, Short video interviews, Sığacık

C.3. Restaurant Owner; Central town

C.4. Tailor; Central town

C.5. Coffeeshop owner; Sığacık

C.6. Local Newspaper Owner; Central town

D. Representatives of the Construction and Real Estate Sector:

D.1. Architect, Contractor, Small Cattle Farm owner; Central town

D.2. Realtor, retired from Seferihisar Land Registry Office; Central town

D.3. Realtor & Contractor; Central town

E. Representatives of Large Scale Businesses:

E.1. Public Relations, Teos Marina; Sığacık

E.2. Resort Hotel serving foreign tourists; Sığacık

F. Intermittent Corporeal Co-presence (Experts, Professionals and Activists):

F.1. *Cittaslow* Volunteer, Consultancy for Cultural and Social Works

F.2. Local Historian

F.3. Project Coordinator, Foreign NGO Professional

F.4. City Planner, Consultancy Services to Seferihisar Municipality

F.5. City Planner, Conservation Expert

F.6. Architect, Restoration Expert

F.7. Architect, Restoration Expert

F.8. Mimar, Member of an Izmir-based Bicycle Group

F.9. City planner, Academician, Urla Peninsula Expert and Volunteer

F.10. Second Residence Users in Gödence Village (two separate residents)

The in-depth interviews were conducted between August and November, 2011, at several locales of Seferihisar, where interviewees were found working or residing. The content of the interviews varied immensely per interviewee, so did their length. Although the total of individuals contacted as informants were over 100, only 40 of them were reserved for in-depth interviews. 25 of the in-depth interviews was conducted with a digital sound recording device (a total of 3750 minutes) and got transcribed for detailed use in the thesis. Digital video recording was also made during my participation at the the Seed-exchange Festival and the

Bluefin Tuna Fish Farm Protest. Short video-interviews were conducted with the local producers at one of the weekly organized Producers' Market in Sığacık.

I strategically designated the first interview in Seferihisar with a local informant, with whom I had developed mutual trust during my earlier visits over the last two years and who was incredibly open in sharing his contacts for further interviews. By virtue of this informant's patience and understanding, I had the chance to conduct the very first interview in the manner of a pilot-interview; that is, in two long sessions, going through every single aspect of Seferihisar I had in mind asking to a well-informed local person and also taking friendly advise on how to approach the locals for an in-depth interview without intimidating them. Accordingly, I refined the questions and sub-grouped them to allow me to adapt the conduct of the interview per interviewee to make the best of the limited time people could spare and/ or maintain their concentration. The semi-structured interview questions got their final shape along the following headings:

1. Personal identification and family background in Seferihisar;

2. Seferihisar as a *place of memory* in the eye of the interviewee;

3. The institutional/ occupational/ sectoral background of the interviewee;

4. The population of Seferihisar (Migration, second residence use);

5. The conduct of the city governance;

6. The social and economic development of the town;

7. Future plans.

In most of the cases, I contacted the interviewees in advance, either in person or depending on the accessibility of the figure, by an intermediary, to inform about the scope of the study and also to make sure that the interviewee will be available during the appointed day of the interview. Since the in-depth interview method depends on one-on-one communication, the setting and timing can be very critical to communicating effectively. In several interviews, the interviewees preferred a public setting, like the local coffeeshop or the mukhtar's office, where they were accompanied by their fellow-townsmen. In most cases, such presence of the fellow townsmen was considered a positive quality, since friendly interventions brought up different aspects of the topic to the attention of the interviewee. However, in the cases that such company was a cause of distraction, the interviewee was kindly asked to be interviewed some other time and in a relatively more private setting. Although I did not follow a specific order with respect to the conduct of the interviews, I ended up interviewing the current top figures of the 'city governance' sub-group as late as possible. It seemed like a fair "decision", because when I appeared in front of them, I felt confident enough to critically discuss about several different aspects of the subject.

The use of the sound recording device did not only prove to be indispensable during the analysis stage later on, but also played a certain critical role during the interviews, especially when its presence especially set the tone and the level of the interviews away from 'petty talk' towards honesty. This was particularly observed in the cases when the interviewees asked me (by hand signs) to temporarily pause the recording so that they could share their "off-the-record" comments. Although I agreed to their requests, in order not to intimidate them, I also constantly let them know that I was not interested in 'tabloid information'. Accordingly, in the thesis, I have settled with the use of the recorded views of the interviews only, quoting them anonymously by the numbers I have provided in the list above (e.g., Int.A.1, Int.D.3).

I terminated the in-depth interview process in Seferihisar in November 2011, which left me scant time for their transcription and analysis.The lengthy process of transcription was very fulfilling in terms of putting my thoughts together,as I wasalso trying to organize my findings in the meantime.Although I started taking notes aside during the transciption, I did not start a thorough analysis until I finished transcribing all the digital sound recording files. The print-out of the transcriptions were bound in two A4volumes. I put the interviews in an order, within the sub-groups I have set earlier, and went through the text by marking, underlining and labeling as necessary. By the end of March 2011, I was ready to begin to discuss the material with the theoretical background I have gathered.

The conduct of the thesis was not without difficulties. Firstly, the statistical data on Seferihisar atTUIK and in the sources of the municipal and governmental institutions in Izmir (e.g., the fundamental indicators such as the characteristics and the change of the population, the socioeconomic activities over the years, and the history of the town with respect to both the older and the more recent waves of migration) were not provided on a regular basisover the last ten years and there were inconsistencies between the sources, probably because datas were registered with different parameters. Since the Turkish census system had been recently restructured in 2007, the discontinuity of the parameters in demographic indicators also rendered making sound comparisons over years an impossibility.Secondly, most of the critical literature on the subject matter started to appear as late as2012, which prevented me from considering the incorporation of several other previously tested approaches to the conduct of the research, possibly with a more narrowed down focus. The last difficulty concerned the overcoming of an ethico-political dilemma in writing the thesis, regarding *Cittaslow*'s representative status as a counter-hegemonic alternative within the mainstream urban development models. I believe*Cittaslow*rightly deserves intellectual and academic support, though not in the form of overlooking the contradictions it embodies in its implementation, particularly inthe weird neoliberal times that we are passing through.

CHAPTER III

THE SLOW MOVEMENT AND ITS INTERNAL TENSIONS

This thesis discusses *Cittaslow* through the "economic imaginaries" accompanying its implementation in Seferihisar, sticking to Jessop's (2007) "strategic-relational" and "form-analytical" concepts which he uses at different levels of abstraction for describing "accumulation regimes", "modes of regulation" and "state projects", as well as analyzing contemporary transformations in the state in terms of four key moments of state restructuring: "economic" and "social policies", "re-scaling", and "changing modes of governance". Jessop (2009) situates the EU as a "crucial point of intersection (or node) in the emerging, hyper-complex, and chaotic system of global governance that is trying to develop its own long-term 'Grand Strategy' for Europe"[32]. In this regard, following Jessop (2009), I find it necessary to analyze *Cittaslow* from a "multi-scalar meta-governance" perspective that emphasizes the "governance of governance" and the "multi-faceted spatiality of governance" as equally at stake.

Our task, however, in this Chapter, is to critically assess how *Cittaslow* is discussed through the concepts that are laid out by its proponents via the cultural and theoretical references to its ideological roots at its foundation. Then, providing a historical account of the movement through the discussion of the earlier case studies conducted in the European context, I hope to arrive at an understanding of the internal tensions and contradictions ever-present in the movement/model in terms of both the "emerging, hyper-complex, and chaotic" (Jessop, 2009) global governance context and the spatio-temporality of "neoliberal environments" (Castree, 2007).

Therefore, in what follows, I provide a critical descriptive analysis of *Cittaslow* which is simultaneously referred as a *movement* (i.e., especially via its kinship with the International *Slow Food* movement); an international *association* of 150 municipal towns in 25 countries in the world[33]; and a *model* that posits alternative approaches to urban economic development. Based on the case studies they have conducted across Europe, Mayer & Knox (2006) argue that "the

---

[32] Considering Turkey's on-and-off chances at EU membership, we can say that the EU "is still one node among several within this emerging system of global meta-governance and cannot be fully understood without taking into account of its complex relations with other nodes located above, below, and transversal to the EU. Thus, we can best describe this new system in terms of 'multi-scalar meta-governance *in the shadow of hierarchy*' (or, more precisely, '*in the shadow of post-national statehood*')" (Jessop, 2009; emphasis mine).

[33] The list of members on the *Cittaslow* homepage is last updated in December 2011. http://www.*Cittaslow*.org/ (Accessed: 03.19.2012).

Slow Food movement created the ideological platform for a city-based spin-off that constitutes the grassroots local implementation of the principles associated with the livability and quality of life". Thus, since the emergence of *Cittaslow* from the *Slow Food* movement and its 'ideology' is seen as key to its further progression into an association that has started to put forward an 'alternative' model, it is apt to begin our discussion from the origins of the *Slow Food* movement.

1. Substrata: Community and Communists

1.1. The question of leisure in labor movement

The origins of the *Slow Food* movement directs us to its charismatic founder figure Carlo Petrini[34], who, while engaged with left-wing politics at the *Italian Recreational and Cultural Association* (ARCI)[35], distinguishes himself in 1980s as a gourmand/activist whose appreciation of good food leads him and his close associates to a life long struggle against the uniformity and compromised quality of the food in their daily lives. Aside from the ARCI influence on Petrini, it is also necessary to mention the influence of the cultural divisions of the Italian landscape, both political and geographical[36]: Petrini's hometown Bra was in the northwest Italian region of Piedmont, neighboring France, where the influence of the Maoist Cultural Revolution and the new philosophical currents were deeply felt in the 1970s[37]. It is in this background that, Petrini and his associates set out with an 'enogastronomic movement' named *Arci Gola*, in order to emphasize their critical stance for 'taste', as for Petrini, "taste was a serious matter and it could not be compromised in the name of ideology" (Petrini, 2011: 25).

Petrini regarded their movement *Arci Gola* as an uprising against the orthodoxy of the *Italian Communist Party* (PCI), which was at the time modifying its approaches to mass culture and mass communication to incorporate cultural policies and activities that were intended to respond to the Americanization of daily life in Italy. For instance, the national and provincial *L'Unita* festivals traditionally conducted by PCI grassroots mobilization, Gundle

---

[34]What can be considered as an informal history of the *Slow Food* is presented in a 2005 book co-written by the Italian journalist Gigi Padovani and Carlo Petrini recently translated into Turkish: *Slow Food Devrimi, Arcigola'dan Terra Madre'ye Yeni Bir Yaşam ve Yemek Kültürü*, çev. Çağrı Ekiz, İstanbul: Sinek Sekiz, 2011.

[35] "People's Houses [*Halk Evleri*] can be regarded as ARCI's counterpart in Turkey", ibid, p.20.

[36] Gundle (2010) acknowledges that "with mass emigration and the onset of development, the whole 'southernist' perspective on progressive folklore lost force. Just as the peasant question slid down the Communist Party's agenda, so the South lost much of its cultural fascination [...] In the North, local administrations extended their range of activities by instituting public libraries and sports and recreational centers, thereby taking over, particularly in left-wing areas, some of the specific functions of the Case del popolo and even of the PCI itself." Gundle, Stephen (2000) *Between Hollywood and Moscow: The Italian Communists and the Challenge of Mass Culture 1943-1991*, p.99, London: Duke University Press.

[37] For instance, Jean-François Lyotard wrote *Libidinal Economics* in 1974, by which he distanced himself from revolutionary Marxism.

(2000: 190) acknowledges, changes in character and gets professionalized during the 1970s in order to become key instruments in the PCI's attempt to communicate political messages to the wider population[38]. In this respect, the early 'enogastronomic movement' of Petrini and his associates was a dual struggle against the uniformity and compromised quality of food at both the left-wing mass organizations and the fast food and supermarket chains. The recognition of the effective cultural role played by the 'not that explicitly political' leisurely activities at the local grassroots level was to follow an uphill and downhill journey in Italy from the 1960s to the 1980s and beyond. Thus, it is important to address the role particularly played by the ARCI association in the Italian Left during these years and its transformation in order to survive the rise of the mass culture in Italy with the 1980s.

To begin with, in the *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Italian Culture*, ARCIis noted as "a non-profit organization which operates primarily at the local level and works in conjunction with local administrations to provide Italians with leisure activities."[39] Petrini (2011: 248) acknowledges that their activities as *Arci Gola* were conducted within the already established character of the ARCI association, which had a certain identity in the Italian cultural field. Regarding ARCI's political status, as well as autonomy, as to the Communist party, Bassoli (2010) explains that "it has always been quite clear: from its beginning, 'even though the ARCI acknowledged its adherence to the Left its leaders defined the Left as a widespread concept, that it was impossible to reduce simply to the dynamic of the party form and of the trade-union form'"[40]. Furthermore, Gundle (2000) argues, ARCI was playing the prominent role in the Italian Left to draw attention to the question of leisure (*tempo libero*) in the labor movement, and its role to introduce *some form of cultural unification from below*:

> By the early 1960s it was widely recognized that, as a result of economic and social change, there had been a massive increase in expenditure on culture and recreation. Cinema, television, theater, and sports events, as well as the jukebox and other entertainments, had greatly altered how vast numbers of people, not only urban dwellers, organized their social life. At the national cultural convention organized by ARCI in 1961 the implications of this development were discussed by representatives of all branches of the labor movement (trade union, political, recreational, cooperative). It was acknowledged that *the old dichotomy between élite and popular culturehad been obfuscated by the spread of mass culture. The task was to try to bring about*

---

[38] "With fifteen million visitors in 1986 and gross earnings of 300-500 billion lire, the festival as a whole brought the party into direct contact with more Italians than could be reached by any other form of communication" (Gundle, 2000: 190).

[39]"In its statement of purpose, the ARCI association promotes 'the values of tolerance, brotherhood, solidarity and community, to foster the growth of each individual through active participation within society'. The association is particularly active *in thefield of culture and entertainment*, where its principal activity is the promotion of books, movies and music which might otherwise be neglected by mainstream mass-media. It organizes physical education and sporting events that encourage participation rather than competition, and strives to provide environments for group activities for young people that are safe and intellectually stimulating." *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Italian Culture* (ed.) Gino Moliterno, ARCI entry by Paolo Villa, p.39, London: Routledge, 2000.

[40] Ignazi and Ysmal, 1998; quoted in Bassoli, 2010.

some form of cultural unification from below in which the grassroots activities of an autonomous, federally organized ARCI would play a leading role (Gundle, 2000: 102; emphases mine).

The resurgence of the 'question of unity', where it had a long history in Italy, from Machiavelli to Gramsci, may not seem surprising at first. Moreover, one may regard its resurgence in the Piedmont region as perfectly fit, with Turin as its capital, where it similarly had a long tradition of working class consciousness and socialist values, not only inspired by the writings of Antonio Gramsci, but also fostered in the solidarity between industrial workers and small landholders and farmers. In this context, Gramsci had relevantly posed the question as to the conditions for awakening and developing a "national-popular collective", and had contended that it required a true collective will in the party and in the nation as a whole, united around a new project for society and not through the imposition of a unity based on a passive relationship between leaders and led[41].

The resurgence of the 'question of unity' through the *'question of leisure'*, however, was indicative of a *different* context, if not an 'institutional crisis', where the Italian Left was confronted, more vehemently than ever, with the dilemma of whether *representing* the nation that has been historically characterized with its 'capital-labor' relationship or *reconstituting* new ones with their 'capital-life' relationships[42]. For one thing, following their years of proud industrial past, the now affluent northern regions of Italy and their societies were becoming increasingly characterized by the *latter* than the former.

1.2. Recognizing 'diversity' and 'subjectivity'

The single attempt, to see whether ARCI was up to the task for a bottom-up cultural unification, would take place in 1976. In a situation where the *Italian Communist Party* (PCI) was contentiously renewing its model of communication and appealing to mass culture in order to account for the loosening of subcultural ties and other social changes, the ARCI association was going to undertake a project for the overall transformation of the Italian social and cultural system, reserving a preeminent place for *organized recreational associations*. This was going to be a short-lived project though; and when it failed, as Gundle (2000: 191) acknowledges, "it was recognized that ARCI had also passed too quickly from an 'alternative' approach to a hegemonic one, against the wishes of a part of the association".

Learning quickly from their mistakes and with a new leadership, in 1986, the association, while distancing itself from labor politics, was now setting its political agenda

---

[41] Sassoon, Anne S. (1980) *Gramsci's politics*, London: Croom Helm.

[42] The two broad categories 'capital-labor' and 'capital-life' are coined by Maurizio Lazzarato (2004) in order to articulate the paradigm shift from the 'disciplinary' vision of *organization of labor* to a 'communicational' and 'event-based' one, as discussed at length by Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze, as well as Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt.

explicitly in terms of standing up for the liberal values of the 'civil society' to fight "against every form of exploitation, ignorance, injustice, discrimination, solitude and marginalization"[43]. For instance, ARCI was going to be one of the first organizations to openly discuss and advocate homosexual rights in Italy. In this way, Gundle (2000) contends that the association opted to modify its organizational structure to permit greater specialization and capture sectoral interests and themes:

> *Arci Kids*, *Arci ragazzi* (guys), and *Arci comics* ensured it was inserted in the group pattern of youth culture; *Arci pesca* (fishing), *Arci caccia* (hunting), and the Unione giochi (games) provided for popular leisure pursuits; *Arci gay* and the Environmental League campaigned on specific issues; and *Arci media* acted as an observatory on broadcasting trends. According to the ARCI president, Rino Serri, *diversity* and *subjectivity* was in this way *recognized and encouraged*. In 1987 the transformation was completed when the organization adopted a confederal statute that accorded a large measure of autonomy to its single components (Gundle, 2000: 192; emphases mine).

Through the diversification strategy, while ARCI was succeeding in reinserting itself in the articulations of civil society, the struggle against the colonization of mass culture was now being redefined as a niche market strategy within the existing order rather than an opposition to it. For some, the new model that emerged meant 'success'; because, recognizing the impact of consumption on the process of 'identity building' and via the deployment of new communication techniques, the association would now be able to self-target its adherents through a supply and demand circuit. Curiously enough, this "success" seemed to be envisioned, by some in the bureaucracy of Rome, in the 1977 decrees that "finally gave the regions enough rope to hang themselves."[44] Thus, according to Gundle (2000: 192), "despite the high visibility and success of some of the cultural departures, an old cultural model that, which the PCI had sustained for most of its existence, was definitively defeated". Nevertheless, young cadres and enterprising members of the 1970s generation were quite energized by the 'new model' as they were the ones "to exploit the opportunities offered by a new role in local government, as well as the disorientation in many areas of the party, gaps in policy, and the

---

[43] Article Nº 2 in ARCI's 1986 Chart, quoted from Bassoli, 2010.

[44] In Italy, the 1970s were the years of new institutionalization of the regions, where the 616 decrees in 1977, as Putnam (1993: 24) contends, "reflected regions' victory in the crucial struggle to establish their formal authority. The less dramatic, but more demanding, struggle to deploy the new powers and spend the new money still lay ahead. The regions' all-on-one victory was sufficiently sweeping that they could no longer so plausibly blame the central authorities for their own shortcomings. With the benefit of hindsight, one regional leader told us in 1981, 'They threw us into the water, hoping that we could swim.' A senior figure in the Roman bureaucracy used a more cynical, but perhaps more accurate image: 'With the 1977 decrees we finally gave the regions enough rope to hang themselves.'"

In this line, Bull (1999: 144) also notes that "according to Article 119 of the Constitution the regions enjoy 'financial autonomy in the forms and within the limits prescribed by the Republic's laws which coordinate it with the finance of the State, Provinces and Communes'. Thus the 'financial autonomy' attributed to the regions by Article 119 consists mainly in the autonomy to administer directly their income as fixed by the State".

desire to recover and reassert after a defeat, to avoid decline, and to embrace novelty (Gundle, 2000: 192). In one way or another, 'the question of leisure in the labor movement' was being abandoned in favor of the notions of 'diversity' and 'subjectivity', which were now being regarded as couplets of questions and answers in the new Italian regional landscape.

1.3. Towards a lived reality of nationhood

It needs to be emphasized that this excitement of the young left-wing enterprising grassroots in the regional administrative reforms accomplished against the inertia of older institutions was *preemptively* reserved to the Northern regions in Italy[45]. Trying to come to terms with this 'preemption in favor of the North', Robert Putnam, in his well-known comparative study of regional governments in Italy (1970-1989) *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, (re)introduces Bourdieu's notion of 'social capital' as a qualitative characterization of civic engagement that regards 'devolution' as "inevitably a bargaining process, not simply a juridical act". Distinguishing between a 'vertical' politics allegedly prevailing in the South, "where Southerners depended more on 'vertical' strategies, such as private petitions to sympathetic national patrons" (Putnam, 1993: 23), and a 'horizontal' politics in the North, where "Northerners were readier to resort to 'horizontal' collective action by a broad, regionalist front" (Ibid.), Putnam arrives at the rather self-fulfilling conclusion that the success of democracies depends in large part on the horizontal bonds that make up 'social capital'.

It should be mentioned that to our concern here is not to give the full credit to Putnam's influential work[46] for a common stereotypical attribution of 'backwardness' to Southern Italy, but rather to emphasize how such academic appreciation of emerging trends (i.e., 'social capital' in Northern Italy) seems particularly significant to a preordained 'New Regionalism' agenda that frames not only Southern Italy as marginal to Italy, but also the

---

[45] It should also be noted that their excitement was equally shared by the authors of, what Jessop (2003) calls, a "new *word* order" (of the "New World Order") which consolidated itself through 'World Reports' that systematically promote "new ways of representing the world, new discourses, new subjectivities", and not to mention the very language itself employed by its authors, that tends "to naturalize the global neo-liberal project".

Also, for a brilliant account of how the attempts towards a political economic understanding of the global North-South divide is systematically obscured by the discursive constructions of the global North, see Sheppard and Nagar (2004: 558) as they argue that "a broad ideological consensus about *social progress* is currently accepted throughout the global North (that representative democracy, free markets, private property, and individual liberty and responsibility are the preconditions for "civilization"). The corollary of this consensus is that individual nations, cities and people must conform with it in order to prosper—and are responsible for their failure or refusal to conform".

[46]Albahari (2008) argues that such "corpus of scholarship, often simplistically looking for ultimate 'causes,' has not been able to direct its gaze outside 'the South' and to recognize the South's dialogical identitarian, economic and political interplay with its Northern counterparts and within the construction of the Italian nation-state. Quite typically, Banfield's classic study (1958) suggested that the fault of the south was to be empirically sought *locally*, and resulted in its 'amoral familism.' Putnam's more recent and equally influential work (1993) similarly traces the roots of the alleged contemporary southern Italian civic fragmentation to its medieval period and to a series of feudal, bureaucratic and hierarchical royal governments".

whole Mediterranean Italy as peripheral (i.e., PIGS[47]) to Europe. Similarly, to our concern here is not to trivialize the popular 'success' of the North-based grassroots achievements, say, Petrini's founding of a University of Gastronomic Sciences in Pollenzo, in 2004, in his northern Italy home town region, but rather to direct our gaze *outside* from the Italian north to the global 'North', which keeps underwriting, as Jessop (2009) argues, the changing *fit* between the particular governance mechanisms (i.e., networked governance) suited to the leading industrial sectors associated with different Kondratieff waves (i.e., knowledge-based, experience-based sectors) and the capacity of national varieties of capitalism (with their individual, path-dependent modes of economic and political governance) to assume and/or maintain a leading role in different waves of economic development (Jessop, 2009; based on Kitschelt's study, 1991)[48].

Similarly, in ARCI's growing interest to new communication techniques and media, along with their succumbing to the 'new *word* order' during their so-called 'transformation for survival' years of the mid-1980s, we can also determine a misguided assumption as to the role of representing the nation that it had now passed to television. For instance, the intellectual figure of Enrico Menduni, the 'visionary' president of ARCI (1978-1983), who was also a docent at the Communication Sciences at Siena and Rome Universities, would move to an executive position at RAI (Petrini, 2011: 78). Yet, as Elsaesser (2005) observes, deregulation, privatization and a ratings war between public service and commercial broadcasters has already changed the very terms of this representation. Instead, Elsaesser (2005), drawing on the example of Channel Four in Britain, refers to the shift in paradigm of how the media affect the 'lived reality of nationhood':

> It [*deregulatedtelevision*] has created spaces for self-representation, even if only in the form of niche-markets, and it has radically de-hierarchized the social pyramids of visual representation, while clearly neither dissolving stereotypes, nor necessarily contributing to a more equitable, multi-cultural society. *It is this paradox of simultaneous dis-articulating the nation as citizen, while re-articulating it as a collection of consumers that, I would argue, has radicalized and compartmentalized European societies, but it has also created new spaces, not all of which need to be seen as socially divisive.*

In Italy, RAI's situation was barely different, if at all, as Gundle (2000) argues:

> Whereas in the early part of the decade the party had watched with horror the development of a large private television sector and the subsequent concentration of national commercial

---

[47] The pejorative acronym PIGS refer to the economies of Portugese, Italy, Greece and Spain as the 'ball and chain' countries of the European Union.

[48] Jessop (2009) mentions that Castells in his *The rise of thenetwork society*, makes a similar, less nuanced, arguement that, "whereas the industrial mode of development could be realised under both statist and capitalist modes of production, *informationalism*, which is based on the reflexive application of knowledge to knowledge production, is incompatible with statism in so far as it depends on *networked governance* rather than hierarchical command".

networks, it now largely accepted the existence of a mixed system in which RAI competed with commercial television. Of course, Communists did not approve of Berlusconi's monopoly, which they opposed vigorously and sought to dismantle by promoting antitrust legislation, but they did not champion a return to the pre-1976 public service monopoly. In other areas, too, there was recognition that the state could best play a role *not by displacing the market but by intervening to create spaces, widen choice, permit new enterprises to emerge, and ensure that national products were defended and cultivated.*

Thus, the account of how PCI and ARCI decided on a diversification strategy in mid-1980s is politically less ambitious, and even heartbreaking, than Petrini's own account of how *they* differentiated *Arci Gola* from the 'mainstream' leftism as an 'enogastronomy movement' preaching the interconnection of gastronomy and politics, agriculture, and environment. However, this discursive difference between the 'structure' (i.e., PCI, ARCI) and the 'agency' (i.e., Arci Gola), best characterizes the internal tension of a movement started by close-knit friends, which, in two decades, would develop into an international movement with nearly 85,000 members in 50 countries throughout the world.

In Petrini's account of the *Arci Gola* years, the potential of ARCI's 'cultural circuit' is almost given a revolutionary role, albeit a 'slow' one, especially through the synthesis of old and new communication strategies, which Petrini was very keen on developing as a Sociology graduate from the School of Social Sciences in Trento University: "Solutions to problems is going to be possible in time by the dialogue of the traditional knowledge of the rural culture and the scientific knowledge" (Petrini, 2011: 253).

1.4. Self-branding against the colonization of Brands

For Carlo Petrini, the *Slow Food* movement owed its success largely to their early 'enogastronomic' investigations that reached out to France[49], as well as northern Italy, into the endogenous intangible assets of different localities, which enabled these regions not only to maintain their 'qualities'[50] in time but also to *institutionalize* a unique 'social identity' for each and every one of them. Thus, Petrini, as a sociologist, seems to be particularly impressed by this institutionalizing capacity of the regions, which could be woven together with their 'alternative', that is, *cultural* political economic potentials to stand against the serious threats posed not only by the growing hegemony of American consumerism and fast food but also by the State-promoted industrial farming (i.e., mad cow disease, toxic pesticide run-off and

---

[49] One of ARCI's legendary presidents, Enrico Menduni, stands behind Petrini's 'Frenchness' in ARCI traditions, and defends him against the "fundamentalist Communist" reservations: "When I assess the ground Petrini has covered, I can see that he has got over the danger of becoming a theoretician of 'late bourgeois pleasures' and particularly succeeded in being a person that cannot be bought" (Petrini, 2011: 79).

[50] These 'qualities', which were evidently distilled from the long-lived traditions of the indigienous cultures as a whole, would soon be framed as 'Quality of Life' (QoL) "indicators" in the 'new word order' of the policy oriented social sciences.

methanol-tainted wine). In one of *Arci Gola*'s such 'enogastronomic' visits, to Burgundy, the "stomach" of France, Petrini discerns something, behind the myths and symbols of the legendary wine making stories of the famous French regions, that transcends (in a Durkheimian fashion) the immense agricultural traditions; that, alongside a powerful communication strategy, the might of these regions, according to Petrini (2011: 40), relies upon a capacity for enterprising based on their thousands years of history:

> *The region had the ability to market its general image*: It derived from the accommodation capacity, the kitchen, the wine, and as different from Piedmont and Toskana, *the producers' averting individualism*. The vineyards of the Burgundy region were of the oldest in France. The famous crus of today, like Cluny and Citeux, many of them have adopted the names of the religious communions. With the foundation of the Clos de Vougeot, the best amongst the wines of Burgundy were selected. In time, these regions were subdivided into small parcels and today each producer can classify their bottles in four separate categories depending on the quality of their lands: Regional and estate registries, the village registry, premiers crus and grands crus. This is the reason why the name of the village where the wine is produced does not usually appear on the label. They write Romanee-Conti and everybody knows what it refers to. We can compare this to a pyramid which is formed by *hierarchy registered by the hundreds of years long wine-harvesting. Everybody benefits from this Burgundy pyramid; both that reside at its bottom and its top*. (*emphasis mine*)

I find Petrini's account of the 'labeling' of wine bottles in Burgundy, highly reminiscent (beyond coincidence) of the social anthropologist Mary Douglas's (1986: 105) comparative discussion of the French wine trade and the California wine industry, where the processes of industrialization, in the latter, has been disengaged from the institutions of the old regime, thus, forcing the change of nomenclature; therefore, the terrain-based approach to the classification of quality wine, which worked well for Europe, has been irrelevant to the Californian scene. Thus, Douglas (1986: 108) contends that "large-scale industrial processes are their own institutions. They cannot be embedded in the patterns of local, community control." On the other hand, in the French classification system the 'geographical factor' is prominent, and the 'quality principle' enters immanent to the 'territorial' economic organization (i.e., Burgundy pyramid) available. Thus, the concept of 'territory', as it manifests itself most extremely in the Burgundy region ("terroir"), is not considered merely as a 'plot of land' but rather as a 'knowledge brand' that encapsulates the unique combination of *natural factors of a particular vineyard*(i.e., soil, underlying rock, altitude, slope of the valley, orientation toward the sun, and microclimate) and *the whole winemaking subjectivity* (i.e., tradition and practice of cultivation as a tried process). The owner of such particular 'brand' historically acknowledges *this* criterion of quality, and expresses it simultaneously as individual morality and institutional reputation. Thus, 'branding', in this particular sense, shakes off the pejorative ring it has due to its affiliation with the growth-induced commodity economies under capitalist and socialist

regimes, and refers to a "socio-technical diagram" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1998) for the constitution of a sustainable, or even better, 'de-growth' economy.

One can imagine the invaluable social entrepreneurial insights that a figure like Carlo Petrini, the social entrepreneur *par excellence*, must have gathered from these Burgundian *proto-social* entrepreneurs. For one thing, he seems to have recognized the working formula, or rather the "diagram" for an alternative agro-food economy: the territorially- and socially-*bound* character of the Burgundian wine making trade had managed to sustain itself through a quality-based self-branding principle, albeit in dissolving feudalistic ties, against the growth-oriented national and international economic systems of the post-war Europe and their tendency to deny the 'subjectivity' of the people living on the territory as a whole. On the other hand, considering Petrini's intellectual background, I argue that the Burgundy wine making trade presented a 'proto-model' for "debating the Economy-Culture question […] as conducted within *European* urban and regional change circles [which] has been played out *subtly differently* to related yet largely *Anglophonic* debates on consumption, the cultural turn or the "new" economic geography" (Gregson *et al.*, 2001). According to Gregson *et al.* (2001) two points serve to establish the nature of these distinctions:

> One is that the *explicit intention* within the European debate on economy-culture has been increasingly focused around moves or calls to *"articulate"* the two. *Elsewhere, by contrast* […] *articulation has been some way from the intention*. Indeed, as many have remarked, with hindsight, the *implicit purpose* of much of this literature appears to have been more *to use the turn to culture to marginalise or disavow the economic*. A second and related point is that the predominant mode of thinking within this European network has been, and continues to be, *political economy*. Again, this background differs from that of related Anglophonic debates, where—for reasons to do with the increasing sway of post-structuralism at one level and the increasing challenge to restrictive, production-based definitions of economy at another—*political economy has been more on the defensive* (emphasis mine).

Thus, Gregson *et al.* (2001) reads "articulation" as a term "with some very definite connotations, ones that go beyond and are far stronger than the notions of integration, or bringing together, which characterize some contributions to the economy-culture literature". In other words, culture-economy "articulation", taken in this sense, contributes to an ongoing 'problematization' of the "hybrid" modes of operation, within and aside from the dominant 'capitalistic' modes, as opposed to both the trendy appeals for incorporating 'culture' into 'political economy' and the weak 'reactionary' cries for protecting so-called 'pre-capitalist' forms. This can only be achieved, on the other hand, by *truly* recognizing "space" in its "relational" (Harvey, 2006: 273) *difference*, where "processes do not occur *in* space but define their own spatial frame" in extension to, yet in dialectical tension with, its "absolute" and "relative" conceptions. However, the "relational terrain", as Harvey (2006: 274) admits, "is an extremely challenging and difficult *terrain* upon which to work" and, as I soon discuss, ever

prone to be misconstrued when made use of forming a 'structured coherence' around a development objective.

2. The Emergence of *Slow Food*

2.1. Emerging set of organizations: 1975-1990

Petrini and his friends return from their Burgundy trip with a simple question in mind: "Can the Langhe get the same function for Piedmont that the Côte d'Or has for Burgundy?"[51] Although the Langhe area local wine and food producers lacked the level of self-organizational and inter-institutional complexity that their Burgundian counterparts had, Petrini and his friends were determined to compensate this fact, as I have discussed earlier, by capitalizing on the existing local voluntary associations and political networks to gradually set in motion a social movement and build an entirely new set of organizations, which would in turn develop and promote a quality-oriented agriculture in their home area. It should be noted that, this strategy of leveraging the birth of a new alternative agro-food sector with the 'older' institutions, those that are mainly characterized by their industrial past of social uprising (i.e., cooperatives and associations of farmers and laborers), was also corresponding to the de-industrializing tendency of the northern Italy regions; where industrialization (i.e., leather tanning in Langhe area), having fulfilled its mission of bringing prosperity, was now being regarded as cause of economic decline, especially from the viewpoint of the emerging 'new economies' (e.g., knowledge and experience-based economies).

In 1980, Petrini and his friends set to found the Friends of Barolo Association in order to promote the local wine Barolo through organizing wine tastings and group meals. This was followed by a cooperative created to promote tourism and to distribute wines and other products, which, in turn, led to the opening of the restaurant *Osteria del Boccondivino* around which *Slow Food* headquarters would soon develop. The holding of a protest demonstration on the occasion of the opening of the first Mc Donald's, the 'fast food' giant, near the Spanish Stairs in Rome in 1985 marked the definitive moment for the movement. In 1986, the 'enogastronomy league', *Arci Gola*, got an institutional form and quickly reached to 8,000 members in the following three years. Eventually, in 1989, the international *Slow Food* movement was founded in Paris, in the Opéra Comique, by the signing of a Manifesto of *Slow Food*:

---

[51] "On the 4th of July 1988, all leading persons of Langhe enogastronomy gathered in Alba: hunderds of wine producers, restaurant owners, wine tasters and jounalists discussed the theme: Can the Langhe get the same function for Piedmont that the Côte d'Or has for Burgundy? […] A group of enthusiasts had worked for years on this atlas […] The subdivision in cru's they laid down has not changed since" (Petrini, 2004; quoted in Van der Meulen).

Born and nurtured under the sign of Industrialization, this century first invented the machine and then modelled its lifestyle after it. Speed became our shackles. We fell prey to the same virus: 'the fast life' that fractures our customs and assails us even in our own homes, forcing us to ingest "fast-food".

Homo sapiens must regain wisdom and liberate itself from the 'velocity' that is propelling it on the road to extinction. Let us defend ourselves against the universal madness of 'the fast life' with tranquil material pleasure. Against those –or rather, the vast majority– who confuse efficiency with frenzy, we propose the vaccine of an adequate portion of sensual gourmandise pleasures, to be taken with slow and prolonged enjoyment.

Appropriately, we will start in the kitchen, with *Slow Food*. To escape the tediousness of "fast-food", let us rediscover the rich varieties and aromas of local cuisines. In the name of productivity, the 'fast life' has changed our lifestyle and now threatens our environment and our land (and city) scapes. *Slow Food* is the alternative, the avant-garde's riposte.

Real culture is here to be found. First of all, we can begin by cultivating taste, rather than impoverishing it, by stimulating progress, by encouraging international exchange programs, by endorsing worthwhile projects, by advocating historical food culture and by defending old-fashioned food traditions.

Slow Food assures us of a better quality lifestyle. With a snail purposely chosen as its patron and symbol, it is an idea and a way of life that needs much sure but steady support (*Slow Food Manifesto*, http://www.slowfood.com).

In 1990, *Slow Food Editore* (*Slow Food* Publishing) published a guidebook Osterie d'Italia to compensate for the scant attention paid by the Italian media to the modest eating establishment "osteria" (hostelry) as well as to operationalize the *Slow Food* philosophy in daily life practices. The concepts used in the guidebook like 'tradition', 'simplicity', 'friendliness', 'moderate prices' and above all 'territory' (in its Burgundian sense of the "terroir") were regarded as quite subversive terms for discussing the restaurant business. Similarly, the concerns of the *Slow Food* movement spanning wide over critical issues like gaining and spreading knowledge about material culture; preserving the agricultural and alimentary heritage from environmental degradation; protecting the consumer and the honest producer; and researching and promoting the pleasures of gastronomy and conviviality were disturbing the monopoly and the corresponding social status of the established gastronomic institutions like the Academia Italiana della Cucina, which were going to refuse to be involved. The 'conviviality' element, on the other hand, would present the antidote against the accusations of elitism by their left-wing colleagues since the main philosophy was based on every group of local members starting a *convivium*, assigning its members, and deciding which activities it would like to organize (i.e., charity dinners, excursions, courses, informative websites, protection of local food specialties). The growing awareness of the risks involved in ecological matters, getting political tones in itself, was another factor that attracted the 'disillusioned lefties'–turned–gourmands into the movement, giving them a chance to change their images from 'hedonists' to 'heroes' (Petrini, 2001).

2.2. Internationalization and Diversification: 1990-2005

After guiding the Langhe economy from leather tanning toward quality-oriented agriculture, *Slow Food* would also initiate many other activities from education programmes to international events. In the early 1990s, the first *convivia* outside Italy were set up, in Germany and Switzerland. Today, *Slow Food* has almost 1,000 *convivia* in over 60 countries, which constitute the basis of virtually every event. In 1993, the 'Week of Taste' was organized at Italian primary schools. In 1994, member education was started, which would later evolve into the *Master of Food* programme (in 2006 involving 9,500 participants in 400 courses). 'Education through taste' workshops, starting at the Vinitaly in 1994, become an integral part of many *Slow Food* events. In 2002, several projects with students from the hotel management school were started (Petrini, 2001).

The year 1996 becomes decisive to *Slow Food*'s image and visibility (van der Meulen, 2008: 228). The first *Slow Food* magazine (The International Herald of Tastes) was sent to the members, and the first *Salone del Gusto* (Saloon of Taste) fair was held in Turin.[52] At the first *Salone* fairthe *Ark of Taste* programme was launched, demonstrating the shift in emphasis from 'enogastronomy' to 'ecogastronomy'. Starting in Italy, dozens of almost extinct, traditional local food products –cheeses, meat products, rare breeds, indigenous vegetable and fruit varieties– had been identified and described and were now presented to the public. Since these products are neither backed by strong companies or consortia, nor legally protected (i.e., 'geographical indication'), a new protection 'institution' was designed, what is called *Presidium*. A *Presidium* can be defined as a group of local producers who agree with coordinators of *Slow Food* on a stringent code of practice, defining aspects like husbandry system, type of feed, minimum age of slaughtering, sustainability, which are often supported by local governments and area management boards in European countries[53]. Although the *Ark & Presidia* programme seems to have actually changed the image of *Slow Food* members from 'hedonists' to 'heroes' (i.e., saving cultural heritage, genetic patrimony and vulnerable ecosystems), the movement still embraces the fundamental morale that favors the combination of pleasure and conviviality with protection and education.

---

[52] Today this fair is the largest of its kind in the world, focusing on traditional and other exclusive high-quality food products. It attracts 130,000 visitors in the course of four days, including consumers as well as many food writers, scientists and representatives of NGOs and public institutions. Besides the fair, hundreds of workshops, dozens of dinners and a number of 'taste theatres' are offered, with an increasingly international character (van der Meulen, 2008: 229).

[53] Today, there are over 250 presidia around the world, almost 200 of which are located in Italy. They are at the center of attention at both local and international events, like Cheese, a bi-annual fair in Bra that attracts about 180,000 visitors, which was started in 1997. In 2002, the first 30 'international' (non-Italian) Presidia were presented at the fourth *Salone del Gusto* (van der Meulen, 2008: 229).

In 2000, the international focus of *Slow Food* becomes clear, as van der Meulen (2008) observes, at the first *Slow Food Award for Biodiversity* event, held in Bologna, where hundreds of food journalists and other experts from countries around the world nominated persons that have dedicated their lives to preserving traditional local food stuffs or rare breeds, without receiving due recognition, like the women of the Moroccan Amal cooperative, producing the delicate Argan oil, saving an excellent food and a unique tree species. The media attention that went along with these recognitions triggers awareness in countries where *Slow Food* was unknown before. Similarly, the 'No GMO wine' campaign and the 'manifesto for the defence of raw-milk cheese' was launched in 2001 in all countries where there are *Slow Food* members, increasing consumer awareness about food policy. In 2003, the bi-annual fair *Aux Origines du Goût* (to the origins of taste) was started by *Slow Food* members in the south of France (van der Meulen, 2008: 229).

In 2004, the *Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity* was created, with financial support from the Italian Ministry of Agriculture and the Tuscan Regional Government. The foundation manages the Ark & Presidia programme and has a leading role in *Terra Madre*, which is a huge event parallel to the *Salone del Gusto*, in which representatives of thousands of 'food communities' (local specialty producers) in the world gather in Turin to share their experiences. In 2006, a thousand cooks and hundreds of scientists from sympathizing universities were added to the programme. In 2004, 75 bachelor students from 10 countries started the bachelor programme at the University of Gastronomic Sciences (UGS), housed in the *Agenzia di Pollenzo*, near Bra (van der Meulen, 2008: 230).

One can argue that a snail is an unlikely mascot for a movement that, in twenty years, has expanded from a close-knit group of Italian gourmands to an international network of 85,000 members in 50 countries, operating through its own foundations, fairs, events and campaigns. Inevitably, such relatively quick growth would bring along several tensions and dilemmas to the movement regardless of how true they have remained to their philosophies of eating, drinking and living slowly.

Picture 1: *Slow Food* logo.
The symbol of the stylized snail and the name *Slow Food* is a registered trademark. Also see the *Code Of Use* approved by the 5th International Congress, November 8-11, 2007 in Puebla, Mexico.
Slow Food website, http://www.slowfood.com/ (Accessed: 11.04.2012).

3. Tensions to *Slow Food*'s mode(s) of operation

3.1. *Slow Food* activism: local food against global problems

Someone tracing *Slow Food*'s empirical trajectory through its founder Carlo Petrini's highly intellectual retrospective essays can be struck by the tremendous will to believe in a 'revolution' slowly unfolding itself in time through a successive series of events and organizations, the order of performance of which is seemingly designated by the pure necessities of the 'counter-hegemonic struggle', and 'not at all' by the prevailing conjunctural orientations. In other words, from Petrini's account, it seems like the movement is reinventing its every single move afresh, since there is not much mentioning of the general strategies emerged over the same last three decades (i.e., 'new regionalist' policies promoting neo-communitarianism, rise of 'social economy' with roll-out neoliberalism, emergence of Third Italy[54] with a neo-Schumpeterian approach to Post-Fordism).In this respect, Petrini's rhetoric is not quite transparent as to figuring out how the movement actually differentiated itself from the rather mainstream 'third sector' strategies. Not only that this rhetoric presents a major drawback to a possible academic contribution trying to sort out the scientific appeal of the subject matter from the theoretical 'spectacle', let me say, resourcefully put forward by its leaders and proponents, but it also rapidly hollows out the scientific appeal that I am willing to believe it has.

Thus, in this critical study, while I constantly tackle with this drawback, with the help of the limited number of critical studies, I am also trying to be equally cautious about not substituting categorically imposed tensions for the intuitively observed ones that are truly internal to *Slow Food*'s continuity of constant changes as an enduring object. This study, thus, tries to posit tensions and dilemmas to *Slow Food* not only by moving back and forth between its past and present but also, and more importantly, by establishing them as an inseparable continuity. Accordingly, let us bear in mind that, Petrini and his associates started to walk through their journey, right from the start, with a blend of idealistic and business-like motives in their minds that transcended their regional domains (i.e., to address global agro-food problems). Thus, let us be cautious about readily ascribing *Slow Food*'s tensions and dilemmas to its internationalization as if it were a deviation from the aim of the movement, whereas it

---

[54] Kumar (1995: 35-37) explains that "one of the primary examples of specialized post-Fordist production took place in a region known as the *Third Italy*.The First Italy included the areas of large-scale mass production, such as Turin, Milan, and *Genoa*, and the Second Italy described the undeveloped South. The *Third Italy*, however, was where clusters of small firms and workshops developed in the 1970s and 1980s in the central and northeast regions of the country. Regions of the *Third Italy* included Tuscany, Umbria, Marche, Emilia-Romagna, Veneto, Friuli, and Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol […] Each region specialized in a range of loosely related products and each workshop usually had five to fifty workers and often less than ten. The range of products in each region reflected the post-Fordist shift to economies of scope. Additionally, these workshops were known for producing high quality products and employing highly skilled, well-paid workers. The workshops were very design-oriented and multidisciplinary, involving collaboration between entrepreneurs, designers, engineers and workers".

started off 'internationally' in a dissolving Eurocommunist context, as discussed at length earlier, via importing the Burgundian agro-food 'model' and working it out into the Piedmont region's dissolving counter-hegemonic sociospatialities now reflexively[55] repositioning themselves. Thus, the very adaptation of the Burgundy 'model' into the Piedmont context was made possible, in the first place, by an asymmetric correspondence between two distinct forms of 'organization of labor': the 'technical/organizational' form of the 'embedded' local producers and the 'cultural/communicational' form of the *reflexively* 're-embedded' gourmand-activist subjectivities of the civic grassroots. In other words, the 'model' was not simply adopted by a 'community' preceding it, that is, only to engender a new division of labor in it; but rather, the good sense of the emerging 'new community' anticipated the model and made it happen.

We can try to posit *Slow Food*'s difference from the Third Italy model in this respect that, while the latter depends on a rather conservative notion of 'local culture' to be introduced into the regional/local economic development, *Slow Food* appropriates its own notion of 'culture' as internationally mediated, 'progressive' set of values to be reflexively inserted into the existing local food system. *Slow Food* particularly achieves this by distinguishing between 'local food' and 'local culture' such that, while the former can be treated as 'given', the latter is to be constantly deliberated. In turn, this guarantees the international transferability of *Slow Food* as a model, whereas, Gregson *et al.* (2001: 625) argues, "the internationalization of Third Italy and its translation into economic geography has lost this [local ways of doing business], emphasizing only firm-related aspects". Van der Meulen (2008) also argues that *Slow Food* "is not so much a proponent of the 'third Italy' of quality-oriented family businesses engaged in artisanal quality production, which it promotes, but of a *cultural creative trendsetting vanguard* that emerged from one of the wealthiest regions on earth" (emphasis mine).

Among the several programmes that emerged from *Slow Food*, the *Ark of Taste*, perhaps, best characterizes the sort of 'vanguard' response that *Slow Food* wishes to promulgate. Petrini (2001) admits that the reference to "Noah's Ark" carried with it a risk of misunderstanding, as if the movement were just a 'new incarnation of the conservative spirit'. Especially, giving the full emphasis on small-scale artisanal production and entrepreneurial capacity that respected the environment while ignoring the prevailing large-scale food industry could be regarded as an isolationist stance (i.e., shutting itself out of a very complex dynamic).

---

[55] The reflexive mode of activism here refers to the work of German sociologist Ulrich Beck, who was influenced by the rise of the Green movement and by thinkers like Habermas and Giddens. Beck characterized 'reflexive modernization' as the continuity of industrial society, where humankind is no longer exclusively concerned with making nature useful, but also and essentially with problems resulting from techno-economic development itself. It is in this sense that modernization becomes *reflexive*; 'a theme and a problem for itself' (Beck, 1986: 19).

However, Petrini seems to argue for a particular sort of activism that derives its powers from an acceptance of the very powerlessness of the 'agency' in general, against the state of things:

> Faced with excesses of modernization, *we are not trying to change the world anymore, just to save it.* Whether we are talking about the environment or the artistic heritage or the institutions of the civil society, or—what we think is just as important—the great patrimony of knowledge attached to material culture, it is time to realize how fragile the world is and start to protect it, by creating a sanctuary for all that civilization has produced in the course of millennia and building a more human and highly developed society (Petrini, 2001: 86).

Based on recent studies of urban activism in Britain, Pink (2008) rightly posits the question of *where* the agency that drives *such activism* is to be located. With regards to the whereabouts of such activism, Petrini (interview, 2004: 52; quoted in Parkins & Craig, 2006) indicates us to a "new rurality" which, evidently, does not aim to make everyone an agricultural worker but, while certainly seeking to 'revitalize rural environments and communities, is based on an *ethical cosmopolitanism*, in which people are aware of the global connections which bind them to distant others, and in which this connection is fundamentally connected to food, whether through growing, distributing or consuming'. Similarly, in *Slow Living*, Parkins and Craig (2006: 11) advocate Beck's notion of 'rooted cosmopolitanism' as particularly appealing to the spirit of the Slow movement:

> Alongside a still-influential national sphere of experience there is also the emergence of a global dimension ushering in 'a new way of doing business and of working, a new kind of identity and politics as well as a new kind of everyday space-time experience and of human sociability', a new figuring of cosmopolitanization or '*internal* globalization' (Beck 2002: 17, 30, original emphasis). This new, dialogic cosmopolitanism –or '*rooted* cosmopolitanism'– both ruptures binaries such as local/global and requires a notion of localism (Beck 2002: 19, original emphasis).

It should be noted that, Petrini's "new-rurality" that is based on an ethical-cosmopolitanism seems to find its plausible socioeconomic fit particularly in the Anglo-Saxon countries. Given the emphasis on the mobilization of civic grassroots in the emergence of *Slow Food*, now becoming social entrepreneurs in order to develop an alternative model to the industrializing food sector, it is not surprising to see that a chapter has been reserved to *Slow Food* and its 'business dilemmas' in a 2008 book[56] on innovative entrepreneurship, knowledge transfer and cluster formation in Europe and the United States. The author of the chapter on *Slow Food*, Hielke Van der Meulen, sheds light on *Slow Food*'s 'business dilemmas' from an

---

[56] Van der Meulen, Hielke S. (2008) "The Emergence of *Slow Food*", Ch.11 in Pathways to High-tech Valleys and Research Triangles: Innovative Entrepreneurship, Knowledge Transfer and Cluster Formation in Europe and the United States, (eds.) W. Hulsink and H. Dons, pp. 225-247, Dordrecht: Springer.

insider viewpoint as the coordinator of the Dutch *Slow Food*'s Ark of Taste & Presidia programme, besides his academic position in Wageningen University, Rural Sociology group.

Admitting that the movement draws its force from the dedication and intelligence of its leaders, from the mobilization of their civic home-base, and in the many local volunteers whom they have inspired, Van der Meulen (2008: 225) posits three major 'business' dilemmas to *Slow Food*; namely, the strategy of developing local food networks to fight global bulk-food producers, the desire to create a Piedmont gastronomy cluster versus the movement's international ambitions, and the collaboration with private entrepreneurs and sponsors versus the pursuit of social goals. The first two gradually emerge as the movement keeps getting internationalized with the growing ambitions to fight against global problems such as decrease in bio-diversity, loss of cultural heritage, damage to the environment, degradation of rural areas, as well as increase in obesity, and persisting hunger. The third dilemma, on the other hand, can be regarded as immanent to any voluntary organization operating through the private interests of many different parties at different scales.

Van der Meulen (2008) approaches the first question, whether small-scale local food production systems can solve the global problems at hand, by drawing attention to the distinctions between the various categories of 'local food' in different historical 'country-regions' (i.e., Anglo-Saxon, Latin-European, Post-colonial Africa), which I find particularly insightful for a comparative understanding of both the mode of operation and the assumed prospects and impacts of *Slow Food* in different contexts.

Van der Meulen (2008) discusses that, in the affluent Anglo-Saxon countries of the North, 'local food' refers to either the 'unprocessed foodstuffs' (i.e., restaurants organically growing their own foodstuffs, vegetable box schemes and farmer-consumers self-serving their own area; that is, a 'co-production' model involving consumers in primary production) or the 'processed farmhouse products' (i.e., local tourist shops, delicatessen stores and farm shops promoting environmentally and economically responsible production and consumption cycles). In a recent case from Australia, Nettle (2010) attributes the resurgence of interest in community gardens to the increased prominence of food issues and the development and popularization of a range of alternative agro-food initiatives, such as farmers' markets, community supported agriculture, and consumers' cooperatives, where *Slow Food* initiative seems to be merely one among several associated perspectives (i.e., *community food security* (Winne, 2009), *food justice* (Levkoe, 2006), *civic agriculture* (Lyson, 2004), and *food sovereignty* (Desmarais, 2007); quoted in Nettle, 2010). The community gardeners become increasingly allied with broader food movements, and successfully position themselves as a form of practical action on issues of food security and sustainable food production, however, Nettle (2010) attributes the success that enabled the emergence of community gardens as sites of

collective social action, equally to a divergent, yet collaborating, set of actors from health agencies looking to increase fruit and vegetable consumption to radical social movements seeking symbols of non-capitalist social and spatial relations.

In this respect, the fact that there is a mixed bag of local *slow* initiatives[57] across these affluent western countries, exploring and advocating general lifestyle change, puts *Slow Food* in a rather dilemmatic position by itself, (i.e., as if holding the patent of 'the original' slow movement) due to its more institutionally organized nature in contrast with the 'institutionalized individualism' (Beck, 1986) social action modes of the people involved. In other words, *Slow Food* seems to lose its privileged position as a cultural trendsetter in the cosmopolitan context as one among many other creative initiatives[58]. In the Anglo-Saxon context, thus, the success of local food activism depends on to the extent 'institutionalized individualism' modes succeed in forcing 'sustainable leisure' activities to work towards environmental and social problems, and, evidently, against the "rising tide of insignificancy" (Castoriadis, 1996) in these countries. For the same reason, the general success of local food initiatives in these countries seems to depend on to the extent the growing 'experience economy' (Pine II & Gilmore, 1999) will be willing to innovate in favor of these 'reflexive' modes, and, of course, to the extent these reflexive modes of 'activism', in return, will be willing to negotiate with the 'variety seeking' business modes.

In Latin-European countries, in contrast with the 'co-production model', 'local food' particularly refers to *traditional food stuffs* with special characteristics that are linked to a well-defined area or town of origin (Van der Meulen, 2008). The *Slow Food* agency, thus, finds itself in the rather ambiguous position to act as an intermediary (i.e., implying several class-based dilemmas) that, while taking side with the disadvantaged producers, sets the terms of exchange (e.g., "good, clean and fair food"[59]) of the alternative agro-food market. This is because, while some of these 'regional typical' producers are embedded in strong organizations and legally protected (e.g., villages in the French wine making trade), many minor regional typical food products are still unprotected (i.e., the ones in the *Ark of Taste* programme of *Slow Food*). The challenge for such producers is that by their very nature they do not have the 'economies of

---

[57] Tomlinson (2007: 147) accounts as examples, "the Austrian based *Society for the Deceleration of Time* or *slowlondon*, or the US-based *Simple Living Network)*, to art and design-oriented initiatives like *SlowLab* in New York, and to narrowly focused groups like *Tempo Giusto* –a group of German musicians dedicated to the performance of classical music at much slower–in their opinion, authentic–speeds".

[58]Similarly, *Slow Food*'s stand as a historical narrative of resistance is also surpassed, in the Anglo-Saxon context, by a long tradition of resistance: the Diggers who resisted encroachments and enclosures of the British commons in the 17th century; 'pure food' movements from the 1890s, the organic movement, particularly from the 1940; permaculture from the 1970s; quoted in Nettle, 2010: 43.

[59] The *Slow Food* mantra of "buono, pulito e giusto" (good, clean and fair) requires that "the food we eat should taste good; that it should be produced in a clean way that does not harm the environment, animal welfare or our health; and that food producers should receive fair compensation for their work" (www.slowfood.com).

scale' to compete with global, industrial food systems, and there is currently no way for farmers to easily scale sales to grocers or restaurants, let alone directly to individual consumers. Despite the rising number of people that are fascinated by traditional productions, they are destined to remain at the margin of modern food sector as long as they are ignored by mainstream distribution.

To this end, Venturini (2008) argues that, supermarkets hinder alternative efforts both practically and ideologically by establishing and occupying a gap between producers and consumers. This is also why food movements have long tried to replace supermarkets with alternative distribution forms. Farmer markets, community-supported agriculture, consumers' purchasing groups and other experiments in 'disintermediation' and 'relocalization' are developing precisely to provide such alternatives[60]. To this end, the decision to mess with supermarkets and decide whether to oppose them or to turn them into allies was a major step for *Slow Food* to tackle marginality as such. In 2007, *Slow Food* announced that it was going to stand as consultant and guarantor to the foundation of a new global, large-scale Italian distribution chain named *Eataly*, which offered the most advanced logistic tools to create a connection between small traditional producers and modern consumers, while making a number of choices that clearly distinguished its project from that of mainstream supermarkets:

First of all, *Eataly* decided to strictly abide by *Slow Food* principles: good, clean and fair food. Secondly, *Eataly* tries to reduce transport costs by offering a range of products that is as local as possible. This means that all fresh products and most preserved products are produced within a reasonable distance from supermarkets. Thirdly, *Eataly* decided not to distribute national or global food brands and to favor traditional, little-scale, craft-made productions (Venturini, 2008).

On the other hand, it is too early to understand whether *Eataly* will be capable of facing the competition of mainstream supermarkets without deviating from its ecogastronomic ideology; whether it will be capable to renovate both modern distribution and traditional productions to make them compatible. The fact that *Slow Food* endorses *Eataly* project does not mean that the movement leaves aside its commitment in promoting farmer's markets, purchasing groups and self-production. However, recognizing the overwhelming influence of supermarket in modern societies, *Slow Food* refuses to limit to niche distribution channels and is meant to support a real network of mass distribution, competitive in offer and prices. Instead of refusing the entire repertoire of modern distribution techniques, it builds on the idea that some of these techniques may be diverted, hijacked, separated from the ideology of growth

---

[60] Venturini (2008) argues that, "All these remarkable and appealing initiatives build on the idea that the agro-food sector can be renovated only by shortcutting modern distribution and recreating a direct connection between farmers and citizens. However, a realistic assessment of the current situation reveals that these alternatives have few chances to deviate the mainstream of agro-food sector".

and bent to a different logic. Successful or not, Venturini (2008) advocates *Eataly*'s lesson as crucial for it shows the importance of not confusing utopias and techniques, ideologies and practices, as the efficacy of the alternative movements depends crucially on the capacity of maintaining such distinction.

The third category of 'local food', which is discussed by van der Meulen (2008) as *indigenous*, refers to crops and animals which are traditionally produced and consumed by many people in poorer, developing countries, in particular in rural areas, and which lack the wider reputation and degree of organization of the Latin-European regional-typical products. This category is further divided into 'common, daily food stuffs' (e.g., Gari from Benin) and 'rare specialties' (e.g., Moroccan Argan oil and highland coffees), where the latter are usually more processed and have the potential to develop into premium regional-typical products. Unfortunately, the fact that many indigenous rare specialty products end up being exported to rich Western countries as luxury items raises a dual dilemma: On the non-Western part, it runs the great risk of being mainstreamed by mechanization of manual work, losing its special characteristics. On the Western part, eating 'organic' (i.e., local, Slow, heritage, exotic) food becomes 'performative of an élite sensibility' (Guthman, 2004: 52) and indicator of 'status' (Bourdieu, 1984). For van der Meulen (2008), however, while the 'conspicuous consumption' (Veblen, 1899) of local specialty food products by upper-class people turns local foods into 'culture goods' (Bourdieu, 1979), this very fact also make them desirable to the middle and lower classes as the larger mass of second-instance buyers. The intermediary role of the *Slow Food* agent as the Western cultural élite also seems to work towards upgrading the indigenous products, especially in terms of know-how, which in turn provides the local producers with greater bargaining powers in the market. It is probably in this respect that, Petrini refers to the members of *Slow Food* as an 'inclusive élite'. However, since both the knowledge and the international contacts provided to the producers are not integral part of their private entrepreneurial base, they seem to depend constantly on the benevolence of highly educated idealists for creating competitive advantage.

3.2. Realignments with emerging economies and institutions

Regarding the problem-solving capacity of local food initiatives against global problems, thus, while the ambitious attitude of *Slow Food* perfectly fits the 'cultural creative trendsetting vanguard' position of the organization, the direct positive impacts appear to be less than their rhetoric suggest, especially at the international contexts. On the other hand, in Italy, Carlo Petrini, at his speech at the 2010 *Slow Food* Congress, titled "for a new humanism", purports *Slow Food*'s role as a "new political subject that carves into the concrete reality of the Country" (with a capital C):

> We are in a difficult moment, on a cold winter in which we must arm ourselves with a good blanket. Think of a *patchwork*. It consists of small pieces of cloth that, alone does not serve to cover up anything. But if we combine these pieces of different colors with a strong *thread*, then we get a warm and beautiful blanket. The *Terra Madre* communities are small pieces of cloth. *Slow Food* is the thread. *Become the threads* of your communities and territories, together we will achieve our *concrete utopia*.[61] (emphases mine)

The metaphoric notions chosen in Petrini's very recent speech are particularly interesting for discussing the ambiguous role of the *Slow Food* activists. Firstly, this speech is addressed to an international audience, the members of the *Terra Madre* 'communities', cooks, food critics, gourmands, and academic sympathizers that have traveled from all over the world to attend the *Slow Food* congress in Turin. They are referred to as the 'threads' of their 'communities and territories', emphasizing the 'rooted cosmopolitan'/ 'cultural-communicational'/ 'vanguard' subjectivity they need to adopt, within their interrelatedness to the 'embedded' local producer subjects, in order to be able to guide their '(new-)communities' towards *Slow Food*'s 'concrete utopia'. For *Slow Food*, the utopia seems 'concrete', in the first place, due to the fact that territories are already given, unlike an 'abstract' utopia that, by definition, refers to a 'no place'. Then, what remains is the struggle to be given *over* these territories, that is, *via* and *for* the emerging intentional and reflexive experiences, *via* and *for* the emerging emancipatory subjectivities.

A similar 'concrete utopia' was foreseen and described earlier, by Gramsci, in the form of a hegemonic struggle process that would last until the capabilities of the 'political society' were finally *reabsorbed* within the 'civil society' (i.e., withering away of the State). The intellectuals in Gramsci's scheme would operate as the 'organized vanguard' that will bring about the democratic aspects of civil society through the pluralistic effects of the institutions of civil society (e.g., labor union), the avenues or channels they provide for the representations of workers' interests in the forum of political society. Michel Foucault, on the other hand, would later characterize these 'channels and avenues' as rather "disciplinary" in effect, "a means to mediate and recuperate the antagonisms born of capitalist production and capitalist social relations—thus creating a worker subjectivity that is recuperable within and will actually support the order of the capitalist State" (Hardt, 2000: 163).

Given the fact that *Slow Food* was born through the transformation of such 'organized vanguard' into the 'institutional individualisms' that were prominently characterized by an emerging 'reflex' (*contra* 'reflection') against the 'industrial society' and its modes of organizing labor in general, Petrini's argument seems oddly anachronistic in terms of the 'additional' consciousness 'imputed' (e.g., *become the threads of your communities*), as it were, onto

---

[61]Carlo Petrini, *Slow Food* Congress: For a new humanism, 15.5.2010, accessed on 10.3.2011 at http://www.lucianopignataro.it/a/carlo-petrini-al-congresso-slow-food-per-un-nuovo-umanesino

these always already 'self-binding' subjectivities. The 'reflexive' subjectivity is supposedly born, in the first place, by a self-imposition of life-regulatory constraints, that is, by transforming the 'fact' of *being bounded* by the 'other' into a 'task'; and in turn, however, by rejecting any transcendent 'imperatives' that will constrain the individual from the outside. On the other hand, one can still argue, following Ernst Bloch (1986: 146) that, this is the very logic of the "utopian function" to posit itself as "the only transcendent [ideology] without transcendence" as its *process* "has not yet surrendered its most immanent What-content, but which is still underway"[62]. Thus, given *Slow Food*'s revolutionary appeal, we must at least try to identify 'the new concept of space' heralded by the movement in order to get a grasp of its 'immanent What-content that is still underway'. To this end, let us regard what Petrini refers to as "new rurality" as a "concrete abstraction", that is, as an abstraction that "concretizes and realizes itself socially, in the social practice" (Lefebvre 1977: 59). Stanek (2008: 67) argues that Henri Lefebvre's "unitary theory" treated 'space' as "analogous to Marx's theorizing of 'labor', which considered every theoretical concept as a symptom of a larger social whole and related the emergence of the concept to the social, economic, political, and cultural contexts of its appearance"[63]. In this respect, Petrini's "new rurality" presents us with such a 'moment of emergence of an awareness of space and its production', where *a link* that "had already been dealt with on the practical plane but which had not yet been rationally articulated"(Lefebvre, 1991: 124; quoted in Stanek, 2008: 67) is discovered.

Thus, in what follows, I am going to discuss *Slow Food*'s ambitious claim for 'rationally articulating a new conception of space' and to what extent can Petrini's 'new-rurality' be regarded as a *true alternative* to the 'abstract space' of capitalism. I argue that, *Slow Food*'s 'new conception of space' posits us with a dilemma as it seems to correspond to two distinct 'formal' conceptions to be performed disjunctively on 'regional' and 'international' grounds.

---

[62] "The *utopian function* is also the only transcendent one which has remained, and the only one which deserves to remain: one which is transcendent without transcendence. Its support and correlate is process, which has not yet surrendered its most immanent What-content, but which is still under way [...] Consciousness of the Front provides the best light for this, utopian function as the comprehended activity of the expectant emotion, of the hope-premonition, maintains the alliance with all that is still morning-like in the world. Its Ratio is the unweakened Ratio of a militant optimism. Therefore: the *act-content* of hope is, as a consciously illuminated, knowingly elucidated content, the *positive utopian function*; the *historical content* of hope, first represented in ideas, encyclopedically explored in real judgments, is *human culture referred to its concrete utopian horizon*. And predominant in this combine is no longer contemplation, which for centuries has only been related to What Has Become, but the participating, co-operative process-attitude, to which consequently, since Marx, the open becoming is no longer sealed methodically and the Novum no longer alien in material terms. Subsequently, the theme of philosophy has stood solely in the topos of an unfinished law governed field of becoming in depicting-intervening consciousness and in the world." Bloch, Ernst (1986: 146), *The Principle of Hope*, 3 Volumes, Neville P., Stephen P. and Paul K. (trans.), Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

[63] Stanek (2008: 65-67) argues that "Lefebvre was especially influenced by Hegel's theorizing of the internal dynamics of the *concrete universal*, described as a *development* from the universal to the singular via the particular. This dynamic shaped Lefebvre's concept of *production*, and, specifically, of the *production of space* [...] While the study of Mourenx [a new workers' town in the Pyrénées Atlantiques] inspired Lefebvre's subsequent theorizing of space as a *product* of heterogeneous, historically specific social practices, it was his reading of Marx's analysis of labor from the *Grundrisse* as an "*abstraction which became true in practice*" that provided him with a model for such *a new concept of space*" (emphases mine).

To begin with, on the theoretical level, if a 'new rurality' is to posit itself as the revolutionary 'concrete abstract' of the future global dominance of local agro-food production, its realization is expected to bring about a complete 'unity' of its own production cycle, and for that matter, the complete abrogation of the currently dominant ones. Moreover, it is expected to argue for this 'utopian' future as counterintuitively manifest in its embryonic 'form' within the existing sociospatialities, which, in turn, refers us back to the level of the practice. Thus, in practice, the revolutionary 'new-rural sociospatial practices' are expected to operate with the two simultaneous strategies of messing with the 'links' of the current dominant paradigm's 'unity', and thereby constituting the 'links' of the *Not-Yet-Become*-Unity. In fact, tensions present themselves at the level of selectively 'imputing' this new-rural subjectivity (i.e., 'self-branding'[64]) as to whether *Slow Food*'s practices are to be considered as the 'cultural vanguard' of the broader alternative food movement or merely in line with others addressing somewhat similar concerns with the dominant food industry (i.e., the decline of rural communities and tradition, the standardization of food and the consumer's alienation from the producer). *Slow Food*'s insistence on 'self-branding', in this regard, can be seen as an effort to maintain a certain 'recognition' for the "new rural"-*for-itself* especially given the 'diffusive' character of the 'new rural', taken as a concept, *in-itself*. From the view point of site surveying, Halfacree (2007) argues that it is extremely hard to distinguish between "the sort of initiatives we are most interested with here, with their countercultural flavouring, and more bourgeois forms of counter-urbanisation, on the one hand (e.g., Boyle & Halfacree 1998), and more traditional forms of agricultural activity, on the other (e.g., Holloway 2002)."[65] In other words, looking for a 'moment of emergence of an awareness' of the "new rural" space and its production, in the Lefebvrian sense, amounts to spotting it simultaneously as *perceived*, *conceived* and *lived*, that is, *wherever* it already manifests a *relative permanence*.

Thus, we arrive at the core tension of our subject matter: While a 'revolutionary movement' is *revolutionary* by the very fact of its *singular* emergence at "any space whatever(s)"[66], setting its *particulars* free from the hierarchies that cause oppression thereof, the tendency of the alternative agro-food movements to give prominence to both 'authentic' (i.e., rurality,

---

[64]Van der Meulen (2008: 240) mentions in this context, "the 'no logo' policy of *Slow Food*: names and logos that relate to *Slow Food*, Ark of Taste, Presidia may not be put on windowsills, products, brochures, or websites of private food suppliers, no matter how 'slow' they are (the only exception being some restaurants in Italy which have been allowed to expose the snail). Otherwise, *Slow Food* would become a commercial brand, rather than a movement. For the same reason, the initiative by *Slow Food* Germany to grant the snail logo to 'slow' producers if they paid a double membership fee was halted by the President's Committee of the International Association."

[65]Halfacree (2007) refers us to the signs of resurgence of a 'back-to-the-land' phenomenon assuming potential significance in debates over the future of the *countryside* in the global North, as particularly witnessed in the growth in numbers of self-build settlers, permaculture exponents and organic smallholders, and the network of support services.

[66] Deleuze, Gilles (1983) *Cinema 1: The Movement-Image*, Hugh T. and Barbara H. (trans.), London: The Athlone Press.

community and environment) and 'technocratic' (i.e., post-Fordist urbanism, evolutionary meta-governance paradigms) concepts by unthinking presumption amounts to inviting those oppressive 'transcendents' which were kicked out from the front door, back in from the rear door. In this respect, it is insightful to follow the transformation in Lefebvre's thinking in order to get a sense of the alleged 'neglect of rurality'[67] in his works. Otherwise, the whole Lefebvrian argument for the dialectical process of anticipating, distinguishing and constituting, that is, "producing" *difference* within the 'concrete abstract' space of capitalism can be very misconstrued as capitalism's unfolding itself in time and space through 'induced' *differentiations* (e.g., 'new state spaces')[68].

This becomes most evident when some versions of the 'new social movement' theory addresses 'institutionalization' as an inevitable fact, and by readily attributing 'reflexivity' a higher level of status for sociospatial combat that is rather reserved to the 'educated' new middle classes, overlooking the 'self-control' entailed by it. On the other hand, the dependency of these movements on *actual* 'reflexivity' becomes a crisis-management issue, whereby the *savagelyreflexive* labor is co-opted as 'lay-expertise'. Therefore, we witness the deployment of a so-called 'reflexive' discourse, in the name of activism, in order to obscure the unthinking presumptions involved in institutionally realigned sociospatial practices. For one thing, once the *differentiation* of space is substituted for *difference*, the entirety of space becomes a 'fictitious' commodity, a pure medium of 'value', breaking not only with the older notions of 'use value' but also with the older notions of 'profit making' and 'profit taking'. Perplexingly enough, social scientists, especially activist-theorists in the field of 'participatory action research' seem sincerely amazed by the emerging financial opportunities as they go so far as heralding the "end of capitalism as we knew it" (Graham & Gibson, 1996) or jump at the conclusion that capital has finally reached its limit. In other words, finance capital starts to operate through

---

[67] Halfacree (2006b) argues that Lefebvre's relative neglect of the rural within his work comes in part from a combination of showing the universality of the production of a particular kind of space –urban and rural– under capitalism, and from his dialectical attempt to resist binaries or dualisms (Shields, 1999). For example, he resists the idea that the principal spatial contradiction of capitalism lies within the dualism 'town' versus 'country', locating it instead within the urban (Gregory, 1994; also Harvey, 1985; Lefebvre, 1996: 118–21).

[68] Stanek (2008: 75) mentions that Lefebvre's discovery of the form of urban space as dialectical parallels the transition in his thinking from an early review "Utopie expérimentale: pour un nouvel urbanisme" (1961) to his writings in the late 1960s. Published in *La Revue Française de Sociologie*, it sympathetically presents an urbanistic project for a new city in the Furttal valley near Zürich. The authors of the project, presented in the book *Die neue Stadt*(1961), express the ambition to develop a paradigmatic solution for the problems of congestion, traffic, and housing and to tackle the aesthetic challenge of inscribing modern architecture into the Swiss landscape. The main principle of the design is the concept of a balance that regulates the social, economic, emotional, political, and aesthetic aspects of the new city.In his review Lefebvre embraces this principle, praising the project for proposing "an equilibrium, at the same time stable and vivid, a sort of self-regulation."This support for the project, which exposed Lefebvre to the accusation of reformism by the *Internationale Situationniste,*was soon withdrawn. In "Humanisme et urbanisme. Quelques propositions" (1968), he notes that it is deceptive to envisage a perfect equilibrium between architectural concepts,and in *The Urban Revolution* (1970)he claims that the concept of a "programmed" and "structured" equilibrium, as proposed by the planners, is an even greater risk for a city than chaos.

such socially and environmentally self-legitimating spatio-temporal acts that its 'pay back' is no longer questioned.[69]

In this respect, the emergence of the farmers' market deserves special attention as an important spatial component of the alternative agro-food experiments for the alleged 'disintermediation' and 'relocalization' of the production-distribution-consumption cycle. 'Disintermediation' strategy argues for the meeting of the 'producer' with the 'consumer', as its name suggests, by the complete abrogation of the intermediary services of transportation, packaging and preserving of the agro-foods presented as goods. For those living in developing countries, this strategy may not stand as 'alternative' by itself, since it is a well-known *modus operandi* of the 'informal economy' of all times. 'Relocalization' strategy, however, is not merely an extension of the former, since it ideationally regards 'disintermediated agro-food' as a *distinction* (i.e., healthy, organic, fair trade) that is worth traveling to, and even *moving to*, wherever it is to be set up. This 'wherever' is, of course, not 'anywhere', since the *particulars* necessary for its emergence implies *less* of everything that is associated with the 'productivism' of the Fordist-Keynesian commodity economy, though maintaining basic infrastructures and municipal services.

As the "new rurality" of the alternative agro-food movements and the differentiated, post-productivist 'countryside' of the abstract space of capitalism begin to refer to the same address, 'discursive re-appropriations' over the geographically superimposed two distinct 'concrete abstract(s)' gain emphasis. To this end, *Slow Food* leader Carlo Petrini refers to 'sustainable development' as an oxymoron, implying that the production of a "new rurality" can only be legitimate when realized via 'de-growth' as its modus operandi. From *Slow Food*'s viewpoint, as I articulate, there seems to be a 'natural' *limit* to the degree 'use value' can be compromised (i.e., a genetically modified food product can never fully substitute for the 'Real' one) that even the most capitalist 'consciousness' would sooner or later have to acknowledge. This 'practical-truth' not only implies a limit to capital but also sets the terms of the transition from the 'industrial' to the 'risk society' paradigm. As the latter more and more urges itself through the 'distribution of risks' (*contra* welfare), it seems only a matter of time before everyone gets his/her share from the wisdom of the famous Native American saying: 'only

---

[69] Adam (2000: 190) discusses how "this purposive yet abstract extension of value has reached new heights (and, perhaps, depths) with its transformation into the electronic and global impulses of today's financial exchanges. The future value of a commodity contract is not simply a matter of linear time increasing or decreasing in some predictable way – but is linked instead to complex multivariate calculations, inflated, discounted, hedged and even expressly devalued. Where money, for Simmel, is a pure instrument that represents the best way to establish concrete value in the most abstract terms, *the new markets of modernity are also capable of simultaneously discounting some future value to create multiple present valuations*. The mediating capacity of old-fashioned money is thereby pushed into far more intensive yet extensive areas of risk. At the same time, there are almost unimaginable moments of profit making and profit taking. At each step the future itself becomes one of the bargaining chips of modernity" (emphases mine).

when the last tree has died and the last river been poisoned and the last fish been caught will we realize we cannot *eat* money'. It is indeed a matter of 'time', but also, of 'space', how the weakening of the general connections between money and value, as well as between time/space and money can be reorganized in favor of the 'use-value' in market transactions. However, the crucial point is that this 'practical-truth' does not necessarily set a 'limit' to capital. In fact, if 'space in its entirety' gets to be regarded as 'value' (i.e., the new substitute for market transactions), this is in order to be able to facilitate a further distractive process away from that *moment* of encountering with the 'Real', not vice versa. Capital does not care if money cannot be eaten; it only *buys* 'time/space blocs' (i.e., facilitates 'spectacles') through which 'subjects' can 'freely' experience the accumulated set of commodities together with the paradoxes of the Lacanian "surplus enjoyment" (i.e., as 'rurality as a whole' becomes *object petit a*, the more you apologize from nature, the more you feel guilty).

A corollary to this discussion deeply concerns farmers' markets as "contact zones" (Pratt, 1992: 7), bringing up the issue of "the spatial and temporal co-presence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjunctures, and whose trajectories now intersect."[70] Pratt (1991) uses this term "to refer to social spaces where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slaver, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today". In this regard, resorting to Mary Louis Pratt's work on the constitution of subjectivities in the context of the colonial Third World can be considered unduly cynical, only if we are unwilling to see that neoliberalism is all about discovering the 'third' (*relational space*) within the 'first' (*absolute space*) for further 'value' extraction, for better or worse, indiscriminating geographic location. Thus, Pratt's work is highly relevant as it helps us understand how the colonized subjects, "undertake to represent themselves in ways that engage with the colonizer's own term" (Pratt, 1992: 7). Under such circumstances, the villagers' presence in the farmers' markets cannot be considered a "genuine" self-representation (i.e., *right to the city*) since it happens in the "contact zone", where the colonized subject relies on the adoption of the terms of the occupation.

However, such an admittedly cynical view against the farmers' markets can be misleading, since it anachronistically argues for some bygone 'authentic' peasants that are self-sufficient in everything they need to consume and only interested in use-value. Moreover, farmers' markets are not necessarily set up at 'rural' *places* as such, as Halfacree (2006b) argues,

---

[70] Gregson *et al.* (2001) in this respect note that "the [Economy-Culture] debate itself has increasingly been characterized by the bringing together of various individuals deemed to represent either *economy* or *culture*, in the hopes that their juxtaposition might achieve the desired articulation. Somewhat paradoxically, then, considering the short shrift given to related arguments within these circles, *articulation has been performatively constituted, rather than approached through sustained analytical engagement*."

"[a place] merits the label 'rural' [by the extent] which the totality of rural space dominates that place relative to other spatialities […] The rural status of any place is thus an issue that always must be determined on the ground/in place to avoid rural fetishism". In the recent Turkish movie *Entelköy Efeköy'e Karşı* (Aksu, 2011), where the German Green Party politician Claudia Roth makes an appearance, the dialogue between the local 'commy' and the 'villagers' was rather exemplifying how the rural, in effect, been effaced by the geographical development of late capitalism:

Commy:	Tell me now, are you bourgeois, workers or peasants?
Villagers:	(*in chorus*) We're peasants.
Commy:	Peasants my ass!! You buy your egg, milk, yogurt from the market in town. Dependence on land is long gone, you keep selling whatever you've got left. You play rummikub, cards and watch TV all day. What sort of peasantry is that?[71]

Thus, Halfacree (2006b) argues, "(formerly) rural places may be seen as dominated by distinctly non-rural spatialities, leaving rural space only as a *ghostly presence*, experienced through folk memory, nostalgia, hearsay, etc. Here, locality, formal representations and daily lives will have little significant 'rural' content". What is perplexing, however, is that "where rurality does still come through, we might *again expect to see a contradictory and disjointed local structured coherence*" (ibid; emphases mine). Because, the growing recognition of the 'value' of the "relational" (Harvey, 2006) conception of rural space, especially as detached from its dialectical totality with its "abstract" and "relative" conceptions, make the rural space particularly appealing for entrepreneurial initiatives of all kinds. For instance, one can encounter such a 'de-growth' model of development that ties the so-called villagers solely to their use values in order to create a romanticized image of villagers battling 'growth machines', while the rentier class captures the benefits of such *ghostly* 'authenticity'. In the hope of avoiding such atrocities, the literature on development strategies in rural areas accordingly address some major conditions that determine the success of deploying 'differentiation' strategies. Brunori & Rossi's (2007) work based on the Chianti area in Italy regards the setting up of appropriate governance patterns as one of the key factors:

- The achievement of a sufficient degree of consensus among local social groups concerning a set of social representations of the rurality.

---

[71] *Komnist*: Mesela siz şimdi burjuva mısınız, işçi misiniz, köylü müsünüz?
Köylüler: (hep bir ağızdan) Köylüyüüüz…
Komnist: #%#% köylüsünüz!! Sütünü, yumurtanı, yoğurdunu bile şehirdeki marketten alıyon. Toprağa bağımlılık zaten kalmamış. Olanı satıp satıp yiyon. Akşama kadar okey oyna, 66 oyna, televizyon izle, bu nasıl köylülük? (English translation mine)

- The capacity by local communities to turn this consensus into specific informal and formal institutions (norms and routines, agreements, policy measures, etc.), which provide the 'mechanisms of co-ordination' (Goodwin, 1998: 8) that lies at the basis of the processes of differentiation.

- The capacity of local forces to construct on this shared base of social representations and its institutional base an adequate system of governance, capable to coordinate the relations between local public and private agents and to effectively interact with the outside (regulatory systems, markets, society).

Harvey (2006: 275) rather posits the question as, "how is it that different human practices create and make use of different conceptualizations of space?" *Slow Food*, for instance, cannot afford to be that cynical. Ezio Manzini[72] critically acknowledges the experiential agro-business opportunities taking shape within the agro-food system with the emerging service and experience economies. From a designer point of view, Manzini (2005: 7) expresses his concerns about the disheartening practical consequences of depending on such strategies "in the absence of any profound reflection on the identity of places, communities or their products" (i.e., in the absence of any sensitivity towards issues relating to the sustainable use of physical and social resources), which result in the transformation of "local products into commercial brands, and places of production and producer communities into theme parks and the characters that populate them". On the other hand, Manzini (2005) admits that he is equally encouraged by the extraordinary activities of *Slow Food* as it "teaches us that it is possible to carry out a design activity that goes beyond the spectacular consumption of what remains of a precious historical heritage of knowing, flavors, places and social customs". He refers to such design activity as "post-spectacular design". Coming from an "industrial" design background, Manzini (2005: 8) argues for the necessity to "redefine the concept of industry" by means of:

> Collaborating on the consolidation of an agriculture, a food industry and a distribution system capable of *moving in the opposite direction to what has been the prevailing trend until now*; which once again produce "beautiful" fields, "beautiful" conversion machinery, excellent products and *new links between town and country*; which at the same time encourage the conditions for making food into a *profoundshared culture* and a *moment for building up social relations* (emphases mine).

What is critical here is that Ezio Manzini rests his wishful arguments on some emergent properties of evolutionary economics (e.g., network economy, open source systems, peer-to-peer organizations), which explicitly anticipate an *accordance* between *productive forces* and *relation of production* in the, should we say, *post-capitalist mode of production*. In other words, the

---

[72] Ezio Manzini is a member of the International Scientific Committee of *Cittaslow*. He is currently professor of Industrial Design at the Milan Polytechnic University and Chair Professor of Design under the Distinguished Scholars Scheme at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University.

anticipated shift is not merely between 'productivist' and 'post-productivist' paradigms but rather, and more importantly, between "capital-labor" and "capital-life" paradigms, as Lazzarato (2004) contends:

> To work within a contemporary organization means *to belong, to adhere to its world, to its desires and beliefs*. To be sure, this is the ideology of contemporary organizations but it represents a radical change in the 'subjectivity' of the organization and the subjectivity of workers. It is *at this price* that 'work' is carried out. And this is a *double edged sword*: on the one hand, it affirms workers' *autonomy, independence and singularity* (individual substance), on the other hand, it requires workers to *belong to the organizational world*, since this 'world is internal to the situation and conduct of the subject'. This situation is neither better nor worse than the Taylorist division of labour, it is only *different*.

Lazzarato should be appreciated for not merely highlighting the prospects to the neglect of problems (i.e., 'autonomy' versus 'auto-control') entailed with these 'decentered' subjectivities. Anyhow, I still hold qualms about regarding this paradigm as valid for a general formulation of "new rural" subjectivities without taking into consideration the existing spatio-temporality of capitalism as to the global North/South divide we discussed earlier, which further complicates the over-emphasis attributed to supra-national evolutionary processes. On the other hand, regardless of the North/South division, the revolutionary prospects of an 'intellectual/immaterial labor' paradigm should not be mistaken for the still unresolved contradictions of a 'post-productivist work environment' (i.e., be it a 'shopping mall' or a 'small town') only hypothetically relying on the voluntary co-operation of minds.

On the other hand, Carlo Petrini's 2010 *Slow Food* Congress speech can be taken as proof of the fact that *Slow Food* is now making its reappearance rather as a "new political subject that carves into the concrete reality of the Country" (with a capital C). Initially, Petrini's "new rurality" as a revolutionary 'concrete abstract' seemed to argue for a globally suffusing scheme, where the Piedmont region would perform merely as an important 'hub' in a worldwide network of gastronomic 'hubs and nodes' as opposed to a 'cluster' of sub-regional 'proximities'. While the development of the region into an alternative agro-food 'cluster' depended on *Slow Food*'s functioning as a collective body in this process, the initial mode of activism seemed to aim more than unifying the 'economic' interests of the constituent parts. *Slow Food*'s role of bringing together the diverse parties (i.e., small and mid-size producers, public officials and representatives of all kinds of associations that would in turn become each other's sponsors) seemed to be driven more by an experimental spirit with intellectual concerns about a rather *disappearing unity*[73]. However, as the region started to posit a viable

---

[73] One is tempted to recall the Situationist experiments in Unitary Urbanism that, as Lefebvre (1983) mentions, "consisted of making different parts of the city communicate with one another [in order to present] a synchronic history. That was the meaning of Unitary Urbanism: unify what has a certain unity, but a *lost unity*, a *disappearing*

economic alternative to the mainstream agro-food sector together with the business successes of the small and mid-size producers, it seems that the concerns for the 'lost unity' has been modified to welcome the emerging new institutional 'unity' opportunities. In this respect, one wonders if there is a curtailment in *Slow Food*'s revolutionary ambitions traded in for a prematurely *fulfilled* utopia.[74]

This becomes most evident in *Slow Food*'s opening its own University of the Gastronomic Sciences, in 2004, in order to introduce, what Van der Meulen (2008) calls, "a somewhat exotic product into the cluster: gastronomic knowledge, 'sold' in the form of academic courses, workshops and publications", especially, considering that, "only part of this knowledge relates directly to the cluster's wines and goods, and it is different from the implicit knowledge that gears productive processes in the cluster anyway". In order to finance this costly project, *Slow Food* would recognize the fact to go beyond the small and mid-size associations of the cluster. For the new scheme, what Petrini called a 'regionally united institutional front' was mobilized:

> The Association of Friends of the University of Gastronomic Sciences has been founded by *Slow Food* to finance the university, involving many public and private sponsors, among which public bodies (local and regional governments), regional savings banks and regional wine producers (mostly from the region). In a first instance it raised the money to *restore* the monumental *Agenzia di Pollenzo*, which then became a platform for many activities, next to being a campus for bachelor students. It also raised scholarships for less endowed students; since the university is private, students pay about €20,000 per year. A number of companies, private persons and old charity foundations offer scholarships (van der Meulen, 2008).

In a way, together with the founding of the University, the alternative 'restructuring' of the region towards a full-fledged cluster of the 'historic know-how' type (Porter, 1998) gets complete. In this scheme, while the 'cultural economy' of the cluster performs as an excellent 'back-yard' for the University (i.e., student excursions to special producers), the University supplies the visitors. Furthermore, what is constituted here, as I articulate what *Slow Food* proponents seem to be advocating as 'revolutionary', is rather a "new unity of space" in the Lefebvrian sense, where Petrini's concept of "new rurality", only now, finds its *true expression* in the form of a gastronomic sciences university embedded in its own regional 'laboratory' for experimenting with the emerging opportunities of a place-bound experience economy. Thus, it is not surprising that, this 'new unity' of the processes of production, distribution and consumption constituted by *Slow Food* and the agro-food cluster in the region becomes

---

unity." It is also very telling how Situationists would soon abandon it in 1960s arguing that urbanism was becoming an ideology in France.

[74] Since "none of the abstract concepts comes closer to *fulfilled utopia* than that of *eternal peace*." Adorno, T. (1951/1999: 157)*Minima Moralia: Reflections from Damaged Life*, London: Verso.

institutionally and architecturally manifested in the very same building complex, the *Agenzia di Pollenzo* (i.e., 'university campus' and 'development agency')[75].

Picture 2: *Agenzia di Pollenzo* and the University of Gastronomic Sciences in Bra (Cuneo).
Tekne Ingegneria website, http://www.tekne.ws/26,Portfolio.html (Accessed: 19.03.2012)

Accordingly, I argue, following Schumacher & Rogner (2001), that "it would be wrong to assume 'post-Fordism' as the 'era of suburbia' and 'Fordism' the 'era of the city':

> Suburbanization was the general rule of (mature) Fordist urbanization. Post-Fordism breaks the universality of suburbanization. The new model of post-fordist urbanism *reinhabited the historic city*. Postmodern architecture found its market in the rediscovery and "detournement" of the historical city *not merely as brandable commodity but as a necessary communication hub for the new economy* (emphases mine).

Thus, I argue that dilemmas present themselves as *Slow Food*, in order to become the true alternative that it is, ambitiously leaps at the opportunities to constitute its "true unity of production" paradoxically, however, via two distinct 'formal' conceptions performed disjunctively on regional and international grounds. While *Slow Food*'s 'technical/organizational' level in the Piedmont region (i.e., small and mid-size producers) is expected to attain its 'true unity' via a 'cluster' form and only through it, the prevailing ambitions of *Slow Food* for spreading the word across the globe (i.e., slow agro-food as a counter-hegemonic enterprising 'culture') lead to its rapid diversification and internationalization via a 'network' form (i.e., Convivia, Arks, Presidia, Terra Madre communities), where the links with the 'technical/organizational' levels of the sociospatialities involved become merely contingent. Due to this non-correspondence with its regional 'cluster', the 'network' form emerges as an

---

[75] The 'building complex' has been restored to its 'vaguely Gothic' authentic style as commissioned by his Royal Highness Carlo Alberto of Savoy in 1840. The total land surface of the area is 37.000 m² and includes: Bank of wine (2.000 m²), Hotel (50 rooms), Restaurant (120 seats), University of Gastronomic Sciences (3.000 m²), Stock of vintage wines (shop), Conference hall (200 people), Fitness area, Open-door swimming pool, Warehouse and parking (Tekne Ingegneria, http://www.tekne.ws/26,Portfolio.html, Accessed: 19.03.2012)

additional 'cultural/communicational' plane that acts as a marketing apparatus, as it were, locally promoting its home base and globally spreading at local contexts wherever the available agro-food activism/enterprising opportunities make sense. Moreover, as a further repercussion of this non-correspondence, I argue that the movement leaps at the opportunity to constitute, what Lefebvre calls, a "new unity of space" in the Piedmont region by realigning its initiatives towards the new economies and institutions of the post-industrial paradigm (e.g., University of Gastronomic Sciences, *Cittaslow*[76]). While the 'Slow' arguments for these initiatives seem theoretically-informed and critically-readjusted against the contradictions inherently entailed by the post-industrial paradigm, especially via the 'reflexivity' of its academic proponents, it does not seem to help much about finding the way out of these dilemmas. Thus, given the state of things, *Slow Food*, via its supposedly revolutionary way of producing space, seems to end up serving the recently consolidated economic and political system of the Schumpeterian-post-Fordist workfarist society.

The most important reason for my embarking on such an extended discussion of the 'diachronic' and 'synchronic' tensions of *Slow Food* as an ongoing movement is that, I have found the 'demythologizing' of its past as particularly crucial for the overcoming of a systematic methodological blindness of the engaged literature to properly address the otherwise well-acknowledged *link* between *Slow Food* and *Cittaslow* as a strategic modification of the former for realigning with the emerging evolutionary economies and institutions of the post-Fordist paradigm. Accordingly, I regarded *Slow Food*'s appropriation of "new rurality" as a *revolutionary* 'concrete abstract' embedded in diverse international agro-food 'spaces of *difference*' as a sincere moment of the movement as it initially seemed to be more resolutely posited against the 'spaces of *differentiation*' of the neoliberal State's sociospatial practices. However, tensions and dilemmas, as I argue, are grown later, particularly out of *Slow Food*'s attempts at overlaying a supposedly revolutionary paradigm onto the regional business success of its home base sociospatialities through *hasty* (*contra* 'slow') historicizations that result in anachronisms, or worse still, "a [post-capitalist] society which seems to correspond perfectly to this vulgar evolutionary dialectics of forces and relation: 'real socialism', a society which legitimizes itself by reference to Marx" (Zizek, 1989: 53). Thus, I believe that, *Cittaslow*'s emergence as an 'alternative model' via the adopting of a food philosophy as a paradigm for 'urban development' can now be properly argued with reference to both the 'anachronistic' and the 'futuristic' presumptions involved at the background.

---

[76]In his study on the relevance of food systems for urban development, Stierand (2008) characterizes *Cittaslow*'s approach as 'opportunity-oriented', in a positive sense, as opposed to the rather inefficacious 'problem-oriented' ones. This is mostly because, as Stierand (2008) discusses, *Cittaslow* adopts a 'food philosophy' as a 'paradigm' for development.

4. The Emergence of *Cittaslow* as a European phenomenon

The *Cittaslow* movement began in October 1999, when Paolo Saturnini, mayor of Greve-in-Chianti, a Tuscan hill town, organized a meeting with the mayors of three other municipalities (Orvieto, Bra and Positano) to define the attributes that might characterize a *citta lente*—slow city (Knox, 2005; Mayer & Knox, 2006). At their founding meeting in Orvieto, the four mayors committed themselves to a series of principles that included:

> […] working towards calmer and less-polluted physical environments, conserving local aesthetic traditions and fostering local crafts, produce and cuisine. They also pledged to use technology to create healthier environments, to make citizens aware of the value of more leisurely rhythms to life and to share their experience in seeking administrative solutions for better living. The goal is to foster the development of places that enjoy a robust vitality based on *good food*, *healthy environments*, *sustainable economies* and *traditional rhythms of community life*. These ideas soon led to a Charter with a 54-point list of pledges (Mayer & Knox, 2007; emphasis mine).

Following its foundation as an independent, non-profit organization, *Cittaslow* set out to admit new towns as members into the network through the institutional leadership of their local municipal administrations, which are designated as the entrepreneurial agency to 'self-assess' the town's 'appropriability', so to speak, as a whole (i.e., suitability, intention and willingness) to comply with the International *Cittaslow* Charter (see *Appendix* A). However, there is more to this application/admission process than a simple 'filing for application', which is evinced by the *intellectual* nature of the 'labor'[77] deployed in both the instantaneous and procedural 'appropriations' of a given town for *sustainabledifference* and the dialogue process that ensures whether the *Cittaslow* 'brand' is in "safe hands". In regard to this process, the engaged literature, with a common appeal to Beck's "2nd modernity" concepts, seems to rely on "institutional individualism" as the dispositional attribute of the '*Cittaslow* mayors' (i.e., a heritage of the Eurocommunist past or a corollary of the post-Industrial times) without addressing the politico-philosophical premises that engendered such "*de jure* autonomy"[78] in the European context of urban struggles. A similar simplistic reductionist attitude is also witnessed in the sleight of hand that translates *Slow Food*'s "relational" (Harvey, 2006)

---

[77] Membership of the *Cittaslow* movement is carefully controlled, and cities are admitted to membership only after trained local "operatives" have prepared an initial report on the town's commitment to *Cittaslow* principles, followed by a detailed audit report covering six key areas: environmental policies and planning; use of infrastructure; integration of technology; promotion of local produce and ways of life; hospitality and the rhythm of life and sense of place. The movement is governed by an elected assembly of 10 cities (Mayer & Knox, 2006).

[78] Beck & Beck-Gernsheim (2002: XXI) argue the distinction between the *neoliberal idea of the free-market individual* (inseparable from the concept of 'individualization' as used in the English-speaking countries) and the concept of *Individualisierung* in the sense of *institutionalized individualism* […] 'Individualization' consists in transforming human 'identity' from a 'given' into a 'task' – and charging the actors with the *responsibility* for performing that task and for the consequences (also the side-effects) of their performance: in other words, it consists in establishing a *de jure* autonomy (although not necessarily a *de facto* one) (ibid, XV).

conception of the "new rural space" to a *normative* set of territorial social criteria for policy action. Because, *Slow Food* activism owes its pervasiveness to the fact that its 'site' indeterminately relies on the 'dialectization', so to speak, of the categories of 'urban' and 'rural' with respect to the Lefebvrian triadic conception of 'spatial practices', 'representation of space' and 'spaces of representation'. In contrast, *Cittaslow*, as *Slow Food*'s *city-based* spin-off, brings forth 'city-governance' as the guarantor over the application of its principles, not only reaffirming the 'centrality' of the 'municipal urban' and its 'development' but also subordinating *Slow Food* activism to institutional initiatives. Moreover, as the multidimensional self-binding activities of the movement are assumed to be crystallizing in the emerging new institutional arena and the 'cultural' entrepreneurial modes of the mayors, particularly high demands are placed not only on the capacity of individuals to bind themselves autonomously and rationally but also on their power of moral judgment. This change is particularly appalling at a time, as Offe (1992 : 67) argues:

> where the state-produced rule of law fails as the guideline for determining an interest that all reasonable individuals are capable of, and indeed coerced into, recognizing as their common interest, the "problem of order" *is apparently put back into the hands of individuals and their associations and organizations (Verbände).*Precisely because there is no other force sufficiently "sovereign" to impose a *common good* on them, they must control themselves, apply their capacity for practical judgment, and appeal to the cultural traditions of their form of life; *they must substitute for a notoriously overburdened state power.* The state instituted media of law and money are capable, at best, of regulating conditions of exploitation and altering structures of privilege that have become untenable within national societies. They are certainly not capable by themselves of laying to rest a whole series of contradictions and questions of justice in the international "risk society". At the very least, they need to be supplemented by an *increasing participation on the part of citizens whose actions and self-binding are oriented toward enlightenment, solidarity, and responsibility.*

In other words, everything takes place as if the long wished for *Right to the City* has been finally delivered by the State, though not quite under the conditions envisaged earlier by Lefebvre. The "right to the city" (*droit à la ville*) for Lefebvre, before all else, is the right to keep the premises of the historic heritage of the city 'as a place of civilization' ever intact: "to restore the 'center' as a place of creation, civilization" (Lefebvre, 1986). Its rupture, on the other hand, may annihilate this role and the urban may well be a space of dissociation of the society and the social, as we witness in the capitalist processes of urbanization. Then, let us revisit the premises of our historical heritage in order to be able to properly come to terms with their reappropriations.

4.1. The premises and promises of the *Right to the City*

4.1.1. The Greco-European Project of individual and collective autonomy

The political thinker Cornelius Castoriadis is considered to be a Romantic Hellenist for putting forward the case of the Athenian *polis* as the exemplary for the Western project of individual and collective autonomy, characterized by the *ex nihilio* rise of truly individual creators and of a public capable of accepting their innovations (i.e., democracy, isonomy, liberty, Logos, reflectiveness). According to Castoriadis, the democratic Athenian *polis* was enabled by the society's radical break with the preceding 'religious' significations, giving rise to great 'profane' forms and works thereof, and proving capable of welcoming them, all in the same breath. The originality and the civilizational impact of the "creation" of democracy lay in the idea that "a collectivity can self-institute itself explicitly and self-govern itself" (Castoriadis, 1996: 150). The breakthrough of Greek philosophy was also internally linked to the logic of the project of autonomy as Socrates was a "philosopher-citizen". On the other hand, when the philosopher 'removed himself from society, to talk about society', it was a sign of the failure of the Athenian democracy; thus, Castoriadis (1996: 277) regarded Plato's "political philosophy" as "nothing more than a philosophy *about* politics, *external* to politics, to the instituting activity of the collectivity".

Although the *polis*religion as a 'civic religion' was notably different from the monotheistic religious traditions that would later emerge[79], Castoriadis's analogy (i.e., between the Greek Enlightenment and the French Revolution as two ideal-typical moments of the Greco-European "creation" that had *freed* itself from all 'pregiven' meaning) was more about placing the weight of responsibility on the Western humanity for a radical transformation to take place here first—in brief, to serve against the *rising tide of insignificancy* in the European North.

4.1.2. Eco-decentralism

Murray Bookchin in his *The Limits of the City* (1986) praises Henri Lefebvre for viewing the Paris Commune of 1871 as an 'urban movement' *par excellence*, rather than as the "model" of a "proletarian dictatorship". According to Bookchin, what the Communards agreed upon, first and foremost, was the fact that they were *Parisians*, not simply "citizens" of a nation-state called France. Accordingly, they were "citizens" of a municipality, not of classes called "proletarians", "petty-bourgeois" or "capitalists" and the *Commune* was to be primarily

---

[79] For a historico-critical discussion of the theoretical appropriations of the Ancient Greek *polis* as a model for the Greco-European project of autonomy, see Adams, Suzi (2005) "Interpreting Creation: Castoriadis and the Birth of Autonomy" in*Thesis Eleven*, 83: 25–41; also see Murphy, Peter (1993) "Romantic Modernism and the Greek *Polis*", *Thesis Eleven*,34: 42–66.

regarded as a *municipal revolution*. Emphasizing the importance of the municipality as a revolutionary 'center' however, does not mean to disregard the revolutionary role of the countryside for Bookchin. On the contrary, he argues that Marx's antithesis between "town and country" raises the problem of "proletarian hegemony" in ways he could never have anticipated as the so-called "bourgeois" revolutions of the past with their centers in London (1640s), Boston (1770s) and Paris (1790s) could as well be argued to rely upon the massive social discontent in the agrarian world, particularly in highly transitional periods:

> Caught in the force field created by industrial rationalization on the one hand and a leisurely seasonal world shaped by nature on the other, the worker-peasant is more authentically the voice of "proletarian" upsurges than his or her proletarian heirs for whom the factory has already become a way of life and a school for hierarchical obedience (Bookchin, 1986; in Miles *et al.*, 2000: 49).

Thus, Bookchin argues for a 'humanistic' return to more deep-seated sources of discontent besides the "self-interest" of specific classes: cultural factors which bring about 'municipal solidarity' over and beyond class factors, a unique sense of 'municipal identity', the powerful role of the neighborhood in fostering collectivist ties, citizenship itself conceived as an ethical compact, and over the long run, the importance of municipal federations as an alternative to the nation-state. Biehl (2011) traces the evolution of Bookchin's "eco-decentralism" from the work of two earlier thinkers, Lewis Mumford and E. A. Gutkind. Bookchin was particularly amazed by Mumford's lyrical description of a small medieval European city in *The Culture of Cities* (1938), where he admired its urban form as the "product of a long, slow settlement, yet it was still small scale, with everything in walking distance"[80]. On the other hand, Mumford's narrative of decline fascinated him as it seemed almost dialectical, describing a past phenomenon and then the development of its opposite. On the subject of historical decline, Mumford invoked the Scottish biologist and urban planner Patrick Geddes, who had outlined a six-stage outline of city development, starting with the Athenian *polis*. Mumford regarded the city of 1938 to be in the fourth stage, Megalopolis, and was posed to devolve into Tyrannopolis, then into Nekropolis, the city of the dead (Biehl, 2011).

The ancient Athenian *polis* was as central for Bookchin as the medieval city had been to Mumford. He similarly celebrates a moment in the distant past, in which town and country were integrated. Moreover, the 'urban-rural' balance was responsible for the remarkable character of the Athenians, "men of strong characters who had firm ties to the soil and were

---

[80] "Its streets were irregular, its houses low-slung, its church spire soared—it was a delight to the eye. It had a central open space where people could meet, gossip, trade, pray, and politick—that is, its layout encouraged face-to-face encounters. Medieval life was communal and associational, its residents sharing common values that endowed their lives with significance. It was unexpectedly rural in character: it had lots of open green spaces. A wall constrained further growth, but just beyond was the open countryside" (Biehl, 2011).

independent in their economic position. Labor and land, town and country, men and society, were joined in a common destiny" (Bookchin, 1986: 24). That balance made possible the city's astounding political culture, which was of supreme interest to Bookchin: in Athens, he contended, civic activity involved an exceptionally high degree of public participation. All the policy decisions of the polis were formulated directly by a popular assembly (ibid: 27).Certain aspects of the ancient polis continued into the medieval commune, notably its spirit of independence, its focus on handcrafts, and its "self-containment". Bookchin also admired the medieval city, although taking its religiously sanctioned hierarchical class structure with a grain of salt. Yet, it did exist, as Mumford had pointed out, in balance with the countryside. The commune, as Bookchin called the medieval city, provided a deep sense of community, the comfort of sociality and human scale (Biehl, 2011).

However, Bookchin's own 'narrative of decline' is strongly embedded within a 'post-scarcity' hope in the modern metropolis reaching its *limits*. He affirms the rise of a counter-movement of 'regeneration' that will realize the dispersal of the megalopolis in the name of civilization. Accordingly, Bookchin weaves his 'communalist' arguments for a recovery of the promises of the city as a distinctly human and cultural terrain together with a politics in the Hellenic sense of wide public participation in the management of the municipality. Eventually, he comes up with his own version of an evolutionary, "eco-decentralist" 'solution' against the 'problems' of overurbanized cities. Considering that Bookchin was a resident of the New York City, it is not surprising that he argues for a literal decentralization of the population residing in megalopolises into small cities or towns, since the 'humanizing' features of early urban life only seem to resurrect in their 'humanistic' scale and appearance.

To this end, Mumford's 'regeneration' idea would integrate 'rural' and 'urban' as in the medieval city, yet in modern terms. Two urban planners in Great Britain, writing at the turn of the twentieth century, influenced Mumford's thinking along these lines. In the wake of the Industrial Revolution, both Ebenezer Howard and Patrick Geddes had wanted to 'rebalance' cities, industries, and natural regions. According to Howard, the 'internal colonization' of a country could be done deliberately. New cities could be consciously found in the name of civilization and civic life so that their locations would not be left to chance or to the vicissitudes of the past. Ebenezer Howard, in his appeal to creating new cities as 'colonies' in the name of civilization was, in fact, returning to the Ionians roots of "u-topia", as *practiced* by the earliest city planner Hippodamos of Miletus as an *answer to a practical question*, rather than a homage to the civic traditions of the Athenian polis[81]. Thus, he proposed the conscious

---

[81] Arnason (2001: 208) argues that "*u-topia was the answer to a practical question*. Like a number of other Ionian cities, Miletus engaged in adventurous sea faring, trading and maritime colonization, especially around the Black Sea. Such colonization posed a question of *rational organization*. When colonials founded a new city, how were they to layout

creation of Garden Cities in the form of small-scale communities to be situated outside the urban core, surrounded by swatches of open countryside (reminiscent of Carlo Petrini's "patchworks"), dedicated to agriculture, recreation, and other rural occupations. A Garden City's population would be limited to 30,000; the town would encompass both residences and workplaces. "Town and country," wrote Howard, "must be married, and out of this union will spring a new hope, a new life, and a new civilization" (quoted in Biehl, 2011). Patrick Geddes, on the other hand, was regarded as an "ecological sociologist" by Lewis Mumford for he was among the first to undertake "a thoroughgoing civic survey as a preliminary to town planning" (Mumford, 1938: 376). Geddes included in his survey of Edinburgh considerably new items for the urban planning practices of the time such as "the geographic setting, the climatic and meteorological facts, the economic processes, and the historic heritage" (ibid.). According to Mumford, Geddes "made the necessary passage from the civic survey to the regional survey" by elevating environmental aspects to "matters of first importance". Thus, following Howard and Geddes, Mumford argues that *regions*, not cities, had to be the focus of planning, to incorporate the rural: "To be built successfully, the garden city should be the product of a regional authority, with a wider scope of action than the municipality" (ibid: 401).

Bookchin's most important influence, in envisioning "decentralized balanced communities, built on a human scale, which would combine the cultural advantages of the city with the rural qualities of the village" (Bookchin, 1965: 188; quoted in Biehl, 2011) was Mumford. However, as Biehl (2011) argues, Bookchin's version of 'decentralism' would be radicalized by a little-known German architect/planner named Erwin Anton Gutkind. Gutkind criticized the Garden City movement for its willingness to leave the central city intact and create satellites; he wanted to eliminate the central city and disperse settlement over a broad area. Industrial production would be split up in "publicly owned or cooperative groups" (Gutkind, 1954; quoted in Biehl, 2011); indeed, his decentralization process would redistribute practically all aspects of life: "homes, work, distribution, and circulation, leisure and recreation, social intercourse, and cultural stimulation" (ibid.). Gutkind's new communities, "distributed organically over the country" would be fairly equal in size, "without the domineering preponderance of a 'happy few' big cities to the disadvantage of all the others". Small in scale and dense in structure, they would beimbued with "mutual aid and cooperation" and would rejuvenate humanity, giving rise to "an inspiring diversity and a new élan vital" (ibid.).

Thus, Gutkind was an antistatist, considering "the emergence of communities in a stateless world" to be "the highest ideal which we can discern at present" (ibid.). "Social Ecology" was coined by him in order to stress "the indivisibility of man's interaction with his

---

their city? What schema of foundation could they use? What schema travels easily, across distances, and adapts to *any* local topos? In the answer to this question lay the origins of u-topia" (emphases mine).

environment" (ibid.). Bookchin, also an antistatist, admired Gutkind's masterful discussion on community, as well as the name "social ecology", which he borrowed for his own ideas. In the next decades, Bookchin would develop social ecology into a complex and sophisticated set of ideas, giving it dimensions that had been lacking in both Mumford and Gutkind. Especially as a young Marxist, Bookchin had recognized the fact that social change was driven by technology (as in the case of the proletariat to revolution); hence, decentralization would also come about by a technological imperative. In his *Crisis in Our Cities* (1964), Bookchin elaborated the dependency of the modern metropolis on fossil fuels, emphasizing that humanity must find a replacement for fossil fuels by developing entirely new sources of energy. Solar, wind, and tidal energy could be harnessed by experimental turbines, solar reflectors and mirrors, heat exchangers, and thermo-electric devices (Biehl, 2011).

These technologies or what Bookchin called "ecotechnics" were not only appropriate due to the smallness of their scale as fit to small cities (i.e., unlike centrals or dams), but rather that these technologies simply could not supply "the large blocks of energy needed to sustain densely concentrated populations and highly centralized industries; [whereas], solar, wind and tidal energy can reach us mainly in small packets" (Bookchin, 1965; quoted in Biehl, 2011). Thus, they would have to be used "locally and in conjunction with each other" to "meet all the power needs of small communities" and if we were to turn to them – and we had to– then, we would have to change our society in order to accommodate them and make them practical (Biehl, 2011).

4.1.3. Autogestion in its impossibilty

Henri Lefebvre cannot be considered to be a 'Romantic Hellenist', or even a Eurocentric[82] thinker, as his references to the Ancient Greek *polis* are more about putting forward a general theory of the "production of space" with respect to the *spatial practices* of the given societies. For the ancient Greek city had its own spatial practice, it forged its own *appropriated* space[83]. Lefebvre rather suggests that the establishment of a political town, what might generally be called a city state like the Greek *polis* or the Roman city, is very near the start of the *process of urbanization* since they arose around the same time or soon after the establishment of an organized societal life, of agriculture and the village (Elden, 2004: 130). Nevertheless, Lefebvre still recognized the prerequisites for a "society against state" (Clastres, 1974) as spatialized in the form of the Greek *polis*:

---

[82] "One can therefore think, following Marx, that *Weltgeschichte*, worldwide history, was born with the city, of the city and in the city: oriental, ancient, medieval" (Lefebvre in *De l'Etat* IV: 17; quoted in Elden, 2004: 130).

[83] "The Greek city is cited here only as an example – as one step along the way. Schematically speaking, each society offers up its own peculiar space, as it were, as an 'object' for analysis and overall theoretical explication. I say each society, but it would be more accurate to say each *mode of production, along with its specific relations of production*" (Lefebvre, 1991: 31; emphasis mine).

The Greek city did not exorcize the forces of the underworld; rather, it rose above them and so surmounted them. For the *citizen* and *city-dweller*, *representational space* and the *representation of space, though they did not coincide,were harmonious and congruent. A unity was achieved here between the order of the world, the order of the city and the order of the house* – between the three levels of segments constituted by physical space, political space (the city along with its domains), and urban space (i.e. within the city proper). *This unity was not a simple or a homogeneous one, but rather a unity of composition and of proportion, a unity embracing and presupposing differences and hierarchy.* By the same token knowledge and power, social theory and social practice, were commensurate with each other. And time, the rhythm of days and feasts, accorded with the organization of space with household altars, with centres of collective activity, with the *boule* in the agora (a free and open citizens' assembly), with temples and with stadia (Lefebvre, 1991: 247; emphases mine).

Thus, it is rather the arguably 'immanent' *ordering* function of the Greek *Logos* within the *polis* (i.e., *Logos* simultaneously as reason, measure, justice, language, speech) that seems to have fascinated Lefebvre in his early appeal to such modern urbanism experiments with the idea of a "*balance* that regulates the social, economic, emotional, political, and aesthetic aspects of the new city", which would soon be replaced in Lefebvre's thinking with its fierce criticism ("anti-Logos"[84]): "the recognition that 'city is complex' implies the abandon of all hope of a totalizing knowledge of the city and all possession of it" (Lefebvre *et al.*, 1986: 12). However, while Lefebvre recognizes the life-regulatory role of the *Logos* as State rationality, he is also aware that the 'contradictions' of the "power of the sign"[85] are not to be superseded in theory, neither can ever be definitively terminated in practice. For one thing, they can be constantly counterpoised by the everyday social practices of the "citizens/city-dwellers" ("citoyen/citadan") of the 'political town', who are capable of capturing and demanding the 'rationality' that is inherent to their own social relations.

In this light, Lefebvre's conception of urbanization, as the 'articulation' of 'central' and 'peripheral' social spaces that mediates the social order, appears as a sociospatial struggle for "Anti-Logos". In other words, Lefebvre reaches a new, 'urbanized understanding of hegemony'. Kipfer (2008: 205) argues that "while Gramsci saw hegemonic projects *implicitly* as alliances spanning sociospatial divides at multiple scales (i.e., city and countryside, Italy's North and South, an unevenly developed international order), Lefebvre invites us to make an *explicit* link between hegemony and the production of space". It is in this regard that for Lefebvre the

---

[84] Merrifield, Andy (1995) "Lefebvre, Anti-Logos and Nietzsche: An Alternative Reading of The Production of Space" in *Antipode* 27(3): 294-303.

[85] Lefebvre (1991: 135) mentions that the pessimistic view of *Logos* found in Hegel's notion of *negativity* was later traded in for the *positivity* of knowledge: "The power of the sign is thus extended both by the power of knowledge over nature and by the sign's own hegemony over human beings; this capacity of the sign for action embodies what Hegel called the 'terrible power of negativity'. As compared with what is signified, whether a thing or a 'being', whether actual or possible a sign has a repetitive aspect in that it adds a corresponding representation […] the sign has the power of destruction because it has *the power of Abstraction*—and thus also the power to construct a new world different from nature's initial one. Herein lies the secret of the Logos as foundation of all power and all authority; hence too the growth in Europe of knowledge and technology, industry and imperialism" (emphases mine).

'urban' emerges as a 'concrete abstract' that is embedded in the context of society as a whole and mediating thereof, between the private level, the 'nearby order', the realm of everyday life, on the one hand; and the global level, 'the distant order', the realm of the global market, of the state, of knowledge, of institutions, and of ideologies, on the other. For the same reason, under conditions of "complete urbanization", "the city" –as we knew it– is permanently undermined as a distinct social space physically demarcated from the (pre-capitalist) countryside. The old opposition between 'town' and 'countryside' is dialectically transcended into the contradictory relationship of 'center' and 'periphery'.

In contrast to Bookchin, thus, for Lefebvre, the 'urban' is not reducible to a 'scale' and can only be analyzed as a social product of centralization of power and oppositional struggles against its dominant spatial and social forms. In this respect, Kipfer (2008: 291) rightly observes that in Lefebvre's thinking "the urban corresponds to a *logical form*: the point of encounter, the place of coming together. This form has no specific content. Its logic stands for the simultaneity contained within it and from which it results: the *simultaneity of everything that can be brought together at one point*". Viewed in this framework, Lefebvre's appeal to the Paris Commune of 1871 as an 'urban movement' and the idea of 'municipality as a counterforce' is much more nuanced and analytical than as Bookchin would have it be. For one thing, Lefebvre framed his analysis around the *consolidation* of industrial capitalism during the 19th century and extended the efforts of those theorists (Marx, Lassalle and Proudhon) that intuited anticapitalist political mobilization as an everyday implication of this consolidation. This enabled him to move largely beyond the program prescribed by "official" Marxism that concentrated its efforts on gaining control of the state apparatus and on centralized planning of production by the politically active proletariat. In contrast, Lefebvre declared 'everyday life' to be the decisive category for the connection between economics and the practices of individuals in their lives. Changing everyday life would have to occur through the intervention of all players and not according to the norms of representative democracy: "On this level the association of interests and interested individuals has a name. It is called *autogestion*"[86].

Lefebvre traces the "management" theory back to Proudhon and Proudhonism, however, with a critical view of the centralizing and oppositional forces dialectically at work. According to Proudhon, an economic society is constituted *spontaneously* (as a 'concrete abstract', we might add), and its generalization into the society as a whole can and should bring the socialization of the State. This implies the necessity of reconciling 'tradition' and

---

[86] Lefebvre, 1967: 48; quoted in Ronneberger, 2009: 89. Ronneberger notes that the French term *autogestion* is difficult to express in German, as its meaning cannot be fully conveyed by the German terms "Selbstverwaltung" (self-administration) or by "Partizipation" (participation). In English, Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden (2009) occasionally refer to this untranslatable term as "worker's self-management". However, the dialectical richness and the full connotations of the term can only be captured in the context of Lefebvre's discussion of the concept.

'industrialization', since there can also be economic and technological *growth* without real social *development*, without the enrichment of social relations. To this end, Proudhon proposed treating each population according to the structure best suited to its temperament and customs. This was not a project of complete decentralization, however, as it involved the voluntary ceding of important powers to the state. Local units, from the family to the canton, would give up certain rights (e.g., legal or foreign affairs) in return for certain others (local or economic). It is more accurate to talk of a "mutualism" using Proudhon's terminology that aimed at "dialectically combining social differences at the local level and strongly unifying the state at the national level" (Rabinow, 1989: 198). Lefebvresimilarly remarks that Proudhon seemed to consider only those "management associations" (*associations gestionaires*) that were installed at privileged, hence strong, points of the existing society, in economic and social sectors that were well positioned with reference to the market and competition. The management associations that were established by workers, and which sought to install themselves in the "strong points" of bourgeois society, however, would turn out badly. Going either bankrupt, or, with rare exceptions, being absorbed by capitalism; they would end up functioning as "capitalist enterprises under a 'communitarian' or 'cooperative' label" (Lefebvre, 2009: 143). In contrast, according to Lefebvre 'management associations' revealed their simplest and most interesting form, namely *autogestion*, in the *weak* points of existing society:

> In every society, we can perceive the strong points, the whole of which constitutes its framework or, if you prefer, its structure. We know that the social whole has a cohesion, a coherence. The existing State is grounded upon these strong points. Men of the State busy themselves with sealing up the cracks by every means available to them. Once they are consolidated, nothing happens around these reinforced places. Between them are found *zones of weakness* or even *lacunae. This is where things happen.* Initiatives and social forces act on and intervene in these lacunae, occupying and transforming them into strong points or, on the contrary, into "something other" than what has a stable existence (Lefebvre, 2009: 144; emphases mine).

Lefebvre regards the 1871 Paris as the *weak* point of France, due to a contingent set of factors presenting a favorable conjuncture for *autogestion* thereof: industrialization and the growth of the proletariat on account of political activity; the war, the defeat, the proclamation of the Republic, the siege, the armistice; the social segregation performed by Haussmann, the relocation of workers to peripheral neighborhoods, the gentrification (*l'embourgeoisement*) and ensuing deterioration in the city center. The workers under the Commune would also seek to put under *autogestion* 'businesses' in places abandoned by the Versailles bourgeoisie if only time had allowed; the bourgeoisie, its State, and the capitalist relations of production that remained *strong* outside of Paris had rebuilt the State apparatus before this project could reach fruition. Lefebvre's actual theoretical and practical interest was, of course, to discover the weak points of the *current* French State and society. The candidates of his time, though none of these to be

taken for granted, were the universities, with the students; the rural life of the regions; the new urban housing projects; the (State controlled) public sector of the economy.

Thus, Lefebvre's dialectical thinking not only enabled him to acknowledge the crisis of the Fordist growth model with the failure of the promises of the State socialist modernism planning, but also opened his mind to view *collective everyday practices* as an antidote to these failures. In this sense, Lefebvre's critique of everyday life was meant to analyze the things that make us social and human beings, looking at *work* and *leisure* together, for there is '*alienation in leisure just as in work*'" (Elden, 2004: 111). Lefebvre, thus, identified 'alienation' not only in the capitalist production and labor relations, but also in the "multifarious constraints that play a part in structuring all aspects of everyday life" (Ronneberger, 2009: 89). "The capitalist mode of production", Lefebvre(1988: 80)argued, "established itself in industry, and integrated industry. Then, it integrated agriculture, it integrated the historical city, it integrated space, and it *produced*[...]*la vie quotidienne*" (quoted in Elden, 2004: 111).

In this framework, the potential that *autogestion* held for the people of any territory has been redefined in terms of countering the flawed and often failed concepts of urban planning from above. The *resistant* users of space were the entire "grassroots movement": neighborhood committees, citizens' initiatives, squatters occupying houses or factories, consumer organizations, non-collaborating trade unions, activities conducted by the women's movement and by alternative and peace movements (Ronneberger, 2009: 110). The term "appropriation", Lefebvre set in opposition to the notion of "alienation", fully expressed his interest in a critique of political economy orientated to the entire process of socialization as well as the necessity to "give subjectivity renewed value" (Lefebvre, 1962: 27), while seeking a *place* for autonomy and creativity. The intensity of the struggles and the release of "autonomous subjectivity" however, hardly challenged the system to bring about a complete change. In fact, the critique of the authoritarian welfare state and its bureaucracy, equally appealed by alternative leftist and conservative groupings, has become one of the favorable ideological discourses that paved the way for capitalist restructuring. The neoliberal project of capitalism seemed to have succeeded by offering something new in terms of identity and consumer culture to respond to the wishes and demands of social movements.

4.1.4. Democratic-associationalist approach to local development

In the post-2nd World War state socialist context of East-Europe, the dispute between Tito and Stalin would result in Yugoslavia's break with all ties to the USSR, thus, creating the conditions for an ideological experiment with a non-state type of socialism that would rejuvenate Lenin's slogan: "All power to the *Soviets*" ("elected workers councils"; *Şûra* in Turkish). The experiment would be branded as a "third way" in between the Eastern and

Western blocs since the socialist regime conceived by the Yugoslav communist elites was rather an eclectic model that united a theoretical background in some aspects of Marxism while "borrowing" some of the socioeconomic premises of capitalism (Erić, 2009: 137). For Yugoslav communists, the concept of self-management meant the same as the concept of democracy for Western European liberal countries. However, unlike a liberal-democratic understanding of the state as the central institution of democracy, the socialist regime insisted on the Marxist idea of a 'withering' of the state. This was reflected in the introduction of the concept of self-management[87] into all spheres of society by the Constitution of 1974, by which the population was divided into the "working class", "working people", and "citizens". In accordance with Marxist theory, "working class" was the term used to mark the locus of power in a socialist regime. "Working people" were all employees in state-owned companies and institutions. All other members of society were seen just as citizens. To be able to actively take part in the self-management system, the "citizens" had to join sociopolitical associations that functioned at different levels although citizens could actually act only on the level of their local territorial units, the other "sociopolitical" organizations were reserved for working people only (Erić, 2009: 138). Thus, the experiment of workers' self-management in Yugoslavia would demonstrate economic effectiveness and democratic governance to be compatible in a socialist regime. In that regard, the Yugoslavian experience was going to inspire the forthcoming proliferation of 'endogenous development' strategies in European national states during the 1970s, where the role of cities and regions were emphasized as "strategic arenas for radical political reform and grassroots democratic renewal".[88]

The wave of the Yugoslavian radical experiment with local democratic-associationalism reached Turkey in 1970s, where the powers of urban politics were being growingly recognized by Left-wing politics and further reinforced by the involvement of a younger generation of urban professionals as organic intellectuals in the conduct of the municipalities[89]. In the second year of the 3rd Five Year Development Plan (1973-77), the

---

[87]Erić (2009: 138) puts down the phases of the development of *self-management* in Yugoslavia as follows: 1945-52, the period of a centrally planned economy, similar to the Soviet model of state socialism; 1952-65, the introduction of self-management, where the process of decision making was gradually decentralized; 1965-74, the period of self-managed market socialism, when market mechanisms were utilized in as many areas as possible, focusing on the activities of *socially owned enterprises* operating in the market; 1974-88, the system of "free associated labor" or "contractual socialism."

[88] Brenner (2004: 196) argues that "such democratic-associationalist priorities were counterposed to the centralizing administrative hierarchies of the (nowincreasingly crisis-stricken) Keynesian welfare national state, which was criticized as a bureaucratic monolith lacking genuine democratic accountability. These local reform initiatives were elaborated from a wide range of political perspectives, including Green, feminist, eco-socialist, socialist, and socialist-democratic standpoints, *but all viewed municipalities as privileged institutional platforms for various forms of democratic self-determination by local populations*" (emphases mine).

[89] See, Batuman, Bülent (2008) "Organic Intellectuals of Urban Politics? Turkish Urban Professionals as Political Agents in 1960-1980" in *Urban Studies* 45(9): 1925-46. Batuman argues that the members of this younger generation

coalition government of the *National Salvation Party* [*Milli Selamet Partisi*, MSP] *Republican People's Party* [*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*, CHP] would introduce two controversial concepts to the political economic agenda of the country; namely, *villagetown* [*köykent*] and *people's sector* [*halk sektörü*]. Tekeli (2011)[90] explains that CHP never had a detailed proposal regarding *köykent* and the inadequate representations that remained at the level of principles in Ecevit's speeches or in election bulletins (1969 and 1973) would lead to several misappropriations of the concept in the public opinion. Nevertheless, *Köykent* was CHP's "development" proposal with the slogan "development will start from the *villager*" ["kalkınma *köylüden* başlayacak"] which was meticulously contrasted to the "development will start from the *village*" ["kalkınma *köyden* başlayacak"] slogan of the right-wing *Justice Party* (*Adalet Partisi*, AP). Tekeli (2011) explains that the distinction was to emphasize those aspects of the *köykent* project that leaped beyond the right-wing understanding of "development" (i.e., growth without actual societal development); public works, physical and infrastructural services would not necessarily develop the *villager*. The crucial point was to recognize the *limit* that a villager/ peasant could develop while at the same time maintaining his/her lifestyle as a villager/ peasant. The recognition of this limit would inevitably lead to its overcoming by the transformation of the rural society set forth in three aspects: "villager will get proletarianized, agriculture will get industrialized, and village will get urbanized"[91]. It can be argued that such transformation of the rural society was already taking place by the market forces of the capitalist system, yet the salient proposal of the *köykent* project was to replace the institutions of the capitalist system with new ones which would enable the inevitable transformation to take place in a fair societal order. Accordingly, a series of new institutions had to be introduced. Firstly, a "new land reform"[92] had to be enacted to ensure that the 'land belongs to those that cultivate it' ["toprak işleyenin olacaktır"]. Secondly, the introduction of this new "property" had to be backed up by "agricultural production cooperatives" to enable the transformation of the villager to a proletarian. Thirdly, a new credit order" had to be introduced to restructure the existing agricultural credit cooperatives and

of architects and planners were universitystudents during the military intervention of 1960 and their intellectual formation was marked by thelibertarian climate of the 1961 constitution.

[90] Originally written by Yiğit Gülöksüz and Ilhan Tekeli in November 1976 in order to assist Bülent Ecevit's work on the topical agenda. Recently published as"Köykent Üzerine Düşünceler" in Tekeli, İlhan (2011) *Anadolu'da Yerleşme Sistemi ve Yerleşme Tarihleri*, pp. 202-23, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

[91]"Köylü işçileşecek, tarım sanayileşecek, köy kentleşecektir." (ibid.: 204)

[92] The theory and practice of land reform in Turkey has a long and controversial history that goes back to the single-party period. Karaömerlioğlu (1998) notes that in Turkey land reform has always been brought to agenda by the State as a top-down political strategy and paradoxically in the absence of bottom-up rural risings unlike in most Post-War-I East European countries like Bulgaria, Romania and Poland where it had been the outcome of the political mobilization of the organized peasant parties and masses. Thus, in Turkey, despite the significant amount of distributed land, the top-down land reform practices did not have any impact on the conservative essence of the agricultural relations of production and income distribution sincethe peasants were not drawn into a political struggle against the land lords. See, Karaömerlioğlu (1998) "Bir Tepeden Reform Denemesi: 'Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu'nun Hikâyesi," *Birikim*, 108.

integrate them with agricultural production cooperatives. Fourthly, the pressures of the market forces over the marketing of the products had to be prevented by a reorganization of the "agricultural sale cooperatives". Similarly, the individual and institutional savings earned from this new order were encouraged to be returned to the *köykent* region as industrial investments, following a *köykent*-friendly entrepreneurial model. Lastly, the model for the new industrial *köykent*-friendly enterprises was defined as the "people's sector". People's sector was distinguished from the "public" and the "private" sectors so as to define a new understanding of entrepreneurialism that would extend industry onto the whole homeland surface.

Tekeli (2011) was also interested in defining the correlations of the *köykent* concept with Turkey's settlement levels in order to enable the testing of the proposal with respect to an empirical base. He argued that it would be best for the *köykent* and the neighbouring villages to be gathered under the roof of a single municipality or "union of local administrations" so that the local administration in control of the whole rural area could introduce a new social service organization. According to Tekeli (2011) the mode of implementation of the project through pilot villages had to consider the status of the land reform applications present at the settlements concerned. In those pilot villages that had no land reform application, the implementation of the project would have to avoid major economic and technological initiatives and rather improve the efficiency of the existing activities of that particular *köykent* area. The selection of the location of the control point within the *köykent* area had to be decided by operating a democratic process, involving expert opinion and by taking countermeasures to prevent possible abuses of the advantages that will be brought to these locations.

However, the implementation of the *köykent* project has been very limited. The initial start was given by Ecevit in 1978 at two villages in Van and Bolu, but the by-elections in 1979 replaced CHP's rule and the project halted. After the 1999 general elections, Ecevit as the Prime Minister of the triple coalition (DSP-MHP-ANAP) government would once again initiate the project in Ordu's Mesudiye district, but the project would never mature to the desired effect. Nevertheless, the *köykent* project remained in Parliament's agenda[93] until the 2002 General Elections. From thereon, the *Special Provincial Administrations* (SPAs) with their updated protocols after the local administration reforms took over the role of 'branding the

---

[93] In the 112nd session of the Parliament in 2002, MHP Gümüşhane Member of the Parliament Bedri Yaşar makes a request from the Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit that he takes into consideration his region of constituency (East Black Sea) when the pilot project settlements are determined for the *köykent* project: [*köye geri dönüş projeleri Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi için ne kadar önemliyse, özellikle bizim bölgemiz Doğu Karadeniz Bölgesi için de o kadar önemlidir. Benim ilim de en fazla göç veren illerin başında gelmektedir. Bu köykent projeleri tespit edilirken, özellikle bizim bölgelerimizin de dikkate alınmasını istiyorum. Bu, Sayın Başbakanımızın özel projesi; ben, kendisinin dikkate alacağına inanıyorum*] See, the Proceedings of the Parliament (TBMM),21st Period, 4th Legislation Year, 112nd Session in 12.06.2002, TBMM website: http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/tutanak_g.birlesim_baslangic?P4=8000&P5=B&page1=13&page2=13 (Accessed: 12.05.2012).

villages"[94] in line with the post-productivist rural developmental trends. In the current system, although villages are regarded as local authorities in law, they can hardly be considered as a decentralised authority, where most services are provided by the SPAs. Accordingly, the citizens living in rural areas benefit much less of local self-government than those living in urban areas.

In this regard, Brenner (2004: 198) keenly observes that while the localized strategies of endogenous growth, economic development, democratic renewal, and territorial self-management first emerged during a period in which spatially redistributive, neo-Keynesian priorities were continuing to predominate at a national level, they paradoxically established a significant political opening for the more radical rescalings of urban governance and state spatiality that would subsequently unfold. Considering that the democratic-associationalist institutions of the *köykent* project could never fully embed their desire for radical change in the production of rural-urban sociospatiality, it can be similarly argued that the hollowed out image of such 'progressive' institutions in turn paved the "third" way from the 'socialist' to the 'neoliberal' restructuring of the rural space.

4.2. The Good City rising above *Cités*

4.2.1. Governmentality and new state spaces

Taking the difficulties of representing the shift from Fordism to Post-Fordism, or more specifically, from 'capital-labor' to 'capital-life' (Lazzarato, 2004) into account, *autogestion*, however, finds itself today further confronted with the negotiated relationship between the community self-organized spaces and projects and the state and governmental apparatuses. In his seminal text *Governmentality*, Michel Foucault (1979), through a comparison of Machiavelli's political treatise presented as "advise to the Prince/Ruler" with several other texts that are presented as works on the "art of government", gives us an account of the gradual transformation from the 'State-domination of society' to the 'governmentalization' of the State. Foucault (1979: 13) discusses that:

> […] with sovereignty the instrument that allowed it to achieve its aim, namely obedience to the laws, was the law itself, so that *law and sovereignty were absolutely one and the same thing*. On the contrary, in the case of government it's not a matter of imposing laws on men, but rather of

---

[94]Izmir Special Provincial Administration (SPA) and Izmir Institute of Technology (IYTE) have recently completed an extensive inventory research on the settlements, demographics, population distributions, traditions, architectural and physical characteristics of the villages of Izmir. SPA has also commisioned IYTE to prepare architectural projects (18 distinct house types) based on the building stock inventory of the villages. The General Secretary of Izmir SPA İrfan İçöz: "We obtained a large database. This research recorded traditions that were facing extinction. All these data will aid our decisions for orienting the villages. We are going to introduce the villages as "Brand Villages" either one by one or as a group" (translation mine). *Izmir'in köyleri 'marka' olacak* , Milliyet, 03.09.2011:http://www.milliyet.com.tr/-Izmir-de-her-koy-ayri-bir-marka-olacak /ege/haberdetay/03.09.2011/1434034/default.htm (Accessed: 08.10.2011).

disposing things, that is to say *to employ tactics rather than laws, and if need be to use the laws themselves as tactics. To arrange things in such a way that, through a certain number of means, such and such ends may be achieved* (emphases mine).

Boltanski and Chiapello (2002) further argue that, as opposed to classical political philosophies that had usually attempted to anchor social order in a single principle (i.e., justice as utopianism)*,* in complex modern societies, several *justificatory regimes* can coexist within the same social space. In *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, Boltanski and Chiapello (1999/2007), in order to describe the way in which the spirit of capitalism changed between the 1960s and 1990s, examine texts that provide 'moral education' on business practices. They utilize a "justificatory regime" model consisting of seven 'ideal constructs' (or what they call *Cité* in the French); each, based upon a different 'principle of criticism', crystalizing certain *discursive* aspects of the 1960s-1990s management texts they studied:

Table 1: *Justificatory Regime Model* by Boltanski and Chiapello (1999/2007).

Justificatory Regimes	Principle of Criticism
the Inspirational *Cité*	Artistic
the Domestic *Cité*	Hierarchy
the *Cité* of Renown	Publicity
the Civic *Cité*	Representativeness (of the general will)
the Market *Cité*	Competitiveness
the Industrial *Cité*	Technocratic capacity
the Projective *Cité*	Networking capacity

Boltanski and Chiapello's thesis is that capitalism managed to regenerate itself in the 1980s as it had learned from the radical stance adopted by "artistic" criticism the profound rejection of any kind of institution, duration and commitment. In the post-Fordist enterprise 'independence' and 'showing initiative' emerge as the new virtues, in contrast with the Fordist factory where the 'commitment' of the passive laborer to a minutely planned work process is the highest virtue. Lazzarato (2004) similarly articulates the paradigm shift in contemporary capitalism from the 'disciplinary' vision of organization of 'labor/work' to a 'communicational' and 'event-based' one. While the former is characterized by an *act of control over production*, in the latter 'control' means "paying attention to events whether they are taking place in the 'market' or the 'workshop'; it means paying attention to being able to act, to anticipate and 'being up to it'. It demands learning from uncertainty and mutations, it means becoming active in the face of instability and collaborating in 'communicational networks'. The organization of work in contemporary capitalist enterprises, thus, passes from 'operation' to 'action' and from 'teamwork' to 'activity in networks'" (Lazzarato, 2004). In a way, neoliberalism responds to the

intensified calls for more individual room for maneuver by "making an 'offer' to individuals to participate actively in solving certain issues and problems that previously had fallen within the responsibility of specialized and authorized elements in the state apparatus" (Lemke, 1997: 254).

In the recent urban politics and governance literature, this change is addressed by a discussion that is rather limited to the "culturalization" of 'entrepreneurial strategies' themselves, evolving from 'crude' supply-side policies towards a more 'sophisticated' Schumpeterian understanding (Ribera-Fumaz, 2009), enabling the creation of opportunities for surplus profit through 'new combinations' or 'innovation' (Jessop, 1998: 79). In this respect, I find Boltanski and Chiapello's regarding the 'justificatory' *regimes* as *Cités* more encompassing, particularly in the addressing of the new interactive roles ascribed to mayors as constitutive of holistic *regimes* of 'controlled autonomy', or rather, new *life-worlds*, in contradistinction to the mere implementation of some entrepreneurial strategies. In other words, in contrast with the Fordist entrepreneurial culture that emphasized the functional division between membership of an organization and the life-world, post-Fordist concepts propagate the vision of an exclusive corporatist 'life-world' and the construction of 'total communities', where the 'commodity value' of the *collectively* produced 'good' is *anthropologized*, that is, represented as if it were the expression of the resolutions and attitudes of the people, the "total social fact" (Mauss, 1966) of the 'community': "an *event* which has a significance that is at once social and religious, magic and economic, utilitarian and sentimental, jural and moral" (Lévi-Strauss, 1969: 62). The argument for the 'culturalization' of entrepreneurial strategies, thus, suggests that competition does not only occur between economic actors (i.e., firms, strategic alliances, networks), but also between political entities representing spaces and places (i.e., cities, regions, nations) thereof justifying the treatment of cities, regions and nations as 'units' or 'subjects' of competition insofar as competitiveness depends on 'extra-economic' as well as economic conditions, capacities and competences. While competition maintains legitimacy by arguably resting itself on *more*-than-pure-market forces in the post-Fordist business paradigm, the question remains as to "whether the conditions of successful competition for a city, region or nation are analogous to those for a single firm. Can cities, regions or nations achieve competitiveness in similar ways to firms, and, if not, do they at least pursue economic competitiveness in the same way as each other?" (Jessop, 2002: 187).

In the context of urban governance, the fact that the 'good' is, in fact, a 'locality' that is produced by a 'society'; and given the fact that such society is increasingly fragmented by 'processes of individualization, informatization, globalization and de-territorialization' (Castells, 2004), the conceptualization of municipal entrepreneurial activities as 'community events' paradoxically calls for a stronger mayoral *leadership* in society. In this respect, the leadership

roles get also redefined in the field of urban governance. Greasley and Stoker (2008: 724) argue that leaders "are *not* seen as 'in control' but rather as potential *regime builders* with the power to blend the capacities of others. This is a vision of a leadership style that could be seen as making a more positive contribution to urban governance [...] in a context in which resources and powers have drained away from localities and decision makers find themselves challenged by better-organized societal groups and citizens". In other words, in the context of contemporary *urban* "art of government", the *discursive* counterpart of "disposing things" to achieve "such and such ends" (Foucault, 1979) by the *new* Prince seems to be only possible via the adoption of a *ProjectiveCité* (a.k.a. 'Network Governance') as the ultimate justificatory regime that *subsumes* ('aufhebung') all the preceding ones.

However, the dilemmas regarding how mayors are able to *form* a 'local identity' and take on a *connective* leadership role in a society characterized by fragmented identities need to be further addressed. Augé (1995: 48) argues that the totality of the social fact, according to Mauss, refers back to two other totalities: *the sum of different institutions* [i.e., local and global] that go into its make-up, but also the whole range of different dimensions [i.e., parochialism as well as cosmopolitanism] that serve to define the individuality of all those who live in it and take part in it. In other words, what Mauss suggests, as Augé argues, is an interpretation of the social fact "which includes the picture any of its indigenous members might have of it", that is "the 'average man' who does not belong to the élite". The *branding of a place* by the mayor, thus, seems only legitimate in the current international urban policy context, as long as it is co-extensive with the *branding of the executive mayor* as an indigenous member of both the local community and the international community of "good governance".

It is insightful to trace back the notion of "good governance" to its reemergence in Robert Putnam's study of civic engagement in Italy, the homeland of *Cittaslow*, between 1970 and 1989, where it is deployed to characterize "a *trend* away [...] from *radical social reform* toward *good government*". In his study, Putnam appraised the flourishing democratic civic culture in Italy by conducting a "Left-Right Depolarization" index analysis with councilors and community leaders throughout 1970-1989. He argued that the narrowing down of the gap between 'Left and Right' [i.e., Communists and Christian Democrats] brought about "a dramatic change in political climate and culture" that was observed in:

> a trend away from ideological conflict toward collaboration, from extremism toward moderation, from dogmatism toward tolerance, from abstract doctrine toward practical management, from interest articulation toward interest aggregation, from radical social reform toward "good government" (Putnam, 1993: 36; emphases mine).

Jessop (2001) reflects on the connotations of the notion of "good governance" as it appears in *The World Report on the Urban Future* prepared for the *World Conference in Berlin*

(Urban21) as an "interesting example of the current global trend towards re-launching neo-liberalism, this time with a human face". Jessop (2001) acknowledges that the struggle to spread the neo-liberal economic project on a global scale has experienced several major setbacks:

> whether in the form of unexpected crises (e.g., East Asia), unexpected social costs with serious political repercussions (e.g., growing economic polarization and social exclusion rather than the long anticipated 'trickle-down' effects of liberated market forces), and new forms of resistance on a global scale (e.g., the Multilateral Agreement on Investments, Seattle). *As yet these setbacks have not led to a major reversal of the neo-liberal project but they have prompted many of its key protagonists to undertake a general re-evaluation of its strategies and tactics.* Among the most interesting aspects of this reappraisal are an increasing concern with presentation of the neo-liberal project, with how best to co-ordinate actions to promote and consolidate it on different scales, with its social and environmental costs and their adverse political repercussions, and with identifying and pursuing flanking measures that would help to *re-embed the recently liberated market forces into a well-functioning market society.*

In this regard, Jessop (2001) interprets the discourse, arguments, and policy measures that are developed in *The World Report* as an expression of a general shift in the political climate within which neo-liberalism is being pursued. They illustrate the recently perceived need to "re-embed neo-liberalism in society" along neo-Polanyian and neo-Schumpeterian lines, to make it more acceptable socially and politically, and to ensure that it is environmentally sustainable while making the minimal necessary concessions to the forces that oppose the program, protagonists, and driving forces of neo-liberalism in the current wave of capitalist restructuring. Ravi Kanbur (2009) similarly presents a more recent analysis of the evolution of the 'economic development discourse' since the 2nd World War, through the 1980s, up to the present, as a genuine insider of the international policy community[95]. Kanbur's insider view of the shift in the political climate, emphasizes that the challenges to the 'Washington Consensus' have come in the journal discourse of academia, in the urgency of policy settings, in the heat of civil society discourse, and in tear gas on the streets from Cochabamba to Seattle:

> The US Treasury took strong positions on the benefits of global integration and private markets, and was a major player in influencing the IMF to go for capital account liberalization in the early 1990s. It further pushed rapid privatization in Eastern Europe, and trade liberalization in developing countries of Africa and Asia and Latin America. Particularly at the end of the 1990s, with street battles in Seattle and the sieges of the Annual Meetings of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, *positions were sharply divided between* what I have called the *"Ministry of Finance tendency"* and the *"Civil Society tendency"* (Kanbur, 2009; emphases mine).

---

[95] Ravi Kanbur has served on the staff of the World Bank, as Economic Adviser, Senior Economic Adviser, Resident Representative in Ghana, Chief Economist of the African Region of the World Bank, and Principal Adviser to the Chief Economist of the World Bank. He has also served as Director of the World Bank's World Development Report. Kanbur's official website: http://kanbur.dyson.cornell.edu/bio.htm (Accessed: 04.04.2012).

In the terminology of international relations, thus, the "Washington Consensus" that ended up favoring vulgar neoliberal policies, is being gradually replaced with the so-called "Post-Washington consensus" that favors human-oriented policies, enabling neoliberalism to rise once again from the debris of the recent financial and fiscal global crises.

Table 2: Ideal-typical periodization of political-economic consensuses on global governance and the corresponding technological/social/economic/political characterizations in the literature (Table formed by the author).

Post IInd WW Consensus 1940s onwards	Washington Consensus 1980s onwards	Post-Washington "Consensus" Early 2000s onwards
Embedded Liberalism	Disembedded Liberalism	(Re)Embedded Liberalism
Keynesian Welfarist Regime	Keynesian Welfarist Regime *in crisis* (Offe, 1985)	Workfarist Postnational Regime (Jessop, 2001)
Proto-neoliberalism (Peck & Tickell, 2002)	Roll-back neoliberalism (Peck & Tickell, 2002)	Roll-out neoliberalism (Peck & Tickell, 2002)
Inward-oriented, Mixed Economy (State-oriented)	Outward-oriented, Deregulated Economy (Minimal State)	Outward-oriented, (Re)Regulated Economy (Effective, Lean State)
Fordist	Post-Fordist	Post-Fordist (Knowledge-driven)

It is important to emphasize that the frequently referred ideal-typical periodization of global "consensuses" of the 20th century were accompanied by several actual waves of *regionalism* that characterized the hegemonic struggles over state spatial policy production. Similarly, the arguments for the emergence of a Post-Washington consensus characterized by a 'Civil Society tendency in the journal discourse of academia' had to rest upon an 'on the ground' performance, that is, social practices whose breath would reach beyond the protest-based production of space in order to institutionalize a "post-hegemonic regionalism" to be based on the premises and promises, rather than the mistakes, of the 'incomplete project' of European modernity. In this respect, the current globalization process is argued to entail a broader and deeper (even if highly differentiated) *new type of regionalism*.[96] Accordingly, it is

---

[96]In this respect, Telò (2007) argues "regionalism" and "globalization" as "two components of the same historical process of strengthening interdependence and weakening the state's barriers to free trade, even if there can also be conflicting tendencies […] as shown by trade blocs, strategic traders and by current asymmetries and uncertainties of global multilateralism". In brief summary, following the decline of the UK-centered "imperial regionalism", the pre-2nd World War years were characterized by the difficult times of both economic and political "malevolent regionalism" as a result of German and Japanese attempts to become regional hegemonic powers in Asia/Pacific and Europe respectively. Post-war US hegemony took the form of an accelerated move towards a more "institutionalized multilateralism" (i.e., the new monetary system based on US dollar, the IMF and the World Bank, the GATT, the UN) in order to provide an effective framework to overcome the catastrophic instability of the inter-war period. Another type of regionalism, an "economic regionalism" was set up during the 1950s and 1960s, which was compatible with such US-centered hegemonic stability and its vision of multilateralism. Particularly important was the regional integration of the European Community (EC), which was inconceivable without taking into account the huge impact of US hegemony. During the three decades of its hegemony, the US tolerated many forms of national and regional protectionism abroad, which is clearly proven by the EC (i.e., Customs Union, Common Agricultural Policy), and the Latin American examples. As far as the EC is concerned, the harmony between transatlantic stability, which was centered on the trading state, the open market and national growth, started to decline with the end of the Bretton Wood Gold Standard system (1971) and the two oil crises of the 1970s. The first plans for a European regional monetary union began in the early 1970s, even though the single

argued that regionalism stands as resilient to global changes in a new turbulent and heterogeneous world system and is about to evolve in many areas of the world, according to new patterns, trends and agendas. During the last twenty years the world has witnessed, in parallel with the boom in international trade and foreign investments, the simultaneous development, or revival, of numerous and varied regional arrangements and regional organizations: the most well-known are the EU, NAFTA, ASEAN, Andean Community, MERCOSUR, SADC, SAARC. In the meantime, however, the question of the relationship between the US leadership and new regionalism remains crucial in the new era of transition of the current international system. On the one hand, the scientific and public debate of the 1980s on the declining role of the US, though overemphasized, allowed scholars to speak of a "post-hegemonic" international system from then on. On the other hand, the collapse of the USSR in 1991 and the consequences of 9/11 confirmed the strength of the tendency towards a single superpower. The 'wars against terrorism' seemed to confirm the leadership of the US as far as military, politics, economy and technology are concerned but no new international order has yet been established. The parallel and opposing tendencies towards the decentralization and globalism of the world economic and political system are continuing within an uncertain framework. For this reason, only time will show whether this new regional dimension of international society a transient feature or able to constitute a long-term trend between the anarchy of nation states and the international markets and globalism as developers of world governance (Telò, 2007: 3-4).

Contrary to public opinion, thus, the process of globalization cannot be viewed as an historical tendency that is somehow heading towards the complete disappearance of state competences and regulatory powers. Instead, the state should be seen more as a process spanning the globe, which even produces globalization, the world market as one of its dimensions, and cannot fundamentally be negated by this. Similarly, the thesis of the "lean state" supposedly withdrawing from the regulation of the social sphere is misleading. For instance, in Germany, the land of Green activism and Ulrich Beck's *Risk Society*, Ronneberger (2009) argues that "the contours of a 'guarantee state' emerge, which engages in a shift towards private individual provision (for ill-health and old age), but does not fundamentally call into question the idea of intervening in social issues". The *à la minute* "return of the strong state" (e.g., *Turkey: "No boutique state!"*[97]) in light of the global financial and economic crisis provides

---

European currency was not established before 1999. Thus, step by step, a "new regionalism" is argued to have emerged and not only in Western Europe.

[97]A Turkish helicopter crashed into a house in Kabul on March 16, leaving 12 Turkish soldiers and 4 Afghan civilians dead. The political parties were engulfed in a debate about the future of Turkey's contribution to the NATO mission in Afghanistan. They vocally objected to a continuation of Turkey's military presence, calling on the government to contemplate a withdrawal. The prime minister's response that "Turkey is no boutique state" can be seen as key to making sense of AKP's globalist foreign policy visions: "Afganistan'da ne işimiz var? diyenler, bunu

definitive proof of this. It is not only that the financial industry and businesses that are pressing for more state involvement now; people threatened by unemployment and social degradation also long for the strong state. Understandable though this may appear in the light of crisis, it is important to recall one of Lefebvre's basic insights: "the state tends and has the power to engage in authoritarian control and to produce catastrophes and wars" (Ronneberger, 2009: 115).

It is not a coincidence that although Lefebvre was integrated into the structure of Fordist Marxism and could no longer sufficiently grasp the dialectic of neoliberal restructuring, his legacy continues to provide insights for radical geographers seeking to address the emergence of "new political economies of scale" (Brenner, 2004; Jessop, 2002), "the proliferation of entrepreneurial approaches to urban governance under the rubric of urban locational policy [as] closely intertwined with a broader re-differentiation, splintering and rescaling of national state spaces" (Brenner, 2009: 72). Lefebvre's viewing of 'globalization' as a much greater activity or process than the challenging of traditional state‑based, territorial conceptualizations of space and politics was enabled by his treatment of the concept (e.g., "concrete abstract"), as we discussed at length earlier, simultaneously under its 'synchronic' (i.e., 'global view' as an analytical *perspective*) and 'diachronic' (i.e., "mondialisation" as a generalizing tendency as well as an open-ended *process*) forms. However, his legacy has been appropriated in very different ways (and not always by his sincere followers) in order to emphasize, or isolate, either the 'regulatory/structural' or the 'aleatory/open' 'Marxist' stances to be taken towards the *emergence* of new 'state' spaces. In this respect, the state spatial appraisal of the neoliberal project has been taking place in a wide array of attitudes, ranging from 'nostalgia' for the golden age of Fordism to 'untimely mediations' on the end of state intervention. Similarly, Kanbur (2009), places economic development discourses along a "broadly construed" spectrum from Left to Right:

> with less market orientation, less integration into the world economy, more regulation of economic activity, greater role for public provision of social services, more redistribution, at one end; and the opposite at the other end. Neo-liberal might be one term to describe combinations towards the "right" of the spectrum. What term to use for the "left" end of the spectrum is not entirely clear—"progressive", "liberal" (in the US sense), "statist"; each of these, or any other term, is liable to cause confusion. It is a measure of the difficulties of

sorgulayanlar, ufukları, Sivas'ın ötesine, İstanbul'un ötesine geçemeyenlerdir. Büyük iddialarınız olursa büyük ülke olursunuz. Küçük iddialarla büyük ülke olunmaz. Ama bunlar maalesef *butik devlet olmaktan öte geçemiyorlar*", Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Prime Minister of Turkey, speech at AKP group meeting, 21.03.2012. http://haber.gazetevatan.com/kucuk-iddialarla-buyuk-degil-butik-ulke-olunur/438335/9/Haber (Accessed: 27.04.2012).It should also be noted as a bitter twist of fate that one of the 12 Turkish soldiers who died in the helicopter crash, the squadron leader Mithat Çolak was the grandson of Miralay Çolak İbrahim Bey, who had liberated Seferihisar from the Greek occupation in September 11, 1922. The municipality of Seferihisar has sent two separate wreaths to the funeral ceremony in Ankara, one in the name of "the residents of Seferihisar" and the other "the residents of the Çolak İbrahim Bey neighborhood". Gazete Seferihisar, issue 3, April 2012.http://www.gazeteseferihisar.com/

nomenclature that the unwieldy "non-neo-liberal" might be the least confusing appellation—at least in relation to the other end of the spectrum being labeled "neo-liberal".

Thus, while the 'Left' and 'Right' extreme ends remain as suggestive of political orientation, the spectrum as a whole enables us to envisage that, "what we have in terms of policy space is a *continuum*—it is not a case of one [Left] or the other [Right], but rather one of having a combination of policies whose center of gravity is *closer* to one end rather than the other" (Kanbur, 2009). Lefebvre-inspired critical appraisals of state spatiality under neoliberalism recognize the fact that although states themselves do participate in the process of "mondialisation", even to the effect of collapsing themselves as in certain cases, this cannot be regarded as a necessary result or goal of the process of what is vaguely referred to as 'globalization'. Similarly, the collapsing of states and the emergence of local and regional scales cannot be taken in itself as a sign towards the "mondialisation" of the *state of autogestion* in the Lefebvrian sense.

In this respect, Brenner (2009) puts forward the concept of the "Rescaled Competition State Regime (RCSR)" in order to provide an initial theoretical basis on which to explore the tangled new layerings of state spatiality that have been produced through the conflictual rescaling processes during the last two decades. According to Brenner, within this rescaled configuration of state spatiality, national governments have not simply downscaled or upscaled regulatory power, but have attempted to institutionalize competitive relations between major subnational administrative units as a means to position local and regional economies strategically within supranational (European and global) circuits of capital. In this sense, even in the midst of the wide-ranging rescaling processes that have unsettled traditional, nationally focused regulatory arrangements and institutional forms, national states have attempted to retain control over major subnational political-economic spaces by integrating them within operationally rescaled, but still nationally coordinated, accumulation strategies. In this context, Brenner (2009: 72) further suggests that:

> the contradictions unleashed within RCSRs provide an important impetus for their further political, institutional and geographical evolution, in large part through the *production of new scales of state spatial regulation in and through which crisis-management strategies may be mobilised* (see also Jones 2000; Jones and Ward 2002). It is in the context of these emergent, increasingly scale-sensitive forms of *crisis-management*, that the recently observed *shift from a "new localism" to a "new regionalism"* across Western Europe (Deas and Ward 2000) must be understood (emphases mine).

The 'branding' of localities for competition, thus, returns in the context of "new regionalism" as tied to the variable scales of an urban system, rather than bound by territorial limits. The appeal to "scale sensitive forms of crisis-management", thus, can be read as a

recognition of the emerging urban realities that are different from the idea of urbanity embodied by the public space in the traditional European city. However, Hubacher (2008) reminds that, the instruments of urban planning and spatial development are still embedded in 'municipal policies' as they rely on the convergence of spatial and social policy normative for the development of the modern city and its welfare promise since the 19th century. As regulatory instruments, they aim at reconciling private and public interests; that is, ultimately defining a legal framework, they are *normative* for the public and social space as well as the morphology of urban fabrics and the semantic expression of the city. Cities indeed create opportunities for private investments, they guarantee individual security, they sustain indiscriminate mobility and they provide a competitive social and educational infrastructure. In short, a *differing* legal constitution of urban policies can and does produce a *different city*. In this respect, the shift towards "new regionalism" along a strongly *path-dependent*[98] evolutionary trajectory argues for a *branding (differing)* of localities, while actually introducing renewed cultural, economic, social and political regulatory policies; that is, as a corollary to the hegemonic production of new regions. In this scheme, the question for the cities is posed on a devolved governmental level of decision making by and for the non-economic, reflexive citizen/denizens: whether to *differ* and *compete* as a responsible, "good city" rising over justificatory regimes or an *in*different lifestyle city.

In the meantime, the fact that 'property' is an authoritarian system established by the system of political rule is often overlooked. Nevertheless, the predominant liberal democratic mode of thought concentrates most exclusively on problems of authority in the system of governance by either disregarding questions that arise out of the authority contained in property laws (e.g., forced immigration) or, for worse, reappropriating territorial justice seeking bottom-up class alliances through "state-led property transfer"[99] mechanisms (e.g., the case of TOKI in Turkey); thus, leading to the production of *path-breaking* urban and social policies that function according to the principle of communicating vessels with the return of the 'punitive state' (e.g., high taxes). In that respect, it should be admitted that the literature on the premises of the new political economy of scale affords primary analytical importance to state restructuring in an EU path-dependent evolutionary context and, at least to a certain degree, at

---

[98] Brenner & Theodore (2002: 15) argue that "while first deployed as a strategic response to the crisis of an earlier political-economic framework (Fordist-Keynesian capitalism), neoliberal policies were subsequently modified qualitatively to confront any number of governance failures, crisis tendencies, and contradictions that were internal to neoliberalism itself as a politico-regulatory project (Jones and Ward; Peck and Tickell). The transition from the orthodox, radically antistatist neoliberalisms of Reagan and Thatcher in the 1980s to the more socially moderate neoliberalisms of Blair, Clinton, and Schröder during the 1990s may therefore be understood as a *path-dependent adjustment and reconstitution of neoliberal strategies in response to their own disruptive, dysfunctional sociopolitical effects*" (emphases mine).

[99] *See* Kuyucu, Tuna and Özlem Ünsal (2010) "Urban Transformation as State-Led Property Transfer: An Analysis of Two Cases of Urban Renewal in Istanbul" in *Urban Studies*, 47(7): 1479-1499.

the expense of national class alliances. This scheme also tends to disregard the privatization processes that increase the influence of agencies that are controversially legitimized by a 'democracy of the majority' and growingly inscribed as 'stakeholders' in devolved governance mechanisms. State and private negotiation systems take the place of public legislative and decision-making procedures as they are, to a large extent, beyond the public control. In the European context of the 'social city', Ronneberger (2009) similarly identifies a return to a "city of property owners", of the type we have long been familiar with from US urban planning (i.e., public-private partnerships, business improvement districts).

4.2.2. Pragmatism and utopia under the auspices of the neoliberal environments

The fact that the devolution of decision-making to the local is accompanied by processes of privatization on the one hand and further centralization at both national and supra-national levels on the other, inevitably leads to the emergence of attempts at "a simulacrum of decentralization"[100] to be staged at the local. In this regard, the 'centralization' at the supra-national level, in the case of the European Union, brings about a bewildering variety of visions regarding the 'Europe' we want to be part of and/or struggle for. In a brilliant analysis, Paul Hilder[101] tries to map and clarify the terrain of visions regarding this question (See *Figure* below). Accordingly, one can distinguish the hope for a European Union as a multi-cultural melting pot; the ideal of a Christian Europe; Europe as the super-nation of the United States of Europe; the Europe of the strong nation states, giving up as little of their sovereignty as possible; Real Europe, (i.e., an association of largely economic interest groups under a common legal framework and binding rules of the game). The vision for a "Sustainable Europe", as Hilder (2003) argues, proposes that sustainability and the "green agenda", both at home and in the world, should be the new mission, replacing the vision of a continent at peace that inspired Europe after the 2nd World War. The analysts of the Open Democracy platform, Willis & Christie (2002), further argue that this vision offers to bring together an idea of the European "good life" and the kind of world in which European well-being and that of others can be sustained. Thus, it should start with the *one policy area* that really does command 'consensus' and inspire European citizens: the environment.

---

[100] Lefebvre (2009: 128): "Since De Gaulle, political élites and state officials have attempted a simulacrum of decentralization; this consists, in fact, of transferring the problems, but not the privileges, of the central power to grassroots organizations and associations […] A strongly constituted State does not easily give up its diverse powers, which are in turn guaranteed by the institutions that it coordinates and dominates. Isn't it here, and not only in the economic domain, that a radical break is needed?" (Emphases mine).

[101] Paul Hilder is an independent adviser and writer working on democratic renewal, Europe, and the Middle East and a co-founder of openDemocracy.net.
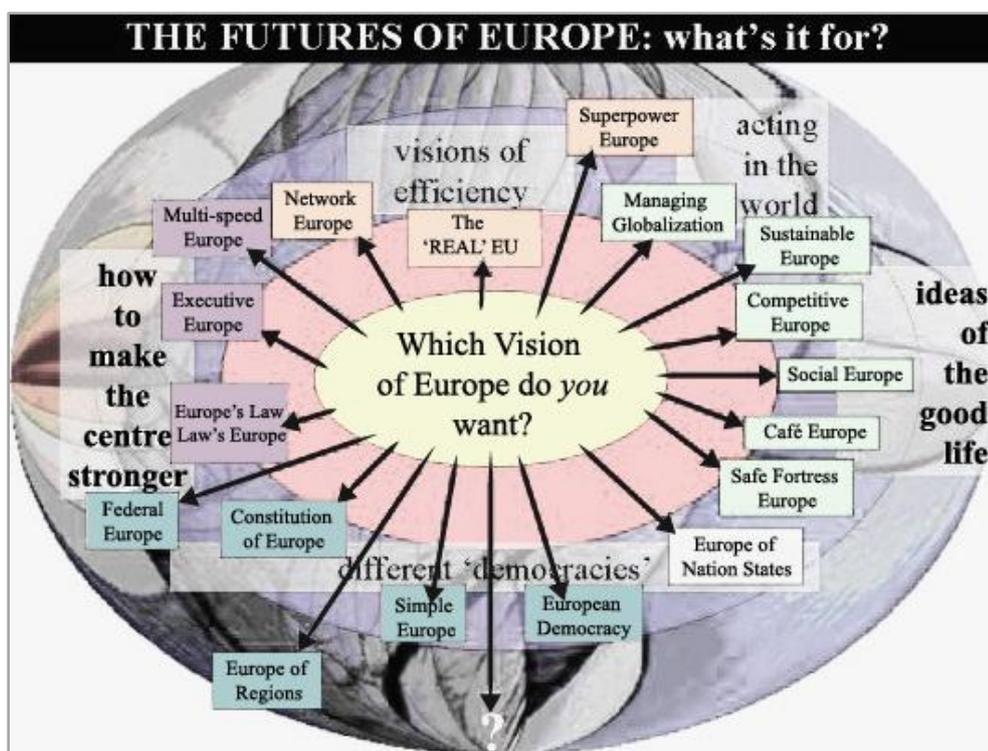
Figure 1: "Which Vision of Europe do *you* want?" Map of Visions for the Futures of Europe.
Paul Hilder, 19.03.2003, Open Democracy Website; Accessed: 10.04.2012.
http://www.opendemocracy.net/democracy-europefuture/article_1067.jsp#sust

The concept of "sustainable development"[102], althoughit is not a very new concept for Europe, has actually recently found the ground to reintroduce a renewed receptivity with the 2008 financial crisis and the beginning of the decline of trust in the liberalization and globalization model, as "the only paradigm of 'development' left standing"[103]. In that respect, the 'updated' model is argued to have a chance to move beyond incrementalism; that is, to real systemic change by charting a development path truly concerned with equity, poverty alleviation, reducing resource use, and integrating economic, environmental, and social issues

---

[102] The term, sustainable development, was popularized in *Our Common Future*, a report published by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) in 1987. Also known as the Brundtland report, *Our Common Future* included the "classic" definition of sustainable development: "development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, p. 43). It is a fluid concept and various definitions have emerged over the past two decades. Despite an on-going debate on the actual meaning, a few common principles tend to be emphasized. The first is a commitment to equity and fairness, in that priority should be given to the improving the conditions of the world's poorest and decisions should account for the rights of future generations. The second is a long-term view that emphasizes the precautionary principle, i.e., "where there are threats of serious or irreversible damage, lack of full scientific certainty shall not be used as a reason for postponing cost-effective measures to prevent environmental degradation" (*Rio Declaration on Environment and Development,* Principle 15). Third, sustainable development embodies integration, and understanding and acting on the complex interconnections that exist between the environment, economy, and society. This is not a balancing act or a playing of one issue off against the other, but recognizing the interdependent nature of these three pillars.

[103] *See* the Background Paper.*Sustainable Development: From Brundtland to Rio 2012*, prepared for consideration by the High Level Panel on Global Sustainability at its first meeting, 19 September 2010. Drexhage, John & Murphy, Deborah (September, 2010), International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD), United Nations Headquarters, New York.http://www.surdurulebilirkalkinma.gov.tr/Rio+20.portal (Accessed: 07.09.2011)

in decision making. These arguments are backed up by theorists such as Lipietz (2002), who argue that with the 1990s as several economists started to 'reflexively' review the impact of their models on the economy of the environment, alternative paradigms have been active in at least two areas: the economy of the environment per se and debates on the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development and the geopolitics of global ecology.

The emergence of a new field of "ecological economics" with a "Schumpeterian pre-analytical vision" as an "alternative and competing paradigm" is worth mentioning as it particularly focuses on a "policy-making approach based on reciprocally negotiated co-ordination and consensus building" (Özkaynak et al., 2001). Avcı et al. (2010) acknowledge that environmental conflicts often emerge in the form of "local resistances to projects that restrict local communities' access to natural resources, degrade the resource base on which they depend, and pose risks for human health and community life"[104].Ecological economics particularly differentiates itself from the mainstream neoclassical environmental economics approach by focusing on "the process of preference formation and transformation within deliberative process", whereas the other seeks to "monetize exogenously given environmental preferences and then calculate policy proposals based on information gained from their aggregation" (Barry, 1999; quoted in Özkaynak et al., 2001). In that respect, the ecological economics approach views the individual as acting as a "political economic" person, having many kinds of roles, with an identity, ideological orientation and life-style, rather than being only the 'consumer' of the neoclassical paradigm (Özkaynak et al., 2001). For instance, in a recent study, Avcı et al. (2010) assess the ongoing environmental conflict over the prospect of gold mining at Mount Ida, Turkey in terms of "valuation languages" to better comprehend the various dimensions of the conflict and differentiate between the disagreements that can be controlled and solved via technical measures or bargaining over the amount of monetary compensation and those that cannot. They contend that the results are in line with earlier findings in that "local people oppose such projects for various distinct reasons and monetary and/or technical compensatory schemes do not suffice to solve the disagreements that arise in a satisfactory way"[105]. Thus, Adaman et al. (2003) argue for an ecological economics since it "recognizes the need for *inclusive deliberative institutions* if policy decisions that have to be made in conditions of inherently uncertain and contested knowledge are to be accepted as *legitimate*. However, it *presupposes* the continued existence of the self-regulating capitalist market and *fails*

---

[104] "The resistance of villagers against mining activities, dam-building, logging and deforestation; the struggle of artisanal fishermen against the threat of industrial fishing; and the defence of the communities living in coastal mangrove areas against shrimp farming are examples of such conflicts over natural resources" (Guha, 2000; Martinez-Alier, 2002; Peet and Watts, 2004; quoted in Avcı et al., 2010).

[105] Avcı et al. (2010) note that their assessment is "based on a field study consisting of 37 in-depth interviews, three focus groups, and a survey administered to a total of 738 citizens, the factors that affect local public's positions vis-à-vis gold mining at Mount Ida".

to address the institutional structure necessary for the process of deliberative democracy to be real rather than formal and co-optive" (my emphases). Latour (1998), in his argument for a *genuine* "political ecology" justificatory regime, similarly admits that "political ecology cannot be inserted into the various niches of modernity. On the contrary, it requires to be understood as an alternative to modernization". This becomes growingly necessary in a neoliberal scheme, where, as Harvey (1998: 337) contends, "ecological modernization presumes a certain kind of rationality that lessens the force of moral arguments and exposes much of the environmental movement to the dangers of political co-optation".
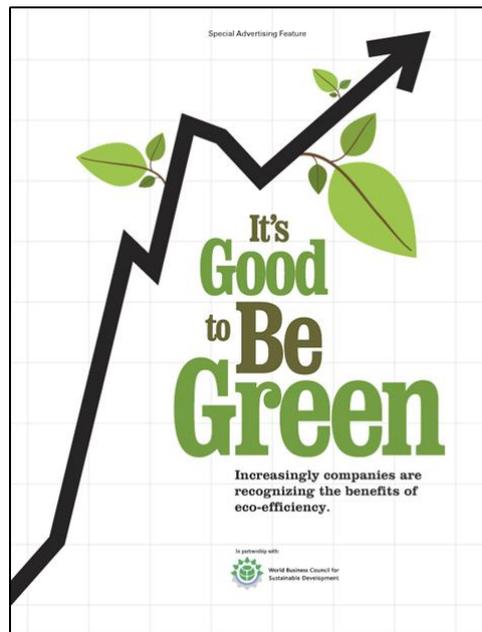
Picture 3: "*It's Good to Be Green*. Increasingly companies are recognizing the benefits of eco-efficiency", Special Advertising Feature, World Business Council for Sustainable Development, http://www.timeincnewsgroupcustompub.com/environment.html, (Accessed: 15.05. 2011).

Castree (2007) in his in-progress work towards "a holistic theory of neoliberal environments" argues that the *Left* needs, more than ever, "a truly comprehensive and robust approach to the variable, local-global geometry of neoliberal environments," which will enable it to "operationalize an evaluative mind-set". Otherwise, it will end up in intellectual and political defeatism[106]. Castree's work suggests that *Left* critics of nature's neoliberalization—indeed, of neoliberalizations in all their dimensions—cannot (and should not) assume that is it always and everywhere regressive and to be opposed on principle. Thus, Castree (2007) argues that: "whatever else it is, 'neoliberalism is also a profoundly *environmental* project […] and *necessarily* so'. In short, according to Castree (2007) it is more important to learn how to be critical of nature's neoliberalization *in practice* rather than just conceptually:

---

[106] Castree (2007): "As Sayer (1995) has argued powerfully, the Left does itself no favours if it evaluates complex objects by way of blanket moralisms that side-step the challenges of proper normative argumentation".

The neoliberalization of nature in both theory and practice ought certainly to be the subject of our censure for all sorts of compelling reasons. And there will be some concrete situations that are relatively simple to understand and evaluate negatively. But, equally, we have to take seriously those situations in which nature's neoliberalization seems to 'work', without always supposing that those for whom it works are the victims of ideology, 'sell-outs' or otherwise naïve.

Castree's point is only partially validated by 'sustainable development', which has been integrated into the operations and governing mandate of many prominent international organizations. These include the *World Bank* (2010), which has affirmed a commitment to "sustainable globalization" that "enhances growth with care for the environment"; the IMF (2010), with a commitment to "sustainable economic growth"; as well as the WTO (2010) which endeavours to contribute to sustainable development through the pursuit of open borders and the removals of barriers to trade. Sustainable development has also gained currency in the private sector—often in the form of the *corporate social responsibility* (CSR) agenda. Several voluntary initiatives have been formed over the past 20 years, including the WBCSD, *Global Compact*, *Equator Principles*, *Global Reporting Initiative*, and *Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative*. In addition, various major international NGOs, such as WWF, *Oxfam International*, and *Friends of the Earth*, have increased the scale and sophistication of their involvement in sustainability principles. Local NGOs around the world have taken up the cause of sustainable development. Similarly, the widespread currency of the issues is evident in the sustainable development strategies of 106 national governments in 2009. Local governments have also responded, with over 6,400 local governments in 113 countries involved in local *Agenda 21* activities in 2001 (Drexhage & Murphy, 2010).

Picture 4: *"Adapt or Perish"* [Adapte olamayan yok olacak], Hürriyet, 15.05. 2011.

In this regard, Willis & Christie (2002) argue that the sustainable development also provides "a cause and programme for Europe on the world stage, providing a constructive counterpoint to the unbalanced 'free trade' orthodoxy of the USA and promoting multi-lateral cooperation (as with the Kyoto accords on climate change)". More importantly, such decisive proliferation of the green agenda at the level of the institutions in the European context, have in turn come to indicate the emergence of a 'quality of life' *politics* with a genuine potential to re-connect the policy-making elite to Europe's citizens, by moving away from the disenchanted technocratic ethos that had generated the market-building, liberalizing, and deregulatory policy agendas during the 1980s[107]. However, the crucial point is that, the emergent possibilities for a politics of 'quality of life' cannot simply be regarded as an *acquis* along the lines of a 'middle-class radicalism' (Eder, 1995), where the *culture of good life[108]* expresses a class-specific lifestyle. Because, the promotion of social and economic policies at the EU level towards sustainable development and the European social model (with its opposition to social exclusion) is taking place within a broader framework of growing involvement in agenda-setting and policy-making by international institutions, supranational apparatuses, inter-governmental organizations and forums, transnational think tanks, and transnational interest groups as well as social movements. While the EU's overall economic policy has been reoriented away from an earlier period when it was more suited to Atlantic Fordism, it has also been geared towards a Schumpeterian strategy, where theprimary form of the transition is still neoliberal but *flanked* by neo-corporatist, neo-statist, and neo-communitarian policies:

> This development mediated through an increasingly dense web of parallel power networks, reflects the increased formation of a *transnational capitalist class concerned to secure the conditions for capital accumulation on a global scale*. This is associated with a 'new constitutionalism' i.e., an attempt to establish a new articulation between the *economic* and the *political* on a global rather than merely national scale. But it is also associated with attempts to re-articulate the relationship between the *economic* and the *extra-economic* conditions for capital accumulation in a *globalizing, knowledge-based economy* (Jessop, 2009; emphases mine).

In this framework, it can be argued that the middle-class radicalism based movements are left without choice other than to 'proactively' realign themselves to an

---

[107] In this context, Brenner (2004: 200) particularly mentions the "Single European Act of 1987, which massively intensified Europe-wide market integration, foreign direct investment, and corporatist mergers and acquisitions, while also contributing to the weakening and eventual marginalization of the Social Charter within the 1991 Maastricht Treaty".

[108] Eder (1995: 38) argues that "the concept of good life has been the quest of the middle classes for over a century. It is above all a religious notion: the good life is led by good people. Religious groups are based on such goodness— and these religious notions have survived neither in the lower nor in the upper class, making it a middle-class phenomenon by elimination. Young people's search for alternatives to the greed, materialism and violince of the older generation is an expression of the inner dynamic of middle-class culture that never escaped its search for the good life. *This is the cultural basis upon which new social movements were built, and from which they drew their motivationaland ideational sources*" (emphases mine).

institutionalized politico-regulatory field of action, where the earlier shared norms, values and interests are now mediated through a 'coordinated strategy'[109] that formulates common guidelines, establishes benchmarks and 'best practices'. Eder (1995) had argued for the capacity of the "culture of good life" and the "culture of communication" (e.g., consensual knowledge) as the integrated *code* of the middle-class culture to engender new class relationships by their collective practices. The problem is that this *code*, in turn, seems to have been reappropriated as an EU 'meta-governance' strategy (e.g., OMC), whose institutions typically operate less in the manner of a supranational sovereign state apparatus than as a nodal point in an extensive web of meta-governance. In this respect, what is referred to as The Lisbon "ideology" not only calls for a "great transformation" of Europe's political, economic, and social landscape along neo-Polanyian and neo-Schumpeterian lines, but is also being used to legitimate nearly all of the EU's economic, social, and environmental policies in its quest to become "the most competitive knowledge-based economy in the world with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion by 2010"[110].

4.3. Recasting the role of small towns for a politics of *quality of life*

In a 2003 interview, Stefano Cimicchi, the Mayor of the Italian Slow City, Orvieto and at the time President of the Cittàslow movement, stressed that:

> We want the association to become a player at European level to make sure that the *Constitution currently being drawn up* [by Strasbourg] *takes into account the reality of small towns and cities* […] Small cities and towns can potentially make an enormous contribution to *a new model of good living* (interview by Alessandro Abbona and Paola Nano of the *Slow Food* Press Office; quoted in Pink, 2009).

In order to be able to discuss the renewed conditions that a *politics* of 'quality of life' re-emerges as a counter-hegemonic struggle re-connecting the policy making elite to Europe's citizens, it is important to properly characterize the theoretical *complexity* of the phenomenon in front of us in terms of the renewed dialectic between 'structure' (i.e., nation-state, new regionalism, multiplication of institutional forms and regulatory mechanisms) and 'strategy' (i.e., class struggles, new social movements, reflexive social action). On the one hand, given the

---

[109] In the same Lisbon Summit in 2001, the 'open method of coordination' (OMC) was introduced as an official tool of "soft" policy coordination. Tucker (2003) discusses how "European political actors and scholars have highlighted the potential of the OMC for achieving common objectives in sensitive issue areas, via its mechanisms (i.e. bench-marking, target-setting, best practice sharing, and multi-level surveillance) intended to enhance deliberative problem-solving, the pooling of knowledge, transparency, accountability and peer pressure, *while leaving the decision-making authority with the states*". In this respect, it should be noted that the Turkey's Planning Period has been re-determined as a 7-year period of 2007-2013, different than the previous 5-year periodical plans, so that it will be coherent to EU Financial Calendar.

[110] The Lisbon Summit in 2000 committed the European Council to a 10-year strategy to make the EU the most dynamic and competitive knowledge-based economy in the world, promoting at the same time sustainable development and the European social model.

multifaceted problems of reconciling a 'policy-laden' reflexive/institutional turn with a 'value-laden' politics of collective action (e.g., Klaus Eder (1995), middle-class radicalism) the research agenda favoring the 'urban' *social movements* seems to relate to these new 'city-based' *governmental*, should we say, 'movements' on the empirical observational level, waiting to see what comes out of it. It can be even argued that, in very broad terms, the new social movement research agenda seems to be cynical about an institutionalized political regulatory 'activism', which might redefine the boundaries between classes and reshape class relationships with a deliberate elaboration and careful consideration of larger structural issues. On the other hand, as far as the link between 'normativity' and 'action' is concerned, an added difficulty seems to present itself on the level of theory; that is, in constituting an *analytical* approach without betraying the performativity-based, 'emergent' action opportunity structures as well as the 'pre-analytical', 'constructionist' nature of the phenomenon engaged with. What I find particularly baffling in this respect is the tendency of the recent academic proponents of such politics of 'quality of life' to misconstrue certain radical analytical efforts towards such politics (e.g., Bob Jessop's 'cultural political economy' approach) while adopting a ready-made 'engaged intellectual' subjectivity in their presentation of the context and the possibilities for action. Thus, in what follows, I discuss the European new regional context as presented by a recent body of academic work that re-contextualizes small towns in Europe for the purpose of setting up a "new research agenda"[111] on small cities by deploying a somewhat *misconstrued*[112] 'cultural political economy' (CPE) approach. I am hoping that a parallel discussion of the hegemonic struggle over the 'policy-' and 'theory-laden' nature of the phenomena will enable us to posit the complexity of the research problem away from the 'thematic' agendas of the "soft economic sociology" (Jessop, 2008).

In an effort to argue for an alternative urban development model for the European small towns, one of the members of the *International Cittaslow Scientific Committee*,Paul Knox (2012: 144) brings together the notions of 'reflexive modernization' and 'second modernity' to be "broadly consistent with *Cultural Political Economy* (CPE), which rejects a transhistorical analysis of capitalism and insists on the evolutionary development of capital accumulation and of new 'economic imaginaries' in and through particular spaces and trans-national networks of

---

[111] The latest volume of the *Regions and Cities Book Series*, recently published by Routledge in 2012, has been devoted to the topic of *Cultural Political Economy of Small Cities*, edited by Lorentzen and Van Heur (2012), presenting a very recent body of academic work that "contributes to an emerging small cities research agenda and to the development of policy-relevant expertise that is sensitive to place-specific cultural dynamics".

[112] Jessop & Sum (2010) argue that "as a cultural urban geographer, van Heur tends to see the cultural turn as *'thematic'*, i.e., as concerned with new research themes such as media technologies, creative cities, or the role of culture and knowledge in contemporary societies. Our version of CPE makes a *methodological* and, more importantly, *ontological* turn. We do not regard culture (i.e., semiosis) as a distinct sphere of society separate from economics and politics and, although we do advocate a cultural turn in political economy, we also argue that critical semiotic analysis has universal significance".

places". With this theoretical maneuver, I argue that Knox achieves two things: First, he de-links 'city governance'-based movements (now rendered as 'regimes' or 'models') from the social movements not only historically precedes but also anticipates them as a continuity of sociospatial practices. This seems as a necessary move on his behalf to have a 'selective' access to the *analytical* concepts (e.g., economic imaginary) of Bob Jessop, which are brilliantly laid-out to analyze the emergent 'new regional' political economies of globalization in their complexity. Then, secondly, with an effort to reanimate these 'models' with 'reflexive' social action content, Knox re-links them to what should rather be called 'institutional and normative opportunity structures' (since he calls them 'economic imaginaries' with a theoretical abuse of the concept), which are reappropriated from actual sociospatial practices on the ground as *themes* of a *second modernity* (i.e., organic, local, *Slow Food*; environmentalism; entrepreneurship; creativity). Jessop's (2008) 'imagined economies', on the other hand, are "discursively constituted and materially reproduced on many sites and scales, in different spatio-temporal contexts, and over various spatio-temporal horizons". Since the 'strategic-relational analysis of structure and agency in struggles over hegemony' rests on the general evolutionary distinction between 'variation', 'selection', and 'retention', they cannot be mistaken for soft 'evolutionary' periodizations (e.g., 1st modernity, 2nd modernity). In this respect, when Knox (2012) construes Jessop's work as a treatise on the "evolutionary development of capital accumulation" he seems to disregard how Jessop is actually "concerned with the 'contingent necessity' of durable institutional orders" (2005: 144), in order to be able to stress "both the inherent improbability of continuing capital accumulation and the tendency for competition and class struggle to break through any emergent and contingent institutional frames and/or spatio-temporal fixes that might contribute to its regularization or governance through their capacities to displace and/or defer capital's contradictions and tensions" (2005: 147). Accordingly, Jessop (2008) approaches regions as "*historically and geographically contingent entities* […] by situating them in a multi-scalar framework of administrative structures, functional economic and social ties and meaning invested in them by residents and outsiders". In this sense, Jessop's version of '*cultural* political economy' contributes to the understanding of new regionalism by integrating *semiotic* factors into the analysis of the institutionalization of regional economies without falling into 'soft economic sociology', whereas the latter "tends to limit the cultural turn to the role of cultural factors as business assets in underpinning regional growth strategies and regional strategies and to ignore issues of power" (Jessop, 2008).

Knox's exposure to Jessop's work, however, enables him to critically distinguish between two levels of networking: an EU-led, growth-oriented "institutional polycentricity" and a bottom-up "reflexive polycentricity" simultaneously emerging within the new regional Europe; whereas, the EU policy making elites, having invested all their hopes into the 2000

94

Lisbon Summit, tend to argue for the "networked form of governance" as the *single* "paradoxically 'self-reflexive' political ideology" (Tucker, 2003) of the new regional EU, together with the introduction of the 'open method(s) of coordination' (OMCs). In this respect, Tucker (2003) discusses OMCs as the institutional "carriers" of the Lisbon ideology which started to operate, in several new issue areas (i.e., social protection, pensions, innovation/SMEs, education, R&D), with experimental modes of "soft governance"[113]. The idea of "polycentric development" was one of the key policy orientations in the *European Spatial Development Perspective*[114], which was approved at the Informal Ministerial Meeting in Potsdam in 1999. The increasing interest by policy makers in a territorial approach with deeper horizontal policy integration has experienced a revival over the last years as all 27 Member States of the enlarged Union has adopted in 2007 a *Territorial Agenda for the European Union*. Ministers modernized the policy orientations of the ESDP and added stronger emphasis on (1) the competitiveness of regions and cities including creation of innovative clusters, (2) climate change concerns and (3) *territorial cooperation* and *multilevel governance* (*ESPON* website, my emphasis). The "institutional" and "reflexive" distinction in terms of "polycentricity", is introduced by Knox (2012) as he reads the new regional EU space within a core-periphery relationship.

---

[113] The Lisbon European Council (March, 2000) introduced the OMC as follows:

• Implementation of the *strategic goal* will be facilitated by applying a new open method of coordination as the means of spreading *best practice* and achieving greater convergence towards the main EU goals. This method, which is designed to help Member States to *progressively develop their own policies*, involves:

• Fixing guidelines for the Union combined with specific timetables for achieving the goals which they set in the *short, medium and long terms;*
• Establishing, where appropriate, *quantitative and qualitative indicators and benchmarks against the best in the world* and tailored to the needs of different Member States and sectors as a means of comparing best practice;
• Translating these European guidelines into national and regional policies by setting *specific targets* and adopting measures, taking into account national and regional differences;
• Periodic monitoring, evaluation and peer review organized as *mutual learning processes.*
European Commission (EC) website; Accessed: 13.04.2012.
http://ec.europa.eu/research/era/partnership/coordination/method_of_coordination_en.htm

[114] This document included policy orientations, approaches and governance ideas that are still to be found in the policy thinking today. Key policy orientations for the entire European territory were: (1) balanced and polycentric development, (2) good access to regions and services and (3) intelligent management of natural and cultural resources.
European Spatial Planning Observatory Network (ESPON) website; Accessed: 15.04.2012.
http://www.espon.eu/main/Menu_Programme/Menu_EuropeanPolicyDevelopment/
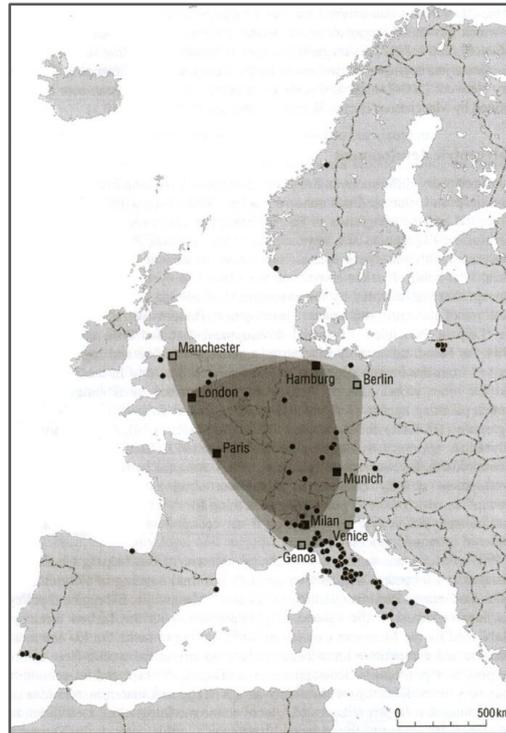
■Pentagon cornerstone □ Expanded pentagon cornerstone ● Slow city

Picture 5: The Pentagon area and Slow Cities in Europe, quoted in Knox (2012).

The cities of Manchester, Berlin, Venice, Genoa, and Paris currently define the outer corners of the expanding transnational growth-oriented *core* region, a "megapolitan" in the form of a "pentagon".

The notion of "polycentric development", here, underpins the idea of establishing several larger zones of growth-oriented 'global economic integration' in addition to the global city region of the expanded 'pentagon'. Knox (2012: 145) notes that "*European Spatial Planning Observatory Network* (ESPON) has identified 76 *Metropolitan European Growth Areas* (MEGAs)". The fact that there are also many small towns within this expanded 'pentagon' core, and within the functional metropolitan regions of the MEGAs, constitutes a broader framework for "polycentric development", this time within the scale-sensitive socio-spatial framework of the "multilevel governance" modes. Although the integration of these small towns (that remain within the *core*) into the European global urban system is easier, due to their proximity to metropolitan centers and larger cities, Knox (2012) argues that the majority of the small towns in Europe, however, remain outside the pentagon core and MEGAs; that is, in relatively *peripheral* settings, "handicapped by the classic characteristics of peripherality: major structural weaknesses (e.g. non-competitive agriculture, obsolescent industry and old port activities), inadequate infrastructure, limited inward investment, and dependence upon indigenous small firms that are technologically underdeveloped. As a result they are likely to be hit hardest by the increasing intensity of competition within the global urban system". Here, EU's scale-sensitive, yet somewhat growth-oriented, modes of 'soft governance' seem to constitute what Knox (2012) calls "institutional polycentricity" as they rely on "co-constructions, cooperation,

96

and on the willingness of territorial agencies to work together on joint projects and strategies" (ESPON, 2004: 46). In this respect, the URBACT programme has been set up by EU, along with the member states, emphasizing an "integrated approach" to urban issues. The key point here is that URBACT is oriented to *policy professionals* in towns and cities of all sizes and it is organized around *thematic projects* intended to enable towns and cities to network together to develop pragmatic solutions that are new and sustainable, and that integrate economic, social and environmental dimensions.[115] However, since the comparative advantages of the 'peripheral' small towns often rest on their 'cultural heritage', the options for them seem to be limited to such themes as liveability, sustainability and leisure. *Heritage as Opportunity* (HERO) network, as Knox (2012) argues, develops integrated management strategies for historic urban landscapes, where the main objective is to facilitate a balance between the preservation of built cultural heritage and the sustainable, future-proof socio-economic development of historic towns. Beyond URBACT, the EU promotes institutional polycentricity through several other programs[116]. On the other hand, Knox (2012: 149) seems to reserve the notion of "reflexive polycentricity" to those "ad hoc networks of small towns", which are argued to emerge as "uniquely a product of the incipient second modernity":

> As (some) small towns have become increasingly collaborative, extending their focus from a national to an international frame of reference, and becoming involved in cross-border collaborative networks, they have begun to exhibit a bottom-up *reflexive polycentricity*, complementing the up-down formation of structures and mechanism of institutional polycentricity. Unlike, institutional polycentricity, reflexive polycentricity is uniquely a product of the incipient second modernity.

Knox's two examples, in this respect, are the Swedish network of eco-municipalities, the so-called *eco kommun* network and the *Cittaslow* movement, the latter being "the example that best represents the notion of reflexive polycentricity" (Knox, 2012: 149). In this respect, the two examples are presented in a rather evolutionary manner; while eco-municipalities seem to operate within the singular framework of a "small is beautiful" (Schumacher, 1973) *imperative* that prioritizes fossil-fuel independency as a central issue (i.e., the development of 'appropriate technologies' such as biomass heating systems, bio fuels), *Cittaslow* towns seem to be favored by Knox for their 'openness' to (self-) reflexively develop tailor-made *imperatives* as fit to the 'assets' of the 'places' of concern. Slow Cities, in this sense, subordinate the concerns over

---

[115]The URBACT programme reaches over 200 cities with 37 different network-projects in 9 areas of expertise: innovation & creativity (7), active inclusion (5), low carbon urban environments (3), disadvantaged neighborhoods (5), human capital & entrepreneurship (6), quality sustainable living (4), metropolitan governance (6), port cities (1).

[116] In this respect, Knox (2012: 148) mentions the *Alpine Convention* and the EU Interreg IIIB programme 'Alpine Space' as involving networks of small towns that have mobilized inhabitants, local representatives, researchers, managers of protected areas, and ecological associations in creating a transnational region with a strong identity and a collaborative approach to environmental sustainability, cultural heritage, and the tourist industry.

sustainability to a pragmatics of place-based quality-of-life that proactively supports programs and projects in areas such as environmental protection, urban design and historic preservation, local food systems, hospitability and tourism, as well as building awareness among residents and guests about the slow philosophy. The *Cittaslow* list of criteria for membership is thus designed in such a way as to enable the applicant towns to assess their 'uniqueness' (i.e., their 'difference' in the new regional geography) in terms of place-based quality-of-life indicators and work towards 'branding' them with 'normative' steps. In fact, developing community indicator projects by local planning community councils and local governments is not a new field of activity. *The Community Quality-of-Life Indicators: Best Cases* book series, edited by Joseph Sirgy, Professor of Marketing and Virginia Real Estate Research Fellow, periodically publishes cases related to best practices of community quality-of-life indicators projects[117]. In the 2009 volume of the book, Knox sets out to argue how *Cittaslow*'s appeal to the 'sense of place' differs from the typical QoL indicators by providing a "*philosophical basis* for a set of *action-oriented* indicators" (2009: 21; emphases mine). According to Knox (2009: 22) whereas "territorial social indicators" typically focus on "aggregate attributes of places and regions" or on "subjective indicators of satisfaction with community-based services, amenities, and opportunities", *Cittaslow*'s system goes "beyond the descriptive nature of indicators" by linking "philosophically grounded" normative criteria (e.g., pace of life) to "policy action" (e.g., *QoL* indicators):

> The study of urban rhythms and the pace of life is becoming important in contemporary urbanism (Allen, 1999; Godard, 1997). The rhythms, sequences, and synchronies of a place are the coordinates through which inhabitants frame and order their experience, which in turn contributes to their *quality of life* (Amin & Thrift, 2002; Levine, 1997). The increased pace of life, meanwhile, has become an issue associated with stress, morbidity and mortality in cities (Garhammer, 2002; Sadalla, Sheets, & McCreath, 1990).The counter argument– in praise of slowness – has been articulated above all as a quality-of-life issue (Honoré, 2004) (quoted in Knox, 2012: 23).

Yet, how are 'philosophically grounded' *ideas* (e.g., slowness) to be set as "normative", or rather 'life-regulatory' in the (post-) Kantian terminology of Foucault, as a certain point of convergence and divergence of 'law' and 'morality'? "How a study of *Gemüt* (internal perception as an empirical mode of knowledge) allows knowledge of man as citizen of

---

[117] Sirgy (2009) argues that "these projects are designed to gauge the "social health" and well-being of targeted communities. These projects typically involve *data collection from secondary sources capturing quality-of-life indicators* (i.e., objective indicators capturing varied dimensions of economic, social, and environmental well-being of the targeted communities). The same projects also capture community well-being using primary data in the form of survey research. The focus is typically *subjective indicators of quality of life* such as community residents' satisfaction with life overall, satisfaction with various life domains (e.g., life domains related to social, leisure, work, community, family, spiritual, financial, etc.), as well as satisfaction with varied community services (government, nonprofit, and business services serving the targeted communities)".

the world?"[118] Knox's answer seems to rely on the creation of an awareness, "a self-conscious sense of place" recovered and adopted, through a (self-) reflexive production of the rhythms that constitute everyday life, equally by the 'technocratic experts' and the 'lay people' as the 'world citizens' of small towns:

> People's experience of everyday routines in familiar settings leads to a pool of shared meanings. People become familiar with one another's vocabulary, speech patterns, dress codes, gestures, and humor, and with shared experiences of the physical environment such as streets, markets, and parks. *Often this carries over into people's attitudes and feelings about themselves and their locality and to the symbolism they attach to that place.* When this happens, the result is a *self-conscious sense of place*: the feelings evoked among people as a result of the experiences and memories that they associate with a place (Knox, 2009: 22; emphases mine)

Thus, I articulate, how Knox seems to conceptualize 'reflexivity' in the broader framework of polycentricity as follows: if the 'reflexive' turn in EU level technocratic projects (the new regional project of territorial cohesion or the new institutional project of re-embedding the economy into the society along neo-Schumpeterian and neo-Polanyian lines) is to effect change, its activities are not to be formulated in the manner of 'extra-curricular activities' with respect to the local people's everyday routines, but rather as 'schemes of subjectivities' that will help them to recognize themselves as "experts" of these routines. On the one hand, this can be interpreted as "the extension of the logic of commodification or, at least, of capitalist economic calculation into the wider society" (Jessop, 2009, 88). On the other hand, however, it seems to be the only sincerely democratic way for re-connecting the policy making elite with the European citizens for an effective meta-governance. Here, the element of *conviviality* that maintains the relationship between *Slow Food* and *Cittaslow* is rendered very crucial for the re-connection of 'experts' of all levels around a common "banquet"[119]. After all,

---

[118] In 1961, Foucault, as complementary to his doctoral dissertation, presented a *Commentary* on Kant's 1798 essay *Anthropology from a pragmatic point of view*. He argued that a comparison of the *Anthropology* with the *Critique of Pure Reason* reveals how "Kant's later works are engaged with the series of pre-critical researches, with the whole enterprise of the *Critique* itself and also with the group of works which, in the same period, attempted to define a *knowledge specific to man* […] The important paragraph of the *Critique* [B 824] entitled: "Of the ultimate end of the pure use of reason" allows one to *apperceive the organizing role of ideas within the concrete life of the spirit. The fact is that the Idea liberated of its transcendental usage and of the illusions that it cannot help originating, has its meaning within the plenitude of experience*: it [the idea] anticipates a scheme that is not constitutive, but opens the possibility of objects […] The Anthropology will not be then a history of the culture, or an analysis of its forms in succession; but *a practice at once immediate and imperative of a fully given culture. It teaches man to recognize in his own culture the school of the world.* […] the Anthropology repeats ad infinitum within the present form, imperious, always restarting from the daily usage. Time there reigns, but within the synthesis of the present". English translation published on-line by Arianna Bove in 2003: http://www.generation-online.org/p/fpfoucault1.htm (Accessed: 12.04.2012; my emphases).

[119] It seems as if Foucault's *Commentary* on Kant's *Anthropology* have had an intellectual influence on both *Slow Food*'s Carlo Petrini and the mayors of first *Cittaslow* towns beyond coincidence:

"There is then a Kantian *Banquet* –an insistence, in the Anthropology, on these *minuscule forms of society that are the common meal*; the importance of the *Unterhaltung*, of what there is to exchange, and what must be exchanged; a prestige of this social and moral model of a *Gesellschaft* where each finds himself at once sovereign and friendly (close to). The value of a discourse that from one to the other and amongst everyone is born and ends. From the point of view of the Anthropology*, the group that has the value of model is neither the family nor the state*: it is the *Tischgesellschaft* [dinner society]. Isn't this a peculiar image of universality? There must be established, by the

sitting at a common 'dinner table', sharing a certain common 'taste', while discussing a common agenda, is the first step towards adopting an 'expert' subjectivity; in paradoxical conformity with Gramsci's remark of intellectuals, everyone is an expert, but not everyone has the *function* of an expert (Gramsci, 1971: 9). In this regard, Deleuze & Guattari (1994) ironically depict how expressing 'opinions' or passing *judgments* of 'taste' necessarily leads to one's being *judged* by others that question one's belonging ('identity') to the group at stake. For instance, you are at the dinner table and some Roquefort cheese is served, you extract a pure quality from it (e.g., a foul smell), but at the same time you abstract the quality, you identify yourself with a generic subject experiencing common affection (the society of those who detest Roquefort cheese—competing as such with those who love it on the basis of another quality):

> "Discussion," therefore, bears on the *choice* of the abstract perceptual quality and on the power of the generic subject affected. For example, is to detest cheese to manage without being a *bon vivant*? But is being a *bon vivant* a generically enviable affection? Ought we not say that it is those who love cheese, and all *bon vivants*, who stink? Unless it is the enemies of cheese who stink […] Opinion is a thought that is closely molded on the form or recognition of a quality in perception (contemplation), recognition of a group in affection (reflection), and recognition of a rival in the possibility of other groups and other qualities (communication). It gives to the recognition of truth an extension and criteria that are naturally those of an "orthodoxy": *a true opinion will be the one that coincides with that of the group to which one belongs by expressing it*. (Deleuze & Guattari, 1994: 145; emphases mine).

The crucial point here, Deleuze & Guattari (1994: 146) submits, is that "opinion triumphs when the quality chosen ceases to be the condition of a group's constitution but is now only the image or "badge" of the constituted group that itself determines the perceptive and affective model, the quality and affection, that each must acquire. Then marketing appears as the concept itself: *We, the conceivers* ... […] The philosophy of communication is exhausted in the search for a *universal liberal opinion as consensus*, in which we find again the cynical perceptions and affections of the capitalist himself" (emphases mine).In this regard, a possible "discussion" regarding the social stratification in the society seems to be progressively *conceived* by the 'abundance' of the 'dinner table society', where the re-structuring of the 'community' and the "making of the middle-class" (Eder, 1995: 41) simultaneously takes place. Here, the fundamental antagonism is thus redefined in terms of the "conflict over the means of an identitarian existence" (ibid.), while at the same time presuming that everybody truthfully

---

transparency of a common language, a relation of all to all; nothing must be felt privileged or isolated, but each, whether silent or speaking, must be present in the *common sovereignty of the parole*. […] As far as the content itself of the discussion is concerned, one must obey *the laws of an internal structure*: those of the supple continuity, without rupture, of the manner in which each person's freedom to formulate his opinion, to insist upon it, or to make the discussion deviate are never experienced by others as abuse or constraint. Also in the regulated element of language, the articulation of liberties and the possibility, for individuals, of forming a whole, can be self-organised without the intervention of a force or an authority, without renunciation nor alienation. In speaking in the *community of convivium*, liberties meet each other and are spontaneously universalized. Everyone is free, but in the form of totality" (ibid.).

conceives the terms and conditions of participation in the "banquet". The recent work of Hoeschele (2010) is insightful as it applies certain criteria that measure 'abundance' in cities that joined *Cittaslow* network so as to question whether "issues of equity" are truly addressed. He contends that while issues of "environmental quality" and the "stimulation of local economic development" are addressed comprehensively, issues of equity receive little attention. One wonders if the "stimulation" of 'local economic development' was, at least initially, generated by such 'stimuli' seeking regional leveling in the form of an urban protest. Given that the earliest towns[120] were from Tuscany and Umbria regions, the richest in Italy in terms of art and culture, the movement's scope for "conflict" was rather limited by the cultural entrepreneurial modes of its leaders. Thus, antagonism is rather 'formulated' at a higher regional level as 'localities' versus 'globalization', which is based on 'differentiation' (rather than 'difference') as it is utilized in business studies, implying "playing on the differences between 'us' (slow) and 'them' (fast), accentuating 'them' purposely and signifying them to the outside" (Brunori, 2007: 184). Although 'differentiation', in often cases, is a compromise; the movement seems to live on the legacy of those cases of 'difference', where 'qualitative development' is actually based on reflexive social actions that negotiate 'de-growth' strategies with the state and the wider economy. However, such actions are rather limited to efforts at 'diversifying economies' (Graham & Gibson, 1996, 2006) strategically away from the nation-state economies and their subjectivities in such localities, where the necessary new subjectivities are produced rather through consensual social interactions; in modes that are explicitly de-linked from the 'capital-labor'-based antagonisms, in order to shift the focus of struggle towards the cracks and gaps of a *genuinely* neoliberal paradigm. Thus, the truly 'reflexive' mode of such 'experts/ leaders/intellectuals', in these contexts, can rather be characterized by a Kafka-subjectivity, albeit in its considerably less agonistic forms, in terms of both the institutionalizing of their individualities within the gaps and cracks of the neoliberal meta-governance mechanisms and the "*ironic, experimental* approach that relies on collective intelligence to overcome tendencies towards skepticism, cynicism, opportunism, and spin" (Jessop, 2009: 96). Within this context, challenges regarding a 'degrowth'-based hegemony over post-rural space is framed around negotiating regulated forms of "world citizenship" and constitution of the compliant subjects, while enhancing the self-esteem of the local population and attracting prospective new subjects (i.e., visitors, experts, new inhabitants). The role of the mayors is therefore crucial in the "making" of this paradoxically downsized "world city" in

---

[120] In 2001, the first 28 Slow Cities were certified; all 28 charter members were Italian, the majority of them located in northern Italy, particularly in Tuscany and Umbria. By 2006, more than 77 cities had been certified as Slow Cities. They are mostly located in Italy, as well as towns in Germany, Norway, and the United Kingdom. Today, the movement has 150 member towns in 25 countries in the world.

terms of presenting some type of 'universal authority': an *authority that isworld-seeking*[121]. On the one hand, the positioning of *Cittaslow* towns as 'destinations' for service and experience-based economies puts them potentially at odds with the demands of the 'reflexive' modes that are desperately seeking the right 'subjects' of leisure coming in. On the other hand, relaying solidarity messages around critical "matters of concern" (Latour, 2004) that target "world citizens" other than those that keep repeating the "part cynical, part resigned refrain that *we are all becoming more like Americans*" (Elsaesser, 2005) takes guts; because, it amounts to 'filtering' those "leisure-nationalists", which make up the majority of the post-rural "intermittent corporeal co-presence"[122] (Urry, 2001). According to Elsaesser (2005), many citizens of what for the past two centuries or so have been the nation states of Western Europe no longer feel that it is the 'nation' they owe particular allegiance to. However, as a consequence of the breaking down of the old alliance of 'working class' and 'region', "leisure-nationalists" emerge as the expression of a new sense of social mobility; embodying post-national feelings of allegiance and identification with the nation *in some of its parts*, but no longer as an organic, deep-rooted totality; of international and socialist aspirations on one side of the class divide, opposed to upper (middle) class elite, living in the city, but celebrating the nation around "village green, cricket and warm beer" (ibid.).

---

[121]Arnason (2001: 214) argues that the authorities of the earliest Greek 'world cities' were outward looking: "What do foreigners bring to the world city? Not simply skills in the narrow sense, but a capacity—that can be realized under certain conditions—for *world making*. Of course this is not always the case. Many times over, when people migrate or disperse, they bring with them their "culture" (customs, atitudes, concrete norms and rules, rituals) that they do their best to transplant to other soils. The promise is that culture—that which can be cultivated—can be "grown again" in different climates, even if in practice customs tend to radically alter in "new environments". In contrast, the *xenetic*, "the one who journeys amongst strangers" does not bring customs along for the journey but rather a *world making capacity*—a cosmopolitical technique. The person who comes to a new place (a foreign place) with a "culture" brings something that has an aura of permanence—of being handed down from generation to generation. In contrast, the person who is a world-maker *creates* something that is enduring. Where the enduring thing created is "great" it will become "immortal" or "monumental"; *the kind of objectivation that constitutes themegapolis*. The products of such *kosmopoiesis* are not specific in their meaning to one culture or ethnos, nor are they the cumulative products of several coexisting cultures. Rather they have a universal significance. The world is a thing (and often, quite literally a material thing) that stands apart from, and above, cultures. *The world is the artifact not of culture but of civilization*" (my emphases).

[122] Urry (2001) argues that the explanation of different forms of travel is centrally important within a reconstitutedsociology that takes *mobility* as its central concern. Central to sociology should be the analysis of thoseprocesses by which such co-presence is only on *occasions* and *contingently brought about*, and those forms ofsocialities that one is *not* involved in ongoing daily interaction but with whom *a sense of connection or belonging with various 'others' is sensed and sustained*.

Picture 6: *Cittaslow* logo, *Cittaslow* website, http://www.Cittaslow.org/ (Accessed 12.04.2012).

In this respect, Nilsson (2007) conducts a research in the Italian towns Brá, Levanto and Abbietegrasso to find out that the 'external market', tourists and visitors, are not targeted for Cittáslow information in these foundational towns until the philosophy is implemented in the 'internal market', in the local population. The *Slow Food* 'events' are crucial in this sense, for their activities have the potential to (re-) embed the necessary "world-making" subjectivities into the community, while revitalizing small-scale production. However, in most cases, the fact that the *Cittaslow* membership is introduced to towns as just another layer of meta-governance mechanism to the existing substratum of *institutional polycentricity* networks lead to the dilution of *Slow Food*'s reflexive events/actions among several other 'external market'-oriented social economy initiatives. In the case of the first *Cittaslow* chartered outside of Italy, the small town of Hersbruck (12.500 residents) in Germany's southern state of Bavaria, such drawbacks seem to have been overcome by the existing local environmental protection groups, which had already formed strong coalitions with farmers, city government, and small businesses to protect traditional pastureland (*Hutanger*) and orchards (Knox, 2009: 34). Similarly, in Waldkirch (20.000 residents), Germany's second *Cittaslow*, the town's proximity to Freiburg, which is internationally known for being environmentally progressive, had already enabled it to implement several programs and projects before the *Cittaslow* membership was granted (ibid.). In the United Kingdom, however, the *Cittaslow* status of the small towns, Ludlow, Aylsham and Diss, all with populations less than 10.000, was catalysed and supported by the regional planning agency, thus, with the involvement of *institutional* governance mechanisms. In Ludlow, for instance, *Cittaslow* operates as an 'open subcommittee' of the Town Council, as one among representatives of various 'local groups'[123]. Thus, it does not deliver projects itself, but

---

[123] These local groups are Agenda 21, the Civic Society, the Women's Institute, the Chamber of Trade, Churches Together and representatives from South Shropshire District Council, officers and members from Age Concern, and South Shropshire Youth Forum (Knox, 2012: 151).

functions to facilitate local organizations working together to further projects that enhance the quality of life (Knox, 2012: 151).

Echoing the tension between *institutional* and *reflexive polycentricity*, as particularly witnessed in the British cases, Pink (2008: 163) offers to discuss *Cittaslow* activities led by such contemporary activists who are "often middle class, competent in their engagements with bureaucracy and involved in legalized activities" as a form of "indirect activism" that takes place within "emplaced socialities", in contradistinction to the spontaneity of the 'grassroots/community'-based direct activism. Although this proposal is realistic in its rejection of the notion of 'community' as a veritable (analytical) category for studying *Cittaslow* towns' social base of activism, thus, calling for a redefinition of its categories, concepts, and strategies, it is rather heart-breaking in its curtailing the all-pervasive and hybrid forms of solidarity earlier envisioned by *Slow Food*'s Terra Madre 'communities'. The notion of 'community' seems to be also problematic in terms of the 'reflexive' turn in the recent EU-led social policy making since the construction of some form of 'community' with the objective of 'social cohesion' seems to be stuck at the question of how to reconciliate 'nation-state' solidarity (i.e., national identity) with the 'supra-national' ones (i.e., human rights, international court of human justice) in the ultimate horizon.

In his 2006 article titled *The Good City*, Ash Amin poses the question as to whether the contemporary city still qualifies as the *topos* of the 'good life', as it has in classical literature on human emancipation: ideal city as the logos of utopia, a visible emblem of order and harmony. After all, as Amin cites from Bauman's (2003) characterization, our times, for various reasons have begun to dispense with universalistic models of the good life often associated with the ideal territorial community. Among those reasons, Bauman (2003) mentions the "systematic unhinging of territorial moorings and obligations by globalization in its various guises, the displacement of strong and lasting senses of community by multiple and ever-changing social and cultural attachments, the impossibility of teleology and heaven in an age of fleeting pleasures, instantaneous gratification, constantly changing desires and skepticism towards order and ordering, especially of mass collective nature". Finally, Bauman argues that organizing élites in a global market society are largely responsible only to themselves and their like, no longer interested in societal projects, implying that "utopia has lost its logos, meaning, appeal and organizing force, as meanings of the good life shift to immediate, temporary, private and hedonistic projects" (Amin, 2006).

In this regard, Amin's concern is rather to read these developments as an invitation to rethink ideas of the 'good life', away from the nostalgically Eurocentric longings, towards "*a pragmatism of the possible* based on the continual effort to spin webs of social justice and human well-being and emancipation out of prevailing circumstances" (ibid.). Amin makes his case for

a redefinition of the good city along four registers of solidarity woven around the collective basics of everyday urban life; namely, 'repair', 'relatedness', 'rights' and 're-enchantment'. What is remarkable in his discussion is that he deliberately avoids certain fashionable ready-made prescriptions of urban opportunities centered around 'new urban' centrality "that has fallen in love with the romance of compact cities, mixed neighborhoods, pedestrian thoroughfares, classical architecture and cohesive communities" (ibid.). Similarly, he is critical of the idea of the "city managed by an enlightened urban élite that attends to the interests of all"; invoking powerful mayors, partnerships involving multiple stakeholders, joined-up urban governance, decentralization and devolution, and entrepreneurial openness. Amin's argument for an expanded notion of 'urban civility' and 'civic culture' (e.g., "to build a chain of solidarity out of multiplicity") and his critical stance against the mainstream 'new urban' notions (e.g., 'cohesive communities') becomes particularly important with respect to the status of the 'stranger' and the 'migrant', particularly in small cities (or rather 'towns') that are claiming to adopt civic values (e.g., 'hospitality', 'conviviality') in order to be able to reassert themselves in the global market. Because, the notion of 'community cohesion' proves to be 'inclusive' only in so far as the latecomers to the city's melting pot comply with the model of the 'ideal migrant' (i.e., preternaturally good, honest, resourceful, adaptable and skilled). In other words, a community looking for pragmatic consensus through cultural concepts alone might in the end betray itself, if it is not at the same time trying to develop some normative content for them, guided by non-negotiable principles.

In search of a new term that triggers a new interpretation of urbanity, Sassen (2008: 84) argues "cityness" as a concept that encompasses innumerable types of urbanity, including, indeed, *an intersection of differences* that actually produces something new; "whether good or bad, this intersection is consequential". A very practical example comes from London, a city inhabited by many different types of Muslim groups; "the notion of *Muslim woman* is actually multifaceted: Muslim women from Bangladesh intersect with Muslim women from Turkey, from India, from Pakistan, from Africa or the Middle East. Something happens in the intersection of differences even within what we might think of as a very narrowly defined group. *Cityness* must accommodate these intersections which constitute a form of subjectivity and perhaps untranslatable into an immediate tangible outcome". Thus, it remains to be investigated, on the ground, whether a renewed EU policy field and its emergent cultural politics will be willing to address these complex urban problems within the framework of a "*space of flow* of populations" (Balibar, 1991; emphasis mine) in a continuous, pragmatic and creative reformation process and without succumbing to the powers of distraction of an "administrative and financial space" (ibid.). In this regard, the true meaning of Lefebvre's *right to the city* remains as relevant as ever: "the right not to be excluded from the center of urban life

and marginalized in disadvantaged peripheral areas and *the right not to wish to subjugate oneself to the stipulations of homogenizing forces*" (Ronneberger, 2009: 116; my emphases).

CHAPTER IV

CULTURAL POLITICAL ECONOMY OF SEFERIHISAR

1. Gearing expectations towards a "downsized" mega-event

Seferihisar's membership to *Cittaslow* with its recently elected mayor was a surprising circumstance within Izmir's shifting contexts of urban political economy. The erosion of Turkish state capitalism together with the 1980s was experienced as a 'relative deprivation' in the port city with its trade prompted by industrial and agricultural production at its hinterland.[124] The consolidation of the neoliberal transformation in Turkey with AKP's landslide victory in the 2002 general elections signalled the definitive replacement of the 'national economy' as the primary object of economic management, by the informational capitalism of the era of globalization with its quite different conceptions of the 'economy' and supporting mechanisms of "economic" and "social governance".[125] Thus, Izmir's historical dependency to the 'old-Central Right' hegemonic bloc started to tint the relatively deprived city with a somewhat dusk palette, inflicting upon the Izmir middle class an "Izmirlite" stereotype identity to be fostered as an expression of distinction from the rising conservative 'new' middle classes and their cities.

In fact, the introduction of the notion of "new middle class" in the Turkish political scene was itself a matter of sociopolitical reappropriation with respect to the binary 'secular vs. conservative' schism in the Turkish society that has culminated by AKP's electoral victories. Professor Sencer Ayata, one of the prominent ideologues of CHP, strategically framed the "new middle class" in his 2002 article "The New Middle Class and the Joys of Suburbia" as those "affluent middle-class families who are increasingly moving out to the outskirts of the city, to the *suburbs*, where they can effectively differentiate themselves from, and avoid interaction with, people from the lower classes, and where they can exercise strong rules of exclusion and inclusion" (Ayata, 2002: 25). According to Ayata (2002: 41) such "middle-class

---

[124] In her seminal work on Izmir, Mübeccel Kıray (1972) argued that Izmir has come to effectuate significant change over its surrounding settlements with its distribution and control functions as a port city. It should be noted that Seferihisar was not among the 17 districts that Kiray (1972) argued to have improved their specialized functions; but it was interacting with many of them through its flourishing tangerine-based economy during the 1970s.

[125] Jessop (2008: 18) argues that "the crisis of Atlantic Fordism with its primacy of the national scale has disrupted the mutuality between cities and territorial states characteristic of Atlantic Fordism (Taylor 1995a,b); it has also disturbed the nested relationship between local, regional, and national governments. Similar problems are found in economies outside the former heartlands of Atlantic Fordism, its semi-peripheries in Southern Europe, or more peripheral regions that served as its production platforms. Thus there is a more general (indeed, global) problem today about the relative importance to be accorded to global, national, and so-called 'regional' sites and spaces of economic action".

withdrawal to the suburb" was to be seen as a "decisive and uncompromising break with the outside, the other and its own past, but also as a *form of retaliation against wider society* through the creation of an alternative mentality, social organization and lifestyle to emulate". In this respect, Ayata looked upon the "new middle class" as "the *major custodian* of the values of rationality, individual autonomy, secularism, the rule of law, environmental concern and globalism" (2002: 41; emphases mine). Although Ayata does not refer to any 'social movement' literature in this 2002 article, it should be indicated that his "abstracted empiricism" (Mills, 1959) with regard to "new middle class" seems theoretically informed by the literature on "middle-class radicalism" (Eder, 1995) that brings forth a value-laden politics of collective action, particularly based on a "culture of good life", and also on "new social movements" (Laraňa *et al.*, 1994) which are said to arise "in defense of identity". However, the empricial ground for a direct link between Ayata's "new middle class" and its capacity for collective action was instituted, sooner than later, by a series of mass demonstrations, the so-called *Republic Protests* [*Cumhuriyet Mitingleri*] that took place in major urban centers of Turkey (Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Çanakkale, Manisa, Denizli and Samsun) between April 14 and May 26 in 2007 on the occasion of the presidential election process, where AKP having obtained the majority of the seats in the parliament was in a position to nominate the candidate it wished without seeking any political reconciliation. On the occasion of the mass demonstrations, Ayata (interview by Devrim Sevimay, 2007) took the opportunity to reinsert his views regarding the 'emerging' "new middle class" as "the most democratic societal segment in Turkey", which is deeply concerned about defending its 'identity' based on such values as 'male/female equality, marriage in equal terms, liberty of the individual, the primacy of the civil will, the law state and the limitation of power by democratic institutions'.[126] Although Ayata (interview, 2007) regarded the *Republic Protests* as "autonomous and which can be accounted for on its own dynamics", the fact that the demonstrations were partly directly organized and partly promoted to be organized by "praetorian powers"[127] was casting a reasonable doubt on their autonomy. Similarly, as a counter-argument to Ayata's analysis,

---

[126] "Meydandakiler 'yeni orta sınıftır'", Sencer Ayata interview by Devrim Sevimay; Milliyet, May 21, 2007:http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2007/05/21/siyaset/asiy.html; Accessed 12.05.2011.

[127] In his article "The Owners of the State" [*Devletin Sahipleri*] in*Radikal 2*, May 13, 2007, Ahmet Insel presented a tentative analysis of the participants in the protests as follows:

-Direct and indirect military staff participation (military school and police college students, retired army officers, ambassadors and staff of the national security intelligence);
- Military influenced nationalist collectivities/parties/NGOs (CHP, MHP, İP, ADD);
- Middle class audience of the military influenced print and visual media, such as the readers of the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, viewers of the TV channels *Kanaltürk*, *Ulusal TV* (university professors and their families, university students, judicial officers and their families);
- Anonymous city-based middle and upper middle class, directly or indirectly influenced from all of the above (white-collars, school teachers, housewives);
- The grassroots of the unions and chambers (Türk-iş, Hak-iş, DİSK, Eğitim-Sen, Türk Tabipler Birliği) with increasing participation after the first rally (Translation mine).

Şahin Alpay (*Today's Zaman*, June 11, 2007) argued that Ayata did not mention the significant participation of Turkey's largest religious minority, *Alevis*, in the demonstrations, who are not necessarily "new" middle class, but simply unhappy with the official policies of AKP that are intolerant of minority identities as a party of the Sunni majority. However, given the comment made by an AKP member of the parliament from Kayseri, in a report published by *The European Stability Initiative* (ESI) titled "Islamic Calvinism: Change and Conservatism in Central Anatolia" (September 19, 2005) that "today Turkey is governed in the way in which Kayseri was governed during the last fifteen years"[128],it can be argued that Ayata's analysis of the "new middle class" was not simply eluding the rising conservative, entrepreneurial "new" middle class of the Anatolian cities, but rather trying to contribute to the self-reflexive infliction of an identity of 'cultural otherness' at those 'protesting cities', where the hegemonic bloc of the 'old-Central Right' played out its end game.[129]

On the other hand, carrying the tension between "laic democrats" and "conservative democrats" to the level of the 'identity of the city' during the presidential election process was quite dilemmatic for Izmir. Because, the urban elites of the city, having considerably lost the privileged representation of their interests at the central government with the consolidation of the neoliberal economy in Turkey, had set their hopes of "booming" the city on winning mega-event hostings one after the other (e.g., Universiade, EXPO). The megaevent hostings were at least guaranteeing several wide ranging infrastructural investments such as high-speed train connection between Izmir and major cities like Ankara and Istanbul, as well as the improvement of the existing transportation systems with new subway lines and new terminals. The candidacy process of a mega-scale event such as EXPO, however, required the local government of the candidate city to stand as united with the central government throughout the extended diplomatic processes, in order to ensure the international delegates that the city has the due support of the central government for getting through the "event" succesfully. In order to promote Izmir's bid, Izmir's *EXPO 2015* candidacy team, led by the current mayor of Seferihisar, used the slogan "Izmir's Population: 70 million", which referred to both a spirit of

---

[128] The European Stability Initiative (ESI) is a Berlin-based non-profit research and policy institute. ESI website: http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi_document_id_69.pdf (Accessed 20.08.2009).

Muharrem Eskiyapan entered the parliament as a MP for CHP in the 2002 elections, however, he quited CHP after being censured by the party for supporting Mustafa Sarıgül against Deniz Baykal in CHP's general congress. After a brief period of independent parliament membership, he joined the AKP in 2005. He was an independent MP at the time of the ESI interview.

[129] It should also be noted that the status of Alevis as the "largest religious minority" in Turkey emerged as the outcome of the constantly operating "identity switching games" (Mardin, 2002) in the history of the Middle East, by which several *non-muslim* groups switched to Islam however maintaining their differences by declaring themselves to be Alevis. Thus, the mechanism of identity switching contained two opposing elements: "first the change-over, but second the maintaining of the difference even in the change. Thus, while switching occurs differences are not being invented, but maintained, something that should be of interest to proponents of theories of 'imagined communities'" (ibid: 117).

total mobilization for a "national cause" and a total sum of expected visitors in the city during the hosting of the event over the six months period. In the meantime, just a couple of months ahead of the final date of the candidacy process, Abdullah Gül, following the Constitutional Court's block of his first bid for presidency in May 2007, has been elected as the 11th President of the Republic of Turkey on August 28, 2007; and contrary to expectations, both Gül and Prime Minister Erdoğan played their due parts in hosting the BIE delegates of the EXPO in Izmir and Istanbul. Thus, the eventual failure of Izmir's *EXPO 2015* candidacy by March, 2008 has been rather noted as an outcome of the reluctance of the local urban elite to work out a united front with the state prefecture towards making Izmir a 'world city'.

In the following period, the city started to dress its wounds by the significant investments made by the government on such fields as the transportation infrastructure (e.g., the Sabuncubeli Tunnel between Izmir and Manisa, a highway between Istanbul and Izmir, a new International Terminal at the Adnan Menderes Airport), the urban renewal projects (over 19.000 new housing built by TOKI) and higher education (Gediz, Izmir, Katip Çelebi, Şifa Universities), especially accelerated by the candidacy of the two highly operational ("iki icraatçı bakan") *Members of the Parliament* from Izmir in the general elections on June 12, 2011; namely, Binali Yıldırım, the Minister of Transport and Communications and Ertuğrul Günay, the Minister of Culture and Tourism. The ministers promised that the mistakes made during the *EXPO 2015* candidacy will not be repeated as the government will be in charge from the beginning to make sure that Izmir gets the *EXPO 2020*. Binali Yıldırım declared that they will enact a 'special law' for resolving Izmir's urban problems so that the city can realize its potential as a "Fair and Congress City".[130] During the 2011 general elections process, AKP also came up with several ambitious projects under the title "35 Izmir, 35 Projects"[131] that manifested its goal of making Izmir "The Capital of Culture Tourism" as well as a world city. Thus, while Izmir's local urban elites looked upon "mega-events" as an "economic imaginary" for maintaining the city's autonomy against the government, following the failure of *EXPO 2015*, mega-events became the privileged instruments for displaying AKP's operational power, while legitimizing the urban transformation of the city through mega-projects.

On the part of the Metropolitan Municipality, the mayor has moved, before all else, to consolidate his decision making authority over his urban domain, especially over the land use of relatively untouched peripheral coastal areas, by means of symbolic (*Çeşme-Karaburun-*

---

[130] "Binali Yıldırım: İzmir'e Özel Yasa Çıkaracağız", 09.05.2011, SonDakika website: http://www.sondakika.com/haber-binali-yildirim-izmir-e-ozel-yasa-cikaracagiz-2712706/; Accessed: 12.04.2012.

[131]The most "craziest" of these projects was the opening up of a 10 kilometers long water channel that cuts across the narrow neck of the Karaburun Peninsula for cruise ships to travel easily between Izmir and Çeşme.

Urla Peninsula National Local Development Ideas Competition[132]) and material (*The Development Plan of Izmir City Region*, *IKBNIP*) planning acts. Not only that the former *Development Plan* was outworn regarding the generic urbanization processes of Izmir over the years, but also the expanded boundaries of the city-region with the new *Metropolitan Law* had rendered the new *Plan* an urgency for the metropolitan municipality to retain its regulatory authority over the whole metropolitan area within 50 km radius. Therefore, the new *Metropolitan Development Plan*, with its strict protective measures, was aiming to put into effect a whole 'economic imaginary' to be deployed in the settlements of the peninsula against the government's increasing interest in Izmir. In the meantime, the brand new *Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning* (rightfully referred to as the "Municipality of Turkey" by the Chamber of City Planners' Izmir Branch) has been founded by the issuing of a series of highly controversial decree-laws.[133] The way the Ministry ended up holding scandalously disproportionate authority over any kind of land use at any scale of settlement in Turkey has taken the concerns of the Municipality Mayor to a whole new level.

Against the backdrop of these developments, Izmir once again entered the EXPO candidacy process in early 2011. In order to get ahead of the problems that hindered the city's success in the earlier candidacy, this time a consensus has been reached for the *Izmir Development Agency* (IZKA) to lead the candidacy process. Accordingly, IZKA assumed the responsibility for marketing the city.[134]

Picture 7: Izmir's new logo: "Izmir: The Frontier City of Turkey".
IZKA website: http://onculerinsehriizmir.izka.org.tr; Accessed: 12.07.2012.

---

[132] The first prize winner project strongly argued for an 'asset-based development' strategy, where *Cittaslow* was also mentioned as a possible model that could be deployed by the local administrations.

[133] The Parliament was in holiday when these decree-laws ("Kanun Hükmünde Kararname") were issued by the Council of Ministers. CHP appealed to Constitutional Court.

[134] IZKA initiated an "open tender procedure" [*açık ihale usulü*] to form the "Izmir Brand City Strategic Plan". The Consortium that won the tender has conducted an "Izmir's Visual Identity" study as well as a public survey regarding their "perception of Izmir" to find out "what would the characteristics of the city be, if it were a human being"; it turned out that Izmir would be "a single, young, well-educated woman" IZKA website: http://www.izka.org.tr/ana-sayfa/izmir-kentsel-pazarlama-stratejik-plani-calismalari/ (Accessed: 21.07.2012).

The candidacy process has started with a contestation regarding the location of the EXPO site at İnciraltı, especially between the *Ministry of Culture and Tourism* and the *Chamber of City Planners* İzmir Chapter, with the latter carrying their protests to court. However, the major crisis occurred when the police raided the İzmir Metropolitan and Karabağlar municipalities, both run by CHP, just 40 days ahead of the June 12 general elections, detaining 40 people on the grounds of membership in a criminal organization, rigging state tenders, accepting bribes, embezzlement, forging official documents, abuse of office and a number of other charges. On November 22, 2011 police once again raided the municipality detaining 42 people. The mayor Aziz Kocaoğlu, hearing the news in Paris, where he was campaigning for İzmir's bid to host *EXPO 2020*, immediately returned to Turkey, leaving the Governor behind. The absence of the bidding city's mayor at the presentation was an open manifestation of the tensions over the urban leadership of the city, where the metropolitan municipality was relegated to a deprived status with regard to representing the city at such an important occasion. Within 10 days, on December 5, 2011 CHP organized a "Republic, Democracy and Freedom Rally" [*Cumhuriyet, Demokrasi ve Özgürlük Mitingi*] in İzmir with the participation of 50.000 people as a response to both the police operations to the municipality as well as the status of its members of the parliament, who won the parliamentary seats on the CHP ticket in the June 12 elections while awaiting trial in prison for more than two years on charges of involvement in plots to overthrow the government.

In the first week of 2012, I finally got the chance to make an extended interview with Tunç Soyer, the mayor of Seferihisar, which was quite timely in terms of addressing several questions regarding his take on such issues as İzmir's EXPO candidacy processes and the status of the local administrations with respect to the central government's "reforms". The interview was also essential in terms of getting a sense of the complexity of the urban political context at the metropolitan level, where Soyer, as a metropolitan level urban actor had geared his expertise and skills in city branding and mega-event organization towards the implementation of a sustainable difference (as opposed to 'temporary distinctiveness') at a generic western Aegean coastal small town. Although, in our interview, Soyer was extremely careful about isolating *Cittaslow* from political tensions, just a week later, in another interview (Milliyet Ege, 16.01.2012), he openly commented that "in the case of İzmir's winning the *EXPO 2020*, AKP will take over the metropolitan municipality in the next local elections". This was a very calculated move from the mayor, who had diligently transformed Seferihisar into an 'object of governance' without falling victim into 'worn-out political tensions'. Now he was arguing for *Cittaslow*'s further strategic instrumentality for İzmir's attaining of the *EXPO 2020*, where the two "events" were regarded as brothers by the international members of the

BIE committee.[135] Thus, while Soyer was attracting the government's attention towards *Cittaslow*, he was implicitly suggesting that their support for *Cittaslow* would also pave the way towards Izmir's attaining the EXPO with its possible outcome of AKP's winning the Metropolitan Municipality in the next local elections.

Picture 8: "EU's approach to Turkey's Tourism Policy" Conference, Brussels, May 9, 2012.
(Left) Tunç Soyer, Mayor of Seferihisar; (Middle) Ismail Ertug, Member of the EU Parliament, Transport and Tourism Committee; (Right) Ertuğrul Günay, Minister of Culture and Tourism.
In his presentation Günay stresses that Turkey has to convince tourists that it's not only a country of sea, sun and beach, but also a country of archeology, museums, history, health tourism, and religious tourism. Given EU's lack of a common tourism policy, Turkish tourism would contribute to EU's ensuring sustainable tourism and promoting the understanding of green tourism. Tunç Soyer also made a presentation on *Cittaslow*, introducing it as an alternative tourism and local development model. He also expressed that Turkish *Cittaslow*s have a lot to offer to the integration of Turkey with EU values. *Friends of Turkey in the Parliament* Website:
http://www.friendsofturkey.eu/index.php/home/23-conference-european-unions-approach-to-turkeys-tourism-policy-.html (Accessed: 06.11.2012).

On the one hand, this 'win-win strategy' of the mayor can be regarded as co-extensive with the general urban political compromise of the Left in Turkey that ended up serving the big cities to AKP on a silver plate, hoping in return that a cultural identity of otherness will be conferred upon every other small settlement that wishes to survive as an enclave of the good-old-middle-classes. On the other hand, given the general state of things in disfavor of the Leftist politics in Turkey, it seems that this is also regarded as a rather proactive attempt for the reinitiation of a new Left politics based on the local administration reforms of the European Union.[136] To this end, Soyer has also extensively lobbied for Kadir Topbaş's (mayor of Istanbul) presidency of the *United Cities Local Governments* (UCLG) on the grounds that, while EU membership of Turkey will remain as a credible future scenario, Izmir and

---

[135] The interview with an ex-member of the Izmir EXPO 2015 team, a current voluntary consultant of the Seferihisar Municipality (**Int.F.1**) revealed that, Soyer acknowledged the *Cittaslow* model for the first time during the EXPO 2015 candidacy while they were individually investigating the backgrounds of the BIE delegates trying to win their votes through several different channels. Several members of the committee were also supporters of the *Cittaslow* International Network.

[136]The first meeting of the Scientific Committee was held in Izmir Yaşar University in December 17, 2011. One of the 30 academician members of the committee, Ahmet Insel showed his support of the movement in his 20.12.2011 dated *Radikal 2* article "Sakin Kent Hareketi Türkiye'de". http://www.*Cittaslow*.org/article/turkey-the-scientists-are-gathered-for-*Cittaslow*(09.02.2012).

Seferihisar will benefit from this gesture in this path-dependent near future. Instrumentalization of *Cittaslow* network for national and city-regional "causes" was not limited to the diplomatic relationships. Soyer has persuaded the Dutch *Cittaslow* of Midden-Delfland to let Seferihisar host the *Cittaslow* General Assembly in 2013, on the grounds that it will be a good lobbying opportunity for Izmir's EXPO 2020 candidacy. The mayor's approach to make use of the two brands (EXPO and *Cittaslow*) to leverage one another's success, however, culminated in his coming up with a brand new exponomic concept of "*Cittaslow* EXPO" to be executed in Seferihisar:

> Actually, there is no concept such as "*Cittaslow* EXPO". We invented that. Considering EXPO as an extremely beneficial activity, we arrived at this solution. We have a beautiful piece of land here that we own as the Municipality of Seferihisar. It is 92 decares. We considered placing *Cittaslow*s of the 25 countries on this land. We decided to create a fair area where 25 countries can come together and display the most appropriate *Cittaslow* examples, while at the same time introducing their own countries. We carried this idea to the *Cittaslow* Executive Committee, they agreed with applause and currently we started the preparations.

Picture 9: Tunç Soyer introducing his new exponomic concept of "*Cittaslow* EXPO" in TRT 1.
Tunç Soyer Interview in Sığacık, TRT 1, Morning News, 11.06.2012.[137]

What is crucial here is that, the exponomic branding of a city, beyond the casting of an overall "image" for the marketing purposes, is conceived as the very process that the city is represented as an 'object of governance' at multiple scales[138].Before the mayor's adoption of a full-fledged branding initiative, it is hard to imagine Seferihisar looking for a place in national

---

[137] Tunç Soyer Interview, TRT 1 Sabah Haberleri, 11.06.2012: "Aslında '*Cittaslow* EXPOsu' diye bir konsept yok. Onu biz icat ettik. EXPO'nun son derece yararlı bir etkinlik olduğunu düşünerek bulduğumuz bir çözüm oldu. Burada çok güzel bir arazimiz var Seferihisar Belediyesi olarak sahibi olduğumuz. 92 dönüm bir alan. Bu alanın üzerine 25 ülkeye ait *Cittaslow*'ları yerleştirelim diye düşündük. Yani, 25 ülkenin kendi arasında bir araya geleceği, hem en uygun *Cittaslow* örneklerini sergileyecekleri, hem de kendi ülkelerini yaratacakları bir fuar alanı yaratmaya karar verdik. Bu önerimizle *Cittaslow* icra kuruluna gittik, onlarda alkışlarla kabul ettiler ve şu anda onun hazırlıklarına başladık".http://www.seferihisar.com/haber/2444-ege-haberleri-trt-1-sabah-haberleri39nde-*Cittaslow*-expo39su.html (Accessed: 14.06.2012).

[138] In this regard, the Opening Ceremony of the London 2012 Olympic Games was noteworthy in its processional representation of the UK's cultural political economic transformation from the pastoral village to the city of augmented reality at the central space of the stadium. The concept of *Cittaslow* EXPO, perhaps, finds it best expression in such reembedding of the "culture(s)" of the smaller urban spaces into the abstract exponomic spaces of the societies of '*wannabe*-post-spectacle'.

media coverage with its "commonplace" governance failures; that is, as a place frequently hit by earthquakes (in 2003 and 2005); as a place, where 5 Kurdish origin citizens have been subjected to a lynching attempt by an angry mob of around 500 locals in 2005; and as a place with corpses of around 50 would-be 'forced immigrants' at its shores in 2007.[139] Depending on 'objects of governance', however, requires diligence as to the selection of the corresponding appropriate 'mechanism' for each 'form of governance'. Jessop (2009: 81) argues that the ideal typical examples of each mechanism are the market, state, network, and love. In a market-based form of governance, *exchange* is the formal and procedural mechanism to secure the efficient allocation of scarce resources to competing ends under defined conditions; in a state-centered form, *command* is a substantive and goal-oriented mechanism for securing given collective goals; in a network-based form, *dialogue* is a reflexive and procedural mechanism to secure negotiated consent about interdependent goals; and in a form of governance based on love, *solidarity* involves the unreflexive substantive commitment to provide support. Jessop (2009: 81) reminds us that the selection of such appropriate 'mechanism' always occurs on the level of the pre-existing material, social, and discursive relations and helps to co-constitute them. For instance, although *Cittaslow* operates through a mixture of all of the above mentioned forms of governance, in the Turkish experience, it is evident that there is an explicit reliance on the mechanism of "unconditional solidarity" as an "unreflexive substantive commitment" built upon the heroic capacity of the masses for "total mobilization"[140] in the face of a major historical event. Soyer's account of *Cittaslow*'s initial implementation process in Seferihisar reveals that the "reflexive" and procedural mechanism conducted by the mayor for securing negotiated consent also secured the "unreflexive" support to his leadership:

> Well, its logo is a snail; I mean, in a way, "you are selling snails at a Muslim neighborhood", but the point we reached within two years is that we erected the sculpture of the snail in the town's center. When you are elected as an administrator, above all, a mayor for a town, you can assume the responsibility of leadership for the people living in that community. This is not always the case, but if you are up to it, you can serve beyond the limitations of the legislation and actually undertake a leadership mission. Such a mission amounts to persuading them and trying to transform them. That's what I have done. Every evening, I settled at a coffeshop in order to make PowerPoint presentations explaining what *Cittaslow* is, what needs

---

[139] Incidents through which Seferihisar appeared in the national media before the mayor's branding initiative:

Urla Depremi Seferihisarı Vurdu, NTVMSNBC, 17 April 2003: http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/211318.asp

Seferihisar'da linç girişimi, Radikal, 23 Ağustos 2005: http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=162170

Aegean boat tragedy victims died in hope of a better life, Today's Zaman, 12 December 2007: http://www.sundayszaman.com/sunday/newsDetail   (all accessed: 10.01. 2012)

[140] Ernst Junger's (1930) concept of "total mobilization" applies to a great extent to the calls of urban authorities to mobilize the nation as volunteer workforce in the hosting of "events": "We can now pursue the process by which the growing conversion of life into energy, the increasingly fleeting content of all binding ties in deference to mobility, gives an ever-more radical character to the act of mobilization […] In order to deploy energies of such proportion, fitting one's sword-arm no longer suffices; for this is amobilization [*Rustung*] that requires *extension to the deepest marrow, life's finest nerve. Its realization is the task of total mobilization* (emphases mine).

to be done to get it, what will change afterwards and I asked them to support and make a claim to it. Eventually, the day we returned from Italy with the certificate, a really long convoy from Seferihisar was there at the airport to welcome us like a pop-star with a flourish of trumpets. No wonder, after that, I was immensely encouraged to proceed with the execution of the requirements of the criteria one by one.[141]
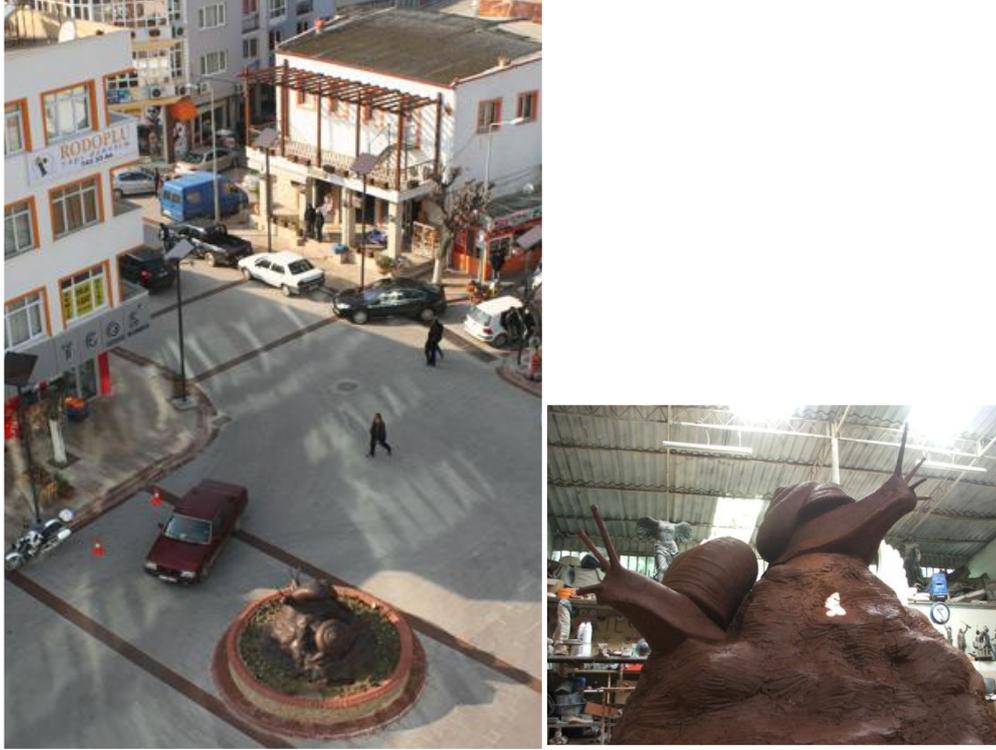
Picture 10: (Left) Snail Sculpture in Seferihisar Town Center. (Right) Sculpture in the making.
ZAD, Sculpture Workshop, http://www.zaferaliderya.com/index.php (Accessed: 12.06.2012).

The main reason I approach *Cittaslow*'s implementation in Seferihisar as a *multi-scalar meta-governance* mechanism reveals itself, at this point, as a self-imposed reluctance to analyze the change in Seferihisar society according to *Cittaslow*'s own categories, which are, on the one hand, "part of its publicity—pawns in a game of strategy and neither unbiased or disinterested; they serve a dual practical and ideological purpose" (Lefebvre, 2000/1971: 71); on the other hand, given the absence of a reflexive social action base in Seferihisar prior to the mayor's

---

[141]Tunç Soyer:"İşte logosu Salyangoz, yani "Müslüman Mahallesinde Salyangoz satıyorsunuz" bir anlamda, ama iki sene sonra geldiğimiz nokta salyangozun heykelini diktik kentin meydanına. Bir kentin yöneticisi, hele de Belediye Başkanı seçilmişseniz kentte yaşayan insanlara önderlik etmek gibi bir misyonu da üstlenebilirsiniz. Bu her zaman böyle olmuyor ama isterseniz mevzuat sınırlarının ötesinde bir başkanlık yapabilirisiniz. Gerçekten bir önderlik misyonunu üstlenebilirsiniz. O vakit insanları ikna etmek, onları dönüştürmeye çalışmak gibi bir misyon üstlenmiş oluyorsunuz. Ben de bunu yaptım. Her akşam bir kahvede gidip, PowerPoint sunum yapıp, *Cittaslow* budur, işte olmak için şunu yapmak lazım, olunca şunlar şunlar değişecek, gelin şu işe sahip çıkın, destek olun falan diye her akşam bir kahvede sunumlar yaptık. Neticede sertifikayı alıp İtalya'dan döndüğümüz gün havaalanında Seferihisar'dan bayağı büyük bir konvoy karşılamaya gelmişti, davullar zurnalarla, böyle bir pop-star gibi karşıladılar. Ondan sonra tabii bende daha büyük bir cesaret buldum ve o kriterlerin gereklerini teker teker uygulamaya başladık" Arkitera website;Tunç Soyer interview by Cenk Dereli for *Açık Mimarlık* Program, 26.07.2012: http://www.arkitera.com/haber/index/detay/seferihisar-ve-citta-slow/9286(Accessed: 27.07.2012).

initiatives, the multifaceted immediate impacts following the town's *Cittaslow* membership cannot be taken as a measure of neither the success nor the failure of the "model" itself.

2. Seferihisar in Urban Governance Context

Seferihisar is a small coastal town and a district of Izmir province on the Aegean coast of Turkey with a population of 30.890. The town, with a surface area of 355 km², issurrounded by the Aegean Sea from the south and southwest, Urla district from the North and Menderes district from the East.The central settlement of the town has been founded on the alluvial plain of the Kocaçay River, in front of the western hillside of the Kızıldağlar mountain range (1080 m) that run north-south.

Picture 11: Location of Seferihisar in the Urla-Çeşme-Karaburun Peninsula
Satellite image acquired from Izmir Municipality.

The urban settlement today develops at the western and southern coastal segments and the northern Izmir highway direction (Karadağ, 2004: 86). At a distance of 45 km from Izmir center, Seferihisar can be reached from Izmir on two routes. The first route is by taking the road that takes off from Üçkuyular and heading south from Güzelbahçe-Çeşmealtı junction. The other route is by taking the paid Izmir-Çeşme highway and the Seferihisar exit at the 23rd km to connect to the same road with the first route thereafter. The district center of Seferihisar is at a distance of 40 km to the Adnan Menderes Airport in Izmir.
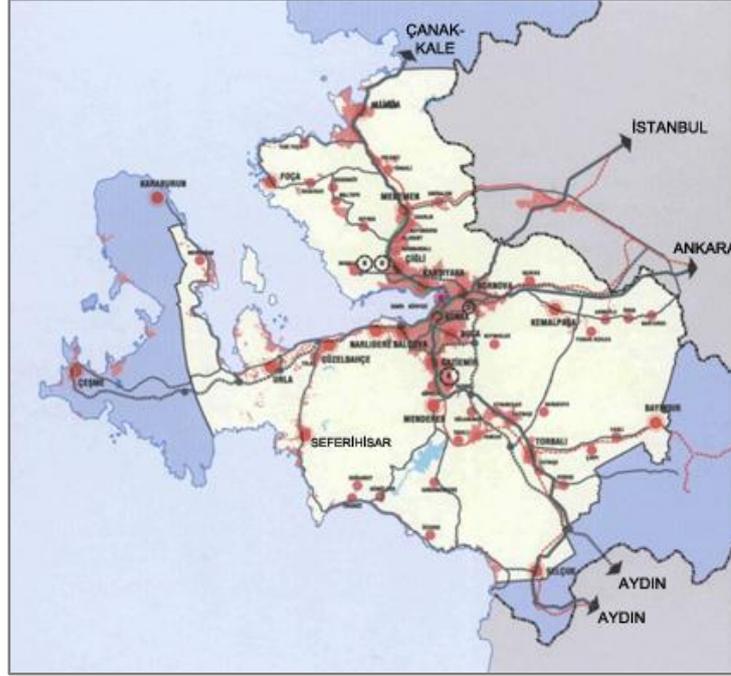
Figure 2: Access Routes in Izmir Urban Development Plan (IKBNIP, 2007).

From the town center, when headed towards north through the Izmir-Güzelbahçe road, both the metropolitan of Izmir and the districts of Urla and Çeşme, the northwestern attraction sites for touristic activities, are reached. When headed towards south through the highway, through Ürkmez, Gümüldür, Özdere, Yoncaköy and through Pamucak, the coasts of Selçuk district, and finally Kuşadası, the most prominent tourism center of the region, is reached. From the same route the ancient Greek settlement of Ephesus and the district of Selçuk can be reached.

2.1. A Brief Historical Geography of Seferihisar

Teos: the city of 'organized' artists

The oldest settlement in Seferihisar is the city of Teos, which dates back to 2000 BC. Teos was a Carian city founded by the Cretans during their flight away from the Akkadian invasion[142]. In 1190 BC the Akkadians and several Greek tribes started to migrate to West Anatolian shores during their flight away from the Dorian invasion. The inhabitants of Teos proved to be hospitable towards the Minyans from Orchomenus, who landed in Teos under

---

[142]My inquiry on the resources on the history of Seferihisar and the region luckily coincided to the commissioning of a local historian by the municipality, Ilhan Pınar from Urla, to work on the publishing of a series of booklets "Seferihisar on the Track of Travelers" based on the original works of the travelers ("mediums") who had visited Seferihisar during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. Pınar (**Int.F.2.**) is currently translating and putting together fragments of available information from the works of Evliya Çelebi [1671], Edmund Chisull [1699], Richard Pococke [1739], Félix Marie Charles Texier [1834] and William John Hamilton [1836]. The information presented here is mostly based on these booklets and also on the 2004 dated article by Prof. Dr. Zeki Arıkan, "XVI. Yüzyılda Seferihisar, Sığacık ve Sığla" in *Dünden Yarına Seferihisar Sempozyumu*, Seferihisar Kaymakamlığı.

118

the leadership of Athamas. The region started to further attract Ionian colonists and with the subsequent waves of migration the Carian population got absorbed by the in-migrating European race, which in turn made Teos a high-ranking Greek city of the Ionian League. The city was built on an isthmus formed on one side by the bay of Sığacık in the west, and on the other side, today almost filled, the gulf of Teos at the east. Its outstanding position between two harbors proved very advantageous to develop strong trade relations with other cities in the Aegean and the Mediterranean coastline. The walls of the city are approximately six kilometers in circumference and they can still be traced all along.

Towards the middle of 7th century BC Teos acquired considerable amount of importance as Thales of Miletus proposed it to be the political center of the Panionic League. However, this was never realized and when the Persians invaded the region, this lack of common policy and strength brought about the downfall of the Ionians. Many of the citizens of Teos set sail before the city surrendered and founded the city of Abdera in Thrace. However, soon afterwards they progressively returned to their homeland as Teos is noted to have supplied 17 ships to the Ionian fleet, which were wiped out by the Persians at the battle of Lade in 494 BC.With the arrival of Alexander the Great, Teos gained its freedom from the Persian rule and started to flourish as one of the richest cities of the region. Later it came under the rule of Antigonus and successively of Lysimachus, who moved some of its citizens to the newly built city of Ephesus.

The architectural ruins of Teos today testify to the level of perfection that the Teans attained in the practice of fine arts. Teos possessed the largest temple dedicated to Dionysus. The cult of Bacchus did not only celebrate the abundance of the grape harvest, but also developed the dithyramb and the lyric tragedy as a mix of religious ceremony ("the birth of Dionysus") and popular merriment. The fact that the entire city had been consecrated to the cult of Bacchus attracted all those who, through their taste or talent in poetry, drama and theatre, could concur to the splendor of the celebrations. It is no accident that in the 3rd century BC Teos was selected as the center of the Guild of the Artists of Dionysus. These artists were professionally organized and had gained citizenship in Teos. During the Roman period, the leaders of the guild were contacted by the 'asiarches' to send over artists to the public celebrations taking place all over the Empire. However, it seems that at some point the Teans could no longer tolerate the presence of these artists as the members of the guild were forced to move out, first to Ephesus, getting worse there, their center was moved several times until they were finally settled at Lebedus. Teos produced two famous citizens. One of them was the renowned lyrical poet, Anacreon, who was one of the first poets to use the love theme in his works of art. Apellicon was the other, a book collector, who was famed for buying Aristotle's library. The temple whose ruins can be admired today is an early work of the

architect Hermogenes of Priene, who opened a new era for Ionian architecture. It was erected in 130 BC and restored during the reign of Emperor Hadrian. The temple was an Ionic peripteros with 6 by 11 columns standing on a platform measuring 18.5 by 35 meters[143].

Sığacık

Sığacık is located on the northwest of Teos with its harbor noted as the safest in the coast with a difficult entrance. It has been occupied by Chalcidians, who came in order to settle under the power of Geres. The Romans called it the Gaerasticus portus and Strabon named it the Cherraeidae. The medieval castle is believed to be built by the Seljukids; however, it was later restored by Aydınoğulları and the Ottomans. Piri Reis advised the proper restoration of the port of Sığla, as it was called at the time, in preparation for the Rhodes expedition of the Suleiman the Magnificent. During this restoration, the ancient city of Teos was used as a stone quarry by Parlak Mustafa Pasha. The three gates of the city face west, south and east directions. The gate to the south (Selçuk-Kuşadası direction) is called Ayasuluk and the gate to the east is called Sivrihisar (Seferihisar). At the corner to the sea is the interior castle with the Suleiman Khan Mosque. The castle was used as a maritime military basis and later on as a customs checkpoint. It was not populated by civilians as can be evinced by the absence of several typical facilities such as kitchen for the poor, madrassah and bazaar.

Central town of Seferihisar

Evliya Çelebi visits the Aydın province of Sığla in 1671 and locates the town of *Sivrihisar*, meaning 'tall and pointed castle' in Turkish, however, to his surprise with no trace of such castle. Evliya contends that the settlement might have taken its name from the castle-like rocks to the west of the city. The settlement's sharing the same name with the well-known Sivrihisar settlement on the way to Ankara was a matter of confusion in the Ottoman official records, until in 1914 the Ministry of Interior [*Dahiliye Nezareti*] resolved this by a decision to call "Aydın Sivrihisarı" thereafter as "Aydın Seferihisarı". According to Arıkan (2004: 3) the name of Seferihisar (Sivrihisar) appears, for the first time, in an Ottoman Fiscal Registration Notebook [*Tapu Tahrir Defteri*] dated before 1478. In this notebook Seferihisar was registered as a sub-district of Izmir, together with other settlements as Çeşme, Karaburun, Urla in the peninsula. However in 16th century Çeşme earns the status of township [*kaza*] due to its

---

[143] The earliest archeological studies in Teos were conducted by the Society of Dilettanti in 19th C, to be followed by a French group at the outstart of the 20th C. Several excavations during the 1960s were conducted by experts from Ankara University. Dr. Mustafa Uz from METU inititated the excavations at the Antique settlement area and the Temple of Dionysus. After his unexpected death, the excavations remained at a virtual standstill for 20 years. The mayor of Seferihisar has played an active role in the recent resumption of the excavations by Assoc.Prof.Dr. Musa Kadıoğlu from Ankara University. The mayor also played an important role in Yaşar group's sponsoring the excavations for the next three years.

flourishing customs operations and takes all the other settlements in the peninsula under its banner. In the 1529 *tahrir* register, Seferihisar's central neighborhood and the surrounding villages comprise a total of 304 households with 61 bachelors, 7 imams, 2 tax collectors [*muhassıl*] and 3 licensed public servants [*berat sahibi*]. The two non-muslim households that are noted in the *tahrir* register of 1529 are not mentioned in the *tahrir* register of 1571. According to Evliya Çelebi, in 1671 the settlement had 1200 houses with tiles and gardens. The settlement was full of different kinds of trees such as planes, willows, elms, oaks, pines and walnuts. There were no vineyards but vines themselves were twirling around the trees producing loads of juicy and shiny grapes. The land was so fertile and the harvest was so good that the citizens had no trouble in paying their taxes. Evliya also mentions that thousands of people from neighboring villages and towns came together here to organize a weekly market. Another source of income was the "balışıra" honey collected from the fir-trees at the mountains, which was famous all over the world and was regarded as a valuable gift at the time. Evliya Çelebi mentions the presence of 4 mosques with tiled roofs and brick minarets at the town's center, namely, the Müfti Efendi, Tepecik, Topraklık and Ulu mosques, as well as 3 baths and small Islamic monasteries. Since all of these mosques have been restored several times during the Seljukid and Ottoman times, they have survived to operate even today. There are three other mosques which were built long after Evliya's visit, such as Güdük Minare mosque (date unknown), Turabiye mosque (1783-84) and Hıdırlık mosque (1767-68). In Seferihisar, there are also several tumuli that have suffered from the illegal diggings of the treasure hunters.

Following Izmir's upgrading its status as the capital of the Aydın Province in 1850, Seferihisar became a municipality in 1884. The population of Seferihisar is unofficially noted to be equally divided between Greeks and Turks until the day of the Greek occupation of Izmir in May 15th, 1919. There is, however, no available information as to the figures of out-migrating Greeks or in-migrating Turks during the 1923 population exchange between Greece and Turkey[144]. There are also no records available as to the claims of certain locals that acknowledge themselves as "migrants from Mora" who seem to have arrived to Seferihisar at an indefinite past time of 200-500 years. During the Republican period the population of Seferihisar follows a steady state, especially with no change in population in the district between 1940 and 1970. However, the urban settlement in the district, after following the traditional development pattern of a central historic town surrounded by several disparate rural villages, starts to face agricultural land use abuse by the partial development plans of the

---

[144] Ilhan Pınar (**Int.F.2.**) mentioned a book [*Kabuslu Günler*] by Engin Berber, which might have reference to the in- and out-migrating figures from the Urla port, which was used during the 1923 Population Exchange. The book is out of stock and could not be accessed. However, it is not very likely that the figures would indicate separate settlements.

second residence boom in 1980s, which leads to the uneven development patterns typical of most Turkish coastal towns.
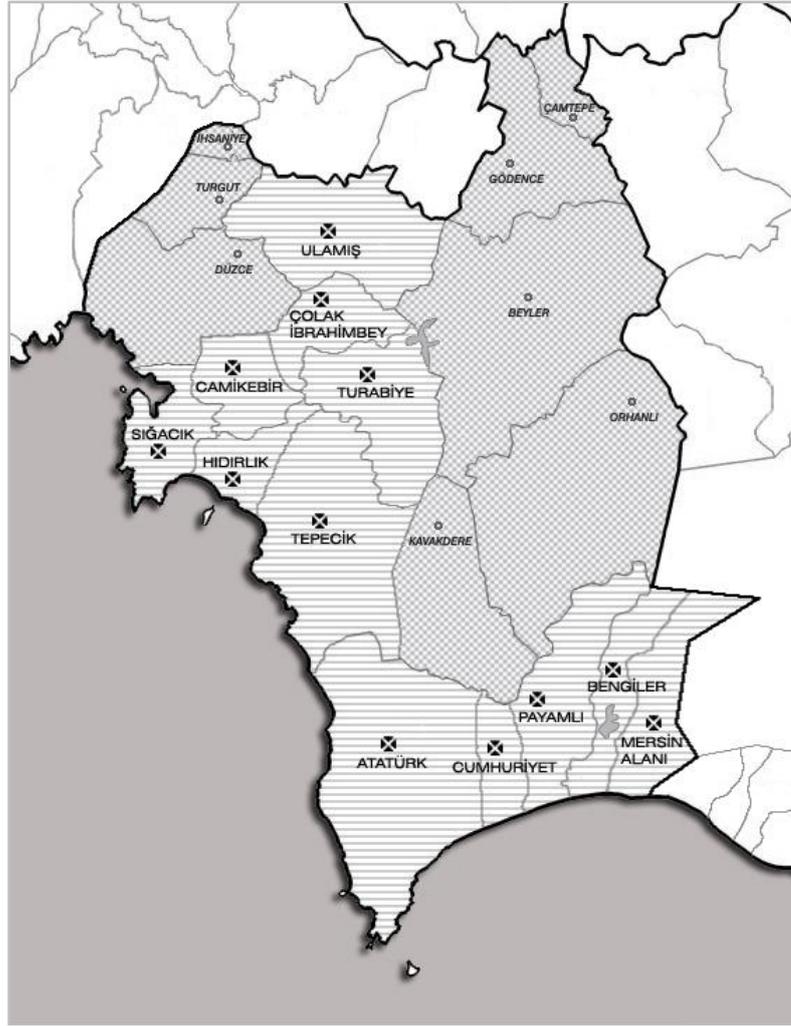
Figure 3: Districts and Villages in Seferihisar; illustration by the author.

While substantially all of the second residence vacation homes, the products of the urbanization model adopted with the 1980s are concentrated on the seashore line between Sığacık and Ürkmez, the primary residence areas, workplaces, administrative and several socio-cultural service units are expanding towards the Izmir highway axis from the constantly resided old town center. Therefore, all the latest public investments such as Küçük Sanayi Sitesi, Yatılı Bölge İlköğretim Okulu, Öğretmen Evi, Endüstri Meslek Lisesi and Dokuz Eylül University Beden Eğitimi Yüksekokulu were opened on this northern, Izmir highway axis.
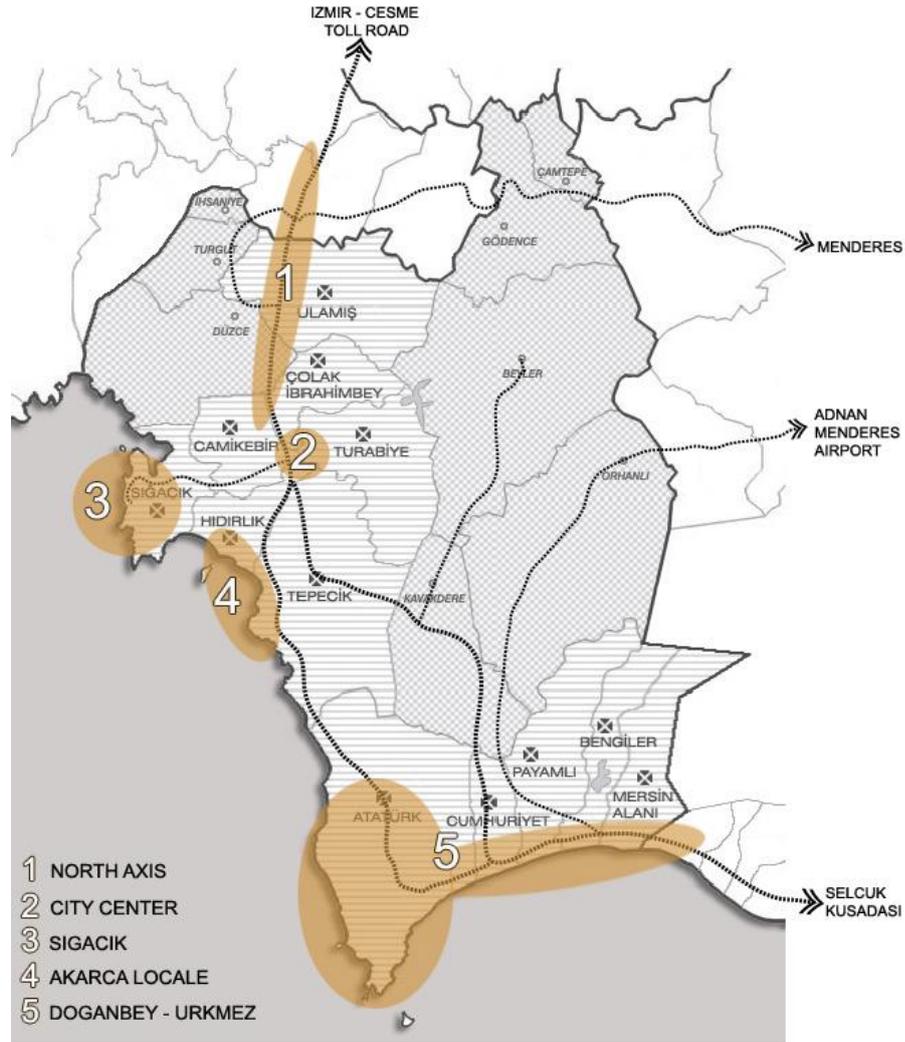
Figure 4: Main Development Areas in Seferihisar with 1980s; illustration by the author.

The district has 10 officially delimited neighborhoods (Ulamış, Sığacık, Camikebir, Çolak İbrahim Bey, Turabiye, Hıdırlık, Tepecik, Atatürk, Cumhuriyet, Payamlı, Bengiler, Mersin Alanı) and 8 depending villages (Turgut, Düzce, İhsaniye, Beyler, Çamtepe, Gödence, Orhanlı, Kavakdere). In the town center, with a current population of 19.503 (TUIK, 2010), there are 6 extant Ottoman neighborhoods (Karadağ, 2004). The existence of natural and historical protection sites in the district's shoreline, and the vast military areas that are off-limits even to the day-based touristic activities of the civilians, let alone the rentier-contractor class, the 60 km long shoreline and the relatively untouched forest areas had been spared from further destruction or plundering. During this period, the town doubled its population from 14.727 in 1985 to 34.761 in 2000 with the in-migrants from several different parts of Turkey, who have been employed in the second residence construction sector as well as in the seasonal agricultural jobs. However, the sudden growth in the town's economy with the construction boom had irreversibly ruined the existing local steady state economy which was mostly based

123

on agriculture. With the early 2000s, as the second residence construction business eventually reached its land use limit and has come to a halt, the population declined and has only recently reached a population of 30.890 in 2011.

Sığacık and Tepecik, which were once village settlements, have been incorporated as neighborhoods to the central district after 1960. Ulamış, previously a village settlement, has been recently incorporated as a neighborhood to the central district with the Legislative Act of 5216. Doğanbey and Ürkmez, which used to have their own administrative municipalities, have been "incorporated" (in effect, they have been disincorporated and reverted their status to unorganized territory) as neighborhoods to the central district with the recent Municipality Acts of 5216 & 5747. These settlements, mostly populated by groups of unorganized summer house cooperatives, are now in search of organizational solutions to restore their governance rights in terms of the principle of 'subsidiarity'. The mayor of Seferihisar's advice to the representatives of the summer house cooperatives was that "they needed to get organized among themselves as a civil society organization"[145] and make sure that their voices were heard by the Metropolitan Municipality authorities to take urgent action regarding their infrastructural problems as well as their demands for geothermal investments. Moreover, the communities of Doğanbey and Ürkmez neighborhoods are considering merging with their similarly deprived contiguous neighborhoods from the Menderes district to form a new municipality, which might in turn deprive Seferihisar of its geothermal energy and tourism future.

---

[145]Soyer shared this view as reply to a question at the end of his *2nd Year Speech*, 31 March, 2011.On the other hand, the mayor is currently offering temporary solutions to remedy their access difficulties to the municipality due to geographic distance (besides "e-municipality" application) such as the "mobile municipality" application, by which most of the necessary municipality services and staff, together with the mayor himself, are carried to these neighborhoods in a bus. Because, the geothermal resources positioned at this part of the district, requires Seferihisar municipality to strategically integrate these settlements into its domain, in terms of both the tourism and the renewable energy potential of the geothermal resources.Therefore, these southern settlements and the central Seferihisar are contradictorily positioned as mutually dependent, notwithstanding the facts that (a) they are geographically cut-off from each other, (b) Doğanbey and Ürkmez along with Gümüldür and Özdere developing on the Kuşadası direction since 1980s.
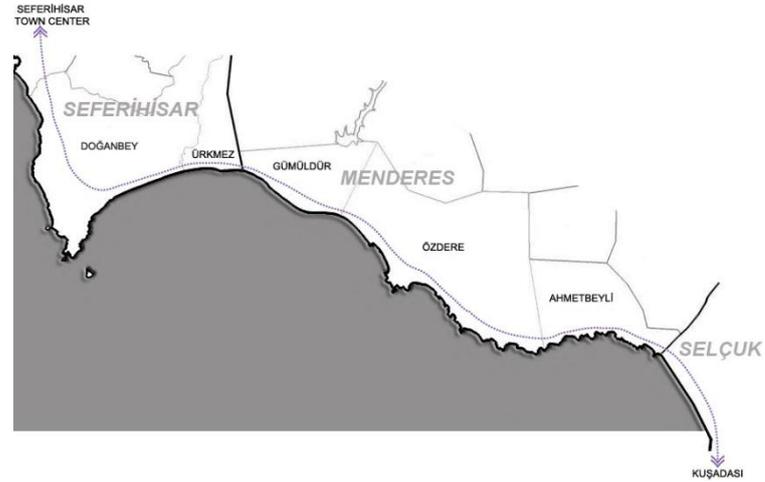
Figure 5: Seferihisar, Menderes and Selçuk municipalities after the Municipality Law of 5216;
IKBNIP, 2007.

Seferihisar's economy is largely based on agriculture (tangerine, vegetable, greenhouse farming), tourism and fishery activities. A considerable amount of the district's land use is taken up by agricultural areas.

Table 3: Land Use in Seferihisar, 2006; quoted in Izmir Health City Profile, 2009: 95.

Total Area	Agricultural Area		Forest and scrub area		Land under permanent meadow and pastures		Other Lands	
ha	ha	%	ha	%	ha	%	ha	%
38.600	8.930	23.1	19.451	50.4	358	0.9	9.861	25.5

Table 4:Agricultural Land Use Distribution, Izmir Provincial Directorate of Agriculture, 2007; quoted in Chamber of Commerce, Book of Districts: Seferihisar, 2007: 853.

	Surface Area (da)		2006 Share (%)	Change (%)
	2002	2006		
Total Utilized Agricultural Land	95.370	89.301	100	-6.4
Field Area	10.270	10.530	11.8	2.5
Vegetable Area	4.300	4.146	4.6	-3.6
Area of fruits	560	458	0.5	-18.2
Area of Ornamental Plants	140	147	0.2	5
Area of Vineyards	3.260	2.600	2.9	-20.3
Area of Citrus Fruits	12.420	12.690	14.2	2.2
Area of Olive	59.000	50.530	56.6	-14.4
Fallow land area	1.500	1.150	1.3	-23.4
Unutilized Agricultural Land	3.920	7.050	7.9	79.8
Irrigated Agricultural Land	19.230	21.193	23.7	10.2

The developmental land use has been constrained due to the large military areas and the natural and historical protection sites, which limited the destruction of the shoreline to a certain degree during the second residence boom. 7.5% of the land use (3363.3 ha) consists of natural and historical conservation sites, 18.1% of which is 1st degree Archeological Site, 0.9%

is 1st degree Natural and 3rd degree Archeological Sites and 0.3% is Urban Preservation Site (IKBNIP, 2007: 375).

In Seferihisar, while agriculture remains important in its traditional structure, its sustainability has been gradually threatened by the rapid expansion of the post-1980 second residence construction processes and tourism activities. Due to the fact that Seferihisar is only 45 km away from Izmir city center, its shoreline, particularly Sığacık and other nearby bays have intense use by day-trippers for sea tourism activities. On the other hand, the coastal fringe of Seferihisar is entirely occupied by summer houses reaching a summer population of 150.000. Based on the findings of the land surveys conducted in Seferihisar and its surroundings, Mutluer (2004:71-84) observes that the land use problems of Seferihisar due to intense use and other reasons, concentrates in three geographical areas and six related issues of concern. The extended and updated version of these findings by 2011 are presented in the table below:

Table 5: Summary of Land Use Related Problems in Seferihisar.

Location / Issues of Concern	Toll Road Exit - Seferihisar (North Axis)	Seferihisar (City Center)	Sığacık (Teos Peninsula)	Akarca vicinities (Eastern shoreline)	Doğanbey & Ürkmez (Kuşadası highway axis)
Geological / Geomorphological	Major Fault Line				
			Landslide & Base water		Flooding
Natural / Archeological Protection Sites	-	Future Agricultural Land Use Abuse Risk	Archeological work restarted in 2010.	Agricultural Land Use Abuse in 1980s	Agricultural Land Use Abuse in 1980s
Summer Housing Co-ops	-	-	-	Since 1980s	Since 1980s
Low density housing settlements and gated communities	Since late 1990s	-	-	-	Limited Areas
Environmental Pollution	Traffic Accidents	Car Traffic	Car Traffic at the weekends	Sea tourism by local day-trippers	Thermal spring facilities
Organizational Failures	Bicycle Routes		Picnic Area in the Forest		Access to Municipality

The 1973 Development Plan of Izmir had directed the city's urban-industrial development on the North-South axis, while designating the Western Peninsula axis of the Seferihisar, Çeşme and Karaburun settlements as planning areas for tourism development (IKBNIP, 06.1.A: 169). The development of the networks of transportation in the Peninsula in the 1980s encouraged the movement of urban middle-classes from the city to the countryside, leading to a rapid rise in suburbanization on both sides of the Izmir-Çeşme expressway. Towns like Çeşme and Kuşadası boomed during these years as international touristic destinations with

five-star hotels, board and lodgings for foreign tourists as well as upscale second residence vacation homes for the national tourists. In contrast, despite the town's rich historic and natural assets and its closeness to the airport and Izmir city center, the development of tourism in Seferihisar has been largely limited to the day-based leisurely use of its 40 km long shoreline by the relatively lower middle classes of Izmir.

In 1975, the Ministry of National Defence [*Milli Savunma Bakanlığı*] expropriated a large coastal area in Seferihisar temporarily cherishing the locals with considerably high fees, while reserving the use of the land for military landing exercises that are still taking place today. The later development of the second residence cooperatives during the 1990s likewise appealed to the 'good old middle classes', mostly retired civil servants and bureaucratic elite from Izmir and Ankara, who could neither afford nor enjoy the increasingly lavish lifestyles emerging in Kuşadası and Çeşme. The dilemmas residing in Seferihisar's appeal to second residence cooperatives as an 'economic imaginary' during these years is fully reflected in the social democratic mode of governance of the local politically active tailor-turned-mayor (1989-1999), who strongly opposed large scale investment attempts into the shoreline by the ANAP government of the time, while clearing up the way for the invasion of the second residence housing cooperatives by convincing the Council of Monuments to undo the massive protection decisions (SİT) on the grounds that all the necessary infrastructural precautions had been taken for the future development of the shoreline:

> **Int.A.3:** In 1994, the Council of Monuments dropped a bomb on the Peninsula. Protection decisions of the Council fell like an atomic bomb on Seferihisar. If it was a fire bomb for Çeşme, it was like an atomic bombfor Seferihisar. Because, in Çeşme, they had long started their development in 1954, 40-50 years ahead of us, whereas we had just started. It took me 3 years to turn it in favor of the Municipality. They had taken 100 from us, they had taken it all, nothing was left. I took back 90 % of it. Well, I had valid grounds, I had precautions. I had taken protection decisions from the Parliament for the two rain water catchment basins and got them approved by the Council of Monuments […] There were only 4 *sites* in Seferihisar when I started in 89 […] It all happened with me within that 10 years. To regenerate what is taken from you overnight while keeping up with that development wasn't easy. Now Seferihisar has drinking water, two separate purification projects and sewage lines throughout the 40 km shoreline. All our coastal areas had developed along with the infrastructure. It is a unique case in Turkey.[146]

---

[146]**Int.A.3:** 1994'te Anıtlar Kurulu Yarımada'ya bir bomba attı. SİT kararları vardı Yüksek Kurulun. Seferihisar'a atom bombası düştü. Çeşme'ye yangın bombasıysa bize atom düştü sanki. Çünkü onlar gelişmelerine 40-50 yıl önce başladı, Çeşme 54'ten bu yana, biz daha yeni başlamışız. Ben onu Belediye lehine döndürene kadar 3 yıl geçti üzerinden. Bizden 100 almışlardı, hepsini almışlardı bak, hiçbir şey kalmamıştı, ben % 90'ını geri aldım. Ha nasıl aldım, haklı gerekçelerim vardı. Tedbirlerim vardı. İki barajın yağmur havzalarını koruma kararı almışım meclisten Anıtlar Kurulu'na onaylattırmışım. [...] Bakın, 89'da ben başladığımda 4 tane site vardı Seferihisar'da[...] Hepsi benimle oldu, o 10 yılın içinde oldu ve ben onlara demin hani, hem bir anda yok olanı yerine yetişircen, hem de o gelişmeye yetişeceksin diyordum ya. Hiç kolay olmadı. Şimdi Seferihisar'ın 40 km'lik sahilinde hem içme suyu var, aç çeşmeni, hem iki projede arıtmaları var. Kanalizasyonu var. Bütün sahiller gelişirken o alt yapıyla beraber geldik biz. Yok Türkiye'de böyle bir şey.

2.2. Regionalization without regions through cities, agencies, brands

Considering that *Cittaslow*, as I have discussed at length earlier, is born out of an extended Italian regionalization experience, which gradually realigned itself with the European Union's new regionalization experience, it is important to discuss the European principles and standards regarding local administration with respect to Turkey's territorial structure and the implementation of the recent statuory reforms.

Turkey as a member of the *Council of Europe* (CoE)[147] since 1949 has supposedly expressed its commitment to comply with the values codified in the treaty establishing the CoE as well as the several other treaties it has ratified. Among these some of them have particular importance for local self-government: the "European Charter on Local Self-Government", and the "Framework Convention" on cross-border cooperation between local authorities, completed by its two additional protocols. It has been 20 years since Turkey has ratified the *European Charter of the Local Self-Government* on the 9th of December 1992. The Charter had direct influence, as a legal framework of reference, on the new legislation on local government in Turkey. Turkey has also ratified the Framework Convention on cross-border cooperation between local authorities on the 11th of July 2001, but did not ratify the First Protocol (on cross-border bodies of local authorities) and the Second Protocol (inter-territorial cooperation, e.g. beyond neighbour local authorities). The Charter is particularly important for the process of "institution building" at the local level as expressed in the Preamble, "local authorities are one of the foundations of any democratic regime", "the right of citizens to participate in the conduct of public affairs is one of the democratic principles that are shared by all Member States of the Council of Europe", and "that is at the local level that this right can be most directly exercised". However, the Charter does not reflect a "model" of local self-government; it is rather a codification of basic principles for a democratic local government system, based on the common, but at the same time very diverse, experience of European countries in the field of local government. As a consequence, very different systems of local self-government may comply with the Charter, according to the number of tiers and their legal or constitutional nature, their institutions, their tasks and differing from each other, more generally, according to their level of local autonomy or centralisation. The law of EC, on the other hand, has quite different implications on local administration. The EC law refers to "regions" only for the purpose of the "regional development policy", not as an administrative unit. The NUTS are only statistical units; they are necessary to determine more or less comparable units for the calculation of the indicators upon which the classification of

---

[147] It is necessary to distinguish between the law of the *Council of Europe* (CoE) and *European Community* (EC) law.

"regions", in geographical terms, is established, and hence their entitlement to a level of support determined by the regulations on structural funds[148].

The government of Turkey has undertaken since 2003 a very comprehensive programme to reform and modernize the local government system, and put it in line with the requirements of the Charter and of EC law. To this end, Turkey has been divided into 12 NUTS-1 and 26 NUTS-2 regions, whereas NUTS-3 are equivalent to provinces (81). Regarding the territorial structure of Turkey, the recent reforms aimed to strengthen the capacity of municipal governments and of village unions, making possible further step in transferring tasks upon local self-government bodies. Furthermore, with the law on Development Agencies, Turkey has taken in account the socio-economic trend of regionalisation, without however establishing a new tier of government. Accordingly the following legislation has been put into effect following their adoption by the parliament:

Table 6: Recent Local Administration Statutes in chronological order.

Law on Public Financial Management and Control,
n°5018 of 10th November 2003, as amended by the law n°5436 of 22nd December 2005;
Law on Metropolitan Municipalities,
n°5216 of 10th July 2004, as amended by the law n°5390 of 2nd July 2005;
Law on Special Provincial Administrations (SPAs),
n°5302 of 22nd February 2005, as amended by the law n°5391 of 2nd July 2005;
Law on Unions of Local Authorities,
n°5355 of 26th May 2005;
Law on Municipalities,
n°5393 of 3rd July 2005;
Law on the Establishment and duties of Regional Development Agencies (RDAs),
n°5449 of 8th February 2006.

The local administration statuory reforms introduced several new concepts such as 'decentralization'[149], 'subsidiarity', and 'good governance' which are mainly concerned with the devolving of the central power to municipalities, as local civic administrative urban units, and further to the decision-making coalitions that are allegedly active in the city in the form of civil society and private sector organizations as well as responsible citizens. In the current system, Turkey has no regional government, since neither city-regions nor metropolitan areas are defined as distinct administrative units; nonetheless metropolitan cities are increasingly given

---

[148]The regulation on the NUTS of 26th May 2003 (n°1059/2003) states clearly that "the definition of territorial units" (meaning here "statistical territorial units") "is based fundamentally on existing administrative units in member states" (art.3), and the preamble of the regulation declares that the NUTS has "to respect the existing political, administrative and institutional situation" (par.10).

[149]In order to prevent possible misunderstandings, Yılmaz, *et al.* (2010)limit the use of the term 'decentralization' to refer to "devolution–central government's transfer of administrative and financial decision-making authority to local governments that have clear and legally recognized jurisdictions within which they provide public services to constituents to whom they are accountable".

the role of defining new spatial scales as the new NUTS-2 regions seem to be based on urban centres and their influence areas.[150]

Given that the Turkish administrative system is still defined by the 1982 Constitution, the new legal arrangements in regard to local administrations have rather instilled changes of reform quality for local administrations and especially municipalities, particularly in the abatement of the "guardianship authority" of the central administration over local administrations[151]. For instance, the central administration cannot any longer exert prior control as to the appropriateness of a municipal transaction, whether a service is necessary or not, but is able to control afterwards as to whether it is in compliance with the law. Thus, in spite of the reforms initiated for the strengtening of local administrations as well as increasing their authority and resources, the tradition of central administration is still in force in Turkey and the majority of the policies are produced and controlled by the central administration. In the context of energy efficiency and the role of the municipalities, Ünlü (2011: 77) argues that the centralized quality of the administration in Turkey is one of the most important barriers to the management of energy efficiency, energy savings programs and energy resources—especially the renewable energy resources—at the local level. On the other hand, although the local government institutions are based on the principle of "representativeness", there are little provisions on procedures of direct participation of citizens to the management of local public affairs. The "city councils" that are being established reflects the will to strengthen the role of elected body. There is a traditional institution that plays a new role in the functioning of municipalities: the *muhtar*, who is the head of the *mahalle*, the neighbourhood. This institution is now working as a link, or mediation, between the inhabitants and the municipality. New provisions give the *muhtar* new opportunities to influence local decision-making: the *muhtar* may attend the meetings of the special committees of the municipal council and may express their views and requests, without voting rights; other organisations may also attend committee meetings; he also takes part in the city council.

---

[150]In Turkey, 13.5 million people live in Istanbul province alone. This figure reaches over 16 million with the neigboring provinces (Kocaeli, Sakarya, Tekirdağ) and over 19 million when the Marmara region (Bolu, Düzce, Bursa) is considered. According to the 2011 revision of data released by the UN Population Division, the total population of the eight metropolitan areas in Turkey (Adana, Ankara, Antalya, Bursa, Gaziantep, İstanbul, Izmir) will reach 33.5 million in 2025, corresponding to the 39.9 % of the total population and 49.1 % of the urban population. World Urbanization Prospects, the 2011 Revision, Data on Cities and Agglomerations: http://www.esa.un.org/undp/wup/CD-ROM/Urban-Agglomerations.htm (Accessed: 30.04.2012).

[151] In the Turkish administrative system there are three types of local administration: Provincial Local Administrations, Municipal and Local Administrations and Village Local Administrations. However, Article 127 of the Constitution stipulates that special types of administration can be adopted for large residential centers. Metropolitan Municipal Administrations are accordingly established in large cities on the basis of this law. On the basis of provinces, the *Special Provincial Administrations* (SPAs) are organized to meet the local service needs of residents of the province. However, in Turkey, "province" is an administrative level, where both the central and local administrations are organized. Accordingly, the governors heading the central administrations in provinces also head the SPAs, which have its own assembly on a provincial scale similar to municipalities.

The law on unions of local authorities of May 26, 2005 (n°5355) also provides for a nation wide union to defend and protect the interests of local authorities. On the basis of this provision, two unions have been created: the National Union of Municipalities, and the National union of Special Provincial Administrations. The purpose of these unions is to develop the awareness for local government in the public opinion and a lobbying activity in favour of local authorities, to influence the legislative process, to guide local authorities in their activities and disseminate knowledge. The local administration reform has also established the functions of municipalities, for the first time with a clear allocation of responsibilities among government levels. However, the distribution of responsibilities remained mostly on the territorial organisation: whether there are municipalities, or not (*Special Provinical Administrations* (SPAs) are competent where there is no municipality), whether there is a metropolitan municipality, or not. At present, the major devolved responsibilities of local governments, and in the first place, of municipalities, are: urban planning, public transports and communications (including local roads), water supply and sewerage, solid waste management. The transfer of urban planning to municipalities, including the power to deliver building permits, has been done in 1985. However, it has been widely misused and brought about corruption, speculation and the increase of land prices, resulting basically in a deregulation of building and planning. The new law on the management of large municipalities has strengthened the large municipality's control over the lower level, to which a new category has been added: that of the first-tier municipality [*ilk kademe belediyesi*]. The upper level's control bears especially on the budget and on urban planning, while the lower level manages operations such as scheduling specific activities and furnishing services and functions on a daily basis.

2.3. Implementation of the new Municipality Law in Izmir & Seferihisar

The *Turkish Development Law* [*İmar Yasası*] n°3194 enacted in 1985 by ANAP government is commonly acknowledged by Turkish urbanists as the "Prince Law" due to its devolving of the 'land use plan approval authorization' to the mayors in such a milieu, where the misuse of the discretion of their authorities were not limited by upper level policies leading to a massive destruction of the natural and the urban environment within cities and city-regions. During these years urban planning has evolved to a privileged instrument of local patronage and political mediation. The bitter lesson was that it is not enough to transfer functions from the state upon local self-government authorities to have a successful decentralisation, it is also necessary to consider the interests at stake and to establish political and legal counterweights with various authorities alien to the local web and appeal procedures.

Taking this lesson into account the reform has introduced new policies for regulating the authorities over natural and built environment by means of an "integrated approach"[152].

In this regard, the *Integrated Urban Development Strategy and Action Plan 2010-2023* (KENTGES) has been put into operation as the main document that defines the mode of regulation of the natural and the built environment in Turkey. Accordingly, the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Development Plans prepared in 1/25.000 scale according to the Municipality Law no5216 has to comply not only with all the upper scale plans (i.e., 1/100.000 scale Environment Plan), but also with the Strategic Plans[153] of all the upper level institutions (i.e., Ministry of Public Works and Settlement, Ministry of Tourism and Culture). In that respect, acknowledging "the dominant role of cities in socio-economic development" and the role of "the concept of urban development as a fundamental element in the context of regional development", the new *Urban Development Strategy Plan* situates public administrators and urban leaders in a complex policy context.[154]

In the classification of urban settlements many different criteria can be effective. However, in the recent enactments of the Scale Reform Law of 2004 (no5216) on 'Establishing Districts in the Borders of Metropolitan Municipalities' and the Municipalities Law of 2005 (no5393), the 'population criteria' has been determinant in the designation of metropolitan areas within borders of existing Metropolitan (or Greater City) Municipalities. The exertion of the *Scale Reform Law* by means of a very rigidly geometric 'circle criteria' (literally drawn with a compass[155]), and the incorporation of settlements with hardly "urban" characteristics into the metropolitan city area have been controversial. Nevertheless, these enactments enabled Turkey to reach a respectable figure of 75.5 % of the population currently living in "province and district centers" (ABPRS, 2010).

---

[152]For a diagram of the Izmir Strategic Integrated Governance Model, see *Appendix C.*

[153]The Legal framework of 'strategic planning'is determined in accordance with the Law no5018 of *Public Financial Management and Control*. Accordingly, all public institutions and foundations shall prepare their budgets according to the strategic plans that they are to determine, and then shall put them into practice.

[154]*Urban Development Strategy*(KENTGES) is the *most upper level binding document* which associates the *space-related sectors* with an *integrated approach* and provides harmonization with the fundamental national policies within the framework of *sustainability principles*. With an understanding which adopts the system of values and principles on urbanization, settlements and spatial planning, KENTGES is considered a strategy document, *having the nature of a reference framework document at the national level* (KENTGES, 2010; my emphases).

[155]Scale Reform Law of 2004 (No5216) has been pejoratively referred to as "Pergel Yasası" in Turkish, meaning "Compass Law", because, according to the Transitory Article 2 of this law: "The Provincial Building taken as the center, in greater cities with populationup 1.000.000, the border line of the circle with semi-diameter 20 km; from 1.000.000 up to 2.000.000, the border line of the circle with semi-diameter 30 km; over 2.000.000, the border line of the circle with semi-diameter 50 km constitutes the municipal boundary provided that it is within the territorial boundaries of the province."
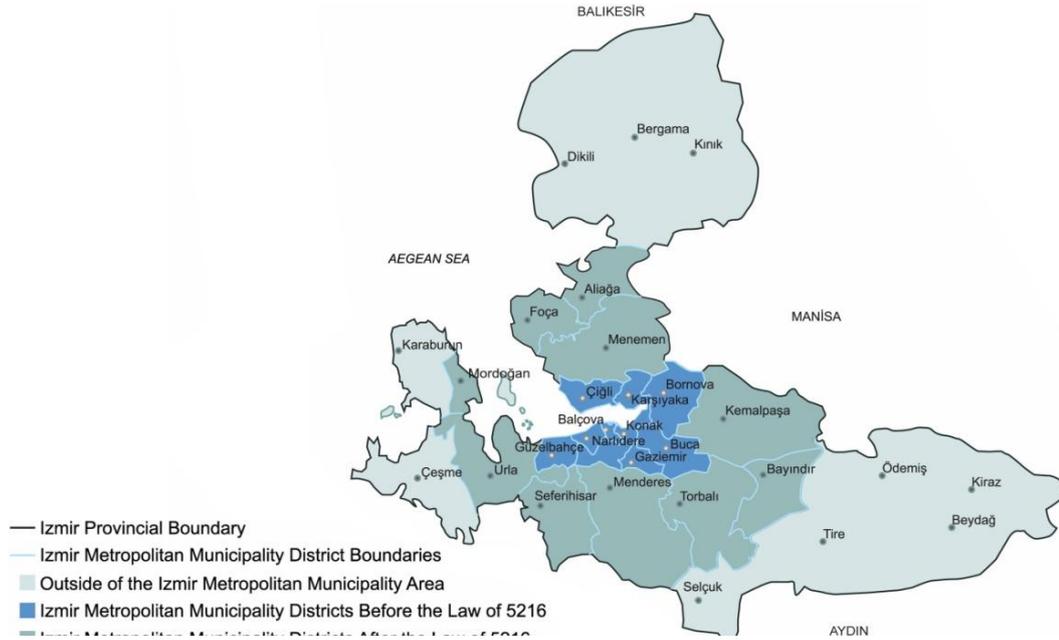
Figure 6: Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Boundarıes Before and After the Law of 5216;
IKBNIP, 2007.

The new population census system *Address Based Population Registration System*(ABPRS)[156] has been implemented in 2007 establishing a National Address Database (NAD) that covers all addresses within the boundaries of the country. This change has been particularly effective in the abatement of the "imaginary population"[157] of municipal settlements, evidently to the detriment of their shares in the population based budget. In Seferihisar, while the rate of population increase per year is incremental between 1927 and 1980, starting from 1980s onwards the population begins to increase exponentially due to the summer house cooperatives boom. The population of these settlements has been counted under "rural population" since the 1980s. Interestingly enough, in 2008, the two 2nd-tier municipalities have been incorporated as districts to the central municipality to contribute to the "urban population" increase (see Tables below).

---

[156]ABPRS was established in order to collect updated information on size and characteristics of population by the administrative units. Population Services Law No. 5490 dated April 25, 2006, Turkish Parliament, Turkey.

[157] Head of Social Statistics Department, Turkish Statistical Institute, Enver Taştı, explains the change as follows: "Until the last census in 2000, all population censuses were carried out in one day by application of a curfew according to the de-facto population definition which means that persons were enumerated at localities where they were present on the census day [...] One of the main problems in the census was over counting of population (imaginary population) due to the population based budget share to municipalities" Address Based Population Registration System: 2007 Population Census in Turkey, www.tuik.gov.tr, Accessed: 20.04.2011.

Table 7: Urban and Rural Population Change 1927-2000 (DİE, as quoted in Karadağ, 2004:87).

Years	Urban	%	Rural	%	Total
1927	4.600	71.4	1.840	28.6	6.440
1935	4.912	61.6	3.062	38.4	7.974
1940	5.438	58.0	3.954	42	9.392
1945	4.975	53.2	4.461	46.8	9.436
1950	4.206	47.4	4.654	52.6	8.860
1955	4.269	47.4	4.737	52.6	9.006
1960	4.416	47.1	4.964	52.9	9.380
1965	5.269	55.3	4.392	44.7	9.661
1970	5.670	55.3	4.565	44.7	10.235
1975	6.484	59.2	4.538	40.8	11.022
1980	6.405	53.3	5.604	46.7	12.009
1985	8.168	55.4	6.559	44.6	14.727
1990	10.720	50.1	10.686	49.9	21.406
2000	17.526	50.4	17.235	49.6	34.761

Table 8: Urban and Rural Population Change in Seferihisar since 2000 (Source: DIE/TUIK).

Source	Year	Total	Urban	%	Rural	%	Total Surface Area (km²)	Population Density (persons per km²)
DIE (Pre-ABPRS)	2000	34.895	17.526	50.2	17.369	49.8	386	90
TUIK	2007	25.830	16.114	62.3	9.716	37.7	365	71
TUIK	2008	26.945	23.669	87.8	3.276	12.2	365	74
TUIK	2009	28.603	25.308	88.4	3.295	11.6	365	78
TUIK	2010	32.655	29.232	89.5	3.423	10.5	365	89

Fundamentally, the Municipalities Law of 2005 (no5393) aimed to provide the municipalities with a magnitude of scale appropriate to discharge their statutory functions effectively. To this end, the minimum population necessary for the establishment of a new municipality has been raised from 2.000 to 5.000 by this Law, making it difficult for many settlements. In addition, all "first-tier" municipalities within the areas of metropolitan municipalities have been merged with district municipalities. The complications experienced by these enactments have also been taken up in the recent 20th session (1 March 2011) of the *European Council's Congress of Local and Regional Authorities* via the monitoring report[158] on Turkey. The rapporteurs mention that "they are not satisfied that, given the extent of these reforms, the numbers of local authorities affected and the numbers of people affected, there was adequate consultation in accordance with Article 5of the Charter[159]" (CG(20)6, 2011:8). The

[158]"The purpose of this report on the situation of local and regional democracy in Turkeyis to continue the monitoring of Turkey's obligations according to the *European Charter of Local Self-Government* that was undertaken in 2005" (CG(20)6, 2011:1).

[159]"Article 5–Protection of local authority boundaries: Changes in local authority boundaries shall not be made without prior consultation of the local communities concerned, possibly by means of a referendum where this is permitted by statute"*European Charter of Local Self-Government*, 1985.

rapporteurs also note that "they received complaints in some neighborhoods about the new municipality boundaries introduced by the Law" and having visited Ayaş municipality in the north of Ankara, they observed that "their concern in 2005, about the position of those municipalities which are within the area of metropolitan municipalities, continues into 2010" (CG(20)6, 2011:10). Although the monitoring report concludes that, in general, "these reforms appear not to have been controversial and the need for restructuring was widely recognized", it should be noted that, the implementation of these reform enactments has not only changed the administrative status of many small to medium scale settlements, but also, in several cases, has put them in a doubly unorganized position.

3. Seferihisar municipality adopting its recently allocated functions

Following the new Municipality Law, two new fields of activities have emerged for municipalities. The first one is "economic development", a function that took place in article 14 of the new law on municipalities (n°5393: "economic and commercial development"), although what municipalities could do to this end was not clearly specified, the new law on SPAs was more precise (e.g., services related to industry and trade; micro-credits to the poor). Currently, the development agencies are mostly providing the local authorities with expertise to help them in setting their short- and long-term strategies. For instance, the small town of Vize of Kırklareli, one of the recent members of the Turkish *Cittaslow* network, is conducting its *Cittaslow* process through the Trakya Development Agency (**Int.A.1.**). The second field of activity that is defined in the new law is "education". The new law on municipalities has allocated this new responsibility to them, while SPAs have carried out this task for many years. According to article 14 of the new municipal law (n°5393), municipalities may build or commission the building of state schools at all levels, take over the maintenance and repairs, provide them with the necessary equipments and supplies. What is interesting here is that "education", one of the most important duties of the state, is allocated as a function to be performed to meet local needs. It should be noted at this point, Tunç Soyer, the mayor of Seferihisar, is proactively welcoming this 'reform' with a "*Cittaslow* University" project in Seferihisar:

> **Int.A.1:** In the world, the Universities have come to view life, knowledge from the perspective of the central authority. They have taken it as their way to produce knowledge for the central authority. However, if our earlier take is correct, that if the world is getting localized, we need institutions that will view the world from the local, that will produce knowledge for the local. There is no University as such in the world. I mean architecture at the local, law at the local, economy at the local, agriculture at the local, tourism at the local. It doesn't exist. All these disciplines are currently serving as institutions that view the world in accordance with the rules of the central authorities and some universal whatnot rules. Thus, our take on the University of *Cittaslow* is not simply about opening up a University where the *Cittaslow* criteria or the concerned scientific fields meet. It is born out of the idea that this University should at the same time be one that tries to view the world from the local. But it

won't be a University that produces knowledge for Turkey, because no University as such exists in the world. For this reason, the language of education will probably be in English and it will produce this knowledge for the whole world. I mean, we spotted this opening while we were trying to find our way with *Cittaslow* and thinking about strengthening and enriching this way with scientific knowledge.[160]

The new municipality of Seferihisar, despite its deprived status at the end of the urban hierarchy as a district municipality, acknowledged the necessity of introducing new agents into the municipal office in order to meet the new governance functions allocated for the municipalities. The mayor noted that they introduced four brand new 'directorates', namely, Culture and Social Works, Environment, Construction Control and Strategy Development Direcorates. The increasing number of staff at the municipal office spread rumours that the mayor was desperately employing the people that he must have promised during the heat of the electoral race. It was also a fact that the municipality had taken over a financial ruin from the previous governance period and was having serious difficulties in paying the wages on time. Curiously enough, nobody seemed to wonder why there was no 'directorate', 'executive committee' or a steering mechanism of any sort for *Cittaslow* that would at least coordinate the mayoral leadership with the recently opened city council's volunteers. In that respect, *Cittaslow* was observed as just another project on the desktop of the Strategy Development Directorate, which consists of a project expert (**Int.A.6.**) constantly following up new application opportunities for all sorts of new memberships, partnerships, funds, grants offered by the central and regional agencies, as well as several other international institutions (e.g., EU, CoE, UNESCO, UNICEF[161]).

3.1. *Quick-Slow* in the Leadership of the Mayor

At an early interview in Seferihisar, a local CHP member informant mentioned that, during the 2009 local elections Cittàslow remained as a "surprise project" to everyone, including the party members in the CHP's campaign team, and it was quite a shock when Soyer announced Cittàslow, *after* being elected, as the route to follow. Evidently, the informant

---

[160]**Int.A.1:** Dünyada üniversiteler, hayata, bilgiye, merkezi otorite gözüyle bakan kurumlar. Yani, bilgiyi hep merkezi otorite için üretmeyi yol yöntem olarak bulmuşlar kendilerine. Oysaki, eğer ilk tespitimiz doğruysa, dünya bir yandan yerelleşiyorsa, yerele dair bilgi üretecek, yerel gözüyle dünyaya bakacak, yerelin bilgisini üretecek kurumlara ihtiyaç var. Böyle bir üniversite yok dünyada. Yani, yerelde mimarlık, yerelde hukuk, yerelde iktisat, yerelde tarım, yerelde turizm. Böyle bir şey yok, yani bütün bu saydığımız disiplinler dünyaya merkezi otorite ve evrensel işte bilmem ne kuralları doğrultusunda bakan kurumlar. *Cittaslow* Üniversitesi lafı aslında sadece *Cittaslow* kriterlerinin veya ilgili olduğu bilim dallarının buluştuğu bir üniversite kurmak anlamını taşımıyor, aynı zamanda dünyaya yerel gözüyle bakmaya çalışan bir üniversite olsun fikrinden ortaya çıktı. Ama bu sadece Türkiye'ye bilgi üretecek bir kurum olmayacak, dünyada böyle bir Üniversite yok çünkü. O nedenle eğitim dili muhtemelen İngilizce olacak ve bütün dünyaya bu bilgiyi üretecek bir üniversite olacak. Yani biz bir yandan *Cittaslow* ile ilgili yolumuzu bulmaya çalışırken, bu yolu bilimsel bilgiyle zenginleştirelim, güçlendirelim diye düşünürken ortaya böyle bir açık çıktı.

[161]Seferihisar's new goal is attaining the UNICEF's "Child Friendly City" membership. "A Child Friendly City is a local system of *good governance* committed to fulfilling children's rights" (my emphasis) http://www.childfriendlycities.org/ (Accessed: 10.07.2011).

reasoned, although Soyer himself was convinced from the appropriateness of the model of *Cittaslow* as 'the way to go' for this place and for these times, he had to carry out the introduction of the project to both the general public and his fellow Party men very tactfully. It was hardly a matter of confidence for somebody like Tunç Soyer, who had proven himself as a resourceful urban actor during the Izmir *EXPO 2015* candidacy process, and for the same reason, as one that was practically up to the more difficult task of creating a difference in the larger urban arena. Still, he had to act prudently about the timing of the announcement of *Cittaslow* as 'the way to go' in order to prevent it from "wearing out" during the electoral process. Soyer's preference for waiting the election results for the implementation of *Cittaslow* can be further elaborated by giving several accounts of how *Cittaslow* would probably be perceived in the eye of the community on the eve of the elections, with respect to the 'grand expectations' of the Seferihisar community from an urban leader of his caliber, who served as the general secretary of a mega-event candidacy process:

In the first place, although *Cittaslow* is presented by its representatives through several different concepts in several different contexts such as "cities with easy life" (*città del buon vivere*), "alternative tourism model", "sustainable urbanism model", its fundamental premise of developing the socioeconomic conditions of the community by aligning it with pro-environmental concerns remains the same. Thus, the emphasis of *Cittaslow* on such issues as conservation of natural assets, raising ecological and environmental awareness in every aspect of the everyday life of the community would easily lead to its codification as a "green movement" with strong anti-modern associations in the "nature-imaginaries" (Castree, 2005) of the Seferihisar community. For instance, *Cittaslow*'s emphasis on endogenous potentials or the tacit knowledge of the community would cast Soyer's image as an "utopian" (in the common pejorative sense), whose ideals were far out of sync with the simple material expectations of the lay citizens. Likewise, *Cittaslow*'s heavy reliance on concepts such as "human capital" or "shared social responsibility"[162] could easily intimidate the "stakeholders" in the town, who conventionally envision 'the city as a growth machine'. On the other hand, it seems that, for Soyer, the difficulties would remain the same in convincing his fellow members

---

[162]Director of *Cittaslow* International in Orvieto, Pier Giorgio Oliveti explains the *Cittaslow* development strategies at the Conference on Shared Social Responsibilityin Brussels, 28 February - 1 March 2011, where he indicates *Cittaslow*'s philosophy as an <u>evolution from militant environmentalism to co-responsibility</u>: "Speaking of new alliances between the generations today means, in accordance with World Bank statistics:

• Finding the means to slow down;

• Not accelerating development as we know it;

• Replacing urgently (in some cases we are talking about an emergency) our ways of production, distribution and consumption as well as the ways we measure well being;

• Changing the current criteria by which we measure the economic power of a country, i.e. GDP, which has been superseded by the economic crisis and by the new descriptive economic models such as B.R. Barber's, Zygmunt Bauman's."

of the local CHP election campaign committee about the "originality" of *Cittaslow* as a development model that claims to maintain the development of the town without recourse to mainstream tourism (i.e., mass tourism) and urbanism (i.e., population growth) strategies. Therefore, it is not difficult to understand Soyer's reservations about the timing, with respect to the difficulty of explaining the complexity of *Cittaslow* as an 'efficient' and 'appropriate' mechanism of governance on the eve of local elections, which could have easily risked the favorable reception of the project not only by the Seferihisar community but also by the groups inside the local organization of CHP. Thus, the tactful process by which Soyer introduced *Cittaslow* to Seferihisar is noteworthy as it reveals the justification requirement of any regime for sustaining people's commitment to it.

Although *Cittaslow* is just another project on the municipality's desktop, it is indeed the most encompassing one in terms of its guiding role with its clear cut Charter Criteria, especially in the absence of a 'strategic plan' (see *Appendix E* for the *Cittaslow* criteria-guided road map of the municipality). On the other hand, due to Seferihisar's privileged status as the "*Cittaslow* Capital of Turkey", the Strategy Directorate Office, found itself assuming an extra responsibility with respect to maintaining the National *Cittaslow* Network by reviewing and monitoring all the *Cittaslow* applications coming in from all over Turkey:

> **Int.A.6.**: Following the announcement of our membership, tens of city that heard it from the media rushed to the Ministry of Tourism and Governor's office saying "We are also candidates, we wannabe as well" causing an interregnum. Slowly afterwards, with the circulation of more correct news and with our informing the applicants calling us, things got relatively better.[163]

The interregnum, it should be noted, was not solely caused from disinformation as the Union of Municipalities would pressure the mayor to let them have the control of the National *Cittaslow* Network (**Int.A.1.**). Seferihisar municipality having managed to keep hold of the control over the national network, duly initiated the new membership processes on a somewhat "first-come, first-served basis" (**Int.A.6.**) for the small towns of Akyaka, Yenipazar, Gökçeada and Taraklı. Seferihisar municipality assumed the guiding role in their application process by working with them on how to brand their local characteristics as fit for each and every settlement. These new towns would prove to be much more resourceful than Seferihisar in terms of coming up with a coherent "*Cittaslow* identity". For the island of Gökçeada, the *Cittaslow* identity was decided as "organic island", which was academically backed up by the presence of a Department of Gastronomy of the School of Applied Sciences of the Çanakkale

---

[163]**Int.A.6:**Biz üye ilan edildikten sonra medyadan duyan onlarca kent, yeterince bilgiye sahip olmadan, "biz de aday olduk, biz de olmak istiyoruz", deyip Turizm Bakanlığı'nda, Valilik'te bir Fetret Devri yaşandı. Ondan sonra yavaş yavaş, daha doğru haberlerin çıkmasıyla, bizi arayanları bizim bilgilendirmemizle biraz daha işler yoluna girdi.

Onsekiz Mart University as well as a group of engaged individuals and entrepreneurs operating within the *Slow Food* network. Taraklı easily built its identity upon its vernacular architecture with over 50 restored traditional houses already serving as pensions. Akyaka highlighted its natural assets and Agakhan award winner architectural heritage. Following the approval of the Italian *Cittaslow* headquarters, the Turkish *Cittaslow* Network has been officially formed. Recognizing the urgent need to institutionalize the academic support with respect to the customization of loosely set charter criteria led to the forming of the Turkish branch of the *Cittaslow* Scientific Committee:

> **Int.A.6.:** With the Scientific Committee, we hope to clarify the application of the criteria in Turkey, as does the international network over the last two years with its central Scientific Committee. It's an endless story, hopefully, they will change it this year. For instance, there was this criteria "Informing about bioarchitecture"; now the problem is, nobody really knows what that means, and it is not necessarily appropriate for each and every town. What do we want to achieve here? Can we say, "Using construction techniques that do not harm the environment?", they say, "fine, then let's say so". Then comes the problem of assessing the criteria according to a standard. Let's take the criteria "certification of the purity of the air"; it is a very open ended statement. Now, it will clearly say "this element should not be over this amount according to the EU standards". In a way, things will be more difficult and easier at the same time. It will be easier since everything will be clearly put down. We will in turn try to adapt these criteria to Turkey, particularly by pulling the requirements down to the municipal capacity of the settlements with a population of less than 50.000. For instance, we want to bring down an obscure criteria such as "green areas for everyone" to an accessable and assessable norm such as "this amount of m² per population living in the town center". [164]

In order to maintain the relationships among its members as well as to keep them informed about EU's partnership and funding opportunities, the strategy expert (**Int.A.6.**) mentioned that the *Cittaslow* headquarters asked its members to participate in a Conference in Brussels on "Shared social responsibility: securing trust and sustainable social cohesion in a context of transition", which was organized by *The Council of Europe* in partnership with the *European Commission* at 28th February–1st March 2011. Attending some of the presentations on best practices, the strategy expert noted that he returned home confounded by the degree the private sector had come to conduct its business in Europe by complying with such an abstract

---

[164]Uluslararası Ağ'da olduğu gibi, bizim yapmak istediğimiz, tamam bu kriterler çok güzel, şimdi o kriterler de değişiyor zaten, yılan hikayesine dönen 1-2 senedir bir değişme olayı var, ama bu sene olacak herhalde. Onların bu kriterlerin nasıl değişeceği üzerine çalışan bir Bilim Komitesi var, mesela 'Biyomimari hakkında bilgilendirme' diye bir kriter vardı, şimdi diyorlar ki, biyomimarinin ne olduğunu bilen de çok yok, artı biyomimari her kente uymayabiliyor, burada biz ne yapmak istiyoruz? 'Doğaya zarar vermeyen inşaat tekniklerinin kullanılması', iyi o zaman öyle değiştirelim diyorlar. O kriteri değiştirirken şeyleri ekliyorlar bu sefer, bunlar nasıl kontrol edilecek. Diyelim 'havanın temizliğinin belgelenmesi' diyelim, ucu açık bir ifade var, bu sefer kriterler değiştikten sonra şunun şu kadar olması, bunun bu kadar olması, işte AB standartlarına göre şunu aşmaması gerekiyor bilmemne kirliliğinin diye, biraz daha kolay olacak. Aslında bir yandan zor, diğer yandan kolay olacak. Zorluğu, bütün kriterler biraz daha zorlaşıyor. Kolaylığı, en azından yazılı olacak herşey artık. İşte bizde Türkiye'de aslında bu kriterleri biraz daha Türkiye'ye yaklaştırıp, atıyorum şu an pek, Türkiye standartlarına yönelik, 50 bin nüfusun altında olan Belediyelerin kadrolarına, kapasitelerine daha yakın, onların yapabileceği seviyeye biraz daha çekmeye çalışıyoruz. Yani 'herkes için bir yeşil alan olması' gibi bir kriteri, işte 'kent merkezinde nüfusa oranla kişi başı bilmem kaç m² yeşil alan olması' gibi hem ulaşılabilir, hem ölçülebilir bir şeye getirmek istiyoruz.

notion as "social cohesion,"which, he contended, would seem far-offly luxurious to consider in Turkey.[165] The international meetings they are asked to attend, the strategy expert explains, also enable them to make contacts with other small town representatives. The most recent case is the joint application of Seferihisar Municipality with the Italian *Cittaslow* town Pollica to *EU Agriculture and Fishery Grant Fund* in order to strengthen the fishery cooperatives by training the fishermen, exchanging information between towns and ameliorating the physical conditions of the auction place. The project was contracted to an NGO, which works with the *Cittaslow* network in order to provide them with technical assistance in "decentralized development cooperation projects" such as this one, since, the NGO representative (**Int.F.3.**) explains, "*Cittaslow* does not have the technical capacity to assess needs, to draft them, to get the money from governments and then to implement them". The project incorporated 3 fishermen cooperatives from Seferihisar with around 250 members, although, only 65 of them turned out to be actually fishing regularly. The partner *Cittaslow* town of the project, Pollica, in return, is a fishing village. The NGO representative (**Int.F.3.**) explains that Pollica is one of the earliest *Cittaslow*s with a legendary fisherman mayor, who was very famous in the region of Campania for his fight against *Camorra*, the local mafia, by which he was eventually murdered. The town currently has another fisherman mayor. Despite the evident incongruencies, the NGO professional believed that the fishermen of the two towns had a lot in common:

> **Int.F.3.:** Basically our fishermen, they have a few problems, some are very typical of the small fisheries all over Europe, all over Mediterranean, meaning that Big Boss are making the money and they are just taking what is left. But the fact is that by leveraging on the popularity of Seferihisar as *Cittaslow*, by leveraging on the brand, on good reputation that Seferihisar gained as *Cittaslow*, we would like to kind of jump on the train, and make sure that even the fishery sector can profit on this popularity of the city. How do we do that? We make sure that the fish of Seferihisar is fished, processed and marketed according to EU standards and according to the best quality standards possible and then we brand it. So, Seferihisar fish will have its own brand. Hopefully, this will help the local fishermen to market them at a rather higher prize or maybe just to have more customers. Because now the problem is that not many people go in the local market to buy their fish, because it is not very well known. If you

---

[165]The Council of Europe has had a *Social Cohesion Strategy* since the year 2000; it was revised in 2004 and 2010. It defines *social cohesion* as "society's capacity to ensure the well-being of all its members, minimising disparities and avoiding polarisation, to manage differences and divisions, and to acquire the means of ensuring the social welfare of all its members". The Council of Europe also came up with an *Action Plan for Social Cohesion* to strengthen the social cohesion commitment of all stakeholders. The Action Plan for Social Cohesion was to be based on two simultaneous processes:

- *a top-down approach*, based on the legal and policy instruments drawn up by the Council of Europe (European Social Charter, European Code of Social Security, recommendations of the Committee of Ministers, resolutions of the Parliamentary Assembly, etc.);

- *a bottom-up approach* designed to bring about shared social responsibility, dialogue and a vision of the future, first at local level and subsequently at regional, national and European level.

Joined-up local actiondoes not happen without the support of regional government departments and local government providing the appropriate level of support and authority. SPIRAL, CoE:

https://spiral.cws.coe.int/tiki-index.php?page=Social+cohesion+strategy+and+action+plan.
(emphases mine; Accessed: 12.01.2012).

go to Kuşadası, the prize is higher and there is a more popular market. Nobody really knows the Fish Market of Seferihisar. The Fish Market of Seferihisar may become a place where you know you will get a first quality fish and might also become, I cannot say a tourist attraction, but an attraction for the people to go, such as the Sunday Markets which is very popular, and some of the people attending the Sunday Market, they go to see the Fish Auction but there is just a few, well we are going to renovate the Fish Market, we are going to provide it with an Ice Machine to allow the fishermen to put their fish under ice from the boat directly to the selling point. And hopefully it will become full of events to give popularity to the fish of Seferihisar and will somehow dignify the profession, because here the problem is also the profession of the fishermen is not as dignified as other professions which doesn't make sense, because they have a hard work, their product is a good product, just they have to make sure that there is a good product and we can certify all the process from the fishing to the handling, to the marketing. When the product is certified we know, I mean this happens in the rest of Europe I am sure this happens also in Turkey, that it acquires quality somehow. So, we have a set of activities that go from the technical training of the fishermen, technical training for the producers organization in order for them to become stronger and to have a higher capacity of advocating and lobbying for their rights.

At the end of the project, a Turkish delegation comprising of the participating fishermen cooperatives, Ege University Water Products Department and the Water Produces Association paid a visit to Pollica and Rome and vice versa, to exchange best practices and further develop a 'civil society dialogue' not only among Turkish civil society organizations, but also among European ones[166].

Picture 12: "Fish & Chips" Boat.
The Turkish delegates during their gastronomy tourism visit in the Massa Region, Italy.
Courtesy of SUD; http://www.sud.org.tr/6.htm (Acessed:21.08.2011).

3.2. Regulatory Inititatives for the Environment

The newly formed office of the Directorate of Environment in the municipality incorporated new expertise in order to be able to conduct measurements according to the necessary standards on a routine basis. For instance, to this end, the municipality acquired

---

[166] See the website of the Turkish NGO to learn more about the scope of the Italy visit: http://www.sud.org.tr/6.htm (Acessed:21.08.2011).

from the Metropolitan Municipality the licence and the equipment to conduct its own sound level measurements. The most strategic and effective agency of all the *Cittaslow* project was also to join the municipal workforce at this point, in order to monitor and develop local farmers' responsible engagement with the newly formed Local Producers' Markets. The rapidly rising interest to these markets required such a delicate control mechanism, which would not look down upon the short-term expectations of the farmers coming from the villages to sell as much goods as possible, while however disallowing the proclivity of a peasant cunning to abuse the growing 'organic mania' in several different ways. *The Seed-exchange Festival* (see video footage n°2) was the key moment where the mayor had to negotiate with a "lay-expert" (**Int.A.8.**) for the fulfilling of this duty without compromization on both sides. The lay-expert is an autodidact figure born into a farmer family from Aydın, who has developed his organic ties with agricultural production with a militant interest into the protection and documentation of local seeds in the region. The idea of organizing *Seed-exchange Festivals* had developed, long before the *Cittaslow*, by the joint efforts of the Torbalı-based seed association, of which our 'lay-expert' is the founder, and a worker of the *Provincial Agriculture Directorate*, who was working on a biodiversity map of the Torbalı villages, in the scope of a PhD study. The first *Festival* was organized in Torbalı to reach out 150 villages from the surrounding districts. When the Seferihisar municipality offered the second festival to be organized in the town, they have happily agreed, however, to be later uncomfortable with the municipality's extra agenda imputed to the activity (e.g., "to create awareness about the Seed Production Law n°5553 enacted in 2006") that seemed to reappropriate a pseudo-authentic image of the 'local producers battling growth machines' for the sake of publicity:

> **Int.A.8.:** The attitude was: "these are good guys, we put them on the stage, they sing couple of songs, we gather 300-500 people, distribute an A4 sheet, one photography, one CD in a file and our business will be done". I mean, even though they did not think that way, this was the manner they considered pulling this off. Our attitude was, in plain words, you can't fool us. Because, we do not need a Festival to exchange seeds. We can indeed take 30 kinds of seed with us and carry around from one village to the other without a Festival. The festival, but of course, motivates us. People are taking their days off from work, meeting with new people; the villager gets to meet a doctor from Ege University, in case he needs one when his child gets sick, or an Agricultural Engineer. The other side meets with a villager, to ask his idea in the future when buy a field, "My fellow, show me a land for my budget, with a good wind and fertile soil". That sociological aspect of the Seed-exchange Festival is what actualy matters to us rather than distributing 10 packs of seed here, 5 packs of seed there... It is about making the connection, not giving seeds back and forth. For the same reason, we are not also that bothered by the attempts at banning these festivals. These festivals can practically be banned, to which we would stand against theoretically and further our practical efforts to keep realizing them, yet it would not matter much to us if Seed-exchange or festivals were banned. Here, we lived through the same thing. When we realized that things are going out of the scope of the predetermined program, as an association we decided that we keep on conducting our studies at the villages until the last day, the 4th of February, yet we are withdrawing from the festival. The way I formulated it, our responsibility for the producer was way higher than the one we feel for the municipality. Thus, we cannot turn our back on the villagers, while we can on the municipality, there is no problem. We decided so and went

to the meeting accordingly, announced our decision, staked our position, and they saw the challenge, "We are withdrawing, yet we will go on working at the villages"... Most of them, including the mayor, were probably expecting us to say something like, "You screwed us, we are not playing, so long", but they were suprised when we said, "We will not participate, yet we will keep working". They were like: "How do you mean?"... We explained, "We were not working for you, but for the producer, you donot interest us at all, you will take your leave in two-and-a-half years, you are a doctor, you are in tourism sector, you deal with expo, you all have your other jobs to attend, but this is our only job". Following this reproach, we developed mutual warm relations. Facing with constant "molestations" from Mister Mustafa Tunç, at last we gave in, and participated. Following that, I started] within the bounds of a certain protocol.[167]

Afterall, the *Festival* was performed as an influential event that reached out to an heterogeneous mass, with an actual potential to establish the sort of "contact" our lay-expert cared for; that is, in contradistinction to the rather conventionalized weekend producers' markets, where the farmers' limitation to subsistence farming seemed to be marketed as part of a romanticized image of the locals battling growth machines.

---

[167]"Bunlar iyi çocuklar, biz bunları çıkartırız sahneye, 2-3 şarkı bunlar söyler, biz de burada 300-500 kişi toplarız, etkinlik dosyasına bir A4 boyutunda bir şey koyarız, bir fotoğraf, bir CD, biz bu işi hallederiz" diye bakılıyordu. Yani, böyle düşünülmese bile bu işin böyle kotarılması planlanıyordu. Biz de buna açıkçası dedik ki, biz buna tokuz. Çünkü bizim Tohum Takas Şenliği yapmaya ihtiyacımız yok. Biz tohum takasını gerçekleştirelim, bunun şenlikle olmasına gerek yok. Gidelim, alalım 30 çeşit tohum, bir köye gidelim, oradan alalım öbürüne verelim, oradan alalım öbürüne verelim, hani şenlik de olması çok gerekmiyor. Şenlik de olursa ne oluyor, bizi motive ediyor. Hani insanlar bir gün işten kopuyorlar geliyorlar, yeni insanlarla tanışıyorlar, işte şeyle tanışıyor, Ege Üniversitesi'nden, birgün çocuğuna bir şey oluyor bir doktor tanıdığı oluyor, bir Ziraat Mühendisiyle tanışıyor. Öbürü bir köylüyle tanışıyor, yarın bir tarla alacak olduğu zaman geliyor "Ya hemşerim, burada ucuz, hesaplı bir yer var mı, buranın rüzgarı nasıldır, ürünü nasıldır" diye soruyor, aslında Tohum Takas Şenliği'nin bu bölümü önemli bizim için, sosyolojik tarafı… Tohum işi, ne olur orada 10 paket tohum dağıtmışsın, öbürü 5 paket… mesele oradaki ilişkiyi kurmak, tohumu vermek almak bir şey değil. O yüzden biz Tohum Takas Şenliği'ni yasaklanması falan işleriyle çok ilgilenmiyoruz yani, tohum takasını pratik olarak yasaklarsın tabii biz buna teorik olarak karşı dururuz, belki pratik olarak yapmak için daha çok gayret ederiz ama takasın yasaklanmış olması şenliklerin yapılmıyor olması çok bir şey değiştirmiyor. Burada da aynı şey denendi. Daha önce belirlediğimiz programın tamamen dışına çıkıldığını biz gördükten sonra dernek olarak şey kararı aldık. Seferihisar takası ile ilgili köylerde yaptığımız bütün çalışmalara son güne kadar devam ediyoruz, 4 Şubat akşamına kadar, ama şenlikten çekiliyoruz. Onu da şöyle formüle etmiştim ben, bizim üreticiye karşı duyduğumuz sorumluluk, belediyeye karşı duyduğumuz sorumluluktan çok çok yüksek. O yüzden biz köylüye sırtımızı dönemeyiz ama belediyeye dönebiliriz, problem yok, öyle karar alıp toplantıya öyle gelmiştik, açıkçası kararımızı açıkladık, restimizi çektik, bu restte görüldü, "Biz yokuz, ama köylerde çalışmaya devam edicez"… Çoğu kişi, belki belediye başkanı, bizimki de dahil olmak üzere, belki şey diye tahmin etmişlerdi "Siz bize kazık attınız, biz oynamıyoz, hadi bize eyvallah" diye tahmin ediyorlardı bence, ama biz şey deyince çok şaşırdılar "Biz katılmıyoruz ama çalışmaya devam edicez"… "Nasıl?" dediler, yani… "Biz sizin için çalışmadık, üretici için çalıştık, siz bizi ilgilendirmiyorsunuz kardeşim, sen 2,5 sene sonra çekip gideceksin, sen doktorsun, sen turizmcisin, sen expocusun, hepinizin kendi başka işi var, ama bizim iş bu, başka bir iş yok". Ondan sonra böyle, bu şeylen böyle sıcak bir şey gelişti, ondan sonra Mustafa Tunç Bey'in "tacizleri" ile karşılaştık 2-3 sefer, ondan sonra dayanamadık geldik. Belli bir protokol çerçevesinde başladım.

Picture 13: *Seed-exchange Festival,* Seferihisar, February 5, 2011.
Photo accessed from Seferihisar Municipality website, 24.05.2011.

Following the official approval of the membership, the task of setting up of a community farmers' market[168] was quickly performed in the town center and in Sığacık, the "showcase" seaside neighborhood of the town, as one of the initiatory steps towards the fulfillment of a set of *Cittaslow* criteria. In the meantime, the mayor carried out a very effective publicity that ensured the frequent appearance of the name of the town that "won" the *Cittaslow* membership, in local and national press and media. These activities were held in parallel to the setting up of the Seferihisar municipality webpage (www.seferihisar.bel.tr) with an awareness of the "e-municipality" policies towards 'good governance'; basically, to facilitate transparency and participation of citizens and *Cittaslow* volunteers via on-line announcements, videos of the events and the mayor's speeches, e-mails and text messages informing about important dates and up-coming activities. In less than a year, Seferihisar, and especially Sığacık with its local producers' market in a pleasant local historic setting by the sea (see video footage n°2), has become a day-based tourist destination attracting up to "1.500 automobiles"[169] full of visitors during the weekends. The increased car traffic in Sığacık during the weekends due to the visitors of the market was itself the bare proof of the fact that "going slow" with an

---

[168]"Safeguarding autochthonous production, n°8: Census of the typical products of the territory and support of their commercialization (updating of markets for local products, creation of appropriate spaces)." *Cittaslow* International Charter (1999:4)

[169] This figure is provided by the *muhtar* of Sığacık, who had them counted while they were entering the car park.

"ecological modernization" discourse is not without its 'externalities' and there is no "win-win" case for any development scenario.

Picture 14: Car traffic in Sığacık during the Local Producers' Market; author's archive.

Nevertheless, the local producers' markets fully represented the new institutional imperative to "re-embed economy in society" (Polanyi, 1957) by offering spaces for a social economy that prioritized 'use'over'exchange-value'. On the side of the municipality, this would mean to come up with supply-side policies that would enable producers to return to their field of production. Strangely enough, the mayor would share his views in the TOKI magazine, a coffe table magazine for businessmen and investors:

> **TOKIhaber:**If local producers decide to mass-produce, what would your respond be to that?
>
> **T.S.:** I am not against it. Yet, our bazaars have a fundamental particularity. First, we do not accept products from the wholesale food market. Second, they can only sell what they themselves produce. Accordingly, our villagers returned to the subsistence production they had abandoned as their main difficulty was about the marketing of their produces. Here, we do not charge for the stand occupation. We do not collect any kind of fee, tax or tariff for water/electricity. They directly face the consumer. Since they do not use any intermediate seller, they can finally put some cash into their pockets from these across-the-counter sales. We do not promote production in large amounts. The size of the stands at the bazaar place evinces that.
>
> **TOKIhaber:** Keeping the population under 50.000, not promoting industrialization, growth and mass production… amounts to a considerable sum given up in terms of municipality's tax items. Is this an advantage or disadvantage for the Seferihisar municipality and the Seferihisar community?
>
> **T.S.:** This is actually a matter of preference.We prefer to enhance Seferihisar rather than the municipality. What I mean by 'enhancing' is the *revenue*. Rather than increasing the municipality's revenue, we prefer to increase Seferihisar people's revenue. That is also what will make the municipality stronger. This is relatively a long term process. This is a model that we have preferred. We could as well prefer opening up new development areas, charging fees from the new developments, permits, constructions and so on. We do not prefer that. As I said, we want Seferihisar to get stronger, rather than the municipality.

TOKIhaber: People that hear we are coming from TOKI are asking "Will TOKI make housing in Seferihisar?" How would Seferihisar regard TOKI's making a housing project in Seferihisar in the *Cittaslow* concept?

T.S.: Seferihisar and I would regard it very affirmatively and this should be our message to TOKI via your magazine. We really desire it a lot. Let them come and we can produce a solution together. Seferihisar needs housing. I can very clearly say that it is possible to come up with a solution that TOKI will make money, while at the same time opening Seferihisar's path.[170]

Asked his take on the prospect of the Producers' Markets, our lay-expert, once again provided the most straightforward view:

Int.A.8.: Well, firstly, I adopt a realistic view, then I regard it as a Municipality personnel, and lastly, as a producer. In fact, following our conducts, the gaps among these three diverging viewpoints have started to close, because, it has practical consequences. The producer in the Gödence village, collects pears from the tree, puts them in a truck, down the hill it is mostly a neutral drive that costs 5 TL fuel and on the way home, let's say it costs 10 TL. In return, he is able to sell his pears for 150 TL without paying any stand occupation what-so-ever, puts the money in his pocket, that's the reality. He avoids the intermediating seller, he needs no one, he owes no one… The municipality acknowledges that… Or rather, the municipality should acknowledge that the pears from the mountain, the healthy tomatoes from the field that are being sold in my market attract consumers by creating sympathy for *Cittaslow*, for the villagers' production. We should be able to say that this returns as votes when the voting time comes. At this point, we have managed to say "come brother, if you have produces to sell, here is your stand, pay noone no money, pay for the tea you drink and the food you eat, sell your stuff and go back. It is very ambitious indeed, extremely ambitious. In Seferihisar, 60 %

[170]TH: Yerel üreticiler kitlesel üretim yapsa bunu nasıl karşılarsınız?

T.S.:Karşı değilim ama bizim pazarlarımızın çok temel bir özelliği var. Bir; halden mal kabulu yapmıyoruz. İki; sadece kendi ürettiklerini satabiliyorlar. Şöyle bir sonucu oldu bunun. Vazgeçtikleri, terk ettikleri üretime döndü köylülerimiz. Çünkü onların sıkıntısı ürünlerini pazarlama ile ilgiliydi. Şimdi biz işgaliye almıyoruz. Herhangi bir harç, vergi, elektrik, su ücreti, hiçbir şey toplamıyoruz onlardan. Doğrudan doğruya tüketici ile muhatap olabiliyorlar. Aracı kullanmıyorlar ve bu nedenle de ilk defa cepleri para görmeye başladı. O nedenle de vazgeçtikleri üretimlere döndüler. Yani bugün tekrar soğan dikiyorlar, marul dikiyorlar. Bunları yapıyorlar. Dolayısıyla burada bizim tercihimiz ve yönlendirmemiz; "Sadece kendi ürettiğinizi satabilirsiniz" diyoruz. O nedenle kitlesel üretim bizim teşvik etmediğimiz bir şey. Pazarda ürün satılacak tezgahın ölçüleri belli. İstediği kadar üretsin. Yani öyle bir kitlesel üretimi teşvik etmememizin anlamı o zaten.

TH: Nüfusun 50 binden az olması kriteri, sanayileşmeye karşı olunması, büyümenin, kitlesel üretimin teşvik edilmemesi belediyeninvergi kalemlerinin önemli bir miktarını arka plana atıyor. Bu, Seferihisar Belediyesi ve Seferihisarlılar için dezavantaj değil mi?

T.S.: Şimdi bu tabii bir tercih meselesi. Yani biz belediyeyi büyütmekten ziyade Seferihisarı büyütmeyi istiyoruz. Büyütmekten kastım; gelirini… Yani belediyenin gelirlerini artırmaktan ziyade Seferihisarlının gelirlerini arttırmak. Belediyeyi güçlendirecek olan şey de budur. Bu biraz daha uzun vadeli bir süreçtir. Ama bu bizim tercih ettiğimiz bir model. Yoksa yeni imar alanları açmak veya yeni yapılanmalardan, ruhsatlardan, inşaatlardan harçlar almak… Bunlar da bir tercih olabilirdi. Biz bunu tercih etmiyoruz. Yani biz dediğim gibi belediyenin güçlü olmasından ziyade Seferihisar'ın güçlenmesini tercih ediyoruz.

TH: TOKİ'den geldiğimizi öğrenenler soruyorlar "TOKİ, Seferihisar'da konut yapacak mı?" diye. TOKİ'nin Seferihisar'da Yavaş şehir konseptinde bir konut projesine Seferihisar nasıl bakar?

T.S.: Çok sıcak bakar. Ben çok sıcak bakarım ve bu da sizin derginiz vasıtasıyla TOKİ'ye mesajımız olsun. Biz çok arzu ediyoruz. Gelsinler burada beraber çözüm üretelim. Seferihisar'ın buna, konuta ihtiyacı var. Ben net söyleyebiliyorum ki TOKİ'ye para kazandıracak ama Seferihisar'ın da önünü açacak, rahatlatacak çözüm üretmek mümkün.

Öztürk, Tarık (May 2010) "Hız çağına karşı Yavaş Şehirler", *Interview with Tunç Soyer*, TOKIHABER, pp.41-43; translation mine.

producer appeals to these markets, the 40 % is on the loose, there are very serious leaks. There is a produce-inflow from the conventional market, there is an uncontrollable fertilizer dressing inflow, there is a still unrestrained appeal to the conventional production methods… Yet, there is a 60 % that actually plants the tomatoe, hoes the soil and waters it, uses a prescribed medicine only it gets really sick; this is the general case for the villager. However, at the season's start and end, the drastic fall of the produce changes the balances at the market. The guy says, "I have 7 kilos of bell pepper this week, if I bring 10 kilos extra from the Eşrefpaşa marketplace, I will be square on the accounts with 17 kilo, earning my minimum of 150 TL". We are trying to get ahead of these, but as I said, the Producers' Market is a brand on its own, it's something else. It is being claimed here, as you know, following the *Slow Food* directives, "fair food, equal food", this and that, fair according to who, equality of what, that's all debatable, though we will not go into that of course… Producers' Market is a format, it's a program.[171]

Author:[172] Do you think it has produced an awareness that might engender an alternative to the Agricultural Industry with respect to the production-distribution-consumption cycle?

Int.A.8.: It is an uprising as a format, but it is not an alternative. This applies to all other activities as well. There is an ongoing preparation for an EU project on the amelioration and

---

[171]Valla bir gerçekçi bakıyorum, bir Belediye personeli olarak bakıyorum, bir de üretici olarak bakıyorum, aslında son zamanlarda bu üç farklı bakış açısının makasları hasbel kader, buradaki bizim de çalışmalarımızla kapanmaya başladı. Çünkü pratik sonuçları var. Üretici Gödence'de dağda armut topluyor ağaçtan, arabaya koyuyor, vitesi çoğu yerde boşa ataraktan geliyor, 5 milyonluk mazot yakıyor, 10 da giderken yakıyor diyelim 15 lira, burada 150 liralık armut satıyor, ne 1 lira tahta parası veriyor, ne yer parası veriyor, parayı cebine koyuyor gidiyor, realite bu, üretim bu… Kimseyi aracı sokmak durumunda kalmıyor, kimseye mecbur değil… Belediye'de biliyor ki ya da Belediye'de bilmeli ki oradaki dağdan gelen armut, tarladan gelen sağlıklı domates pazarımda satılıyor, bunu tüketenlerde *Cittaslow*'a karşı sempati oluşuyor, köylünün üretim biçimine karşı sempati oluşuyor ve nihayetinde oy zamanı da oy olarak dönüyor diyebilmeliyiz… Biz şu anda, şey sağlanmış durumda, malın varsa kardeşim, al gel pazar orada yerini belirleyelim, kimseye para verme, içtiğin çayın parasını ver, yemeğini kendin karşıla, malını orada sat, geri git. Üretici pazarı çok iddialı bir şey aslında, çok çok iddialı, Seferihisar'da yüzde 60 oranında üretici pazarına gidiyor, yüzde 40 oranında kaçak var, çok ciddi kaçaklar var. İşte, halden mal girişi var, kontrol edilemez bir gübre ilaçlama sistemi girişi var, hala kontrol altına alınamamış konvansiyonel üretim metodları var… ama yüzde 60'ı gerçekten tarlaya domatesi dikip, sonrada gidip çapasını yapıp suyunu veren, çok çok hastalanırsa reçeteli bir ilaç kullanan, genel olarak köylü böyle. Ama işte mevsim başlarıyla mevsim sonlarında malların çok düşmesiyle pazarda dengeler de değişiyor. Adam diyor ki, 7 kilo bu hafta dolmalık biber çıkmış, diyor 10 kilo Eşrefpaşa pazarından getiririm Antalya malı, 17 kilo sattım yine 150'den aşağı düşmez. Bunlar durdurulmaya çalışılıyor. Ama dediğim gibi üretici pazarı başlı başına bir marka, başka bir şey yani. Çünkü orada şey iddia ediliyor ya, *Slow Food*'un yönlendirmeleriyle adil, eşit gıda falan filan, kime göre adil, neyin eşitliği falan o da tartışmalı, tartışmayacağız tabii… Üretici pazarı bir format, bir program…

[172]**Yazar:** Üretim-dağıtım-tüketim çevrimi açısından Ziraat Endüstrisine alternatif oluşturabilecek bir farkındalık uyandırabildi mi mesela?

Int.A.8.: Format olarak bir başkaldırı aslında ama alternatif değil. Bütün çalışmalarda bu böyle, burada bir Avrupa Birliği projesi hazırlanıyor, Küçük Balıkçılığın ıslahı, refahı ama Endüstriyel Balıkçılık yadsınmadan yapılıyor bu işler, yani onu reddetmeden, yanında da biz olalım, ufak olalım… Tohum işinde de aynı, üretici pazarı işinde de aynı… Konvansiyonel pazara hiç dokunmadan, bir yerde ne kadar iyi üretici pazarı kurarsan kur, sen bir kere yüzde 40 yalancısın. Çünkü, şöyle bir şey olsa anlarım, konvansiyonel pazarları hükümet denetliyor olsa, devlet denetliyor olsa, üretici pazarlarının yetki selahiyeti Belediye'de olsa anlarım. Bu böyle bir şey değil, bu Pazar da bizim denetimimizde, bizim zabıtamız denetliyor, yönetmelik bizde, üretici pazarının da öyle… Yani, alternatif değil. O başka bir şey, orada hayatını sürdürecek, bu burada başka bir şey, bu burada hayatını sürdürecek. Bu bir müddet daha böyle gidecek ama diğerinin eğer doğru kullanımının sonuçlarından bir tanesi de bunu ortadan yok etmesi olacak… Belki de köylü, kendi içinde de çok ciddi çelişkileri yaşıyor. Üretici pazarları çok büyürse, diyelim şimdi bizim orada 103 tane tahtamız var faal, diyelim orada 200 tahtalık bir ihtiyaç doğdu, akın akın insan geliyor mal kalmıyor falan filan… Hayal kuruyoruz… Dedi ki Başkan, "oraya 150 tahta daha atın, 250 tahtalık bir Pazar yaratın"… Bir üretici ne kadar mal satarsa satsın üretici pazarında, konvansiyonel pazarda sattığı kadar mala erişemez. Hep 4'te 1'lerde kalır. Orada, üretici pazarına nispeten, 100 liralık şeyi 125 liraya satıyorlar üreticiler ya, gelen insan ona takılmıyor, çünkü üreticiden alıyor, aracısız alıyor, nispeten daha sağlıklı aldığını düşünüyor falan filan… Ama bu sefer daha çok mal, sattığı yeri etkileyecek, küçük alanlarda hareket etmeyi sevmiyor, çünkü orada malın sirkülasyonu daha fazla. Onun farkında üretici, o yüzden daha fazla üreticinin pazara çıkmasını istemiyor. Diyor ki, "o da burada satmasın, gitsin Cuma günü toptan versin". Bu da aslında yani şey, kapitalist sistemin içerisinde sistemcikler oluşturulmuş, küçük kapitalistlerin bir ağı var, her yerde var, esnafta var, belediye personelinde var, pazarcıda var, okulda üniversitede var, her yerde var yani, biz de kendi sistemimizi böyle kurmuşuz. En azından bize dokunan, bize gözüken tarafı bu.

147

welfare of Small Fishery sector, but things are conducted without rejecting Industrial Farming, by placing it next to the other, only smaller… The same goes for the seed business and the producers' market business… Without interfering conventional markets, no matter how many 'good producer market' you set up, for one thing, you are 40 % liar. I would understand if it were the case that the authority over the conventional markets is in the control of the government, the State, whereas the municipality holds control only over the Producers' Market. But that's not the case. The municipality holds the control over both the conventional market and the Producers' Market. It is our municipal police officers that control both; we hold the regulations for both. Thus, it is not an alternative. This is something else, it will maintain its life here; that is something else, it will maintain its life there. It will go on like this for quite a while, but in the case of a right conduct of the Producers' Market, the other markets will eventually disappear. It is even possible that the villagers are facing very serious dilemmas within their lives. If the Producers' Market were to outgrow its limits… Currently, we have 103 active stands, let's say there occurs a need for 200 stands, people are flowing in, produces are all sold out… Let's dream… The mayor says: "Put in 150 more stands and create a Producers' Market of 250 stands". No matter how much stuff a producer sells at the Producers' Market, he can never reach the amount he can sell at the conventional market; the ratio will always remain as 1 to 4. At the Producers' Market, though, he can sell a 100 TL worth item for 125 TL, and the consumers do not bother about that, considering that they are buying from the producer, without intermediation, thinking that it is considerably healthier, this and that… But, in the case of an increase in the number of stands and produce, that will affect the stand area, and the villager does not like small areas, since more produce circulates at such places. Being aware of that, the producer does not wish others coming in to this market. He says, "not everyone is meant to sell here, they should go and sell for whole sale on Fridays". That amounts to little capitalist islands in the capitalist system; there is a network of small capitalists, in every sector, among the local business owners, among the municipality personnel, among the stand-holders, at the school and the university, this is our way of setting up our own system. This is the aspect that relates to us, that seems to us anyway.

3.3. Regulatory Initiatives in the Construction Sector

Given the privileged role of the Producers' Market in the "branding" of Seferihisar, the mechanism for "trickling down" the increased total venue (i.e., the real estate market) seemed a critical issue to address the mayor. Particularly regarding the branding aspect that had increased "the overall rent of the city", the mechanisms for returning that surplus back to all the segments of the society were not quite in place, nor in the scope of the mayor's future task:

> **Int.A.1.:**[173]Well, that, of course, occurs out of my control. I am trying to strengthen the total brand value of the city. Whatever I do, from the Tangerine Festival to the statue we erected

---

[173]**Int.A.1.:**Şimdi, tabii, bu benim dışımda olan bir şey. Ben kentin topyekün marka değerini güçlendirmeye çalışıyorum. Yaptığım herşey, işte Mandalina Festivali'nden tut da, oraya diktiğimiz heykele kadar, herşey aslında marka değerini yükseltsin diye yaptığım şeyler. Ha bu değer yükseldikçe tabii ki gayri menkulün değeri de yükseliyor.İşte adam salyangozu kullanıyor orada, "dava açacağız", dedik, "kullanma kardeşim" diyoruz filan, yok, kullanıyor yani. Böyle bir şey oldu, ama buradan herkes adil ölçülerde faydalanıyor mu onu bilemem. Yani ona benim müdahil olmam da çok zor, benim işim de değil aslında açıkçası. Ben sadece mümkün olduğunca adil olabilsin diye arzu ederim, orada üstüme düşen bir şey olduğunda yapıyorum, ama ben net olarak şunu yapmaya çalışıyorum: nüfusu 30 bin civarı olan yüzlerce kasaba var Türkiye'de. Bunlar arasında bir rekabet var, yani ister istemez, sen adını koysanda koymasanda. Burada bir öne çıkartmak. Bir kere bu marka değerinin yükselmesi bu imkanı sunuyor. Bütün o rekabetin dışında ve ötesinde, burada yaşayan insanların kendi kabuğunu kırıp, işte daha dünyayla, dünya kültürüyle, insanlıkla buluşması ve entegre olması için yapılması gerekenler var. Bu markalaştırma çalışması bunu da sağlamış oluyor. Rekabet hiç olmasın desen de buradaki insanlar için o marka değerinin yükselmesinin bir kıymeti var, bunu sağlamış oluyor. Dolayısıyla nereden bakarsan bak, marka değerine dair yapılan çalışma buradaki Yaşam Kalitesinin yükseltilmesine yönelik yapılan çalışmayla başat oluyor, atbaşı gidiyor.

at the town's center, is for the purpose of increasing the total brand value. Well, as long as this value rises, the real estate values also increase... That guy, for instance, uses the snail [*in the real estate advertisement brochure*; see *Appendix F*], it is of no use what we say, "don't use it, we will file a lawsuit", he still does. That happened, but I cannot know if everyone can benefit from it on equal terms. I cannot intervene that, neither I consider it as my business, to be honest. I only desire it to be equal as much as possible, I am already doing if there's something I can do for, but what I am clearly doing is this: There are hundreds of towns in Turkey with an approximate population of 30.000. There is a competition going on among them, I mean necessarily, whether you call it as such or not. Stepping afront here matters. Increasing the brand value gives you this chance, for one thing. There are things that need to be done for the people living here, outside and beyond all that competition, to break their own shells, to meet with the world, with the culture of the world and humanity in order to get integrated. This branding activity achieves that as well. Even though one wishes there to be no competition, the rise of the brand value is valuable in itself for the people living here, it achieves that. Thus, anyway you slice it, the efforts for the brand value matches with the efforts for increasing the quality of life here.

Following up the obligatory requirements of the *Cittaslow* Charter, under the "infrastructure policies" criteria, the municipality implemented a "program for urban restyling and upgrading" (Art. 12) at both the central Atatürk Street and the seaside public square in Sığacık. The Street Renewal project was commissioned to a local architectural office in Urla, who had also prepared the sketch drawings in Seferihisar's *Cittaslow* application dossier.
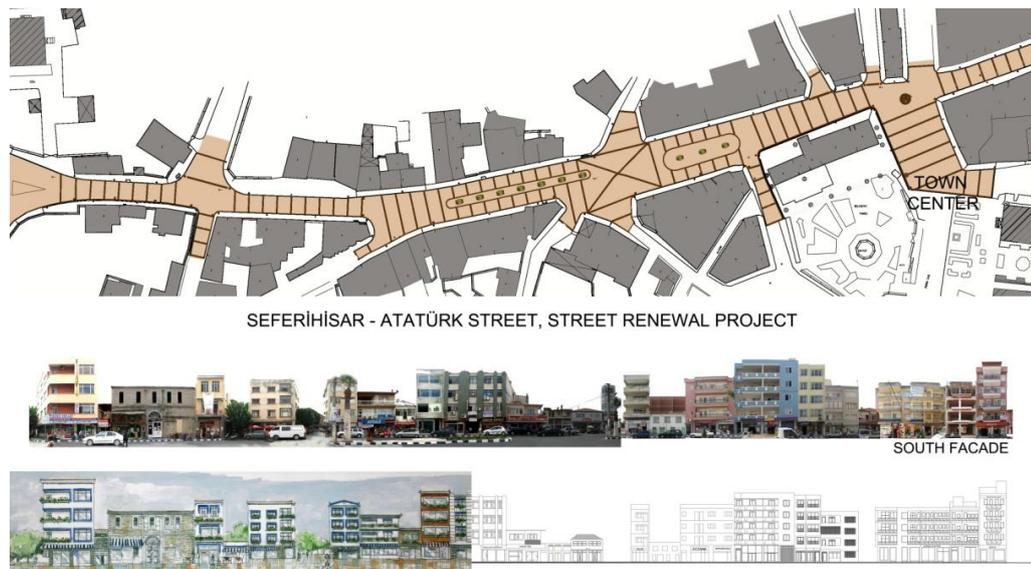
Picture 15: Seferihisar, Atatürk Street, Street Renewal Project.
Courtesy of Arkayın Architecural Office and Yaşar University Department of Architecture.

On the part of the buildings, the project included the removal of satellite dishes from the facades, painting of the facades facing the main street with a homogenous white color, while emphasizing the openings and edges of the buildings with "orange" frames that are redolent of Seferihisar's 'satsuma tangerine'. On the street level, the electricity and telecommunications infrastructure was taken under the ground; the sidewalks were redesigned for handicapped accessibility and the street pavement was redesigned to visually express a

pedestrian-priority use, where the architect wished to recall the famous streets of Las Ramblas in Barcelona. However, the municipality's wishful vision for closing the street to car traffic has been deemed practically impossible by the Izmir municipality's traffic planning directorate.

Picture 16: Landscape Design Project in Sığacık.
Acquired from the Seferihisar municipality website (Accessed: 12.05.2012).

The opening up of a Directorate of Construction Control was noted as a decisive step towards getting Seferihisar's tasteless, generic architecture relatively under control. The mayor also encouraged the local contractors to form an association and create awareness about the design of the facades, landscape design, handicapped solutions and energy efficient systems. However, the way several contractors are adopting the "*Cittaslow* spirit" might lead to a new regional architectural style in Seferihisar with "ingenious" sustainable solutions:

> **Int.D.3.:**[174] Currently, we are mostly demolishing the old houses at the inactive neigborhoods to turn them into new concept places that are more congenial to the *Cittaslow* spirit with pillars and columns, that are evocative of the past [...] There is currently a State incentive, published in the Official Newspaper dated July, 21; I am thinking of coming up with a system that produces its own energy. As a matter of fact, I am starting a 24-flats place, the surveys are in progress, with four wind mills, I am planning to produce the electric necessary for the whole building on my own. The 24-flats without any connection to the TEDAS electric company; we are aiming at 500 kW power, which can even further sell the extra electricity to TEDAS from 11 cent. That's currently in the scope of incentives; you donot pay for five years, you start paying after five years and produce your own energy.

The increasing number of contractors in Seferihisar, on the other hand, seem to regard "*Cittaslow*" simply as a branding mechanism that will make Seferihisar appealing for the investments of the upper-middle class as in Çeşme and Kuşadası:

---

[174]**Int.D.3:**Biz daha şu anda, daha önce hep atıl kalan mahallelerde eski evleri yıkıp yeni konsept yerler yapmaya yapıyoruz. Daha böyle *Cittaslow* ruhuna uygun, sütunlu kolonlu, eskiyi andırabilecek yerler yapmaya çalışıyoruz [...]şu anda devletin çıkarmış olduğu bir kaynak var, 21 Temmuz tarihli Resmi Gazete'de yayınlandı, burada kendi enerjisini üreten bir sistem kurmak istiyorum ben; hatta 24 daire bir yere başlıyorum, etütleri yapılıyor şu anda 4 rüzgar gülüyle bütün binanın elektriğini kendim üretmeyi düşünüyorum. 24 daireyi TEDAŞ'a hiç bağlı olmadan, hatta 500 kW bir güç kurmak istiyoruz, o güç 24 daireyi besliyor, artan enerjiyi de TEDAŞ'a satıyorsunuz, 11 cent'ten. Şu anda teşvik kapsamında bu; 5 yıl ödemesiz, 5 yıl sonra başlıyorsunuz ödemeye, bütün enerjinizi kendiniz üretiyorsunuz.

Int.D.2.: Well, the sole drawback of Seferihisar, the reason why it cannot become a Çeşme, an Alaçatı, is the pensioner segment that came here. The reason they settled here was the low rates in the real estate market. They could afford and buy land for 3 liras, 4 liras… If the rates were around 10 liras, 15 liras, he could not be able to buy, but such investor did not come; consequently, Seferihisar became the bed, the region of the retired segment. I mean, in comparison with Çeşme and Alaçatı, the segment here with a decent earning is 5 %. They prefer villa-type houses at the seaside. But, mostly, it is the retired segment, both in the center and the seaside, which has hardly afforded it, for the sake of having a summer house; these are retired workers mostly… Our Sığacık phenomenon has long been in a state of rent increase, but in the last two years, especially with the development plan, market heatened up; its location is beautiful, beach and sea, they all contribute positively. In that respect, Sığacık should be considered in the league of Alaçatı.[175]

Given the fact that TOKI currently produces most of the real estate land, it is not suprising that contractors and realtors look upon TOKI's making a significant housing investment in Seferihisar that will attract the upper-middle class into the city. TOKI, in fact, commisioned a famous national real estate company to market its 350 decares of land, located next to the Izmir highway before entering Seferihisar; the land has been quickly parcelated with a local development plan in order to create a "Gardencity" [*Bahçeşehir*] theme: 150 plots of 1.5-2 decares land with 10 % footprint, two-storey height that are suitable for villas with extremely large yards. The marketing brochure included informative notes about *Cittaslow* as well as suggestions for filling up the vast open space:

At the 150 m², you can build a house... 50 m² for the swimming pool, 120 m² for grass area, 40 m² for two pergolas, 40 m² for glasshouse/conservatory, 100 m² for the vegetable garden, 200 m² for the olive grove, 300 m² for the vineyard. You still have a 500 m² remaining space. And there, you can fit all your dreams...[176] (see *Appendix* F)

Some of the realtors even considered TOKI's reluctance to assume the construction of the project as a political message to the town from AKP. Because, the downside of this marketing inititative was that people individually buying the plots, building their houses would end up with an irregular settlement spread out to the 150 decares area, failing to serve the desired holistic uplift of Seferihisar's real estate image; particularly compared with the scenario of TOKI's building and selling the project as a gated community:

---

[175]**Int.D.2.:**Ha, buraya gelen kesim genelde, tek Seferihisar'ın kaybı, bir Çeşme, bir Alaçatı olamamasının tek nedeni, emekli kesimi geldi… Bu emekli kesiminin gelme sebebi de rayiçlerin düşük olması… 2 liraya, 3 liraya arsa buluyordu, buna da gücü yetiyordu alıyordu. Ha, burada rayiç, o günkü rayiçlen 10 lira, 15 liralık bir rayiç olsaydı, yok parası alamıyodu, böyle bir yatırımcı gelmedi, gelmeyince de Seferihisar maalesef, emekli yatağı, bölgesi konumunda… Yani, gelir düzeyi düzgün vaziyette, yüzde 5'tir… Böyle, Çeşme'ylen kıyaslandığında, Alaçatı'ylan kıyaslandığında %5'tir. İşte, villa tipi tercih ediyorlar. ama merkezdekiler de aynı emekli, sahildekiler de aynı emekli… zar zor almış, bir yazlık alayım, işçidir falan bu şekilde… Bir tek bizim bu Sığacık olayımız, bu eskiden beri rant yapmış vaziyette, son bir iki yıldır daha da, imar olması geçen sene, daha bir hareketlendirdi, yer konum olarak güzel olması, kumsal deniz, bunun da bir artısı var. O açıdan Sığacık'ı, bir Alaçatı gibi düşüncen.

[176]Arsanın, 150 m²'sine bir ev inşa edilebilir... 50 m²'ye havuz, 120 m²'ye çim alan, 40 m²'ye 2 tane kameriye, 40 m²'ye sera/limonluk, 100 m²'ye sebze bahçesi, 200 m²'ye zeytinlik, 300 m²'ye bağ yapabilirsiniz. Geriye hala 500 m² alan kaldı. Buraya da bütün hayallerinizi sığdırabilirsiniz…

Int.D.2.: Today, those plots are being sold for free, 70-80 thousand lira. In the case of a heatening up of the market tomorrow, it can easily rise to 200. But, for that to happen, I will repeat myself, the project had to be taken up as a *site* rather than plots. That would make it an Alaçatı. If the marketing firm had built the houses and marketed afterwards, there would emerge a small *site* of 150 houses with prices of 300-400 thousand liras among them. You and I would not be able to buy that. Such a person would be able to buy it that he would build swimming pool, villa... Right now, let's say it is 70 thousand lira. If I have some saving, I can buy it, you can buy it, but that's it. For what, as an investment... Someone will come and we will sell it. It was 70, we will sell it for 80, 90. The buyer will also sell it... In the case of any settlement taking place, it's a vicisious circle of investment. Here, the crucial point is coming up with a proper settlement. Say, someone has built a house, a single house at this corner, another one at that corner, what of it, 10 individual houses instead of 150, what good would that do. If the marketing person had built the house and then marketed it, that would be something different. Here, Ege Koop. says, "I do both people's type and luxurious"... If that could be the state of mind behind this project, then the incoming segment would really contribute to the district.[177]

3.4. Regulating the Social through Cultural Activities

The last of the new directorates, the *Directorate of Culture and Social Works*, comprises the crowdest office at the municipality to organize both the annual commemortive days and weeks of Seferihisar, and the routinely conducted educational activities of the municipality for the residents of Seferihisar. Given the scale of the municipality and the strategic prominence to organizing events by Tunç Soyer, it would not be inappropriate to say that the whole municipality is run like a *Directorate of Culture and Social Works*, only shifting their duty priorities according to the agendas on the calendar. The municipality personnel admit that they experience this as an exhausting ongoing "total mobilization" mode, which inevitably distracts the everyday efforts to form a participation-based steering platform for *Cittaslow*.

Int.A.6.: We really strived for that [*to form a Cittaslow Committee*]. Lists were prepared to that end. It's no go. We are having to work our selves to the bones at a very rapid rate. For instance, it turns out that there is a Woswos Festival being organized next month, I mean, out of nowhere... I really don't think it was on the list of activities that was prepared at the beginning of the year, though I am not totally sure... but some people show up and say we want to do something like this and we get down to it as the entire municipality. Thus, we are not able to work on a routine basis. At a moment's notice, the European Union announces a fund for something, the Development Agency announces another, and we are having to get prepared for that. For instance, a fund comes up for a 'Continous System Olive Oil Plant', which is of course desirable but not something planned since there was no such fund; in an

---

[177]**Int.D.2:**Bugün o arsalar 70-80 milyara bedavaya gidiyor. Yarın orada bir canlanma olursa, o zaman 200 milyar rahat eder. Ama etmesi için de, ordakini arsa değil de site şeklinde değerlendirsedi, bir Alaçatı olacaktı. Orada pazarlamacı ev yapıp pazarlasaydı, orada 150 tane küçük bir site, orada satacağı evler arasından 300-400 milyarlık evler olacaktı, sen ben alamıcaktım, öyle bir kişi gelip alcaktı onu, havuz yapcaktı, villa yapcaktı... Şimdi, atıyorum 70 milyara, benim birikimim varsa alıcam, sen alıcan, ama o kadar. Ne için, yatırım için... Bir kişi gelcek, ona satcaz, 70'i, 80 yaptık, 90 yaptık, kar edip satcaz. O alıp satcak... Yapılaşma olmazsa ne olcak, hep yatırımla dönerse bu, kısırdöngüde gitçek. Önemli olan, orada satın alanlar bir yapılaşma düzenine giderse, rant artar, gelir artar, ama her alan da yatırım amaçlı alıpta, ha biri geldi ev yaptı, bir o köşede ev, bir o köşede ev, ne olur oradan, 150 arsanın içinde 10 tane ev olsa ne oluuur, olmasa ne olur. Onu pazarlayan kişi, onu ev olarak yapıp da pazarlayabilseydi, o ayrı bir şey. İşte, Ege Koop. ne diyor? "Ben halk tipi de yapıyorum, lüks de yapıyorum"... işte, öyle bir şey burada düşünülüp yapılsaydı, ne olurdu, gelen kesimin ilçeye de katkısı olurdu.

instant we are tuning into that, slowing down all the other work a bit… I mean, since we are working in a very offbeat rhtyhm, we could not attune with the rest.[178]

The mayor, while being aware of the offbeat rhtyhm of the municipality's agenda, argues that cultural and social activities make a tremendous contribution to Seferihisar's publicity, while enabling the "transformation of the residents into individuals that are performing on the stage" (**IntA.1.**). In that respect, as a general principle, cultural activities aim to weave together the local characteristics of the town with an entrepreneurial agenda. For instance, the revival of the 1970s *Tangerine Festivals* [*Mandalina Festivali*] contributes to the branding of Seferihisar's tangerine, promotes local production, strengthens the marketing ability of the local produce, while the concerts given by such famous singers as Nilüfer and Yavuz Bingöl inscribe the dates into the collective memory of the residents. In that sense, even a traditionally commemorated modest day such as *Seferihisar's Liberation Day* is currently celebrated with a lavish concert (e.g., Nilüfer concert, 9.11.2011) in order to both contribute to the publicity of the town and inscribe the date into the collective memory of the residents. One of the new activities, the *Seferihisarlites Meeting* [*Seferihisalılar Buluşması*] is being conducted as a weeklong fair, where Seferihisar residents from diverse regional and cultural backgrounds (Afyonlites, Ahıska Turks, East and South East Anatolians, Blacksealites, Tokatlites, Yozgatlites) are asked to display their folkloric and cultural assets, while embracing their *Seferihisarlite* 'supra-identity'. The last *Seferihisarlites Meeting*, however, had to be cancelled in the midst of the week; in fact, on the very day reserved for the East and South East Anatolians, following the breaking news of the martyrized soldiers of the Turkish army fighting in the region, as if to wake up *Seferihisarlites* into the 'actual' political economy of the region. Aside from these annual events the municipality organized several concerts throughout the year with several occasions, sometimes strategically coinciding several occasions into a single programme. The first *Cittaslow Festival* was organized as a two days activity that started with the Protest Meeting of the Bluefin Tuna Fish Farms, continued with the screening of the Seferihisar documentary produced by the Seferihisar-born filmmaker Çağan Irmak, and closed with a concert by the folk singer Saime Cantürk. The 'protest' was observed as a strategic event in itself to consolidate Seferihisar's 'mode of governance' as much in the eye of the central

---

[178]**Int.A.6:** Yapmak istedik çok. O konuda listeler hazırlandı yani şunlar olsun, bunlar olsun gibi. Olmuyor. Çok yoğun çalışmak zorunda kalıyoruz, çok hızlı çalışmak zorunda kalıyoruz. Mesela gelecek ay Woswos Festivali düzenlenecekmiş, yani bir anda olmuş bir şey, senenin başında hazırlanan etkinlik listesinde böyle bir şey olduğunu sanmıyorum, tam emin de değilim ama, birileri gelip böyle bir şey yapmak istiyoruz deyince, biz giriyoruz o işe. Bütün Belediye giriyoruz. O yüzden çok düzenli çalışamıyoruz. Bir anda Avrupa Birliği bir şey fonu açıyor, Kalkınma Ajansı bilmem ne fonu açıyor, hemen ona hazırlanmak gerekiyor, yani Kontinü Zeytinyağı Dolum Tesisine para vermek üzere bir fon açıyor, o ana kadar o planlarda yok, tabii isteniyor Zetinyağı dolum tesisi açılsın ama böyle bir şey planlanmamış, çünkü böyle bir fon olmadığı için; o zaman bir anda oraya kanalize oluyoruz, diğer işler biraz yavaşlıyor, yani çok garip bir tempoda çalıştığımız için diğerlerine uyamadık.

authorities as in the general public. It was organized on the occasion of the 'approval' decision of the *IzmirGeneral Provincial Council* [*İl Genel Meclisi*] to set up a Bluefin Tuna Fish Farm at a few kilometers off the coast of Sığacık. Although the idea of setting up a rally belonged to the mayor, it was organized by the recently established Seferihisar city council. The head of the city council (**Int.A.9**) explained that buses were sent to every other district of Izmir to carry 1000 city council members to Seferihisar on the day of the protest; Greenpeace and several bicycle groups from Izmir were also invited to provide support to the protest. However, the local people were quite indifferent to the event; neither did they participate in the creation of a romanticized image of the 'residents battling growth machines'.

Picture 17: Bluefin tuna fish farm protest, Sığacık, 13.03.2011;
http://www.seferihisar.bel.tr/(Accessed: 05.05.2011); also see *video-footage n°1*.

The Bluefin Tuna Fish Farm Protest was in fact the "post-spectacular event", par excellence, in its attracting the attention of the target-classes to Seferihisar, whose future "intermittent corporeal co-presence" in the town would have a sustainable economic influence on its own, enabling the mayor at the same time to argue for a "place-bound exponomy" as an appropriate governance mechanism, albeit with a considerably diluted appropriation of the *Cittaslow* brand. The problems that arise, at this point, are two-fold. On the one hand, the seaside neighborhood of Sığacık with its population of 2.400, currently inhabited historic castle and closeness to the ancient city of Teos, is the only appropriate urban settlement in the whole district to potentially comply with a *Cittaslow*-style 'place-bound exponomy' model. On the other hand, while the settlement of Sığacık holds the only proper potential setting to establish a *Cittaslow* regime based on its assets, the opening of a yacht marina in 2010 by the initiatives of the earlier mayor (**Int.A.2**) as a large-scale self-serving facility confounds the current 'exponomic' efforts that are wishfully hoping to remain "place-bound".

154

Picture 18: Aerial view of Sığacık, the marina and the settlement inside the old citadel,
http://www.seferihisar.bel.tr/ (Accessed:05.05.2011).

Nevertheless, in his *2nd Year Speech*, the mayor has referred to Sığacık's strategic role as the "showcase" of Seferihisar, whose task was to attract the customer inside "the shop": "the customer has entered the shop. Sığacık accomplished the task. Now, the next step is to tour the customer inside the shop." In terms of building an overall city governance regime, however, this 'role' put Sığacık in a contemptuously privileged status with respect to both the central town and the peripheral settlements, which openly expressed their discontent about the regarding of *Cittaslow* as the sole 'economic imaginary' of the whole district. Even the rural village settlements that step a front with their potential settings to realize such place-bound exponomic initiatives (e.g., agro-tourism) currenty look upon more conventional mass-employment investments in the region to prevent the younger population from moving out.[179] In this regard, the mayor seems to be muddling through such urgent economic demands from the general public by enticing earlier standstill touristic investments that will not hopefully conflict with *Cittaslow*'s imperatives, while somehow creating steady mass-employment opportunities.[180] In that regard, *Cittaslow* seems to present rather long-term prospects for the creation of further employment in the town, which will be fully realized as the individuals and the currently developing associations grasp the entrepreneurial mechanisms of cultural and

---

[179] See Interviews **B.2** and **B.3**with the heads of the AgriculturalDevelopment Cooperatives of the villages of Orhanlı and Gödence, where they complain about the lack of economic investments in the district to prevent the younger population from moving out from the village. The gold mine in the Efem Çukuru village of Seferihisar's neighboring district of Menderes currently employs a total of around 600 people (20-25 people per village), particularly the youngsters, from the villages in the region, who are working in shifts. See http://www.tuprag.com.tr/page.php?ID=80

[180]Recently, the mayor enticed the executives of Onur Air into resuming the construction of their 1000 bed capacity resort hotel in Sığacık's Akkum hill, which was at a standstill for the last 5 years. The new facility is expected to be opened by the summer of 2013, creating employment for another 300 people without however resorting to "all inclusive packages" that deprive the local business owners. Currently, there are two resort hotel establishments in Seferihisar that serve international tourists since the 1990s. One of the resort hotels has 600; the other one has 300 bed capacities. In total, they employ 350 people. The town is currently noted to have 3000 bed capacity in total. In comparison, Çeşme is noted to have a total of 16.000 bed capacity by 2012.

social economy. The short-term economic impact is currently mostly limited to the Producers' Markets, where, for instance, a total of 88 women from the *Associations of Producing Women* [*Üretici Kadınlar Derneği*] of Seferihisar and Sığacık and *Women Labor Houses* [*Kadın Emeği Evleri*] in Ulamış, Doğanbey and Ürkmez find the chance to sell their products to earn a daily pocket-money. In this regard, the recently founded *Woman's Counciling Center* [*Kadın Danışma Merkezi*] finds itself in a position to remedy the urgent economic needs of the disadvantaged families, who resort to the center for all kinds of poverty-induced family problems:

> **Int.A.7.:** Well, our principal purpose is to get rid of violence against women. But, the origin of violence, when you view it, you see that it is economically-induced at a generalizable rate. I mean, although the education level, the past or origin matters, it is assuredly higher at those families with low income and education level. In that regard, we are working to resolve violence against women by being concerned with their integration into economic life. To this end, the municipality has 3 Women Labor Houses in Ulamış, Doğanbey and Ürkmez. At these houses, seminars are given in several different fields devoted to women's production and produces that women can come up with in order to sell at the Producers' Market. We direct women to these houses so that they can somehow acquire economic power and stand on their feet; when they do that, they gain self-confidence and view life in an entirely different manner, they are no longer suppressed that easily, they can stand next to others. That's our main aim. We contacted the Women Labor Houses; we are having interviews with the women sporadically, the timing of which depends on their suitability. For instance, it's currently the olive season, and the woman going to olive and tangerine for a daily wage of 40 lira, 60 lira does not prefer the Women Labor House since it's a long shot there, meaning, she produces something, she takes it to the market, in case that gets sold, which she cannot know when, then she makes money. Right now, it's the time for tangerine and olive, which will last for a couple of months to provide her with quick cash and naturally she'll prefer that. For the same reason, Women Labor Houses are almost empty right now […] Almost all of the women that come to us are definitely seasonal workers, unless they are old or they have a baby to look after. Depending on the season, it can be tangerine or olive work; or else, due to the seaside location, they work at the hotels doing cleaning or working in the kitchen in order to make money. But with the winter season, especially until the tangerine season, we have a lot of women coming here since they are workless; the hotels are off season and there is no other job, and she has a school-age kid; they are the ones that come intensively during that period.[181]

---

[181]**Int.A.7.:** Şimdi bizim öncelikli amacımız Kadına Yönelik Şiddeti ortadan kaldırmak. Ama şiddetin kökenine baktığınızda genellenebilir oranda ekonomik kaynaklı olduğu görülüyor. Yani, hani her ne kadar eğitim, geçmiş veya köken etkili olsa da, eğitim düzeyi ve ekonomik düzeyi düşük ailelerde çok daha fazla. Biz bu anlamda kadına yönelik şiddetin ortadan kaldırılması ve bunun için de aslında kadının ekonomik hayata entegrasyonu ile uğraşıyoruz, ilgileniyoruz. Bunun için mesela Belediye'nin Kadın Emeği evleri var, 3 tane, Ulamış'ta, Doğanbey'de, Ürkmez'de. Burada Kadınların üretimleri ve pazara çıkarabilecekleri ürünlere yönelik kurslar veriliyor farklı alanlarda ve farklı zamanlarda. Biz de aslında kadınları buralara yönlendirerek birşekilde ekonomik güç elde edebilmelerini ve daha sonrasında da aslında kendi ayakları üzerinde durabilen kadınların zaten özgüveni yükseliyor. Özgüveni yükselen kadın çok daha farklı bakıyor hayata yani sinmiyor, sindirilmiyor kolay kolay ve diğer insanların karşısında çok daha farklı duruyor. Esas amacımız bu. Bunlarla ilgili işte Kadın Emeği Evleri ile iletişime geçtik, belirli aralıklarla kadınlarla görüşüyoruz. Ancak belli bir zamanı yok bunun. Mesela şimdi zeytin zamanı, bu zeytin ve mandalinaya giden kadın, zaten yevmiye aldığı için 40 lira, 60 lira gibi, Kadın Emeği evine gelmiyor, çünkü Kadın Emeği evinde bir şey üretiyor, bu ürünü pazara çıkarıyor, o ürettiği şey eğer satılırsa, ki ne zaman satılacağı belli değil, o zaman ondan para kazanıyor. Şimdi mesela mandalina ve zeytin var, belli bir süre devam edecek bu birkaç ay, bu süre boyunca sıcak para geçecek eline ve doğal olarak tercihi ondan yana oluyor ve şu an Kadın Emeği evleri neredeyse boş o yüzden [...] Tabii, buraya gelen kadınların hemen hepsi, eğer yaşlı değilse, yaşlı olmayanlar veya baktığı bir bebeği olmayanlar, kesinlikle zaten mevsimlik işçi. Mandalina olabilir, zeytinlik olabilir veyahutta zaten sahil olduğu için yazları otellerde temizlikçilik veya mutfakta görevli olabilir, bunlarla uğraşan kadınlar, bunlardan para kazanan kadınlar. Ama dediğim gibi kış döneminde, özellikle mandalinaya kadar, çok yoğun buraya gelen kadınlar, çünkü

For the long-run, however, the municipality periodically conducts several educational activities, seminars and certificate programs in order to develop entrepreneurialism and to inform people about the funding opportunities for the opening of small-medium enterprises. While the municipality relies upon the fostering of a cultural economic entrepreneurial spirit as a broad solution to employment, there is another solid economic imaginary of 'small cattle breeding', which keeps developing quietly, yet firmly in the background by adopting a mass-production approach that can hardly ever conform to the sensitivities fostered by *Slow Food.* The president of the recently reactivated *Union ofIzmirProvinceSmall Cattle Breeders* [*Izmir Ili Damızlık Koyun Keçi Yetiştiricileri Birliği*], Özer Türer, who also happens to be AKP's Seferihisar candidate in the last local elections, regards the 'small cattle breeding sector' as the future of Seferihisar, not only because it is based on solid government incentives, but also because it is based on working conditions that actually appeal to the life-style of the Turkish rural enterpreneur, in contradistinction to that of the European life-style of the *Cittaslow.*

> **Int.B.4.:** In terms of goat produces production, Turkey is a very lucky place, a country; because our people has a gluttony for difficulty. Today, it is very difficult to practice goat breeding in Europe, particularly the goat breeding for milk; because goats are not like cattles, they need attention like a baby; if you don't give that attention, you cannot succeed. The European places his social life as the number one priority. Goat and Sheep breeding, I mean for milk, not meat since that happens by itself, it is the milk that's very difficult... Turkey is able to overcome this difficulty but Europe looks out for its life, entertainment, leisure...
>
> **Author:** Does that apply to rural people as well?
>
> **Int.B.4.:** In Europe? Well, of course, the European, they are very modern and above all they look out for their social lives, same for the rural people... That's not the case for Turkey, beacuse we can hardly survive, we need to work, and it is very suitable climatically as well over here. Our only shortage is feed, pastureland... Since the goat milk prices are twice higher than cow milk, feeding at place brings in money anyways. For this reason, I really think that this business will be successful in Turkey. In Izmir we started the foundation, there are others in other provinces, but on a very small scale... In close future, you will come and see that Seferihisar is well-known for its goat and goat milk. Today it is well-known for *Cittaslow*, well-known for its shoreline, for its Teos; I think in the following years, when goat is mentioned, Seferihisar will come to mind. [182]

---

işsiz, oteller sezonu kapatmış ve başka bir iş yok, okuyan bir çocuğu var mesela. Onlar çok yoğun olarak geliyor o zaman.

[182]**Int.B.4.:**Türkiye keçi ürünleri üretiminde çok şanslı bir yer, ülke, çünkü bizim insanımız zoru seviyor. Bugün Avrupa'da Keçicilik yapmak çok zor, daha doğrusu süt Keçiciliği yapmak çok zor, çünkü Büyük Baş Hayvan gibi değil bunlar, bebek gibi ilgi ister, siz bunlara ilgi göstermezseniz, başaramazsınız. Avrupalı sosyal yaşamına önem veriyor 1. Derece. Keçi ve Koyunculuk, yani süt Keçisi ve Koyunculuğu, eti demiyorum, et kendi kendine oluyor çünkü, süt çok zor… bu zoru Türkiye aşabiliyor ama Avrupa önce yaşamını, eğlencesini, boş vaktini ön planda tuttuğundan…

Author:Kırsalda yaşayan insanlar içinde mi bu geçerli?

Avrupa'da mı? E, tabii canım Avrupalı, çok modern onlar ve öncelikle sosyal yaşamlarını ön planda tutuyorlar onlar, kırsaldakiler de aynı… Türkiye'de bu böyle değil… Çünkü, biz zor geçiniyoruz zaten çalışmak zorundayız, bir de iklim olarak çok müsait burası. Tek sıkıntımız yem, mera… Keçi sütü fiyatları inek sütüne göre 2 katı yüksek olduğundan, hazırda besleme pek sıkıntı yaratmıyor, para kazandırıyor yani. O nedenle ben bu işin Türkiye'de

It must be emphasized that this vision is very focused and articulate, which allows the goal-setting rural entrepreneur to focus into very specific tasks. Türer (**Int.B.4**) takes over the presidency of the *Izmir Small Cattle Breeders Association* in 2008 with 156 members and reactivates it by quickly registering new members, reaching today a total number of 5800 members. The Association makes extensive use of the Ministry of Agriculture's grant and support programs for animal husbandry and rural development. The Association is the first to operate in a cold chain process. Currently, Türer operates the largest milk-goat breeding farm in Turkey with 6 agriculture engineers and 2 veterinarians. The farm has started animal improvement [*ıslah*] with 40 goats and reached up to 3000 in 6 years and a farm milk average of 650 liters.[183] Türer (**Int.B.4**) explains that goat and sheep milk has never been taken as a 'scale' issue in Turkey. Small amounts of production per producer (e.g., 5 liter, 10 liter, 30 liter, maximum 200 liter) have come to be collected by local dairy farms, leaving the large industry and national firms outside of the business. On the other hand, an individual farmer milking 5 litres a day could not operate a cold chain by himself. This was only possible when the Association applied for a rural development project of the Development Agency and obtained milk cooling tanks for all the districts of Izmir. They also put the Local Governor's virtually standstill Milk Cooling Centers back into operation. The daily milk collection capacity of the association reached up to 150 tons. On the other hand, dairy farms [*mandıralar*] were buying the milk from the producers at very low prices, tying up their annual produce with in-advance payments. The president contacted the CEO and Region Headquarters of the Ziraat Bank in order to come up with a bank credit formula to save the producers from the dairy farms. The association has also served by registering the milk production into the formal economy, unlike the dairy farms that operated without receipts. It had also deprived the producers from the grants and supports of the State since they could not prove their sales with the necessary paperwork.

Although the mayor of Seferihisar seems to be reappropriating the goat-sheep breeding vision in Seferihisar as "an esteem project for the countryman, the master of the nation, which has been developed in compliance with the *Cittaslow* criteria," the economic significance of the project is excessing the Seferihisar-*Cittaslow* scope to reach out a national programme to be based on the research for efficiency in the improved use of the available animal genetic resources as well as agroecological zones to increase their productivity that will

---

başarılı olacağını düşünüyorum. İzmir'de biz temel başlattık, başka illerde de var yapan ama çok küçük çapta, daha ileride Seferihisar'da geldiğinizde bakmışsınız Keçisiyle, Keçi sütüyle tanınan bir yer olmuş.Bugün *Cittaslow* ile tanınıyor, bugün sahiliyle tanınıyor, Teos'uyla tanınıyor, ben önümüzdeki yıllarda Keçi deyince akla Seferihisar'ın geleceğini düşünüyorum.

[183] In Europe the annual milk production average per goat is 900 liters, whereas this is only 100 liters in Turkey. The farm takes up Saanen goats of Switzerland origin and cross-breeds them over and over to achieve a livestock of productive milk-goats.

enhance the livelihoods of the poor, and protect the environment. During the visit of the president of the union of small cattle breeders to the *Committee of Higher Education* [*YÖK*] president, *YÖK* president stated that they are ready to initiate a collaborative work with the *Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry*, the *Union* and the *YÖK*.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This thesis tries to identify the *new city-governance mechanisms* deployed in the Western Aegean small town of Seferihisar, following the town's membershipto the international *Cittaslow*association of small towns. My research for this thesis was largely motivated by a desire to gain a deeper understanding of the sociospatial practices that set 'philosophically grounded' *ideas* (e.g., slowness) as "normative" and "life-regulatory"in the local urban administrative context of a Turkish small town.

Given the municipality's central leadership role in the *Cittaslow*movement,and the fact that this research had to correspond to an early stage in the implementation of the "model", the thesis confined itselfprincipally to the identification of the*economic imaginaries* that set offthe further restructruing processes in the town, to find out the extent they are "harnessed by progressive institutions and social movements to promote democratized, socially just and environmentally sustainable forms of political-economic organization" (Brenner, 2009).There is, on the other hand, always room for critically regarding the role of the municipal leadership in the town as operational in the staging of a neo-communitarian, self-regulatory gesture by the community, where the restructuring and rescaling policies of the central government are made compatible in the local context. There are, of course, several "thirdways" in between "salvation" and "co-option" with their own tensions and contradictions, which are duly addressed.

The brief history of the *Cittaslow* movement in the European Union countriesevinces that 'norm-forming'sociospatial practices do not come about of their own accord. Rather, they are embedded within their localcommunities, within social movement networks, and in most cases, within a web of localinstitutions—alternative food production and distribution initiatives, self-help collectives,solidarity co-operatives. Out of the overlapping multiple strata of *reflexivesocial action,*eventually *emerges*the conditions that enable *localities*toexpress a degree of autonomy in the form of collective self-management (*autogestion*).In the context ofthe European Union, however, this collective *will to difference*is more and more translated to the level of the new institutional *multi-scalar meta-governance*arrangements as the practical expression of the *urban acquis*ofthe progressive struggles within the global institutions of the neoliberal order.Regarding Turkey's ongoing *EU Accession Process* and the *Local Government Reforms*in progress, this thesis treated*Cittaslow* as one such *multi-scalar meta-governance* mechanism among many, which guides the municipalities of small towns in rescaling their urban governance as *tailor-fit* to their corresponding sociospatial specificities. The reason I have come to treat *Cittaslow*as a*multi-scalar meta-governance* mechanism can be regarded as a self-imposed reluctance to analyze the changes in Seferihisar according to *Cittaslow*'s own categories, which are, on the

one hand, "part of its publicity—pawns in a game of strategy and neither unbiased or disinterested; they serve a dual practical and ideological purpose" (Lefebvre, 2000/1971: 71).On the other hand, given the *absence* of a 'reflexive social action' base in Seferihisar prior to the mayor's initiatives, the multifaceted immediate impacts following the town's *Cittaslow* membership were not taken as a measure of neither the success nor the failure of the "model" itself. At this point, another observation, was path-forming for the research process: Despite its localization in the territorial borders of the corresponding towns' municipalities, the implementation of *Cittaslow* as an 'urban regime', requires the coordination of several strategic actors, primarily those in academic positions in the fields of urban planning, design and governance, with the *disposition* of involvement in the implementation and conduct of *Cittaslow* as an 'alternative' model of urban development.

Accordingly, I contacted several academicians, professionals and administrators from different disciplines, who have been directly or indirectly involved in the decision-making practices over different aspects of the urban development of the city-region of Izmir and particularly in the *Cittaslow* project of Seferihisar. This preliminary research strategy has been very helpful not only in gathering data, but also in rendering the sociospatial concerns visible:

Following the enactment of the *Scale Reform Law* of 2004 (no5216) on 'Establishing Districts in the Borders of Metropolitan Municipalities' and the Municipalities Law of 2005 (no5393), Seferihisar municipality had lost most of the decision-making authority over its territory to the disposal of the Metropolitan Municipality. This situation significantly tied the hands of the local administration in putting plans into operation for the use and the development of their natural assets such as rich jeothermal energy resources. With the same Law, the two formerly 2nd-tier municipalities had been incorporated as districts to the central municipality of Seferihisar, critically jeopardizing the 'subsidiarity' principle in the provison of the public services to these peripheral settlements. The same applied to the large military zone area in the middle of the district disconnecting the center and the periphery as well as repelling touristic investments. Large forest areas were under constant threat of sabotage fires as well as the vast natural and historical protection sites that could not be integrated into the everyday life of the inhabitants; consequently, regarded as obstacles in front of the 'development' of the town. Moreover, Seferihisar is on a major fault line, and there are over 200 unorganized summer house cooperatives in the district, which comprise disparate vulnerable settlements, some of them with serious infrastructual problems due to landslides on the shoreline. The seasonal in and outflux of the population in these secondary residence settlements also lead to social problems due to the weakened community connections as well as exclusion and segregation with the increase of gated communities. On the other hand, the sudden rise of wealth in the local community during the 60s with the transition to tangerine cultivation

engendered an agricultural rentier class, the younger generations of which lack the adequate skills and the disposition to take part in the possible new 'political economic' futures of the town. Today, not only that there are already several incidences of volatile substance addiction among the youth, in the abscense of policies specifically addressed to these social problems, it is very likely that these younger generations will end up finding themselves in the position of the 'undeserving poor' in the very close future.The crucial point here is that, while *Cittaslow* was by no means regarded as "the answer" to these dead-locks, it took on the role of the 'cultural vanguard' in the "governmental" transition from the golden age of Fordism and its Keynesian Welfare National State with the dominance of the national scale in economic and social policy-making to post-Fordism and its associated "rediscovery of the heterogeneity of place, a relativisation of scale, and a multiplication of nodal scales for delivering economic and social policy" (Jessop, 2009: 85).

In Turkey, the introduction of the 'subnational regional scale' within Turkish state space is a relatively recent issue accompanying Turkey's willy-nilly EU accession process. In 2002, following the landslide victory of the *Justice and Development Party* (AKP) in the general elections, the government committed itself to meet all the EU criteria on regional policy. After the formation of new statistical units at the regional level (NUTS-2), 81 provinces have been gathered in 26 new regions according to their similar geographic and economic characteristics. The setting up of the *Regional Development Agencies* (RDAs) was another significant step toward the implementation of subnational regional development policies as well as EU's structural funds at the level of the NUTS-2 regions in accordance with the EU accession process. The following step has been to reach out to the municipal scale in order to encourage the relations between municipalities and other bodies as well as the formation of unions among local administrations, strengthening the legal framework for NGOs. Currently, the *Local Administration Reform* is in its second phase and as a report prepared within the scope of the "Support to Further Implementation of Local Administration Reform in Turkey Project (LAR Phase II)" reveals, several European models of municipal cooperation are being reviewed by the Ministry of Interior to be advised as networks "that can support the deeper integration of Turkey within the international community". It is interesting to note that, in this report *Cittaslow* is suggested as a suitable cooperation network for smaller municipalities. Thus, although *Cittaslow*'s *entry* into the Turkish municipal scene was enabled by the individual entrepreneurial efforts of the mayor of Seferihisar, it is important to note that *Cittaslow* is a government-*approved* organization besides its academic status as a "legalized approach to claiming the urban" (Pink, 2009).

The presentation of *Cittaslow* in the European context reveals how *Cittaslow*'s 'issues of concern' are growingly accorded to the EU-led "meta-governance" and "multi-level

governance" methods in relation to different policy sectors. Given the impact of EU Local Administration Reforms at the re-scaling of urban administrative institutions in Turkey, and the corresponding "multi-faceted spatiality of governance", following Jessop (2009), I found it a theoretical necessity to study *Cittaslow* and its territorial implementation from a "multi-scalar meta-governance" perspective that emphasizes, as equally at stake, both the path-dependent aspects of "governance of governance", and the role of the formation of strategic new subjectivities (e.g., reflexive citizens as 'lay-experts') in the evolutionary 'variation', 'selection', 'ongoing realization' and subsequent 'reinforcement' of new "economic imaginaries". In this regard, the Cultural Political Economy (CPE) approach elaborated by Jessop (2005) strongly encouragedme to look beyond the "territorial trap(s)" (Agnew, 1994) and pay attention to the strategic discursive battles over 'scenarios' at diverse scales by which urban development opportunities for Seferihisar are cast from outside of the town's municipal borders. According to Jessop (2004), the use of meta-governance means that the state retains a relative monopoly of organized intelligence, combined with an overall monitoring of agreed governance procedures. Thus, effective governance requires a rough correspondence among modes, subjects, mechanisms, and objects of governance. On the other hand, the implications of these remarks for the spatial dimensions of governance have to be considered with constant reference to place, territory, scale, and network.

Having been informed about the structural and territorial problems in Seferihisar, including the ones generated by the recent *Local Administration Reform* and the regional and metropolitan scale planning decisions, I attended the 'field' for the "ground-truthing" of the representations and concerns regarding the 'physical' and the 'social space' of Seferihisar. Given the fact that *Cittaslow* as a 'brand' also communicated itself through a certain degree of sociospatial *fitness* between the 'place' in concern and the 'normative criteria' laid out by its charter, the ground-truthing process also amounted to a critical 'monitoring' of the ongoing efforts led by the municipality and the other academic proponents of the movement for 'appropriating the town as *Cittaslow*'. In this regard, the municipality should be noted for not simply being 'open' or 'cooperative' for scientific inquiry, but rather for being quite strategic about embedding certain scholarly activites from diverse disciplines in implementing *its* '*Cittaslow*' in Seferihisar. What should be noted as a major research difficulty at this stage was the non-traceable 'bulk' nature of the data regarding the fundamental indicators such as the characteristics and the change of the population, the socioeconomic activities over the years, and the history of the town with respect to both the older and the more recent waves of migration.

The outcome of the recent local elections in Seferihisar could be regarded as a response to a 'governance failure', particularly manifesting a local 'crisis-management' alliance

or a 'growth coalition' for the overcoming of possible capital accumulative deprivations in one or several fields of economic activity in the town. There was a common discontent about the city-governance *mode* of the earlier mayor with respect to the multi-faceted 'dead-lock problems' of the town, which were now being replaced with the grand expectations from the extra-local capacities of the new mayor, who was welcomed as a 'leader' indefinably out of the town's league. At this point, I found out that the candidacy of the new mayor was supported and even brought about by a certain local, politically active, small touristic business owner in Sığacık, the coastal 'showcase' territory of the town, which has come to historically differentiate its 'identity' from the rest of the town along with all the tensions of interest and power over the years. However, paradoxically, I also observed that the *Cittaslow* 'move' of the mayor, had become a major cause of distress particularly for this 'rentier class' of Sığacık, who were looking to a radical reorganization of the land use decisions to the extent of shifting the town's administrative center to this coastal village with the ensuing service sector and creating brand new conditions for the real estate market. In this respect, the mayor's *Cittaslow* 'move' seemed as a 'self-determined' governance strategy, rather than the direct influence of some pre-existing growth coalitions in Seferihisar.

In terms of implementing the 'model' as a long-term 'economic imaginary' (without abusing its concepts to achieve short-term ends), the practices of the municipality were noted as rather questionable. Branding intensive activities of the municipality, particularly the advertising of the town's *Cittaslow* membership through media coverage in this respect seemed rather contradictory with the 'reflexive' mode of operation of the foundational small towns in Italy as well as the early members in Germany, where the 'model' was embraced by the existing, locally situated activists. In return, Seferihisar did not have a *Slow Food* background or any other similar group or organization operating in the town prior to the *Cittaslow* membership of the town. Given the immediate dynamics for the catalyzation of change in Seferihisar with the town's *Cittaslow* membership, the research was limited to an account of the ongoing processes as experienced by the individuals involved in the emergent institutions and associations as well as other individual entrepreneurial attempts at this moment of local capacity making.

With regard to the research questions of the thesis, "*Cittaslow*-Seferihisar" presented itself as an ongoing 'project' that derives its plausibility from the mayor's effectively positioning the town as an 'object of governance', a common 'matter of concern' for everyone, primarily for those 'old' and 'new' middle classes, who are located in the multi-scalar territorial space of Izmir (i.e., town dwellers, day-based tourists from Izmir, activists, scholars), constantly relaying the message that the 'success' of this *project* is as equally dependent on the proper conduct of governance as it is on everyone's *attendance* to it. Evidently, despite the immanent

164

commodification of the place following its no-matter-how-reflexively-conducted 'branding' initiative, a "*Cittaslow* branded town" derives its 'participatory' powers from the fact that it gives middle class individuals the chance to differentiate themselves simply by *experiencing* it. The *Cittaslow* enabled Seferihisar to put itself on the 'market' with an 'identity' distinct from all the nearby coastal towns, i.e., Kuşadası (mass-tourism), Alaçatı (conspicuous consumption), Urla (gated communities, satellite town of Izmir), Karaburun (bohemian retreat). In other words, the effective 'differential' ('simulacral') representation of the urban space "as lived" lured the 'responsible-action-seeking' individuals ('slow subjects') by promising them a 'reflexive' middleclass distinction (e.g., *becoming slow*), whose embedded 'protocols of experience' are tentatively laid out in the *Cittaslow Charter*. In the single act of *place branding* ('semiotization' and 'impression management'), the town transfered its structural (political-economic) problems onto a separate (cultural) plane, as the 'matter of concern' of everyone interested in the opportunities linked to the experience of the brand; not 'collectively' as a 'community', perhaps, but rather as a *newgovernmental whole*. This was also evinced in mayor's constant invitationto the Architectural and City Planning Departments from Izmir Universities to conduct their studios around the theme of *Cittaslow*-Seferihisar. The appeal of the municipality towards populating the town with the "intermittent corporeal co-presence" of scholars and students from nearby universities has also been noted as cleverly instrumental in making Seferihisar a 'touristic destination' via the 'governmental branding' *leverage* of the *Cittaslow* brand; that is by communicating to an "inside"-*in-the-making*.

However, the time limit of the study did not allow me to adequately reflect on this aspect of the model; that is, on the long term impacts of aselective interaction between an"inside" and an "outside".Thus, the next step of inquiry can be guided by an interest in figuring out the possible dynamics inflicting the making of this new "inside" in Seferihisar. Similarly, a new comparative study including the new *Cittaslow* member cities in Turkey would immensely contribute to an understanding of the way *Local Administration Reforms* are experienced in these small towns.

REFERENCES

Adam, Barbara (2000) "P(l)aying for Futures" in *Risk Society and Beyond: Critical Issues for Social Theory*, Barbara A., Ulrich B. and Joost V. L. (eds.), London: Sage Publications.

Adaman, Fikret *et al.* (2003) "Reinstituting the Economic Process: (Re)embedding the Economy in Society and Nature" in *International Review of Sociology—Revue Internationale de Sociologie,* 13(2): 357-74.

Agnew, John (1994) "The Territorial Trap: The Geographical Assumptions of International Relations Theory" in *Review of International Political Economy*, 1(1): 53-80.

Amin, Ash (2006) "Good City" in *Urban Studies*, 43(5/6): 1009–1023.

Augé, Marc (1995) *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, J. Howe (trans.), London, New York: Verso.

Avcı, Duygu *et al.* (2010) "Valuation languages in environmental conflicts: How stakeholders oppose or support gold mining at Mount Ida, Turkey" in *Ecological Economics*, 70: 228-38.

Ayata, Sencer (2002) "The New Middle Class and the Joys of Suburbia" in *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey*; Deniz Kandiyoti & Ayşe Saktanber (eds.), pp.25-43, London & New York: I.B.Tauris & Co. Publishers.

Baker, Ulus (2008) "Tarde and Monadology" in *Tesmeralsekdiz*, no: 3.

Bassoli, Matteo &Pincella,Cecilia (2010) "Reproducing cultural goods as a collective effort of identity building in Italy", *Culture and the Making of Worlds*, proceeding of the 3rd edition of the ESA Research Network Sociology of Culture mid-term Conference: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1692030(Accessed: 11.07.2011).

Batuman, Bülent (2008) "Organic Intellectuals of Urban Politics? Turkish Urban Professionals as Political Agents in 1960-1980," in *Urban Studies* 45(9): 1925-46.

Beck, Ulrich & Beck-Gernsheim, Elisabeth (2002) *Individualization: Institutionalized Individualism and its Social and Political Consequences*, London: Sage.

Benjamín, Walter (1999) *The Arcades Project*, Howard E. and Kevin M. (trans.), Rolf T. (ed.), Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Biehl, Janet (2011) *Mumford Gutkind Bookchin: The Emergence of Eco-Decentralism*, Porsgrunn: New Compass Press.

Bitter, Sabine & Weber, Helmut (2009) *Autogestion, or Henri Lefebvre in New Belgrade*, Berlin: Sternberg Press.

Bloch, Ernst (1986), *The Principle of Hope*, 3 Volumes, Neville P., Stephen P. and Paul K. (trans.), Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Bosi, Alfredo (2008) *Colony, Cult and Culture*, Victor K. M.(ed.), University of Massachusetts Darthmouth, East Providence: Signature Printing.

Brunori, Gianluca; Rossi, Adanella (2007) "Differentiating countryside: Social representations and governance patterns in rural areas with high social density: The case of Chianti, Italy", in *Journal of Rural Studies*, 23: 183-205.

Bloch, Ernst (1986), *The Principle of Hope*, 3 Volumes, Neville P., Stephen P. and Paul K. (trans.), Cambridge: MIT Press.

Boltanski, Luc & Chiapello, Eve (2002) "The New Spirit of Capitalism", paper presented to the Conference of Europeanists, March, 14-16, 2002, Chicago.

Bookchin, Murray (1965) "Towards a Liberatory Technology" in *Post Scarcity Anarchism*, pp.128-29.

Bookchin, Murray (1974) *The Limits of the City*, New York: Harper & Row.

Brenner, Neil; Theodore, Nik (2002) "Cities and Geographies of 'Actually Existing Neoliberalism'" in *The Spaces of Neoliberalism*, Neil B. & Nick T. (eds.), pp. 2-33, Oxford: Blackwell publishing.

Brenner, Neil (2004) *New State Spaces*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Brenner, Neil (2009) "Restructuring, rescaling and the urban question" in *Critical Planning*, issue 10.

Brenner, Neil & Stuart Elden (2009) "State, Space, World: Henri Lefebvre and the Survival of Capitalism" in *State, Space, World: Selected Essays*, N. Brenner and S. Elden (eds.), pp. 1–48, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press,

Bull, Anna (1999) "Regionalism in Italy" in *Regionalism in the European Union*, Peter Wagstaff (ed.), pp. 140-158, Wiltshire: Cromwell Press.

Carp, Jana (2008) "'Ground-Truthing' Representations of Social Space Using Lefebvre's Conceptual Triad" in *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 28: 129-142.

Carp, Jana (2011) "The Study of *Slow*" in *Collaborative Resilience: Moving from Crisis to Opportunity*, Bruce E. Goldstein (ed.), pp. 99-125, Boston: MIT Press.

Castells, Manuel (1996) *The Rise of the Network Society*,Oxford: Blackwell.

Castree, Noel (2005) *Nature*, Canada: Routledge Publishers.

Castree, Noel (2007) "Neoliberal environments: a framework for analysis" in *Manchester Papers in Political Economy*:
http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/cspe/ publications/wp/index.html

Cho, Lily (2010) *Eating Chinese:Culture on the Menu in Small Town Canada*, University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division.

Clastres, Pierre (1974/2007) *Society against the State*, Brooklyn: Zone Books.

Demirtaş-Milz, Neslihan (2010) "Neoliberal Zamanlarda Izmir ve Izmirlilik Tahayülleri", in *Değişen Izmir'i Anlamak*, Deniz Yıldırım and Evren Haspolat (eds.), pp.403-434, Ankara: Phoenix.

Deleuze, Gilles & Guattari, Félix (1994) *What is Philosophy?* J. Tomlinson & G. Burchell (trans.), New York: Columbia University Press.

Dinç, Zeynep (2005) "Kırsal Kalkınma, Kendine Yardım Grupları ve Gödence Köyü Eylem Araştırması", *Tarım Ekonomisi Dergisi*, 11(2): 91-99.

Donzelot, Jacques (1979) *The Policing of the Families*, Robert H. (trans.), Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

Douglas, Mary (1987) *How Institutions Think*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Drexhage, John & Murphy, Deborah (2010) Background Paper:*Sustainable Development: From Brundtland to Rio 2012*, prepared for consideration by the High Level Panel on Global Sustainability at its first meeting, 19 September 2010, International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD), United Nations Headquarters, New York. http://www.surdurulebilirkalkinma.gov.tr/Rio+20.portal (Accessed: 07.09.2011)

Eckersley, Robyn (1989) "Green Politics and the New Class: Selfishness or Virtue?" in*Political Studies*, XXXVII, pp. 205-223.

Eder, Klaus (1995) "Does Social Class Matter in the Study of Social Movements? A Theory of Middle-Class Radicalism" in *Social movements and social classes: the future of collective action*, Louis Maheu (ed.), pp. 21-54, London: Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Emrealp, Sadun (2005) *Yerel Gündem 21 Uygulamalarına Yönelik Kolaylaştırıcı Bilgiler Kitabı*, İstanbul: IULA-EMME (UCLG-MEWA) Yayını.

Elden, Stuart (2004) *Understanding Henri Lefebvre: Theory and the Possible*, London, New York: Continuum.

Erten, Sertaç (2008) *Spatial Analysis of Mega-Event Hosting: Olympic Host and Olympic Bid Cities*, unpublished Doctoral thesis, Supervisor: Prof. Dr. İlhan Tekeli, Middle East Technical University, Faculty of Architecture, Department of City and Regional Planning.

Fine, Ben (2011) *Social Capital versus Social Theory: Political Economy and Social Science at the Turn of the Millennium*, New York: Routledge.

Fine, Ben (2010) *Theories of Social Capital: Researchers Behaving Badly*, NY: Pluto Press.

Florida, Richard. (2006) "The flight of the creative class" in *Liberal Education*, 92(3): 22-29.

Foucault, Michel (1979) "Governmentality" in *Ideology and Consciousness*,6: 5-21.

Gane, Nicholas (2004) "Saskia Sassen: Space and Power", in *The Future of Social Theory*, Gane, N (interview), pp. 125-142, London: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Gottdiener, Mark (1985) *The Social Production of Urban Space*, Texas: University of Texas Press.

Graham, Julie; Gibson, Katherine (1996) *The end of capitalism (as we knew it): a feminist critique of political economy*, University of Minnesota Press.

Graham, Julie; Gibson, Katherine (2006) *A Postcapitalist Politics*, University of Minnesota Press.

Gregson, Nicky; Simonsen, Kirsten; Vaiou, Dina (2001) "Whose Economy for Whose Culture? Moving Beyond Oppositional Talk in European Debate about Economy and Culture" in *Antipode*, 33(4): 616-646, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Gundle, Stephen (2000) *Between Hollywood and Moscow: The Italian Communists and the Challenge of Mass Culture 1943-1991*, London: Duke University Press.

Gutkind, Erwin A. (1954) *Community and Environment: A Discourse on Social Ecology*, New York: Philosophical Library.

Gutkind, Erwin A. (1962) *The Twilight of Cities*, New York: Macmillan.

Halfacree, Keith (2006b), "Rural Space: Constructing a Three-fold Architecture" in *Handbook of Rural Studies*, P. Cloke, T. Marsden & P. Mooney, (eds.), pp. 44–62. London: Sage.

Halfacree, Keith (2007) "Back-to-the-land in the Twenty-First Century: Making connections with rurality" in *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie,* 98, pp. 3-8, published by the Royal Dutch Geographical Society (KNAG).

Hardt, Michael (2000) "The Withering of Civil Society" in *Masses, Classes, and the Public Sphere*, M. Hill & W. Montag (eds.), London: Verso.

Harvey, David (1989) "From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: The transformation in urban governance in late capitalism" in *Geografisca Annaler*, 71 B(1): 3-17.

Harvey, David (1990) *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Harvey, David (1998) "What's Green and Makes the Environment Go Round?"in *The Cultures of Globalization: Post-Contemporary Interventions*, Fredric J. and Masao M. (eds.), Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Harvey, David (2006) "Space as a Keyword" in *David Harvey: A Critical Reader*, N. Castree & D. Gregory (eds.), Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Healey, Matthew (2008) *What is Branding?*, Mies: RotoVision SA.

Hoeschele, Wolfgang (2010) "Measuring abundance: the case of *Cittaslow*'s attempts to support better quality of life" in *International Journal of Green Economics*, 4(1): 63–81.

Hubacher, Simon (2008) "Sustainable Difference", in *Urban Transformation*, Ilka & Andreas Ruby (eds.), pp. 110-115, Berlin: Ruby Press.

Husserl, Edmund (1999) "A Phenomenology of the Consciousness of Internal Time" in *The Essential Husserl: Basic Writings in Transcendental Phenomenology*, D. Welton (ed.), Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Illyich,Ivan (1973) *Tools for Conviviality*, New York: Harper & Row Publishers.

Jessop, Bob (1997) "Survey Article: The Regulation Approach" in *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 5(3): 287-326.

Jessop, Bob (2000) "The Crisis of the National Spatio-Temporal Fix and the Ecological Dominance of Globalizing Capitalism", published by the Department of Sociology, Lancaster

University:http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/papers/Jessop-Crisis-of-the-National-Spatio-Temporal-Fix.pdf (Accessed: 02.05.2011).

Jessop, Bob and Sum, Ngai-Ling (2001) "Pre-disciplinary and Post-disciplinary Perspectives in Political Economy", in *New Political Economy*, 6(1): 89-101.

Jessop, Bob (2002) "Liberalism, Neoliberalism, and Urban Governance: A State-Theoretical Perspective" in *The Spaces of Neoliberalism*, Neil B. & Nick T. (eds.), pp.106-125, Oxford, Blackwell publishing.

Jessop, Bob (2005) "Cultural political economy, the knowledge-based economy, and the state" in *The Technological Economy*, Barry, A. & Slater, D. (eds.), pp.144-166, London, Routledge.

Jessop, Bob (2007) *State Power: A Strategic-Relational Approach*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Jessop, B., and S. Oosterlynck (2008) "Cultural Political Economy: On Making the Cultural Turn without Falling into Soft Economic Sociology" in *Geoforum* 39(3): 1155-1169.

Jessop, Bob (2009) "From Governance to Governance Failure and from Multi-level Governance to Multi-scalar Meta-governance" in B. Arts et al. (eds.), *The Disoriented State: Shifts in Governmentality, Territoriality and Governance*, pp. 79-98, Springer Science + Business Media B. V.

Jünger, Ernst (1930) *Total Mobilization* in *The Heidegger Controversy,* pp.119-39, J. Golb & R. Wolin (trans.), originally "Totale Mobilmachung" first appeared in *Kriegund Krieger*, edited byErnst Jünger, Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt.

Kanbur, Ravi (2009) "The Co-Evolution of the Washington Consensus and the Economic Development Discourse", in *Macalester International*, Volume 24: http://www.arts.cornell.edu/poverty/kanbur/Co-EvolutionWashingtonConsensus.pdf(Accessed: 03.05.2011).

Karadağ, Arife (2004) "Seferihisar'ın Kentsel Gelişimi", in *Dünden Yarına Seferihisar Sempozyumu*, pp. 85-98, Izmir: Seferihisar Kaymakamlığı Çevre Kültür ve Turizm Birliği.

Karaömerlioğlu, M. Asım (Mart, 1998) "Bir Tepeden Reform Denemesi: 'Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu'nun Hikâyesi", *Birikim*, sayı 108.

Kipfer, Stefan (2008) "How Lefebvre Urbanized Gramsci: hegemony, everyday life and difference" in *Space, Difference, Everyday life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, Kanishka G. et al. (eds.), pp. 193-212, New York: Routledge.

Kiray, Mubeccel B. (1972) *Örgütleşemeyen Kent: İzmir'de İş Hayatının Yapısı ve Yerleşme Düzeni*, Ankara: Sosyal Bilimler Derneği Yayınları.

Kiray, Mubeccel B. (1975) "Izmir: The city that could not become organized" in Guvenc, B. (ed.), *Social Change in Izmir*, Ankara: Social Science Association of Turkey.

Kiray, Mubeccel B. (1985) "Metropolitan city and the changing family" in Erder, T. (ed.), *Family in Turkish Society*, pp. 79-89, Ankara: Social Science Association of Turkey.

Knox, Paul L. & Mayer, Heike (2012) "Europe's internal periphery: Small towns in the context of reflexive polycentricity" in *Cultural Political Economy of Small Cities*, A. Lorentzen & B. van Heur (eds.), pp. 142-57, London: Routledge.

Kumar, Krishan (1995) *From Post-Industrial to Post-Modern Society: New Theories of the Contemporary World*, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.

Laraňa, Enrique; Johnston, Hank; Gusfield R. Joseph (1994) *New social movements: from ideology to identity*, Philedelphia: Temple University Press.

Latour, Bruno (1998) "To modernize or to ecologize? That's the question" in *Remaking Reality: Nature at the Millenium*, N. Castree and B. Willems-Braun (eds.), New York: Routledge.

Lazzarato, Maurizio (2004) "From Capital-Labour to Capital-Life", Ephemera, 4(3): 187-208: http://ephemeraweb.org/journal/4-3/4-3lazzarato.pdf (Accessed: 03.05.2010)

Lefebvre, Henri (1991/1974) *The Production of Space*, D. Nicholson-Smith (trans.), Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Lefebvre, Henri; Renaudie, Serge; Guilbaud, Pierre (1986) text submitted as part of the proposal for the International Competition for New Belgrade Urban Structure Improvement, first published in Bitter, Sabine & Weber, Helmut (2009) *Autogestion, or Henri Lefebvre in New Belgrade*, Berlin: Sternberg Press.

Lefebvre, Henri (2009) *State, Space, World: Selected Essays*, Neil B. & Stuart E. (eds.), Gerald M., Neil B., Stuart E. (trans.), Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude (1969) *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, J. H. Bell; J. R. von Sturmer (trans.), Boston: Beacon Press.

Lipietz, Alain (2002) "Regulationist political ecology or environmental economics?" in *Regulation Theory: The State of the Art*, R. Boyer & Y. Saillard (eds.), pp. 223-7, London: Routledge.

Lorentzen, Anne & Van Heur, Bas (2012) *Cultural Political Economy of Small Cities*, London: Routledge.

Manfredo, Tafuri (1998) "Towards a Critique of Architectural Ideology" in *Architecture Theory since 1968*, Michael H. (ed.), Cambridge: MIT Press.

Manzini, Ezio (2005) "New food networks: Agriculture, food and design towards a multi-local world" in Agrindustrial Design, 1st Product and Service Design Symposium and Exhibition on Agricultural Industries: Olive oil, Wine and Design, 27-29 April 2005, Izmir, Turkey, Izmir University of Economics Faculty of Fine Arts and Design Department of Industrial Design.

Mardin, Şerif (2002) "Playing Games with Names" in *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey*, D. Kandiyoti & A. Saktanber (eds.), pp.115-27; London, NY: I.B. Tauris & Co. Publishers.

Mauss, Marcel (1966) *The gift; forms and functions of exchange in archaic societies*, London: Cohen & West.

Mayer, Heike & Knox, Paul L. (2006) "Slow Cities: Sustainable Places in a Fast World", in *Journal of Affairs*, 28 (4): 321-334.

Mayer, Heike & Knox, Paul L. (2009) "Pace of Life and Quality of Life: The Slow City Charter" in *The Community Quality-of-Life Indicators III: Best Cases*, pp. 21-41, M.J. Sirgy, R.

Phillips, D. Rahtz (eds.), Blacksburg, VA: InternationalSociety for Quality of Life Studies (ISQOLS), New York: Springer.

Miele, Mara (2008) "*Cittaslow*: Producing Slowness against the FastLife" in *Space and Polity*, 12(1): 135-156.

Miles, Malcolm; Hall, Tim; Borden, Iain (2000) *The City Cultures Reader*, New York: Routledge.

Mills, Wright C. (1959/2000) *TheSociological Imagination*, NY: Oxford University Press.

Mutluer, Mustafa (2004) "Seferihisar Çevresinde Arazi Kullanım Sorunları" in *Dünden Yarına Seferihisar Sempozyumu*, pp.71-84, Izmir: Seferihisar Kaymakamlığı Çevre Kültür ve Turizm Birliği.

Negri, Toni (1997) "Reappropriations of Public Space", Emery E. (trans.), in *Common Sense*, 21: 31-41.

Offe, Claus (1985) "New Social Movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics" in *Social Research*, 52(4).

Offe, Claus (1984) "Contradictions of the Welfare State", John K. (ed.), London: Hutchinson.

Oguz, Saygın Can; Velibeyoglu, Koray; Velibeyoglu, Hasibe (2010) "Vulnerability of Housing in Shrinking Cities: Case of Izmir" in *22nd International Housing Research Conference*, ENHR 2010, 4-7 July, Istanbul.

Özalp, Beril (2009) "Sustainable Development in Izmir" in *45th ISOCARP International Congress*, 2009, 18-22 October, Porto.

Özkaynak, Begüm *et al.* (2001) "Is Ecological Economics an Alternative to Neoclassical Environmental Economics?" Paper presented at Frontiers I European Society for Ecological Economics Conference Cambridge, 4th-7th July, 2001.

Öztürk, Tarık (May 2010) "Hız çağına karşı Yavaş Şehirler" in *TOKIHABER*,interview with Tunç Soyer, pp.41-43.

Parkins, Wendy & Craig, Geoffrey (2006) *Slow Living*, Oxford: Berg Publishers.

Pink, Sarah (2009) "Urban social movements and small places: Slow Cities as sites of activism", in *City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action*, 13: 451-465.

Petrini, Carlo & McCuaig, William (2001)*Slow Food: The case for taste,* NY: Columbia University Press.

Petrini, Carlo & Padovani, Gigi (2005/2011) *Slow Food Devrimi, Arcigola'dan Terra Madre'ye Yeni Bir Yaşam ve Yemek Kültürü*, (çev.) Çağrı Ekiz, İstanbul: Sinek Sekiz.

Pratt, Mary L. (1992) *Imperial Eyes: Studies in Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London: Routledge.

Psychopedis, Kosmas (2000) "New Social Thought: Questions of Theory and Critique" in *The Politics of Change*, Werner B., Kosmas P. (eds.), pp. 71-105, London: Palgrave Publishers Ltd.

Putnam, Robert D. (1993) *Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy*. NJ: Princeton University Press.

Rabinow, Paul (1989) *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Ronneberger, Klaus (2009) "Henri Lefebvre and the Question of Autogestion" in *Autogestion, or Henri Lefebvre in New Belgrade*,Bitter, S. & Weber, H. (eds.), pp. 89-118, Berlin: Sternberg Press.

Sassen, Saskia. (1991, 2001) *The Global City*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Sassoon, Anne S. (1980) *Gramsci's politics*, London: Croom Helm.

Sirgy, Joseph (2009) *The Community Quality-of-Life Indicators III: Best Cases*, M.J. Sirgy, R. Phillips, D. Rahtz (eds.), New York: Springer.

Stanek, Lukasz (2008) "Space as Concrete Abstraction, Hegel, Marx, and modern urbanism in Henri Lefebvre" in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, Kanishka G., Stefan K., Richard M., Christian S. (eds.), New York: Routledge.

Stephen Greasley, Gerry Stoker (2008, July-August) "Mayors and Urban Governance: Developing a Facilitative Leadership Style" in *Public Administration Review*, 722-730.

Stierand, Philipp (2008) *Food and the City: The Relevance of the Food System for Urban Development*, unpublished Doctoral thesis, Supervisor: Prof. Klaus R. Kunzmann, Prof. Rainer Danielzyk, Technical University of Dortmund Faculty of Spatial Planning.

Tafuri, Manfredo (1998) "Towards a Critique of Architectural Ideology" in *Architecture Theory since 1968*, Michael H. (ed.), Cambridge: MIT Press.

Tekeli, İlhan (2011) *Anadolu'da Yerleşme Sistemi ve Yerleşme Tarihleri*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

Telò, Mario (2007) "Globalization, New Regionalism and the Role of the European Union" in *European Union and New Regionalism Regional Actors and Global Governance in a Post-Hegemonic Era*, M. Telò (ed.), pp.1-21, Hampshire, UK: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Tucker, Christopher M. (2003) "The Lisbon Strategy and the Open Method of Coordination: A New Vision and the Revolutionary Potential of Soft Governance in the European Union", Prepared for delivery at the *2003 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association*, August 28–31, 2003. http://www.eurosfaire.prd.fr/7pc/doc/1225463928_lisbon_ideology_omc_apsa_paper_tucker.pdf (Accessed: 03.03.2012).

Ünlü, Halil (2011) "Energy Efficiency and Municipalities" in *Energy Efficiency in Turkey and the Role of Municipalities*, Rony Margulies (ed.), Istanbul: Heinrich Böll Stiftung Derneği.

Van der Meulen, Hielke S. (2008) "The emergence of *Slow Food*", Ch.11 in *Pathways to High-tech Valleys and Research Triangles: Innovative Entrepreneurship, Knowledge Transfer and Cluster Formation in Europe and the United States*, W. Hulsink & H. Dons (eds.), pp. 225-247, Dordrecht: Springer.

Venturini, Tommaso (2008) "Our Daily Bread: *Eataly* and the Reinvention of Supermarket" in *Proceedings of the First international conference on Economic De-growth for Ecological Sustainability and Social Equity*, Paris, April 18-19th, Fabrice F. & Francois S. (eds.), 73-77.

Willis, Rebecca & Christie, Ian (2002) "Beyond Orwell: scenarios for the European long term!" Published on-line, 8 May 2002, Open Democracy Website:
http://www.opendemocracy.net/democracy-europefuture/article_371.jsp
(Accessed: 10.04.2012).

Yılmaz, Serdar; Beriş, Yakup; Rodrigo Serrano-Berthet (2010) "Linking Local Government Discretion and Accountability in Decentralisation" in *Development Policy Review*, 28(3): 259-293.

Yurtseven, Rıdvan & Kaya, Ozan (September, 2011) "Slow Tourists: A Comparative Research Based on *Cittaslow* Principles" in *American International Journal of Contemporary Research*, Vol.1, No.2.

Zizek, Slavoj (1989) *The Sublime Object of Ideology*, New York: Verso.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

International Cittaslow Criteria[184]

Environmental Policies

1. Verification of the quality of the air, of water, of the soil within the parameters established by law.
2. Plans for the promotion and dissemination of differentiated refuse collection including urban refuse and special wastes.
3. Dissemination and promotion of industrial and domestic composting
4. Existence of a purification plant for urban or cooperative sewage.
5. Municipal plan for saving energy, with reference particularly to the use of alternative sources of energy (renewable sources, green hydrogen, mini hydroelectric power plant) and producing heat from RSU and biomasses.*
6. Ban on the use of O.G.M. * in agriculture.
7. Municipal plan for the regulation of commercial art and traffic signs.
8. Systems for controlling electromagnetic pollution.
9. Program for controlling and reducing noise pollution.
10. Systems and programs for controlling light pollution.*
11. Adoption of systems of environmental management (EMAS and ECOLABEL or ISO 9001; ISO 14000, SA 8000 and participation in Agenda 21 projects).*

Infrastructure policies

1. Plans for improving and for the reclamation of historical centers and/or works of cultural or historical value.
2. Plans for safe mobility and traffic
3. Bicycle tracks connecting schools and public buildings.
4. Plans favoring alternative mobility over private transportation and for the integration of traffic with public means of transportation and pedestrian areas (extra-urban car parks linked to public transportation, escalators, moving walkways, rail or cable installations, cycling tracks, pedestrian itineraries providing access to schools, work places, etc.)*
5. Verification of Infrastructures to guarantee that public places and those of public interest are accessible for the disabled and the removal of architectural barriers and access to technologies.*
6. Promotion of programs to facilitate family life and local activities (recreation, sports, activities aimed at creating bonds between school and family, assistance, including home assistance for the elderly and chronically ill, social centers, regulatory plan of municipal business hours, public lavatories).*
7. Center for medical assistance.
8. Quality green areas and service infrastructures (interconnecting green areas, play grounds, etc.)
9. Plan for the distribution of merchandise and the creation of "commercial centers for natural products".
10. Agreement with the shopkeepers with regards to the reception and assistance to citizens in trouble: "friendly shops".
11. Redevelopment of deteriorating urban areas and projects for the reutilization of the city.
12. Program for an urban restyling and upgrading.*
13. Integration of the U.R.P. functions, with Slow City information windows.*

Technologies and facilities for Urban Quality

1. Window for bio-architecture and programs for the training of personnel assigned to the information project for the promotion of bioarchitecture.*
2. Equipping the city with cables for optical fiber and wireless systems.
3. Adoption of systems for monitoring electromagnetic fields.
4. Providing refuse containers in keeping with the environment and the landscape and removal according to established timetables.

---

[184]Presented as Attachment "C" to the *Cittaslow* Charter; http://www.*Cittaslow*.org; (*= Obligatory requirements).

5. Programs and promotion for planting public and private places with important environmentally suitable plants, preferably autochthonous in line with criteria of landscape gardening.

6. Plans for providing services for the citizens (Dissemination of municipal services via internet and plans for creating and educating the citizens in the use of an internet-based civic network).

7. Plan for controlling noise in specifically noisy areas.

8. Plan concerning colors.

9. Promotion of telework.

Safeguarding autochthonous production

1. Plans for the development of organic farming.*

2. Certification of the quality of artisan produced products and objects and artistic crafts.*

3. Programs for the safeguarding of artisan and/or artistic craft products in danger of extinction.*

4. Safeguarding traditional methods of work and professions at a risk of extinction. *

5. Use of organic products and/or those produced in the territory and the preservation of local traditions in restaurants, protected structures, school cafeterias).*

6. Programs for educating taste and nutrition in schools in collaboration with *Slow Food**

7. Favoring the activities of wine and gastronomic *Slow Food* Presidia for species and preparations risking extinction.*

8. Census of the typical products of the territory and support of their commercialization (updating of markets for local products, creation of appropriate spaces).*

9. Census of trees in the city and enhancing the value of large trees or "historical trees".

10. Promoting and preserving local cultural events.*

11. Promoting "urban" and school gardens for autochthonous cultures grown with traditional methods.

Hospitality

1. Training courses for tourist information and quality hospitality.*

2. Using international signs in the tourist signs of the historical centers with guided tourist itineraries.*

3. Reception policies and plans to facilitate the approach of the visitors to the city and access to information and services (parking, extension/elasticity of opening hours of public offices, etc.) with particular regards to scheduled events.

4. Preparation of "slow" itineraries of the city (brochures, websites, home pages, etc.)

5. Making the tourist operators and storekeepers aware of the need for a transparency of prices and the exhibition of rates outside the business establishments.

Awareness

1. Campaign to provide the citizens with information on the aims and procedures of what a Slow City is, preceded by information of the intentions of the Administration to become a Slow City*

2. Programs to involve the social fabric in acquiring the "slow" philosophy and the application of Slow City projects and in particular: educational gardens and parks, book facilities, adhesion to the project of the germ plasma bank.*

3. Programs for the dissemination of the Slow City and *Slow Food* activities.*

Extraordinary requisites

- Meeting the requisite, launched by Slow City, for the campaign of "action/identity" of Slow City.*

- Constitution and support of the *Slow Food* Presidia (note of merit).

- Member cities are required to add the trade mark *Cittaslow* (Slow City) to their municipal letterhead and to add the contents of the "slow" philosophy to their website.

Support to *Slow Food* activities and projects

1. Establishment of a local Convivium *Slow Food.*

2. Education programmes for tastes and nutrition for the Compulsory and secondary schools in cooperation with *Slow Food.*

3. Set-up of school vegetable gardens in cooperation with *Slow Food.*

4. Implementing one or more projects of Arca or *Slow Food* Centres for species or productions with the risk of extinction.

5. Use of local area products safeguarded by *Slow Food* and maintenance of nutritional traditions in collective food service, schools canteens with annexed food education programmes.

6. Support to the typical local area products through implementation of the "Mercati della Terra" in cooperation with *Slow Food.*

7. Support for the "Terra Madre" project and food communities through joint twinning.

APPENDIX B

List of Urban Professionals Contacted in Izmir

CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING

02.03.2011
Assoc. Prof. Semahat Özdemir
Izmir Yüksek Teknoloji Enstitüsü, Head of the Department of City and Regional Planning
(Participatory Planning, Local Agenda 21 experience in Mordoğan and Karaburun)

04.03.2011
Assoc. Prof. Begüm Özkaynak
Boğaziçi University, Department of Economics
Ecological Economics
(Multiscalar Urban Development Scenario Approach, Participatory Planning)

15.03.2011
Gökhan Erkan, City Planner
Head of the Izmir Chamber of City and Region Planners
(Local Administration Reform, Izmir Development Plan, Conflicts over EXPO site in Inciraltı)

18.03.2011
Prof.Dr. Sezai Göksu
Dokuz Eylül University, Head of the Department of City and Regional Planning
Head of the Izmir Development Plan (IKBNIP) team, Mayor's Consultant until 2007.
(Planning Decisions on the Peninsula)

24.03.2011
Prof. Dr. Zerrin Toprak Karaman
Dokuz Eylül University, Head of the Department of Urbanization and Environmental Problems
(Izmir's Integrated Urban Development and Action Plan; European Council Treaties; Professionals' Perspective of Corporate Responsibility, Izmir Local Agenda 21)

30.03.2011
Assoc. Prof. Koray Velibeyoğlu
Izmir Yüksek Teknoloji University, Department of City and Regional Planning
(Head of the 1st Prize winning Team in Izmir-Urla-Karaburun National Development Plan Competition, Asset-based Development Approach)

07.04.2011
Prof. Dr. Emel Göksu
Dokuz Eylül University, Department of City and Regional Planning
(Rural gentrification in the Urla Peninsula)

12.04.2011
Prof. Dr. Yıldırım Oral
Dokuz Eylül University, Department of City and Regional Planning
(Integrated Development Potential of Izmir)

20.04.2011
Assoc. Prof. Arife Karadağ,
Ege University, Department of Geography
(Urban Ecology, Seferihisar's Environmental and Urban Problems)

05.04.2011
Noyan Özkan, Attorney At Law(Environmental Law)

07.04.2011
Assist. Prof. Adile Arslan Avar
Izmir Yüksek Teknoloji University, Department of City and Regional Planning
(Special Provincial Administration's Rural Development and Branding Project)

12.05.2011
Prof. Dr. Cemal Arkon
Izmir Yüksek Teknoloji Enstitüsü, Department of City and Regional Planning
(Protection sites in the Urla Peninsula, Member of the Scientific Committee of Turkish *Cittaslow*)

16.09.2011
Prof. Dr. Ayda Eraydın
Middle East Technical University, Department of City and Regional Planning
(Network Governance in Izmir)

ARCHITECTURE

15.03.2011
Tufan Arkayın, Architect
Arkayın Mimarlık
(Preparation of Seferihisar's *Cittaslow* Presentation Dossier)

18.03.2011
Assoc. Prof. Didem Akyol Altun
Dokuz Eylül University, Department of Architecture
(Secondary Housing Development, Gated Community Settlements in the Urla Peninsula)

24.03.2011
Prof. Dr. İlkim Kaya
Dokuz Eylül University, Department of Architecture
(İzmir İli Stratejik Planlama, Yönetişim, Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi-İZÜSYÖM)

CITY GOVERNANCE

Izmir Development Agency (IZKA)
17.03.2011
Saygın Can Oğuz, City Planner
Planning, Programming & Coordination Unit
(Funds on Rural Development and Tourism Diversification Projects)

17.03.2011
Begüm Tatari
City Marketing & Foreign Relations Unit

Izmir Special Provincial Administration (SPA)
28.03.2011
Mahmut Akyiğit
Planning and Coordination
(Izmir's Strategic Integrated Governance Model)

Provincial Council of Izmir
03.04.2011
Devrim Çukur, Attorney At Law
Turkish Delegate of European Council's The Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, Member of
the Committee on Monitoring (EU-funded projects for 1st-tier municipalities)

Izmir Strategic Integrated Governance Model

Table 9: Izmir Strategic Integrated Governance Model, Acquired from Izmir SPA.
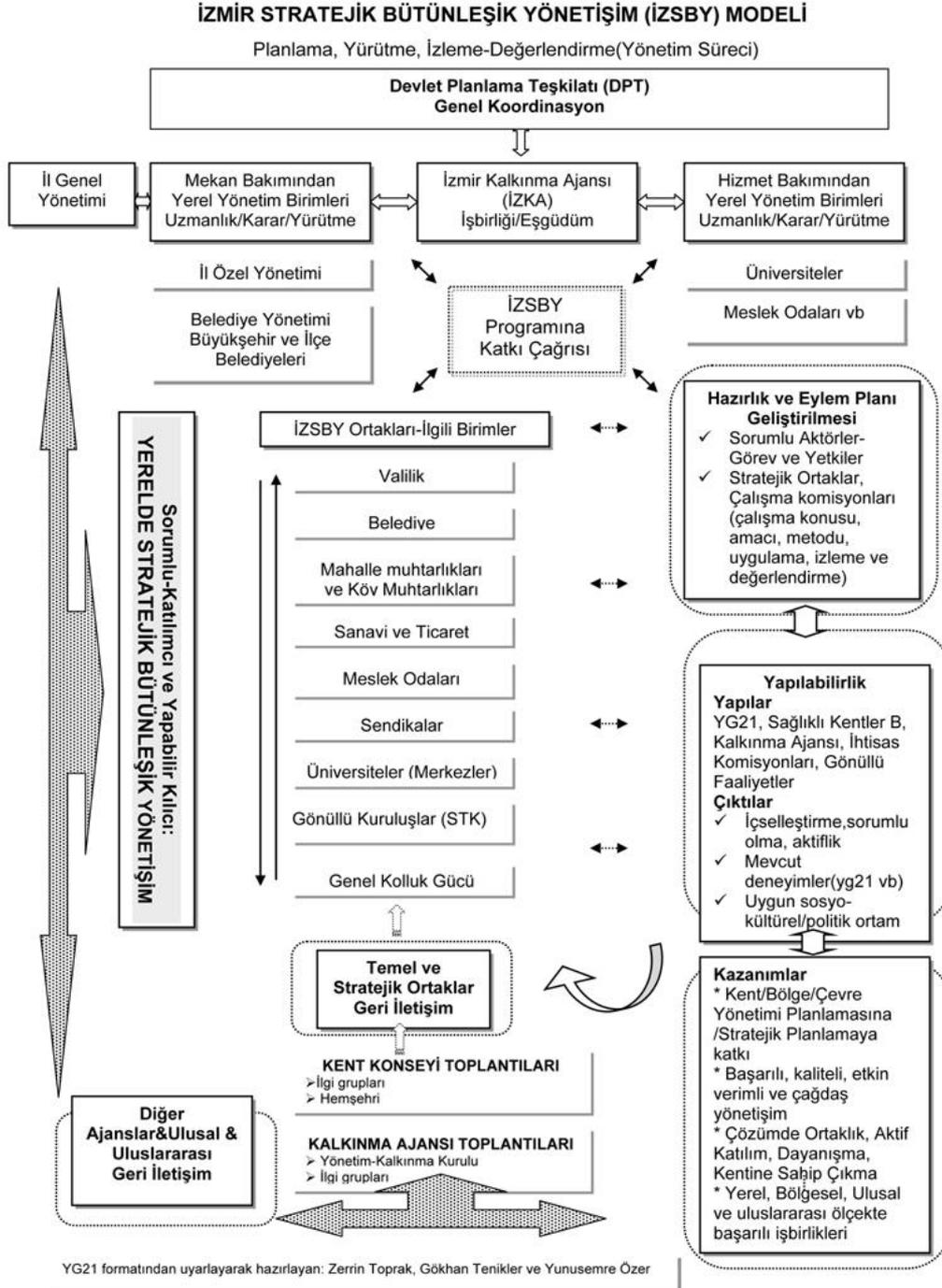
Socio-economic Indicators of Seferihisar

Table 10: Employment in Sectors; quoted in IKBNIP, 2007: 165.

	Agriculture	Industry	Construction	Services	Total
Izmir Province	365.627	263.656	67.829	583.896	1.281.008
Izmir Metropolitan Area	191.853	246.943	59.855	531.430	1.030.081
Seferihisar	8.418	1.574	1.404	6.052	17.448
Selçuk	6.080	922	665	5.950	13.617
Torbalı	29.217	7.710	2.161	8.920	48.008
Menderes	27.417	5.002	1.343	9.889	43.651
Aliağa	8.768	8.366	1.497	7.555	26.186
Narlıdere	708	2.057	1.198	17.853	21.816
Balçova	493	3.322	1.289	14.914	20.018
Bayındır	21.470	1.336	433	3.738	26.977
Foça	7.688	870	491	15.080	24.129

Table 11: Socio-economic Indicators of Districts, DIE, 2004; quoted in IKBNIP, 2007: 152.

	Menemen	Seferihisar	Selçuk	Tire	Torbalı	Urla
Population	114.457	34.761	33.594	78.658	93.216	49.269
Urbanization (%)	40.26	50.42	75.65	54.65	40.87	74.24
Population Increase (%)	40.88	48.47	20.55	1.72	26.35	32.86
Population Density	165	90	120	88	165	70
Population Dependency (%)	55.71	40.44	49.03	49.63	54.11	41.48
Employment in Agriculture Sector (%)	57.86	48.25	44.65	68.13	60.86	35.01
Employment in Industry Sector (%)	13.73	9.02	6.77	9.41	16.06	8.58
Employment in Service Sector (%)	28.41	42.73	48.58	22.46	23.08	56.41
Unemployment (%)	4.76	6.59	8.70	4.18	4.51	8.35
Literacy (%)	87.34	94.37	88.62	87.11	85.41	94.39
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1000)	47.80	53.39	49.82	30.71	38.55	41.75
General Income per capita (Thousand TL)	17.292	85.251	124.392	124.481	6.074.916	122.187

APPENDIX E

Municipal activities in the scope of the Cittaslow criteria[185]

Çevre Kriterleri

1. Hava, su ve toprağın kalitesinin, yasa tarafından belirtilen parametrelerde olduğunun belgelenmesi. Hava kirliliğini ve kalitesini ölçmek için İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesinin mobil hava kirliliği izleme aracı Seferihisar'da 2 ay boyunca ölçümlerde bulunmuştur. Deniz suyu temizliğini belgelemek için İl Sağlık Müdürlüğünün yaptığı ölçümler ve şebeke sularının temizliğinin kanıtlamak için İZSU' dan su temizlik raporları alınmıştır

2. Kentsel çöp ve özel atıkların ayrıştırılarak toplanmasının teşvik edilmesi ve yaygınlaştırılmasına yönelik projeler. Konu ile ilgili Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nin ÇEVKO, İzmir ilçe belediyeleri ve kurmuş olduğu konsorsiyumla yaptığı sözleşme sonucu ilçemizden toplanan çöplerin ayrıştırılması yapılmaktadır.

3. Endüstriyel ve evsel kompostlamanın yaygınlaştırılması ve teşvik edilmesi. Endüstriyel ve evsel kompostlama hakkında araştırma yürütülmüş ve bu alanda uzman yetkililerde görüşülmüştür. Konu ile ilgili olarak yeşil atık miktarları doğrultusunda özel bir şirkete Seferihisar'da kompost tesisi hakkında ön fizibilite çalışması yaptırılacaktır. Sonuçların olumlu olması halinde bir kompost aracı alımı ve tesis için arazi düzenlemesi yapılması planlanmaktadır.

4. Kentsel ya da toplu kanalizasyon için arıtma tesisinin bulunması İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi tarafından Seferihisar'da 50.000 kişilik bir biyolojik atık su arıtma tesisi kurulmuş ve faaliyete geçmiştir.

5. Özellikle alternatif enerji kaynaklarının (yenilenebilir kaynaklar, yeşil hidrojen, mini hidroelektrik enerji tesis) kullanılması ve yenilenebilir kaynaklar ve biyokütlelerden ısı üretilmesi yoluyla; enerji tasarrufu ile ilgili belediye projesi.

- Seferihisar İlçesi Biogaz Tesisi Projesi

İlçe merkezi ve köylerde ortaya çıkan tüm organik atıkların ayrıştırılması ya da ayrı ayrı toplanması ile biogaz tesisinin hayata geçirilmesi Seferihisar için oldukça önemli bir konudur. Konuyla ilgili olarak Gümüldür Atık Transfer İstasyonu'ndan haftalık ve aylık toplam atık miktarı, organik atık miktarı ve yeşil atık miktarı raporları alınarak bu konu üzerine daha önce çalışmış bir danışmanlık firmasına bu sonuçlar teslim edilmiştir. Firma öncelikli olarak bu bölgede bir biogaz tesisi kurulmasının ön fizibilite çalışmasını yapacaktır. Ön fizibilite çalışması sonucu ortaya olumlu sonuçlar çıkar ise fizibilite çalışmaları ile tesis kapasitesi belirlenerek tesis projesi çizilecektir.

Seferihisarda yaygın bir geçim kaynağı olan seracılığın en önemli masraflarından biri seraların ısıtılması için harcanan enerji bedelleridir. Biogaz tesisinin kurulmasındaki temel amaç ortaya çıkan enerji ile bu seraların ısıtılması olacaktır.

- Alternatif Enerji Kaynaklı Tramvay Projesi

Alternatif Enerji kaynakların değerlendirilmesi hususunda yenilenebilir enerjinin ulaşım araçlarında kullanılması ile ilgili olarak İzmir Ekonomi Üniversitesi, Güneş Fayton Tic.Ltd.Şti. ve bir proje danışmanı ile birlikte Seferihsar Merkez - Sığacık Mahallesi arasında alternatif enerji kaynaklı tramvay projesi üzerinde çalışılmaktadır. Proje için düşünülen araç Seferihsar Karakayalar Bölgesi'nden Sığacık Mahallesi'ne giden yol güzergahında 25-30 kişi kapasiteli olacak ve raylı sistem üzerinde çalışacaktır.

- Güneş Enerjili Bisiklet Projesi

Yenilenebilir enerjinin ulaşım araçlarında kullanılması kapsamında, İzmir Ekonomi Üniversitesi, Seferihisar Belediyesi, Seferihisar Jeotermal İnşaat, Turizm, Özel Eğitim, Hizmet, Taşımacılık, Temizlik, Sanayi, Ticaret A.Ş ve bir proje danışmanı kent içi ulaşımda otomobil yerine güneş enerjili bisiklet kullanımını yaygınlaştırmak için çalışma yürütmektedir. Proje çalışmaları kapsamında en fazla 25km/sa hızla gidecek olan 3 tekerlekli bisiklet ulaşım ihtiyaçlarına cevap verebilecek nitelikte olacaktır.

- Seferihisar-Doğanbey Günübirlik Kür Merkezi ve Konaklama Üniteleri Projesi Seferihisar Belediyesi ve Seferihisar Jeotermal İnşaat, Turizm, Özel Eğitim, Hizmet, Taşımacılık, Temizlik, Sanayi, Ticaret A.Ş ortaklığı ile Seferihisar-Doğanbey Günübirlik Kür Merkezi ve Konaklama Ünitelerinin kurulabilmesi için çalışma yürütülmektedir. Kurulacak olan Kür Merkezi konaklama kapasitesine sahip olmanın yanı sıra,

---

[185]The list was accessed from the on-line real estate site, *Emlak Kulisi* (20.08.2010): http://www.emlakkulisi.com/tunc-soyer-sakin-sehir-modern-bir-projedir/44824 (Accessed: 12.08.2011)

genel olarak günü birlik kullanım için olanak sağlayacaktır ve özel olarak Seferihisar ve çevre ilçelerdeki otel ve tesislere, ikinci konut ve yerel halka yönelik hizmet verecektir.

- Enerji Verimliliği Eğitimleri

Enerjiyi verimli kullanma bilincini uyandırmak ve çeşitli faaliyetlerle Seferihisar genelinde enerji verimliliği konusunu gündemde tutmak amacıyla Schneider Elektrik ile işbirliği içerisinde Seferihisar Belediyesi kamu personeli, sivil toplum kuruluşları temsilcileri, elektrik malzemeleri satıcıları, Seferihisar'da ikamet eden kişiler ve öğrencilere yönelik olarak 'Enerji Verimliliği Eğitimleri' verilecektir.

- Yerel Demokrasi Haftası Kutlaması

Seferihisar Belediyesi, İzmir Kalkınma Ajansı ve Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi İzmir İli Stratejik Planlama, Yönetişim, Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi işbirliği ile Avrupa Konseyi Avrupa Yerel Demokrasi Haftası kapsamında 15 - 17 Ekim 2010 tarihleri arasında bir seri etkinlik düzenlenecektir. Bu yılın teması olan "Küresel Isınma ile Mücadelede Sürdürülebilir Kentler" teması altında İzmir'de "Avrupa Kentsel Şartı Işığında Sürdürülebilir Kentler Sempozyumu ", Seferihisar'da "Küresel Isınma ve İklim Değişikliğinin Küresel ve Yerel Ölçekte Etkileri ve Kriz Yönetimi Çalıştayı", "Çocukların ve Gençlerin Kent Planlamasına Katılımı Yuvarlak Masa Toplantısı", "Seferihisar'daki İlköğretim Okullarında Enerji Verimliliği Eğitimleri" ve Seferihisar Kent Konseyi tarafından farklı etkinlikler düzenlenecektir.

6. Genetiği değiştirilmiş organizmaların (GDO) tarımda kullanılmasının yasaklanması. Konu ile ilgili detaylı bilgi edinmek için GDO'ya Hayır Platformuna katılınmıştır. Bu konuda çıkan son kanunlardan sonra GDO'lu tohumların kullanımının yasaklanması hakkında atılabilecek adımlar için yasal yollar araştırılmaktadır.

7. Reklam grafikleri, panolar ve trafik işaretlerinin düzenlenmesine dair belediye planı Seferihisar'da farklı boylarda ve tarzlarda ilan ve reklam panoları yerine Belediye tarafından belirlenen standart boyda ve tarzda ilan ve reklam panoları kullanılmaya başlanmıştır. Bu çalışmalar için Seferihisar Atatürk Caddesi ve Sığacık merkez pilot uygulama alanları olarak seçilmiştir. Bu bölgelerde dükkanların tabelaları yeni tabelalarla değiştirilmiştir. Çeşitli binalarda mimari iyileştirmeler yapılmış, uydu antenleri merkezi sisteme çatıya alınmıştır ve belediye serasında yetiştirilen sardunyaların kullanıldığı saksılar balkonlara yerleştirilmiştir. Bu çalışmalar yeterli fon bulununca tüm Seferihisar'a yayılacaktır.

8. Elektromanyetik kirliliği kontrol eden sistemler. Elektromanyetik kirlilik yaratan baz istasyonlarının yerleri ve teknik özellikleri tespit edilmiştir.

9. Gürültü kirliliğini kontrol etmek ve azaltmak için bir program. Ege Üniversitesi Çevre Sorunları Araştırma Merkezi tarafından şehrin en kalabalık olduğu yaz sezonunda gürültü ölçümleri yapılacak ve olması gereken parametrelerinin üzerinde değerler çıkması durumunda gürültü kirliliğinin önlenmesi ile ilgili bir proje geliştirilecektir.

10. Işık kirliliğini kontrol etmek için sistem ve programlar Ege Üniversitesi Çevre Sorunları Araştırma Merkezi tarafından şehrin en kalabalık olduğu yaz sezonunda ışık ölçümleri yapılacak ve olması gereken parametrelerinde üzerinde değerler çıkması durumunda ışık kirliliğinin önlenmesi ile ilgili bir proje geliştirilecektir.

11. Çevre yönetimi sistemlerinin benimsenmesi (EMAS ve ECOLABEL ya da ISO 9001; ISO 14000, SA 8000 ve Gündem 21 projelerine katılım)

- Çevre yönetim sistemlerinin Seferihisar ilçesindeki farklı kurum ve kuruluşlar tarafından benimsenmesini sağlayabilmek amacı ile Ekim 2010 tarihinde İzmir ilindeki üniversiteler ile işbirliği içerisinde eğitim programları düzenlenecektir.

- Gündem 21 Projesi kapsamında Ağustos 2009 tarihinde Seferihisar Belediyesi Kent Konseyi kurulmuştur ve Kent Konseyi Meclisleri *Cittaslow* kriterleri kapsamında çalışmalar yürütmektedir.

Altyapı Politikaları

1. Tarihi merkezlerin ve/veya kültürel ve tarihi değer çalışmalarının geliştirilmesi ve ıslah edilmesi için planlar.

- "Sığacık Kalesi Surları Röleve, Restitüsyon, Restorasyon Projeleri Yapımı" projesi hazırlatılmaya başlanmıştır.

- Teos Antik Kenti'nde Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı tarafından kazı başlatılmıştır. Teos Antik Kenti kamulaştırılması için İzmir İl Özel İdaresi tarafından 144.128 TL ve İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi tarafından 177.000 TL kaynak aktarılmıştır.

- Düzce Medresesi, Ulamış ve Seferihisar merkezindeki hamamların restorasyonu için yol haritası çizilmiştir.

- Sığacık Kale İçi Sokak Sağlıklaştırma Projesi hazırlanmaya başlanmıştır.

2. Güvenli ulaşım ve trafik için planlar İzmir Yüksek Teknoloji Enstitüsü Şehir Planlama bölümü ile birlikte, Seferihisar ulaşım planlaması üzerine çalışmalar yapılmıştır. Bu çalışmalarda toplu ulaşım ve bisiklet yolları yapılması ön planda tutularak Seferihisar'daki mevcut ulaşım sistemine alternatif bir ulaşım sistemi hazırlanmaktadır. Hazırlanmakta olan alternatif ulaşım sisteminde ilçede kullanılmayan ara yollar

ulaşıma açılarak yol akslarında değişiklikler yapılacak ve atıl yapıdaki alanları ulaşım planına dahil ederek güvenli ulaşım planları yeniden yapılandırılacaktır. Güvenli ve düzenli trafik sağlamak ve araç trafiğini azaltmak adına yaz aylarında Sığacık'ın merkezine araç girişi yasaklanmıştır. Ayrıca Seferihisar Merkezi'nde bulunan Atatürk Caddesi'nin araç trafiğine kapatılması Belediye Meclisi ve UKOME tarafından kabul edilmiştir. Atatürk Caddesi ilk aşamada belli saatlerde trafiğe kapatılmaya başlanmıştır.

3. Okulları ve kamusal binaları bağlayan bisiklet yolları. Seferihisar'ın çeşitli yollarında bisiklet yolları oluşturmak için Karayolları Genel Müdürlüğü ve İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi ile birlikte mevcut durum analizi yapılmıştır. Seferihisar ve Sığacık arasındaki yollarda bisiklet kullanımını arttırmak için Sığacık ovasında bulunan yolların büyük bir kısmı ve Karakayalar ve Sığacık arasındaki yol asfaltlanmıştır. Bu yollarında bisiklet kullanımına uygun hale getirilmesi için yapılan çalışmalar devam etmektedir.

4. Özel taşımacılık ve trafiğin toplu taşıma ve yaya alanları ile bütünleştirilmesi üzerinden, alternatif ulaşımı destekleyen planlar (toplu taşıma alanlarına bağlanan ilave kentsel araba park yerleri, bisiklet yolları, okullar ve işyerlerine erişim sağlayan yaya güzerghları, vb.) Seferihisar'ın ulaşım planını hazırlamak için İzmir Yüksek Teknoloji Enstitüsü ile birlikte çalışmalar başlatılmıştır. İlk aşamada Seferihisar'ın özellikle şehir merkezindeki trafik sorununu çözüme kavuşturmak için Şehir Plancılığı Bölümü desteği ile Seferihisar şehir merkezinde trafiğin azaltılması ve yaya aksının genişletilmesi için alternatif çözümler ortaya koyulacaktır. Çözümler içerisinde alternatif aksların yaratılması, kullanılmayan yolların ulaşım planına dahil edilmesi, ilçe terminalinin yerinin değiştirilerek terminal çalışanlarına ve gelen ziyaretçilere daha iyi bir hizmet verilmesi, ayrıca ilçeye farklı noktalarda bisiklet otoparklarının kazandırılması önerileri bulunmaktadır. Seferihisar'da bisiklet kullanımını arttırmak için ilk aşamada 50 adet bisiklet Seferihisar merkezde ve Sığacık'ta olmak üzere iki adet garajda Seferihisarlılara ücretsiz olarak kiralanmaya başlanmıştır.

5. Kamusal ve kamu ile ilgisi olan alanların engelliler için erişilebilir olması, mimari engellerin kaldırılması ve teknolojilere erişimin sağlanmasının garanti altına alınabilmesi için D.L. 503/'96 uygulanmasının ispatı. Engellilere yönelik olarak mimarı engellerin kaldırılması üzerine Seferihisar Belediyesi kaynak yaratma çalışması yürütmektedir. Düzenlemeler için gerekli olan kaynak yaratıldığında bu kritere yönelik olarak çalışmalar yürütülecektir.

6. Aile yaşantısını kolaylaştıran ve yerel aktivitelere olanak sağlayan programların teşvik edilmesi (eğlence ve spor faaliyetleri, okul ve aile arasında bağ oluşturmayı amaçlayan aktiviteler, yaşlılar ve kronik hastalar için ev yardımı da dahil olmak üzere çeşitli yardımlar, sosyal tesisler, belediye çalışma saatlerinin düzenlenmesi, umumi tuvaletler) Seferihisar Belediyesi Kültür ve Sosyal İşleri Müdürlüğü ve Kent Konseyi'nin çalışmaları kapsamında bu kritere yönelik olarak çeşitli aktiviteler düzenlenmektedir.

- Kronik rahatsızlığı olan kişilere ev eşyası, giysi yardımı yapılmıştır; evleri ve bahçeleri ilaçlandırılmıştır.
- Seferihisar'daki 22 fiziksel engelliye tekerlekli sandalye dağıtılmıştır.
- Ramazan bayramında geliri düşük olan kişilere erzak yardımı yapılmıştır.
- Gençlere yönelik eğlence ve spor faaliyetlerinin düzenli olarak sürdürülebilmesi için Seferihisar Belediyesi'nin desteği ile Gençlik Merkezi kurulmuştur.
- Seferihisar'daki yaşlılara ilaç yardımında bulunulmuştur, ihtiyacı olan kişilerin evlerinde küçük tadilatlar yapılmış ve bahçeleri düzenlenmiştir.
- S.B.S ve Ö.S.S öğrencilerine yönelik olarak dershane hizmeti verilmektedir.
- Seferihisar'daki tüm plajlara umumi tuvalet koyulmuştur.

7. Tıbbi yardım merkezi Seferihisar Kaymakamlığı Toplum Sağlığı Merkezi'nden Seferihisar'daki tıbbi yardım merkezlerinin ve hastanelerin mevcudiyetini kanıtlayan yazı alınmıştır.

8. Vasıflı yeşil alanların, D.M. 1444/'68 doğrultusunda asgari teçhizata sahip olması ve hizmet altyapıları (yeşil alanların birbiriyle bağlantıları, oyun sahaları, vb.) Vasıflı yeşil alanların niteliklerini arttırmak amacı ile eksik teçhizatlar belirlenmiştir, yeterli kaynak bulunduğu takdirde bu eksiklerin giderilmesine yönelik bir çalışma yürütülecektir.

9. Ticari malların dağıtımı ve "doğal ürünler için ticari merkezler" oluşturulması için plan. Seferihisar Belediyesi tarafından "Köy Pazarı" kurulmuştur. Eski Belediye binasının her bir odası Seferihisar'ın köylerine tahsis edilmiştir. Bu odalarda köylüler kendi ürettikleri ürünleri satma imkanına sahiptir. Ayrıca her Salı günü Köy Pazarı'nın önünde açık bir pazar düzenlenmekte, bu pazara halden mal sokulmamakta ve sadece küçük üreticilerin ürünlerini satmalarına imkan verilmektedir. Seferihisar'ın Sığacık Mahallesi kale içinde yerel ürünlerin ve el işlerinin sergilendirdiği "Sığacık Üretici Pazarı" kurulmuştur. Kale içinde ilk kez kurulan pazarda, ilçede üretilen tarım ürünleriyle, hanımların el işleri ve birçok sanat eseri de sergilenmektedir. Ulamış Mahallesinde ve Doğanbey Köyü'nde Seferihisar Belediyesi Kadın Emeği Evleri açılmıştır. Kadın Emeği Evleri, kadınların sosyalleşmesine ve emeklerini değerlendirmesine yardımcı nitelik taşımaktadır. Bu evlerde kadınlar tarafından üretilen çeşitli ürünler Seferihisar'ın üretici pazarlarında satılmaktadır.

10. Mağaza sahipleriyle, zor durumda olan vatandaşlarla ilgilenme ve yardım etme üzerine mutabakat: "dost mağazalar". Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Turizm İşletmeciliği Bölümü tarafından "Kaliteli Ağırlama ve Misafirperverlik" eğitimi verilmiştir. Bu eğitim zor durumda olan vatandaşlarla ilgilenme ve yardım etme konularını içermiştir.

11. Bozulmakta olan kentsel alanların ve şehrin yeniden kullanılmasına yönelik projelerin iyileştirilmesi. - Seferihisar'ın Sığacık mahallesinde yenilenebilir enerji kaynakları kullanılarak Sakin Şehir kriterlerine uygun meydan ve rekreasyon alanı düzenlemesi yapmak ve yerel sosyo-ekonomik yaşamı canlandırarak ilçenin sürdürülebilir kalkınmasını desteklemek amacı ile İzmir Kalkınma Ajansı "Turizm ve Çevre Mali Destek Programı"na başvuru sunulmuş ve proje kabul edilmiştir. Projenin beklenen sonuçları Sığacık'a Sakin Şehir kriterlerine uygun nitelikte çağdaş peyzaj mimarlığı ilkeleri doğrultusunda bir kamusal dış mekan kazandırılması, Seferihisar'ın *Cittaslow* kimliğinin vurgulanması, ekoturizm destinasyonu olarak tanınırlığının sağlanması, gürültü kirliliğini ve hızlı trafiği kesecek, yaya sirkülsyonunu ön plana çıkaracak farklı ulaşım sistemlerinin entegrasyonunun oluşturulması, yeşil alanların ve yaya bölgelerinin artması ve yerel üretim yapan üreticiler ile bu ürünleri satan dükkn ve lokantaları destekleyecek düzenlemeler yapılması, aydınlatmada güneş enerjisinden faydalanarak ilçe genelinde enerji tasarrufu ve yenilenebilir enerji kaynak kullanım oranının yükselmesidir.

- Seferihisar'da yaşanan mimari dağınıklık ve düzensizliğin önüne geçmek için yeni yapılacak binalarda uygulanacak mimari standartların hazırlanması planlanmıştır. Bu konuda Mimarlar Odası İzmir Şubesi ile birlikte yürütülen çalışma tamamlanmıştır..

- Kent tarzının yeniden yapılandırılmasına yönelik olarak Seferihisar ve İzmir'de çalışma yürüten mimar ve ressamlardan bir grup oluşturulmuş, bu grup yaptıkları toplantılar sonucunda Atatürk Caddesi'nin yeniden yapılandırılması için bir mimari taslak çıkartmıştır. İlk olarak farklı boyutlarda reklam ve dükkan panoları ve balkonlarda bulunan çanak antenleri ile ilgili çalışma yürütülmesine karar verilmiştir. Atatürk caddesinde bulunan farklı boylardaki pano ve tabelalar kaldırılmış, yerine Seferihisar Belediyesi'nin belirlediği standartlarda tabela ve panolar asılmıştır. Ayrıca, balkonlarda bulunan ve görüntü kirliliğine sebep olan çanak antenler toplanmasına yönelik olarak çalışma Atatürk Caddesi'nde ve Sığacık'ta başlatılmıştır.

- Atatürk caddesinde yer alan 3 binanın pencere kenarlarına söve uygulaması yapılmıştır, ve bina zeminleri beyaz, söveler turuncu tonlarında renklerle boyanmış ve zemin katlarda taş kaplama uygulaması gerçekleştirilmiştir. Sövelerin renginin turuncu seçilmesinin nedeni Seferihisar'da yetişen Satsuma mandalinasını çağrıştırmasıdır. Bu çalışmaların caddedeki bütün binalara uygulanması ve trafiğin kısıtlanmasıyla Atatürk Caddesi'nin Seferihisarlılar ve ziyaretçiler için sosyalleşme ve dinlenme alanı olması planlanmaktadır.

- Atatürk Caddesi'nde başlayan çalışmalara Sığacık'ta devam edilmektedir. Sığacık kalesinin güney ve batı duvarında yer alan evlerde de mimari çalışmalar uygulanmaya başlanmıştır. Evlerde sürdürülen çalışmalar, evlerin dış mekan olarak benzer özelliklere sahip olmasının sağlanmasına ve bir renk uyumunun oluşturulmasına yöneliktir. Söve çalışmaları, balkon ve pencerelere sarkıt saksıların koyulması ve sardunya yetiştirilmesi, dış cephe boyalarının yapılması gibi çalışmalar tüm sokaklardaki düzenlemeler bitinceye kadar devam edecektir. Ayrıca caddeyi insanların sosyalleşmesine imkan sağlayacak biçimde çevreyle uyumlu kent mobilyalarıyla donatılması amacı ile çalışmalar başlayacaktır.

- Sığacık kalesinin batı duvarında yer alan ve birbirinden farklı yapıya sahip kahvelerin gölgelikleri sökülerek, bu kahveler için aynı yapıya sahip pergola uygulaması gerçekleştirilmiştir. Kahvelerde aynı tarz masa ve sandalye uygulaması için kahve sahipleriyle konuşulmuş ve mutabakata varılmıştır.

- Sığacık kalesinin güney tarafında yer alan balık restoranların çirkin bir görünüm veren naylon gölgelikleri sökülmüş, oturma alanları dükkanların arka tarafında yer alan dere kenarına alınmıştır. Balık restoranlarının çatıları sökülmüş ve tek tip ve estetik çatı uygulaması yapılmıştır.

12. Kent tarzının yeniden yapılandırılması ve iyileştirmesi için bir program. - Ege Üniversitesi Çevre Merkezi ve Seferihisar Belediyesi işbirliği ile Çevre Master Planı hazırlanmaktadır. Ekim 2010 tarihinde Çevre Master Planı hazırlanmış olacaktır. Hazırlanacak olan plan şu bilgileri içerecektir:

- Atıksu yönetimi, su temini ve katı atık yönetimi alanlarında fizibilite çalışması

- Çevre Master Planı projesinin kentsel planlama bölümünde Kentsel Gelişim Analiz Raporu ile geleceğe yönelik kent yerleşimi stratejilerinin belirlenmesi

- Katı atıkların değerlendirilmesi ile ilgili olarak temiz enerji hakkında kapasite raporunun hazırlanması

- Cadde ve sokak aydınlatmaları için güneş enerjisinden faydalanma kapasitesinin belirlenmesi o Su temini ile ilgili Belediye sınırları içerisinde çevre kirliliğinin kontrol altına alınabilmesi ve kirlenmenin önlenmesi amacıyla içme ve kullanma suyu kaynaklarının incelenmesi ve mevcut durumun iyileştirilmesine yönelik çalışmalar

13. U.R.P. (kentsel yenilenme programı) işlevlerinin, *Cittaslow* bilgi bürolarıyla bütünleştirilmesi. Bu kapsamda Seferihisar'da 4 farklı noktaya turizm ve *Cittaslow* bilgilendirme ofisleri kurulacaktır. Bu noktalar Seferihisar Merkezi, Sığacık, Ürkmez ve Doğanbey Mahalleleri olacaktır.

Kentsel Kalite için Teknolojiler ve Tesisler

1. Biyomimari için gişe ve biyomimarinin teşvik edilmesi yönündeki bilgilendirme projesi için görevlendirilen personelin eğitimi için programlar Biyomimari hakkında Seferihisar ilçesinde faaliyet gösteren inşaat mühendislik firmalarının, mimarlık ofislerinin, mütahitlerin bilgilendirilmesi ve çevreye duyarlı yapıların inşa edilmesi hakkında bilinçlendirme programları hazırlanmaktadır.

2. Şehri, fiber optik kablolar ve kablosuz sistemler için teçhiz etmek Seferihisar'da kablosuz ve kablolu internet erişimi mevcuttur.

3. Elektromanyetik alanları gözlemleme sistemlerinin benimsenmesi. Elektromanyetik kirlilik yaratan baz istasyonlarının yerleri ve teknik özellikleri tespit edilmiştir. Ege Üniversitesi Çevre Sorunları Araştırma Merkezi tarafından ölçümleri yapılacaktır.

4. Çevre ve manzarayla uyumlu çöp kutularının tedarik edilmesi ve çöplerin belirlenmiş zaman tablolarına göre kaldırılması. Çöplerin belirlenmiş zaman tablolarına göre kaldırılması için çöp arabalarına Araç Takip Sistemi yerleştirilmiştir.

5. Toplu ve özel alanlarda; önemli, çevresel olarak uygun bitkilerin, tercihen bahçe/peyzaj mimarisi ölçütlerine uygun çizgilerdeki yerel bitkilerin, yetiştirilmesine yönelik promosyon ve programlar. Bu kriter çerçevesinde Seferihisar'a özel bir çiçek olan ve ilgisizlik nedeniyle soyu tükenme aşamasına gelen "Kum Zambağı" koruma altına alınmıştır. Bu bitkinin tanıtılması ve yaygınlaştırılması için çalışmalar devam etmektedir.

6. Vatandaşlara hizmet sağlamak için planlar (Belediye hizmetlerinin internet üzerinden duyurulması, vatandaşlar için internet tabanlı bir belediye ağı oluşturulması ve vatandaşların bu ağı kullanmaları yönünde eğitilmeleri). Belediye hizmetleri e-belediye çalışmasıyla internet üzerinden vatandaşa ulaşmaya başlamıştır. Emlak vergisi, kira ödemesi, çöp toplama vergisi, evrak takibi ve benzeri işlemler belediyenin internet sitesi üzerinden yapılmaya başlanmıştır.

7. Özellikle gürültülü alanlarda gürültünün kontrol edilmesi için plan. Ege Üniversitesi Çevre Sorunları Araştırma Merkezi tarafından ilçenin en kalabalık olduğu yaz döneminde gürültü ölçümleri yapılacak ve olması gereken parametrelerinde üzerinde değerler çıkması durumunda gürültü kirliliğinin önlenmesi ile ilgili bir proje geliştirilecektir

8. Renklerle ilgili plan Seferihisar merkezinde ana cadde düzenlemesi kapsamında tüm binaların beyaz zemin üzerine turuncu söveleri yapılması ve tüm balkon ve pencerelerden sardunyaların sarkıtılması ile ilgili bir plan yapılmıştır. Bu planın uygulaması Atatürk caddesi ve Sığacık mahallesinde başlamıştır ve bu çalışmalar merkezden başlayarak tüm Seferihisar sokaklarının renk bütünlüğüne kavuşturulması için yaygınlaştırılacaktır.

9. Elektronik evden çalışmanın (telework) teşvik edilmesi. Seferihisar halkının geçimi tarım-hayvancılık ve yaz sezonunda turizm kaynaklıdır. Evden çalışma yapılacak sektör bulunmadığından dolayı telework teşvik edilemeyecektir.

Yerel Üretimi Korumak

Ege Üniversitesi Ziraat Fakültesi ile Seferihisar'ın kırsal kalkınma programının hazırlanması ve hayata geçirilmesini amaçlayan işbirliği protokolü hazırlanmıştır. Seferihisar ilçesi Gödence köyünde tarım-turizmi ve ev pansiyonculuğunun başlatılması; ilçe sınırları içerisinde mandalina entegre tesisinin kurulması; ilçe sınırları içerisinde enginar entegre tesisinin kurulması; Seferihisar ilçesi sınırları içerisinde arıcılık faaliyetlerinin arttırılması; Satsuma balı üretimini arttırılması ve polen tesisinin kurulması; Seferihisar ilçesinde iyi tarım uygulamalarının başlatılması projelerinin hayata geçirilmesi için Seferihisar Belediyesi ve Ege Üniversitesi Ziraat Fakültesi ortak çalışmalar yürütülecektir.

1. Organik tarımcılığın geliştirilmesi için projeler.

- İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi ile işbirliği içerisinde "Sosyo-ekonomik kalkınma için sürdürülebilir bir örnek: Yarımada'da organik tarım" isimli proje; İZKA Sosyal Kalkınma Mali Destek programı çerçevesinde yürütülmüştür. Bu kapsamda Seferihisar'da çiftçilerle çeşitli toplantılar ve alan uygulamaları yapılmış ve organik tarım hakkında bilgiler verilmiştir. Eğitimleri başarı ile tamamlayan kişilere organik tohum dağıtılmıştır.

- Tarım Bakanlığı'nın 2012 Organik Tarım Programı kapsamına alınmasına yönelik olarak İzmir İl Tarım Müdürlüğü tarafından, Seferihisar Belediyesi'nin desteği ile "Organik Tarım, Organik Bal ve Bal Evi Projesi" sunulmuştur. Proje kapsamında Seferihisar'ın Ulamış mahallesindeki mandalina üretiminde organik tarımcılığının geliştirilmesi ve bir bal evi kurarak, organik bal üretilmesi amaçlanmaktadır.

- 2012 yılı Tarım Bakanlığı Organik Hayvansal Üretim Projeleri kapsamında "Organik Sakız Koyunu Yetiştiriciliği Projesi ve Organik Yumurtalık Tavuk Yetiştiriciliği Projesi" İzmir İl Tarım Müdürlüğü tarafından sunulmuştur.

2. Esnaf ve zanaatkarlar tarafından üretilen ürünlerin, eşya ve el işlerinin kalitesinin sertifikalandırılması. Seferihisar Beyler köyü sakinleri tarafından üretilen örme sepetlerin kalitesinin arttırılması amacı ile sepet sektörünün öncü isimleri Seferihisar'a getirilerek sepetlerin daha dayanıklı ve uzun süre kullanılabilir olmasını sağlanacaktır veTürk Standartları Enstitüsü'ne başvurularak Kalite Uygunluk Belgesi alınacaktır.

3. Yok olma tehlikesiyle karşı karşıya olan esnaf ve zanaatkarların ve/veya el işi ürünlerinin korunması ve himayesine yönelik programlar. Bölge halkının ürettiği bez bebek, seramik işleri ve deri kaplama sanatının desteklenmesi için Kent Konseyi tarafından programlar açılacak ve üretimlerin devam etmesi sağlanacaktır.

4. Yok olma riskiyle karşı karşıya olan geleneksel çalışma ve meslek yöntemlerinin himayesi. Bölge halkı tarafından yapılan göçer arıcılık yöntemlerinin yok olmasını önlemek ve geliştirilmesini sağlamak amacı ile İl Tarım Müdürlüğü ile Tarım Bakanlığı'na Organik Bal ve Bal Evi adlı projeler sunulmuştur.

5. Organik ve/veya yerel topraklarda üretilmiş ürünlerin kullanılması ve restoranlar, okul kafeteryaları ve himaye altındaki yapılarda yerel geleneklerin muhafaza edilmesi Bölge halkı tarafından üretilen çeşitli sebze, meyve ve tahıl ürünlerinin restoranlarda ve kafeteryalarda kullanılmasını sağlamak ve yerel üretimi korumak amaçlı Köy Pazarı ve Sığacık Pazarı kurularak bölge üretici ve tüketicisini bir araya getirilmektedir.

6. *Slow Food* ile işbirliği içerisinde, okullarda tat ve beslenme konusunda eğitim programları:
- Seferihisar Belediyesi okul bahçelerinde oluşturduğu sebze bahçeleriyle öğrencilere sebze yetiştiriciliğini öğretmektedir. Öğrenciler çapa yapma, fide dikimi ve sebze yetiştiriciliği eğitimleri almış bulunmaktadırlar ve kendi yetiştirdikleri ürünlerden hazırlanmış olan yemekleri yemektedirler.
- Seferihisar Belediyesi'nin desteği ile İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi tarafından Seferihisar'daki okullara organik ürünler hakkında eğitimler verilmiştir ve öğrenciler farklı organik meyve ve sebze tatma ve organik süt içme fırsatını yakalamıştır.

7. Yok olma riski altında olan şarap ve gastronomik *Slow Food* çeşitleri için, aktivitelere destek olmak.
Teos Bağ ve Şarap Çalıştayı: 23 - 24 Eylül 2010 tarihlerinde Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı tarafından Seferihisar Belediyesi'nin desteği ile Seferihisar'da düzenlenecek olan "Teos Bağ ve Şarap Çalıştayı"nın amacı Türk şarapçılığının ve geleneksel yemeklerin turistik ürün olarak katma değerinin belirlenmesidir. Çalıştay ile hedeflenen, kamu kurumları, yerel yönetimler, sivil toplum kuruluşları, şarap sektörü ve akademik çevreleri bir araya getirerek Türkiye bağcılığının ve şarapçılığının sorunlarını tartışılarak oluşturulacak olan eylem planının hayata geçirilmesidir.

Cittaslow Festivali
25 - 26 Eylül 2010 tarihinde Uluslararası *Cittaslow* Festivali düzenlenecektir. Festivalin teması "Yereli Yaşamak" olacaktır. Festival kapsamında yerel kültürü yaşatmak ve yerel üretimi desteklemek, Yavaş Yaşamak, Yavaş Yemek, Şarapçılık üzerine farklı atölye çalışmaları düzenlenecek, katılımcılar ülkelerindeki iyi uygulamaları paylaşma fırsatı elde edeceklerdir. İtalya'dan ve Türkiye'den katılacak olan yerel sanatçılar festivalde konser verecek ve tiyatro grupları gösteri yapacaktır. Ayrıca, festival alanında kurulacak büyük pazarda katılımcılar yerel ürünlerini sergileme fırsatına sahip olacaktır. Uluslararası Yelken Yarışı 31 Temmuz-1 Ağustos 2010 tarihlerinde Seferihisar Belediyesi ve Ege Açık Deniz Yat Klübü tarafından Uluslar arası Yelken Yarışı düzenlenmiştir ve yarış öncesi ve sonrası çeşitli aktivitelerle renklendirilmiştir. Bu etkinlikte *Cittaslow* kapsamında yerel ürünlerin yapıldığı ve satıldığı tezgahlar kurulmuş, yerel ürünlerden ve ev yapımı şaraplardan oluşan bir konsept ile açılış kokteyli ve kapanış ikramları yapılmıştır.

8. Tipik yerel ürünlerin sayımı ve bu ürünlerin ticarileşmesi için destek (marketlerin yerel ürünler için güncellenmesi, uygun alanların oluşturulması). Kent Konseyi tarafından Seferihisar'a özgü tipik yerel ürünlerin taraması yapılmıştır. Bu yerel ürünler Seferihisar Belediyesi tarafından kurulan Köy Pazarı, Sığacık Pazarı ve Ulamış Kadın Emeği Evi'nde satılmaktadır.

9. Şehirdeki ağaçların sayılması ve büyük ya da "tarihi ağaçların" değerinin arttırılması. Ege Üniversitesi Ziraat Fakültesi Lisans ve Yüksek Lisans öğrencilerinin tez çalışmaları kapsamında bu çalışma 2010 yılında yaptırılacaktır.

10. Yerel kültürel etkinliklerin teşvik ve muhafaza edilmesi
- 13-14 Ekim 2009 tarihinde "Mandalina Şenliği" düzenlenmiştir. Bu şenlik kapsamında en iyi mandalina üreticisi, en kaliteli mandalina yarışmaları düzenlenmiş, mandalinalı tatlılar, bayanlar tarafından üretilen mandalina reçelleri ziyaretçilere satılmıştır.
- Seferihisar'da unutulan ve unutulmaya yüz tutan geleneklerin ve kültürel etkinliklerin tespit edilmesi için "75 Yaş Yemeği" düzenlenmiştir. Bu etkinlik kapsamında Seferihisar ilçesinde yaşayan yaşlılarımızla röportajlar yapılmıştır ve yerel el sanatları ve yerel yemeklerin taraması gerçekleştirilmiştir
- Seferihisar'ın Beyler köyünde her yıl geleneksel olarak düzenlenen Hıdırellez Şenlikleri bu yıl da gerçekleşmiştir. Köyde imece usulü gerçekleştirilen ikramlar için hanımlar tarafından yerel yemekler yapılmış ve yerel kültürü yansıtan kültürel aktiviteler düzenlenmiştir.

- 29-30 Mayıs 2010 tarihlerinde Seferihisar İlçesi'nde Keçi-Koyun Yetiştiricileri Birliği ve Seferihisar Belediyesi tarafından hayvancılık sektörünün gelişmesine katkıda bulunmak ve üretici-tüketici buluşmasını sağlamak amacı ile Damızlık Koyun-Keçi Panayırı düzenlenmiştir. *Cittaslow* kriterlerinde yerel değerlerin korunması büyük bir önem teşkil etmektedir. Seferihisar'ın yerel değerlerinden biri olan hayvancılık sektörünün korunması ve geliştirilmesi açısından Panayır çok önemli bir anlam taşımakta ve bu panayırın geleneksel hale getirilmesi planlanmaktadır.

11. Kent ve okul bahçelerinin geleneksel yöntemlerle yetişmiş yerel ekinler için geliştirilmesi. Seferihisar'daki okullarda çocuklarımızın kendi sebze ve meyvelerinin yetiştirmeleri ve sağlıklı beslenme konusunda bilgilenmeleri için okullarda sebze bahçeleri kurulmuştur. Sebze bahçelerinde ürünler yetiştirilmeye başlanmış ve yetişen mahsuller Köy Pazarı'nda öğrenciler tarafından öğretmenlerinin gözetiminde satılmaktadır ve öğrenciler kazandıkları para ile ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaktadır.

Misafirperverlik

1. Turist bilgisi ve nitelikli misafirperverlik için eğitim kursları
- Dokuz Eylül Rotary Kulübü, Ege Üniversitesi Mühendislik Fakültesi Gıda Mühendisliği Bölümü ile birlikte açılan kursta "Toplu Beslenme Yapılan Yerlerde Sağlıklı ve Güvenli Gıda Üretimi" eğitimi düzenlenmiştir.
- Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi İşletme Fakültesi Turizm İşletmeciliği Bölümü ile işbirliği içerisinde açılan "Turist Bilgisi ve Nitelikli Misafirperverlik" eğitimi düzenlenmiş ve kursa katılan vatandaşlara sertifika verilmiştir.

2. Tarihsel merkezlerde, yol gösteren turist güzerghları ile birlikte, turist işaretlerinde uluslararası işaretlerin kullanılması. - Teos Antik kentine bilgi verici tabelalar ve panolar yerleştirilmiştir. - Sığacık kalesine kalenin tarihi hakkında kısa bir bilgi veren tabela yerleştirilmiştir.

3. Ziyaretçilerin şehre yaklaşmalarını ve bilgi ve hizmetlere erişimlerini kolaylaştırıcı karşılama yönergeleri ve planları (otopark, resmi kurumların açılış saatlerinin uzatılması/esnetilmesi, vb.), özellikle takvimlendirilmiş etkinlikler için.
- Sığacık'da ve Ürkmez'de, gelen ziyaretçilerin Seferihisar hakkında bilgi edilinebileceği *Cittaslow* ve Turizm Büroları açılmıştır. Turizm bürolarında Seferihisar hakkında tarihsel bilgi veren dokümanlar, Seferihisar haritası, konaklama olanakları ve gezilebilecek yerler hakkında bilgi veren dokümanlar bulunmaktadır.
- Seferihisar'ın genelinde yönlendirme eksikliği bulunmaktadır. Bu konuda yapılması planlanan çalışmalar sonucunda tarihi, turistik, doğal güzellikler ve görülmesi gereken yerlerin tabelalarla yönlendirmesi yapılacak ve bu yerlere mekan hakkında bilgi veren panolar yerleştirilecektir.

4. Şehrin "yavaş" güzerghlarının düzenlenmesi (broşürler, internet siteleri, ana sayfalar vb.) Seferihisar'ın çeşitli noktaları arasında yer alan yaklaşık 20 adet güzergah tespit edilmiştir. Bu güzergahlar üzerinde bulunan tarihi binalar, kültürel değeri olan merkezler ve ziyaretçiler tarafından görülmesi gereken diğer turistik çekim merkezleri hakkında bilgi verilmiştir.

5. Turistik işletmeciler ve mağaza sahiplerinin, ücret şeffaflığı ve fiyatların müessesenin dışında sergilenmesi gerekliliği konusunda bilinçlendirilmesi. Yerli ve yabancı turistlere hizmet veren tüm sektör personeline "Turist Bilgisi ve Nitelikli Misafirperverlik" hakkında eğitimler verilmiştir. Bu eğitimler kapsamında ücret şeffaflığı ve ücretlerin sergilenmesi konularına yer verilmiştir.

Farkındalık

1. Vatandaşlara yönelik *Cittaslow* olmanın amaçları ve prosedürleriyle ilgili bilgi sağlayan kampanyalar. Bu kampanyalar Yönetimin, *Cittaslow* olma niyeti hususunda önceden bilgi verilerek yürütülmelidir
- *Cittaslow* olmanın amaçları, prosedürleri, *Cittaslow*'un Seferihisar'a katacakları hakkında bilgi verilmesi ve Dünya'nın farklı ülkelerindeki *Cittaslow*'lardan örneklerin paylaşılması amacı ile Seferihisar Kongre Merkezinde bilgilendirme toplantısı düzenlenmiştir.
- Aynı amaç ile Seferihisar'ın farklı mahallelerinde 12 farklı kahvede "Kahve Toplantısı" düzenlenmiştir.
- *Cittaslow* olmanın amaçları ve prosedürleri ile ilgili olarak Kent Konseyine sunum yapılmıştır.
- Seferihisar'daki Siyasi Parti İlçe temsilciliklerine *Cittaslow* olmanın amaçları ve prosedürlerini anlatmak için toplantılar düzenlenmiştir.

2. "Yavaş" felsefesini kazanmada sosyal yapıların dhil edilmesi için programlar ve *Cittaslow* projelerinin uygulanması. Özellikle; eğitsel bahçe ve parklar, kitap olanak ve hizmetleri ve bitkilerin tohumlarının korunması projesine katılım.
- Seferihisar Belediyesi, Seferihisar ilçesindeki sivil toplum temsilcileri ve yerel halkın bir araya gelmesi ile Ağustos 2009'da Seferihisar Kent Konseyi kurulmuştur. Kent Konseyi kapsamında kadın meclisi, çocuk meclisi, engelli meclisi, gençlik ve emekli meclisi oluşturulmuştur. Kent Konseyi çalışma programını *Cittaslow* olmanın amaçlarını ve *Cittaslow* kriterlerini göz önünde tutarak oluşturmaktadır.

- Aralık 2009 tarihinde Slow City ve *Slow Food* faaliyetlerini yaygınlaştırmak için kurulan ve merkezi Ankara'da bulunan Sakin Yaşam Girişimi Derneği'nin (SAYGİD) İzmir şubesi, Seferihisar'da *Cittaslow* kapsamında gönüllü çalışma yürütmek isteyen kişileri bir araya getirmek için kurulacaktır.

- Seferihisar Belediyesi, Seferihisar'daki öğrencilerin çapa yapma, fide dikimi ve sebze yetiştiriciliği konularında bilgilerini arttırmak amacı ile okullarda sebze bahçeleri kurmuştur. - Kitap okuma olanaklarını arttırmak amacı ile 2010 yılının Nisan ayında Seferihisar'ın Orhanlı köyünde Seferihisar Belediyesi'nin girişimi ile bir kütüphane açılmıştır. Slow City ve *Slow Food* faaliyetlerinin yaygınlaştırılması için programlar

- Seferihisar Belediyesi'nin *Cittaslow* - Slowfood uygulamaları kapsamında, 75 yaş iftar yemeği düzenlenmiştir. Yemek, Seferihisar'da yaşayan yaklaşık 400 kişiyi bir araya getirmiştir. Seferihisar'a özgü yemeklerin taraması yapılarakgünümüze taşınmaları için çalışma yürütülmektedir.

- Seferihisar'daki kadınlar, dünyadaki sakin sehirlerde yapılan "Terra Madre-Toprak Ana" kutlamasında, ilçenin unutulan lezzetlerini hayata geçirmiştir. Seferihisar Belediyesi Kent Konseyi üyesi 20 kadın, hem ilçenin *Cittaslow* ünvanının almasını kutlamak, hem de dünyadaki sakin sehirlerde her yıl 10 Aralıkta yapılan "Toprak Ana" kutlamasının ilkini gerçekleştirmek için etkinlik düzenlemiştir.

- Seferihisar Kadın Meclisi tarhana, erişte ve mandalina reçeli üretimi yapmakta ve üretilen tarhana, erişte ve mandalina reçellerinin satışını yaparak, elde edilen gelir ile maddi olanakları iyi olmayan öğrencilerin eğitim masrafları karşılanmaktadır.

- Seferihisar Belediyesi Slow City ve *Slow Food* uygulamasının Türkiye'de yaygınlaştırılması için televizyon ve radyo programlarına katılmış, ayrıca görsel basın araçlarını kullanarak Slow City ve *Slow Food* uygulamaları hakkında geniş bir kitleye ulaşmıştır. *Slow Food* Faaliyetlerine ve Projelerine Destek

1. Yerel bir *Slow Food* Convivium'um oluşturulması. Seferihisar'da yerel bir *Slow Food* Convivium'u kurmadan önce konu hakkında bilgi ve deneyim elde etmek için İzmir Bardacık Convivium'una üye olunmuştur. 2010 yılı içerisinde Seferihisar'ın kendi Convivium'unu kurması planlanmaktadır.

2. Zorunlu ve ikincil okullar için, *Slow Food* ile işbirliği yaparak, tat ve beslenme üzerine eğitim programları düzenlenmesi. Seferihisar Belediyesi okul bahçelerinde oluşturduğu sebze bahçeleriyle öğrencilere sebze yetiştiriciliğini öğretmektedir. Öğrenciler çapa yapma, fide dikimi ve sebze yetiştiriciliği eğitimleri almış bulunmaktadırlar ve kantinlerinde kendi yetiştirdikleri ürünlerden hazırlanmış olan yemekleri yemektedirler.

3. *Slow Food* ile işbirliği yaparak okul sebze bahçelerinin kurulması. Seferihisar'daki okullarda okul sebze bahçeleri kurulmuş ve ilk mahsüller toplanmıştır. Öğrenciler topladıkları mahsülleri Köy Pazarı'nda satarak kazandıkları para ile ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaktadırlar.

4. Yok olma riski altında olan türlere veya ürünler için bir veya daha çok projelerini uygulamak.

Ürkmez Bengiler Sahili'nin yıllar boyu simgesi haline gelen kum zambakları zaman içerisinde yok olmaya yüz tutmuştur. Tespit edilen bir adet kum zambağının çevresi tel örgü ile çevrilerek koruma altına alınmıştır.

5. *Slow Food* tarafından temin edilen yerel bölge ürünlerinin kullanılması ve beslenme geleneklerinin, katma yemek eğitim programlarıyla birlikte, müşterek yemek servisleri, himaye altındaki yapılar ve okul kantinleri içerisinde muhafaza edilmesi.

Seferihisar'daki okullarda kurulan sebze bahçelerinde yetiştirilen ürünler ile okulların kantinlerinde yemekler hazırlanmakda, öğrenciler kendi yetiştirdikleri ürünler ile beslenme fırsatı yakalamaktadırlar. Ayrıca, okullardaki öğrencileri *Slow Food* felsefesi ve sağlıklı beslenme hakkında bilgilendirilmek üzere bir kampanya yürütülmektedir. Seferihisar'ın yerel yemeklerinin sunulduğu ve Kadın Kooperatifi tarafından koordine edilen Sefertası lokantası kurulmuştur. Bu lokantada sadece yaşlılarımızın hatırladığı ve yok olmaya yüz tutan yemekler Seferihisarlıların ve ziyaretçilerin beğenisine sunulmaktadır.

6. *Slow Food* ile işbirliği içerisinde, tipik yerel bölge ürünlerinin desteklenmesi.

Tipik yerel bölge ürünlerinin desteklenmesi amacı ile Seferihisar Belediyesi Köy Pazarı, Sığacık Pazarı ve Ulamış Kadın Emeği Evi kurulmuştur. Ayrıca Seferihisar Kent Konseyi Kadın Meclisi üyeleri tarhana, erişte, mandalina reçeli üretmekte ve bu ürünlerin satışını gerçekleştirmektedir. Seferihisar yerel yemeklerinin envanteri çıkarılarak, bu yemeklerin yapımı ile ilgili bir eğitim düzenlemişlerdir.

7. "Terra Madre" projesinin ve yemek cemiyetlerinin ortak eşleştirme aracılığıyla desteklenmesi.

Seferihisar'daki kadınlar, dünyadaki sakin şehirlerde düzenlenen "Terra Madre-Toprak Ana" kutlamasında, ilçenin unutulan lezzetlerini hayata geçirmiştir. Seferihisar Belediyesi Kent Konseyi üyesi 20 kadın, hem ilçenin *Cittaslow* ünvanının almasını kutlamak, hem de dünyadaki sakin şehirlerde her yıl 10 Aralık'ta yapılan "Toprak Ana" kutlamasının ilkini gerçekleştirmek için Belediye'ye ait 19 Mayıs Düğün Salonu'nda bir araya gelerek, ilçenin unutulan nohutlu mantı, balıklama, samsades, kuzu dolması gibi yemeklerini pişirip konuklara ikram etmiştir.

Picture 19: Real estate brochure.

APPENDIX G

TURKISH SUMMARY

İzmir'e bağlı bir Batı Ege sahil kasabası olan Seferihisar, 2009 Yerel Seçimleriyle başlayan belediyecilik döneminin henüz başında, üyelerinin büyük kısmını Avrupa Birliği sınırları içerisindeki 50.000'den az nüfuslu kentsel yerleşimlerin oluşturduğu *Uluslararası Cittaslow Ağı*'na katılma başarısını elde ederek, yerel ve ulusal basın yayın ortamlarında adından sıkça söz ettirmiştir. Günümüze kadar gelişen süreçte Seferihisar, İlçe Belediye Başkanı'nın kararlı söylemleri eşliğinde bu ağa üye olan kentlerden beklenen *kentsel yaşam kalitesini* artırmaya yönelik uzun erimli "kültürel siyasal iktisadi" (*cultural political economic*) düzenlemeleri hızla hayata geçirmeye başlamıştır.

1999 yılında İtalya'da ortaya çıkan ve adını İtalyanca *Citta* (Şehir) ve İngilizce *Slow* (Yavaş) kelimelerinden alan *Uluslararası Cittaslow Ağı*, kendisinden önce yine İtalya'da, merkezi "zirai-gıda" (*agro-food*) politikalarına karşı yerel bir girişim olarak başlayıp kısa sürede uluslararası başarıya ulaşan *Slowfood* hareketi gibi, küreselleşmenin getirdiği olumsuzluklarla yine küreselleşmenin getirdiği olanakları değerlendirerek başa çıkmaya çalışan bir girişim olarak dikkat çekmektedir. *Slow Food*'un ve genel olarak *Slow* felsefesinin tüm bir yerleşim ölçeğine uygulanması olarak sunulan *Cittaslow*, küçük ölçekli yerleşimlerin dokusunu, sakinlerinin yaşam biçimlerini ve bu ikisi arasındaki diyalektiğin yıllar içerisinde ortaya çıkarmış olduğu *yerel kimliği* gelecek kuşaklara aktarabilmeye yönelik siyasalar üreten uluslararası bir birliktir. Belediyeleri aracılığıyla birliğe üye olan kasaba ve kentler, küreselleşmenin yol açtığı standart ve homojen kentleşme süreçlerine karşı geçmişten devraldıkları değerleri canlı tutabilmek adına geliştirdikleri uygulamaları ortak bir havuzda toplayarak deneyimlerini paylaşma şansı bulurlar. *Cittaslow* organizasyonu, kendisine üyelik başvurusunda bulunan kentlerin *Cittaslow* modeline uygunluğunu, kurucu belediyeler tarafından belirlenmiş kriterler ile tespit etmekte, üyeliğe kabul edilen kentlerin modele bağlılıklarını da yine aynı kriterlerle denetlemektedir. *Cittaslow* olmak için birliğin belirlediği 59 adet temel kriter vardır: Çevre Politikaları (11 adet), Altyapı Politikaları (13 adet), Kentsel yaşam kalitesini artırıcı teknolojiler ve araçlar (9 adet), Yerli Üretimin Korunması (11 adet), Misafirperverlik (5 adet), Farkındalık (3 adet), *Slow Food* Faaliyetlerine ve Projelerine Destek (7 adet). Üye olmak isteyen bir yerleşimin tüm kriterleri bir anda yerine getirmesi şart koşulmamakla birlikte, üyelik sonrası süreçte belediye yönetiminin bu listeyi yol gösterici bir harita olarak benimsemeleri ve bu kriterlerin gereklerini tepeden inme icraatlar olarak değil, tüm yaşayanların sahiplenebileceği, içselleştirilmiş uygulamalar olarak hayata geçirmeleri beklenmektedir.

Türkiye kamuoyunda pek bilinmeyen ve *ütopyavari* çağrışımlarıyla görece soyut kalan *Cittaslow* gibi bir kavramın fiziksel mekanda tam olarak neye karşılık geldiğine ilişkin merakın ilçeyi ziyaret edenlerin sayısında kısa sürede kayda değer bir artışa neden olduğu gözlenmiştir. Bununla beraber, ilçedeki "rantiye sınıfı"nın (*rentier class*) *Cittaslow*'u, son 10 yıldır Urla Yarımadası'ndaki yerleşimlerin tamamında gözlenen "üretkenlik sonrası yaşam tarzı" (*post-productivistlife styles*) taleplerine, modelden görece bağımsız bir "marka" olarak eklemleme girişimleri, ilçedeki emlak piyasasını harekete geçirerek, kentte modeli destekleyenler nezdinde daha en baştan tedirginlik yaratmıştır. Seferihisar'ın *Cittaslow* deneyimi özelinde tez konusunun temel sorunsalı burada, Henri Lefebvre'in "mekanın temsili" (*representation of space*) ile "temsilin mekanı" (*space of represenation*) kavramlarıyla ayrıştırdığı farklı mekansallık kipleri arasındaki *diyalektiğin*, belediye düzeyinde yürütülen kent-markalaştırma süreçleri tarafından bir artı-değer üretme mekanizmasına dönüştürülmesi noktasında ortaya çıkmaktadır. Diğer yandan, merkez-yerel alışverişinin "sadaka" ilişkisi temelinde geliştiği ülkemizde CHP'li Seferihisar Belediye Başkanı'nın *Cittaslow*'u 70'lerin "toplumcu belediyecilik" anlayışına ve bu anlayışın ürünü olan "üretkenlik" (*productivism*) fikrine atıfta bulunarak "Sürdürülebilir Yerel Kalkınma Modeli" olarak sunması kolaylıkla *anakronistik birütopyacılık* olarak değerlendirilebilir. Yine de, bünyesinde 70'lerin "mekansal adalet" kavramından nüveler barındıran *Cittaslow* gibi bir yerel yönetim modelinin sosyal demokrat bir belediye nezdinde gündeme gelmiş olması "alternatif" olarak adlandırılabilecek yerel yönetim girişimlerinin sayıca az olduğu ülkemizde azımsanmaması gereken bir olgudur.

Bu bakımdan, *Seferihisar'dan bir Cittaslow çıkarma girişimi*, bütün çelişki ve gerilimleriyle birlikte, günümüz neoliberal kentleşme süreçlerinin "üretkenlik-sonrası" (*post-productivist*) paradigması içerisinde ortaya çıkan "alışveriş merkezleri" ve "kapalı konut siteleri" gibi kamuya tamamen kapalı mekansal örgütlenme biçimlerinin "yanına/ karşısına" *küçük şehirler* seçeneğini yerleştirmektedir. Seferihisar Belediye Başkanı'nın "proaktif" bir tutum içerisinde *Seferihisar'dan bir Cittaslow çıkarma* girişiminin olumluluğu, aynı coğrafyadaki diğer benzer ölçekli yerleşimlerin "yerel kimlik"lerini kuragulayageldikleri *görece istikrarlı* "temsil"lere bakıldığında daha iyi anlaşılabilir. Bu bakımdan, kitle turizmine yönelerek denetimini epeydir kaybettiği bir anonim kentleşme süreci içerisindeki *Kuşadası*, İstanbullu üst-orta sınıfın "gösterişçi tüketim" (*conspicuous consumption*) trendleri güdümünde mekansallaşan *Alaçatı-Çeşme*, kapalı konut siteleriyle İzmir'in uydu kenti haline gelmiş olan *Urla* ve yakında açılacak otoban ile hasbel kader geliştirmiş olduğu "bohem inziva yeri" (*bohemian retreat*) kimliğini kaybetme arifesindeki *Karaburun*, kentleşme süreçlerini küçük yerleşimler için dahi "kendi doğallığına" bırakmanın bir hayal olduğu günümüz neoliberal koşullarında Seferihisar'ın *Cittaslow* girişimini meşru bir seçenek haline getirmektedir. Aynı zamanda, Seferihisar'ın *Uluslararası Cittaslow Ağı*'na Türkiye'den üye olan ilk kent olarak *Cittaslow Başkenti* ünvanını elde ederek girmiş olması, Seferihisar

Belediyesi'ne bundan sonra Türkiye'den bu ağa üye olacak kentlerin başvurularını kabul etme ve yönlendirme ayrıcalığını da kazandırmıştır. Bu ayrıcalık, *Yerel Yönetim Reformları*'nın paradoksal bir biçimde oldukça merkeziyetçi bir zihniyetle gerçekleştirilmekte olduğu ülkemizde, yerelde konumlanan bir siyaset aktörünün eline kolay kolay geçmeyecek *stratejik bir yetki* olarak değerlendirilebilir. Seferihisar Belediyesi, *TürkiyeCittaslow Ulusal Ağı*'nı kurma görevini yakın zamanda Muğla'nın Akyaka, Aydın'ın Yenipazar, Çanakkale'nin Gökçeada ve Sakarya'nın Taraklı ilçelerinin üyelik süreçlerini yöneterek gerçekleştirmiştir.

Bu bakımdan, Seferihisar'ın *UluslararasıCittaslow Ağı*'na üyeliği üzerinden deneyimlediği *alternatif bir kent rejimi kurma girişimi* sosyal bilimsel bir araştırmanın konusu olmaya değer bulunarak, bu girişimin hangi stratejik aktörler tarafından ve hangi "iktisadi dağar"'lar (*economic imaginary*) eşliğinde gerçekleştirilmekte olduğunun ortaya çıkarılması çalışmanın temel amacını oluşturmuştur.

"Ütopya" kavramının "küçük şehirler" üzerinden, "pragmatik" terimlerle de olsa, tekrar gündeme gelmesindeki en önemli etken, küresel kapitalizmin son yirmi yıldır birbiri ardına geçirmekte olduğu büyük yapısal krizlerdir. Kapitalizm, krizleriyle başedebilmek ve varlığını herşeye rağmen sürdürebilmek adına peşisıra reformlar yaparak küresel ekonomik düzene (yani *kendisine*) sınırlar dayatmakta ve onu (yani *kendisini*) tekrardan "toplum" ve "doğa"ya bağımlı hale getirmeye çalışmaktadır. Küresel kapitalizmin bu yeni paradigması, küresel iktisadi siyasa elitleri tarafından, Karl Polanyi'nin kapitalizmin geleceğine ilişkin isabetli öngörülerine atıfla, "Neo-Polanyici" olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Ekonominin toplumsal ilişkilerden tamamen çekilmeye (*disembedded economy*, *roll-out neoliberalism*) ve giderek bir otomat gibi kendi dinamikleriyle işlemeye meylettiği son 20 yıllık süreçte, doğa ve toplumda meydana gelen tahribatın tüm sosyal sınıfları risk altında bırakarak geri dönüşü olmayan bir yola girdiği, küresel ekonomik düzene yön veren kurumlar içerisindeki siyasa-yapıcı elitler tarafından nihayet anlaşılmış; böylelikle, iktisadi model ve araçların toplumsal ilişkilerin içerisine tekrardan katıştırılmaya (*re-embedded economy*, *roll-in neoliberalism*) çalışıldığı "insan-yüzlü" bir kapitalist düzenin tesis edilmesine başlanmıştır. Bu süreçte Amerika Birleşik Devletleri ve Washington'da "tek tip" üretilip tüm dünyaya dağıtılan siyasa-üretimi modelinden, Avrupa Birliği'nin sözünün daha çok geçmeye başladığı, farklı coğrafi bölgelerin kendi toplumsal koşullarına uygun siyasaları "çok merkezli" (*polycentricity*) bir yaklaşımla üretebildiği "Washington-sonrası" (*Post-Washington Consensus*) bir döneme geçilmiştir. Ortaya çıkan yeni küresel ekonomik düzenle birlikte, Bob Jessop'ın özellikle vurguladığı gibi, dünya piyasasının ve yükselen 'küresel toplumun' bütünsel yönetimindeki *uluslararası rejimlerin* (ör., AB) önemi artmış, eski ve yeni devlet kapasitelerinin aşağılara, yukarılara ve kenarlara aktarılması bağlamında, devlet iktidarının piyasalara, kamu-özel işbirliklerine veya *sosyal bilgi ağlarına* aktaran politikalar gündeme gelmiştir. Jessop'un "çok-ölçekli yönetim-ötesi" (*multi-scalar meta-governance*) olarak adlandırdığı bu yeni

trendler, ulus bazında farklılıkları tam olarak kabul etmekle beraber, ölçekler-arası yönetişimde ulus-devletler için çok önemli roller üstlenmektedirler. Örneğin, ulusal çıkarlar çerçevesinde yerel yönetim reformlarıyla devlet iktidarının aşağılara, yukarılara ve kenarlara aktarımını ayarlama arayışında; yönetimlerden yönetim-ötesine (*meta-governance*) ve hükümetlerden "yönetişime" (*governance*) geçişte; hükümetlerin "öz-örgütlenmeyi" (*autopoiesis*) organize etme ve hükümetlerin ve devletlerin ulusal çıkar çerçevesinde uluslararası rejim formlarını şekillendirmede artan çabalarında ve/ veya kendi ulusal ekonomilerine dayalı sermaye çıkarları ve uluslararası rejim ve protokollerini sonuna dek uygulamalarında uluslararası rejimlerin önemi çok net bir biçimde görülmektedir (Haziran, 2008; röportaj: Çağhan Kızıl). Diğer yandan, Türkiye'nin AB ile uyum sürecinin iki ileri bir geri ilerlediği göz önünde bulundurulduğunda *Cittaslow*'un "çok ölçekli yönetim-ötesi" mekanizması olarak ancak "milliyet-sonrası devlet hiyerarşisinin gölgesinde" (*in the shadow of post-national statehood*; Jessop, 2009) işlerlik kazanabildiğini belirtmek yerinde olacaktır.

Görece yeni bir sosyal bilimsel olgu olan *Cittaslow* hareketi, doğası gereği kamu yönetimi, şehir ve bölge planlama, siyaset bilimi ve sosyoloji gibi pek çok farklı disiplinin alanında ele alınabildiği için, tezin kuramsal çerçevesini oluşturmak üzere geniş kapsamlı bir yazın taraması gerçekleştirilmiştir. *Cittaslow*'un arkaplanında yer aldığı bilinen *Slow Food* hareketinin kentsel mekan üretimi süreçleriyle ilişkisinin tartışılması gerekliliği, *Slow Food* kurucusu Carlo Petrini'nin hareketin kuruluşu ve gelişimine dair otobiyografik anlatılarının ve İtalya'nın 70'lerde başlayan yerel yönetim reformu ve bölgeselleşme deneyimine dair hatırı sayılır bir yazının gözden geçirilmesini gerektirmiştir. Diğer yandan, konunun küreselleşme süreçleri güdümünde geliştirilen uluslararası siyasa rejimleriyle yakından ilişkisi, Uluslararası İlişkiler yazınının taranmasını da gündeme getirmiştir. Özel olarak sosyoloji yazını içerisinde yerli ve yabancı kent sosyolojisi, kentsel siyasalar, kasaba çalışmaları ve küçük kentlerin kültürel-siyasal-iktisadi analizine ilişkin çalışmalar taranmıştır.

Cittaslow ve *Slow Food* hareketlerinin ortak paydası olan *Slow* nosyonu, kent üzerine düşünen ve üreten sosyal bilimcilerin kentsel siyasetle ilişki kurma biçimlerinin 70'lerden günümüze nasıl değişip dönüşmekte olduğunu gözler önüne sermektedir. Henri Lefebvre'in "Kent Hakkı" (*Right to the City*) kavramında karşılığını bulan 70'lerin kentsel krizler döneminde sosyal bilimciler kent mekanı üzerinde antagonistik sınıflar üzerinden gerçekleşen kentsel mücadeleleri eleştirel bir gerçekçilikle gündemlerine taşıyorlarken, neoliberal politikaların kentsel mekanı tamamen kuşatma eğiliminde olduğu 2000'lere gelindiğinde sosyal bilimcilerin kentsel siyasetle ilişkisi giderek kalkınmacılığın ve kentsel iyileştirme projelerinin ön plana çıktığı "reformist" sivil toplum süreçlerine eklemlendi. *Slow* nosyonu, özellikle bu süreçte, küreselleşme süreçlerinin ortaya çıkardığı "ağ toplumu" içerisinde, baskın teknokratik süreçler karşısında bir karşı duruş imkanı olarak *zaman* ve *mekanın* alternatif kiplerde deneyimleneceği

toplumsal örgütlenme girişimlerinde karşılığını bulmaya başladı. Manuell Castells (1996), özellikle iklim değişiklikleri karşısında ağ toplumu içerisinde yükselen karşı-hegemonik duruşu "vakti olmayan zaman"ın (*timeless time*) karşısına yerleştirilen bir "buzul zaman" olarak niteliyordu. Beck'de (2002) benzer bir biçimde, gezegenin karşı karşıya bulunduğu riskler karşısında gündelik hayatlarını kurma düzeyinde radikal tavır değişikliği geliştiren bireylerin (*institutional individualization*) ortaya çıkmasıyla, küresel kurumlar düzeyinde verilen kararlara doğrudan veya dolaylı reformist baskıların arttığını ve bu baskıların, daha önceki toplumsal hareketlerden oldukça farklı kip ve dinamiklerle de olsa, doğurduğu etkili sonuçların kapitalizmin modernizasyon süreçlerinde "dönüşümsel/ düşünümsel" (*reflexive modernization*) bir kipe giderek daha fazla geçit verildiğine dikkat çekiyor. *Slow* nosyonunun yaygınlaşmasını bu bakımdan, uluslararası kurumlar içerisindeki dönüşümün tabanda bulduğu karşılık olarak değerlendirmek yanlış olmayacaktır. Güncel uluslararası ilişkiler jargonunda "tepeden inme"(*top-down*) küresel politikaların devamlı olarak "aşağıdan yukarıya" (bottom-up) reflekslerle dengelenerek üretilmesi zorunluluğunu ifade eden "reflexivity" (*dönüşümsellik/ düşünümsellik*) kavramı da *Slow* nosyonunda amiyane ifadesini bulmuş ve *Slow* böylelikle söz konusu değişimin ruhunu tabanda konumlanan geniş kesimlere ulaştırmada etkili olmuştur.

Washington-sonrası küresel mutabakatın *Avrupa Birliği* (AB)'nin mekan politikalarını belireyen kurumlarında çalışan elitler üzerindeki etkisi, *bölgelerarası mekansal eşitliği* ön plana çıkaran siyasaları tanımlayan "yeni bölgeselci" (*new regionalist*) paradigmada karşılık bulmaktadır. AB'nin çeperindeki konumlarıyla daha önceleri göz ardı edilen ve büyük merkezlerin dışa doğru yayıldığı, yığıldığı bölgelerde "küçülme" ve "büzüşme" (*shrinking*) dinamikleriyle olumsuz süreçlerden geçerek kültürel, siyasal ve iktisadi can damarlarını kaybetmiş yerleşimler, "yeni bölgeselci" siyasaların sunduğu her ölçeğe uygun siyasa modelleri ve çeşitli finansal enstrümanlarla tekrar canlanma şansı bulmaktalar. Diğer yanda, AB merkezli "yeni bölgeselci" siyasaların yarattığı iyimser iklimin Akademi'de de yankı bulmasıyla, sayıları giderek artan pek çok kent plancısı, mimar, coğrafyacı ve sosyal bilimcinin akademik pratiklerini büyük şehirlerin hegemonyasında gerçekleşen küreselleşme süreçlerine muhalif bir konumlanma tarzı olarak "yer"e ve "yerelliğe" dayalı siyasal bir adanmışlıkla kurmaya çalıştıkları gözlenmektedir. Bu minvalde, *Cittaslow'*un kendini sıklıkla "İtalya'da birkaç küçük kasaba belediye başkanının kafa kafaya vermesiyle ortaya çıkmış bir hareket" olarak sunması, hareketi destekleyen kentli, akademisyen, aydın kesimlerin, hareketi yerelde itici kılabilecek teknokratik-entelektüel motifleri arka planda tutmaya yönelik bir stareji olarak göze çarpmaktadır. Özellikle, İtalya'nın ardından Almanya ve İngiltere'ye sıçrayarak bir "model" olarak hızla yaygınlaştığı süreçte *Cittaslow*, harekete "adanmış" (*engaged*) sosyal bilimcileri *Uluslararası Cittaslow Bilim Komitesi*'nde biraraya getirmesiyle, akademik katkıları bünyesinde kurumsallaştırmış ve hareketin kurumsallaşma sürecini de AB "yeni bölgesel" siyasalarının sunduğu olanakların gelişimiyle eş-güdümlü hale

getirmiştir. Üretkenliğin (*productivist*) esas olduğu "Keynesyen refah ulus-devleti" rejiminden "üretkenlik sonrası" (*post-productivist*) refah rejimine geçiş, kamu hizmetlerinin masraf olarak algılanmaya başlandığı 80'lerin başındaki vulgar kapitalist dönemin ardından, 2000'li yıllarla birlikte iletişim teknolojilerinde yaşanan gelişmelerinde etkisiyle, devletin yerelle ilişkisinde bir yandan yaratıcı iş modellerinin, diğer yandan da ulus-ötesi kurumların siyasalarının belirleyici olduğu "Schumpeterci ulus-ötesi esnek iş gücü rejimi"ni (*Schumpeterian post-national workfare regime*) devreye sokmuştur. Avrupa Birliği üyesi yüksek refah toplumlarında "temel gelir" (*basic income*) ve "ücretli işgücü" (*wage labor*) ikilisinin birbirinden ayrılmasını sağlayan finansal imkanların gittikçe artması, iş gücünün örgütlenmesinde "emek-sermaye" eksenli süreçlerden, "iş" ile "boş zaman" ayrımının ortadan kalktığı "sermaye-hayat" süreçlerinin tartışılmasına olanak tanımıştır. Bu durum, iş gücünün "kültür"e dayalı, "gayri-maddi" süreçlerle örgütlendiği üretim kiplerinde "üretici/yaratıcının" zamanının "özerklik" (*autonomy*) kazanmasına yol açarak, "emek-sermaye" paradigmasını belirleyen "disiplin" kriterinin, bireyin iletişimsel olaylara katılımının niteliğine göre değişen oranlarda "özgürleşme" veya "denetim" olarak deneyimlediği süreçleri ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Bu paradigmayı etkin kılan en önemli unsur, bireylerin "kültürleri", "yaşam tarzları" ile geçimlerini elde ettikleri "uğraş"ı kuran "siyasal-iktisadi" yapının "uyum" ve "uzlaşma" içerisinde işliyor olduğunun varsayılmasıdır. Üretim açısından, bir balıkçının "özgürce" balıkçılık yapabildiği, bir ev kadınının "özgürce" ev kadını olabildiği süreçlerin tesis edilebilmesi için, üretimin niceliğinden çok üreticinin "yaşam-dünyası"nın "kültürel bir artı-değer" olarak ürünün içine katılabildiği bir "temaşa-ötesi"nin (*post-spectacular*) "ürünleşmesi" sağlanmalıdır. Bu yeni paradigmanın genelleşerek hayatın bütününe nüfuz edebilmesi için iş yerlerinden dışarı adım atarak yerleşim yerlerine uygulanabilmesi için en uygun koşullar, kuşkusuz, barındırdıkları kısıtlı insan-sosyal-kültür sermayeleriyle markalaşma konusunda yardıma her daim muhtaç ve bu bakımdan teknokratik-entelektüel müdahalelere "açık" olan küçük ölçekli yerleşimlerde ortaya çıkmaktadır. Daha açık ifade etmek gerekirse, küçük yerleşimleri ve bu yerleşimlerin nüfusunu, "kültür"leriyle "siyasal-iktisadi" rejimleri arasında kurgulanacak bir uyum için "biçilmiş kaftan" kılan en önemli etken, gerekli fiziksel, tarihi, kültürel varlıklara sahip olmalarının ötesinde "yaşam-dünyaları"nın bu varlıklarla halen içiçe olduğunu ispatlayacak öznellikleri *temaşa-ötesi* bir "gerçekçilik"le sahneleyebilmeleridir. Bu bakımdan, "Seferihisar'ın *Cittaslow* modeline uygunluğu"nu sorusunu da modelin temsil ettiği "Avrupalı" ya da "Akdenizli" değerlere dair nüfus yapısında bulunduğu varsayılan derinlikli bir kavrayış ya da kolektif iradede değil de, neoliberal zamanların zor koşulları karşısında ayakta kalmaya çalışan bir kasabanın varoluş reflekslerinde tespit etmek daha "gerçekçi" gözükmektedir.

Küresel iktisadi paradigmatik dönüşümlerin neredeyse eş zamanlı süreçlerle kentsel politikalara yansıması, finansal kapitalizmin "mekan üretimi"yle içkin bağını gün yüzüne serer

niteliktedir. Günümüz küresel finans kapitalizminin bir yandan "büyük kentleri" ulus-devletlerin kalkınma politikalarının baş aktörü haline getirmekteyken, diğer yandan farklı ölçeklerdeki pek çok kentsel yerleşimi "büyüklerin rekabeti"nde pozisyon almaya ya da büyüklerin dayattığı bir kent-bölgesel (*city-regional*) iş bölümünde belli bir rol üstlenmeye mecbur etmektedir. *Yerel Yönetim Reformları*'nı küreselleşen dünyanın ulus-ötesi kurumlarının yaptırımlarıyla gerçekleştirmek durumunda kalan ülkemizde, belli belirsiz "bölgeselleşme" deneyimlerinden geçerek günümüze kadar gelen kentsel yerleşimler, yerel yönetim sahnesine yeni tanıtılan kurumlar (*Bölgesel Kalkınma Ajansları, Belediyeler Birliği*, yenilenen rolleriyle *İl Özel İdareleri*) aracılığıyla birer birer yeni oluşturulan bölgesel ekonomik bütünler içerisine davet edilmekteler. Bu yerleşimlerin farklı farklı coğrafi konumlara ve nüfus yapılarına sahip olmalarının bile hâlihazırda göreli bir *mekânsal-zamansal* ve *sosyo-kültürel-ekonomik* "çeşitliliğe" karşılık gelmesi, giderek daha bütünleşik hale gelen "markalaştırarak planlama" pratikleri nezdinde onları kimlik hammaddeleri haline getirmektedir. Bu bağlamda, merkezi yönetimin yerel yönetimlere yerleşimlerini markalaştırmaları yönünde sunduğu teşvik ve telkinler de, bir yandan yerelde konumlanan yeni kurumların farklı yerleşim ölçeklerine uygun gördüğü projeleri pekiştirmekte, diğer yandan da yerelin merkezden hizmet ve yatırım talep edebilmesinin yeni meşru biçimlerini (ör., proje, hibe, fon başvuruları) tanımlamaktadır.

"Kent" ve "yer markalaştırma" pratikleri, gelişmiş fiziksel sermayeleri, sosyal ve kültürel olarak donanımlı nüfuslarıyla kendilerini uluslararası pazarlara açabilmede fazla sıkıntı yaşamayan büyük şehirlerin aksine, beşeri ve sosyal sermayesi gelişmemiş küçük ölçekli yerleşimler ve bu yerleşimlerin kurumsal kapasitesi kısıtlı yönetimleri için başlı başına zorlu süreçler haline gelebilmektedir. Söz gelimi, bu yerleşimlerin günümüzde yeniden yapılandırılmakta olan kent-bölgesel bütünlere hangi kipleriyle, nasıl dahil edileceklerinin belirlenmesi öncelikle kent planlaması ve kamu yönetimi alanları olmak üzere pek çok farklı mesleki disiplinden aktörün sürece dahil edilmesini ve sürekli koordinasyonunu gerektirmektedir. Diğer yandan o yerleşim içerisinde hâlihazırda gerçekleşen pek çok farklı ekonomik ve sosyo-mekansal pratiğin toplamından görece bağımsız bir "bütüncül imaj"ın devamlı olarak göz önünde bulundurulmasını gerektirmektedir. Bütün bu gelişmeler, daha önceleri yalnızca kamu hizmetlerinin yeterli düzeyde sağlanmasından sorumlu olan belediyelerin "proaktif" bir tutum içerisinde yerleşimlerinin "şimdi" ve "geleceklerini" nasıl belirleyecekleri konusunda projeler geliştirmeye sevk etmekte ve kararlı bir liderlik sürecinin belediye düzeyinde yönetilmesini zorunlu kılmaktadır. Bu süreçte belediyenin rolü, daha önceki belediyecilik deneyimlerinden farklı olarak, eldeki "kültür"e terzi eliyle dikilmiş gibi "cuk oturan" (*tailor-fit*) "kültürel siyasal iktisadi" düzenlemeleri belli bir stratejik plan doğrultusunda peşisıra hayata geçirmek haline gelmektedir. Günümüz kentleşme süreçlerinin anonimliği göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, bir yerleşimin "kültürü" ile "siyasal iktisat" rejimi arasında yapısal

uyum gözetme çabası, her ne kadar yerel yönetim liderlerinin naifçe iddia etme eğiliminde oldukları gibi yerleşimlerin kendi iradelerinin tezahürüyle gerçekleşiyor gibi gözükmese de, daha önceki "tepeden inme" (*top down*) planlamacılık anlayışına kıyasla "tüzel kişiliğe" dayalı bir katılımcılığı ön plana çıkartarak, merkez ile yerelin "ortaklaşa yönetim" (*joined up*) mekanizmaları geliştirebilmelerine olanak tanımaktalar.

Türkiye'de 80 sonrası sermaye birikim süreçlerini belireyen neoliberal politikalar, tüm bir ulusal coğrafyayı hegemonik tek bir merkez üzerinden küresel ekonomiye eklemleme yoluna gitmiştir. Bu süreçte finans ve yönetim merkezi olarak yeniden yapılandırılan İstanbul, yükselişe geçen Anadolu kentlerini "art-ülkesi" (*hinterland*) haline getirirken, İzmir, Ankara, Bursa gibi Türkiye'nin geleneksel büyüme kutupları olan kentlerindeki sermaye bloklarının bu durumu "göreli yoksunluk" (*relative deprivation*) olarak deneyimlemesine yol açmıştır. Liman kenti olma özelliğiyle öne çıkan İzmir'de, Sanayii ve Ticaret Odaları aracılığıyla faaliyet gösteren sermaye bloğu, bu süreçte iktidar bloğundaki temsil olanaklarını da yitirmesiyle birlikte *merkezi hükümetten bağımsız, uluslararası hegemonik kuvvetle doğrudan ilişkiye geçerek sürdürebileceği özerk gelişme stratejileri* arayışına girmiştir (Yıldırım & Haspolat, 2010: 297). Bu süreçte *İzmirli* kimliği üzerinden deneyimlenen bir hükümet karşıtlığının da ortaya çıktığı kentte, AKP'nin temkinli bir politika izleyerek, yerel sermaye bloğunun talep ettiği gibi uluslararası hegemonik kuvvetle doğrudan ilişkiye geçerek sürdürülebileceği özerk gelişme stratejilerine destek olduğunu görüyoruz. Bu noktada, İzmir Kalkınma Ajansı gibi yerel yönetim reformuyla gündeme gelen yeni bir kurumun İzmir'deki örgütlenme sürecinin de oldukça sancılı yaşanmış olduğu unutulmamalıdır. Diğer yandan, İzmir'in *2005 Yaz Üniversiyatı* ve *2015 EXPO* adaylığı süreçlerine destek veren hükümet, İzmir'e "mega-olay ev sahipliği" kazandırarak siyasi meşruiyet zemini elde edeceği inancıyla İzmir'in *EXPO 2020* adaylığı sürecini, ipleri yerel sermaye bloğunun temsilcilerinin elinden alarak yönetecek gibi gözükmektedir. İzmir'in *EXPO 2020* adaylığı, bu sefer Valilik ve Kalkınma Ajansı gibi *merkezi hükümetin yereldeki temsilcileri konumundaki kurumlartarafından* yürütülmektedir. Diğer yandan, 2011 Genel Seçimlerine damgasını vuran "çılgın projeler"in de gösterdiği gibi, kentleri geliştirmeye yönelik büyük hamleleri "mega-projeler" aracılığıyla gerçekleştirmenin iktidarın başat kent planlama yaklaşımı haline geldiğini görüyoruz. Bu yaklaşımın diğer bir saç ayağını da, kentlerin dünya çapında gerçekleştirilen "mega-olay"lara (*mega-events*) ev sahipliği yapması oluşturuyor. İzmir'de gerçekleştirilen *2005 Yaz Üniversiyatı*, İzmir'in *2015 EXPO*'suna adaylığı, Erzurum'da gerçekleştirilen *2011 Kış Üniversiyatı*, Mersin'degerçekleştirilecek olan *2013 Akdeniz Oyunları* ve adaylık sürecindeki İstanbul'un *2020 Yaz Olimpiyatları* ve İzmir'in *2020 EXPO*'su, 2000'li yıllarla birlikte gelişen süreçte kentlerin planlanmasında "mega-olay ev sahipliği" (*mega-event hosting*) yaklaşımının hegemonik model haline geldiğini gösteriyor.

Daha önce de belirttiğimiz üzere, CHP'li Seferihisar Belediye Başkanı'nın *Cittaslow*'u

70'lerin "toplumcu belediyecilik" anlayışına ve bu anlayışın ürünü olan "üretkenlik" (*productivism*) fikrine atıfta bulunarak "Sürdürülebilir Yerel Kalkınma Modeli" olarak sunması eğer *anakronistik birütopyacılık* değilse, bu söylemin günümüz üretkenlik-sonrası kentleşme koşullarında neye karşılık geldiğinin doğru tespit edilmesi gerekmektedir. Yerel kalkınmacılıkta "üretkenliği" öne çıkartan "demokratik-kooperatifçilik" (*democratic-associationalist*) uygulamaları, kolektif olarak tüketilen hizmet ve malların yerleşimin kendi imkanlarının seferber edilerek karşılanması esasına dayanıyordu. Özellikle toprakla ve zirai üretimle bağı henüz kopmamış yerleşimlerde, yaşama maliyetlerini anlamsızca yükselten dışa bağımlılığın ortadan kaldırılması, üreticilerin başkalarını zengin etmek yerine kendi refahları için çalışmaları anlamına geliyordu. Bülent Ecevit'in 70'li yıllarda ortaya attığı ve içeriğini İlhan Tekeli ve Yiğit Gülöksüz gibi toplumcu akademisyen ve teknokratların geliştirdiği "köy-kent" projesi bu fikrin ulusal bazda tüm yerleşimler genelinde uygulanmasını ön görüyordu. "Köykent" projesinin uygulama alanı, her ne kadar iktidardaki değişiklikler ve koalisyon hükümetlerinin istikrarsızlığı yüzünden oldukça kısıtlı kalmış olsa da, 2002 yılına ait Meclis tutanaklarından anlaşıldığı üzere, milletvekillerinin kendi seçim bölgelerinden başlatmak için Ecevit'e ricada bulunacakları kadar muteber bir "kalkınma" seçeneği olarak yakın zamana kadar kabul görmüştür. *Cittaslow* modeli yerel kalkınmacılığı, *köy-kent* gibi "demokratik-kooperatifçi" projelerden ayırdeden en önemli unsur ise, günümüz koşullarında üretim-dağıtım-tüketim ilişkilerini kuran sosyo-mekansal pratiklerin, yerleşim yeri sınırlarıyla tariflenen bir "yerellik"le sınırlı kalmadan, "kozmopolit" bir "kültür" üzerinden dolayımlanarak üretilmesi olarak tespit edilebilir. Bu durum, önceleri "halihazırda verili"ymiş gibi ele alınan "kültür"ü, siyasal-iktisadi projelerin kurucu unsuru, kentsel aktörlerin üzerinde mücadele ve müzakere etmeleri gereken bir "yönetişim nesnesi" (*object of governance*) haline getirmektedir. Bu bakımdan bir yerleşimin *hangi kültürünü* öne çıkarmayı tercih ettiği, duruma göre olumlu veya olumsuz pek çok gelişmeye neden olabilmektedir. *Cittaslow*'un temel argümanı bu anlamda, ancak doğru temsil edilen kültürün o yerleşimin kentleşme sorunlarının ortadan kalkmasına yönelik uzun vadeli yatırımları çekebileceği, yerleşimin sosyo-mekansal pratiklerinden kopuk bir temsilinse "dışarlıklı" mevcudiyetlere farkında olmadan meşruiyet zemini kazandırabileceğidir. Bu bakımdan, *Cittaslow* gibi "çok-ölçekli yönetişim-ötesi" (*multi-scalar meta-governance*) mekanizmaları her ne kadar romantize edilerek ve nostaljik anlamlar yüklenerek karşılaştırıldıkları geçmiş "toplumcu belediyecilik" girişimlerinden oldukça farklı bir soykütüğe sahip olsalar da, barındırdıkları bütün çelişkilerle birlikte, ütopik denemeyecek kadar *pratikte-ideal* bir yapısal uyumu "pragmatik" adımlarla "markalaştırarak" küçük yerleşimlerin yaşam kalitesini yükseltmelerini ya da korumalarını sağlayacak yatırımları cezbedebilmelerini sağlamaktalar.

Avrupa Birliği'nin turistik cazibeye sahip küçük yerleşimlere önerdiği "kültürel siyasal iktisadi" siyasalarda, yerleşimin "markalaşırken" sunacağı "farklılığın" kısa vadeli ve gelip geçici

değilde, uzun erimli ve sürdürülebilir olabilmesinin özellikle şart koşulması, bu yerleşimlerin geleneksel olarak sahip olduğu "toplumsal-ekonomik" üretim kiplerini öne çıkartması anlamına gelmektedir. Bu anlamda "markalaştırma" bir yandan yerleşimin "içerisini" dışarıya tanıtmayı, pazarlamayı amaçlarken, diğer yandan da içerisinin, "dışarıdakiler" tarafından sürekli denetlendiği, kontrol altında tutulduğu yeni bir kentsel yönetişim biçimi olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Örneğin *Cittaslow*, sürdürülebilir kentleşme yaklaşımlarının hemen hepsinde rastlanan düşük karbon ayak izi prensibinden hareketle, yenilenebilir enerji kaynaklarının kullanımına yönelik sistemlerin kullanılmasını, kompostlama, geri dönüşüm, atık yağ ve pillerin toplanması gibi hizmetlerin devreye sokulmasını ve enerji tasarrufuna yönelik fikir ve projelerin geliştirmesini teşvik etmektedir. Seferihisar Belediyesi'nin de bu doğrultuda önemli uygulamaları gündemine taşımış olduğu gözlenmiştir: Hava, su ve toprak temizliğini sağlamaya yönelik gerekli ölçümlerin rutin olarak yapılması; Kolektif ve bireysel enerji tüketiminde yenilenebilir enerji kaynaklarına ve tasarrufa yönlendirici projelerin geliştirilmesi; Özel taşıt kullanımı yerine toplu ulaşım, bisiklet kullanımı ve yürümenin teşvik edildiği düzenlemelerin yapılması; Kentin alt yapısının yeniden yapılandırılması ve kentsel mekanın iyileştirmesi için gerekli park, bahçe ve rekreasyon alanlarının düzenlenmesi; Peyzaj düzenlemelerinde yerel bitkilerin kullanılmasına dikkat edilmesi ve okullarda sebze bahçeleri oluşturulması; Organik tarımın desteklenmesi ve kentteki restoranlarda, kafelerde, okul kantinlerinde bölgede yetişmiş organik ürünlerin kullanılmasının sağlanması. Belediye hizmetlerinin büyük oranda internet ortamı üzerinden sunulduğu e-belediyecilik uygulamasına geçilmesi de, vatandaşa sunduğu kolaylık kadar, gündelik bürokratik işlemlerin doğaya verdiği dolaylı zararın aza indirgenmesi bakımından çevreye duyarlı bir belediyecilik hizmeti olarak değerlendirilebilir. Tohum-Takas Festivalleri, Kadın Emeği Kooperatiflerinin devamlı sergileri, Üretici Pazarları gibi rutin olarak düzenlenen etkinlikler "üretken" bir "içerisi" ile "üretken-sonrası" bir "dışarısı" arasındaki dayanışmayı destekleyen, karşılıklı kültürel alışverişi özendiren *temaşa-ötesi* etkinlikler olarak dikkat çekmektedir.

Tezin kuramsal çerçevesini, Henri Lefebvre'in "Fordist Keynesyen Refah Devleti"nin (*Fordist Keynesian Welfare State*) siyasal iktisadı bağlamında geliştirdiği kentsel mekanın üretimine dair ön görülerini "Fordist-sonrası" (*Post-Fordist*) mekan üretimi paradigmalarına aktararak karmaşık küreselleşme süreçleri bağlamında tekrar ele alan Neil Brenner'ın farklı siyasal iktisadi ölçeklerde ortaya çıkan (*new political economies of scale*) "yeni devlet mekanları" (*new state spaces*) analizi ile Bob Jessop'ın "Düzenleme Yaklaşımı"nı (*Regulation Approach*) "Bilgiye-dayalı Ekonomi"nin (*knowledge-based economy*) siyasal iktisadi analizine uygun hale getirdiği "Kültürel Siyasal İktisat" (*cultural political economy*) yaklaşımı oluşturmaktadır. Bu çalışmada yer verilen nicel veriler Seferihisar ve İzmir'de konumlanan kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarının, çeşitli meslek odaları ve sivil toplum örgütlerinin yayınlamış olduğu ikincil

kaynaklardan derlenmiş, alan araştırmasında ise yalnızca nitelikli veri toplanma tekniklerine yer verilmiştir. Bob Jessop tarafından geliştirilen "Kültürel Siyasal İktisat" (KSİ) yaklaşımı, siyasal iktisadi analizin verili yerleşim biriminin mülki sınırlarıyla kısıtlanmaksızın üst-ölçeklerle girdiği ilişkileri hesaba katmaktadır. Bu noktada, Seferihisar'da *Cittaslow* projesini gündeme getiren CHP'li Belediye Başkanı Tunç Soyer'in, daha önceki süreçte İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi ve İzmir Ticaret Odası gibi *İzmiryerel sermaye bloğunun hegemonyasındaki kurumların gözetiminde* gerçekleşen *2005 Yaz Üniversiyatı* ve *EXPO 2015*adaylığısüreçlerine damgasını vuran elit ekibin içinde yer almış olduğu göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, *Cittaslow*'un Seferihisar'da kurulmasının ilçe sınırlarıyla kısıtlı bir proje olmadığı daha net anlaşılabilmektedir. Bu nedenle araştırmaya, Seferihisar ölçeğindeki aktörlerden önce, İzmir Büyükşehir ölçeğindeki üniversitelerde, kamu ve özel kuruluşlarda, meslek odalarında görev alan, İzmir'le ilgili planlama ve kentsel tasarım süreçlerine yoğun olarak katılmış ve genel olarak kentsel yönetişim süreçlerine katkı koymuş "kentsel aktörler"le temasa geçilerek başlanması uygun görülmüştür. Bu süreçte Seferihisar'ın gerek İzmir, gerekse Urla-Karaburun-Çeşme Yarımadası ölçeğinde hangi üst ölçekli plan ve kararların etkisinde olduğu, ilçenin içinde bulunduğu kent-bölgenin içinde bulunduğu kentsel süreçler ve farklı kent-elitlerinin bölgenin geleceğine dair tasarrufları hakkında kapsamlı bilgi edinilmiştir. Bu süreçte Seferihisar ve içinde bulunduğu Urla-Karaburun-Çeşme yarımadasına ziyaretler düzenlenerek aşağıdaki çeşitli nitelikli veri toplama tekniklerinin kullandığı bir araştırma süreci gerçekleştirilmiştir: *i.* Seferihisar'da gündelik yaşamda ve etkinlik günleri esnasında insanları gözlemlemek,Seferihisar Belediyesi bünyesinde gerçekleştirilen sosyal ve kültürel içerikli etkinliklerde (katılımcı-) gözlemlerde bulunmak*ii.* Derinlemesine mülâkatlar gerçekleştirmek; *iii.* Odak grup mülakatları gerçekleştirmek; *iv.* Seferihisar'da çıkan yerel gazeteleri takip etmek; *v.* Seferihisar Belediyesi'nin aktif bir biçimde kullandığı internet sitesini ve e-belediyecilik hizmetlerini takip etmek. *vi.*Ulusal ve yerel basılı ve görsel basında Seferihisar'ın *Cittaslow* girişimine dair çıkan haber ve yorumları izlemek; *vii.*Video ve fotoğrafik kayıt ortamını yaygın biçimde kullanmak.

2011 yılının Ağustos-Kasım ayları arasında Seferihisar'da gerçekleştirilen derinlemesine mülâkatlar *Cittaslow*'un önerdiği "üretkenlik-sonrası" kentleşme rejimlerinde öne çıkan yeni sosyo-mekansal pratikler kadar eski sosyo-mekansal pratiklerin yeni sisteme nasıl eklemlendiklerini anlamaya yönelik bir stratejiyle belirlenen aktörlerle ve her bir aktörün kendi sosyo-mekansal pratiği doğrultusunda geliştirdiği "iktisadi dağar"ı anlamaya yönelik olarak gerçekleştirildi. Bu bakımdan derinlemesine mülâkatlar, mülâkat yapılan kişinin durumuna/ tercihine göre çalıştığı ve/veya yaşadığı, Seferihisar'da birbirlerinden oldukça farklı mesafelerde konumlanan farklı mahallerde aşağıdaki örneklemde gerçekleştirildi:

A. Kent Yönetimsel Aktörler [*Seferihisar Belediye Başkanı, Seferihisar Eski Belediye Başkanı (1999-2009); Seferihisar Eski Belediye Başkanı (1989-1999), CHP Belediye Meclis Üyesi,*

Turizmci; AKP Seferihisar İlçe Başkanı; Strateji Geliştirme Müdürlüğü, Seferihisar Belediyesi; Sosyolog, Seferihisar Belediyesi Kadın Danışma Merkezi; Çevre Denetim Müdürlüğü, Seferihisar Belediyesi; Kent Konseyi Başkanı; Sığacık Muhtarı, Sığacık; Turabiye Muhtarı, Seferihisar Merkez]; B. Birlik, Kooperatif ve Dernek Temsilcileri [*Doğa Derneği, Başkan, Orhanlı Köyü; Orhanlı Köyü Tarımsal Kalkınma Kooperatifi Başkanı, Orhanlı Köyü; Gödence Tarımsal Kalkınma Kooperatifi Başkanı, Gödence Köyü; İzmir İli Damızlık Koyun-Keçi Yetiştiricileri Birliği Başkanı, Seferihisar; Seferihisar Mandalina Üreticileri Derneği Başkanı, Seferihisar Merkez; Kadın Derneği Kurucu Üye, Sığacık Mahallesi; Özel Kütüphane ve Yazar Evi İşletmecisi, Ürkmez Mahallesi*]; C. Yerel Esnaf, Küçük İşletme Sahipleri [*Sığacık Kale içinde Café sahibi, Sığacık; Sığacık Kaleiçi Yerel Üretici Pazarı, Tezgah Sahipleriyle Kısa Görüşmeler; Lokanta Sahibi, Seferihisar Merkez ; Terzi, Seferihisar Merkez; Kahve Sahibi, Sığacık; Yerel Gazete Sahibi, Seferihisar Merkez*]; D. İnşaat ve Emlak Sektörü Temsilcileri [*Mimar, Müteahhit, Küçükbaş Hayvan Çiftliği Sahibi, Seferihisar Merkez; Emlakçı, Seferihisar Tapu Dairesinden Emekli, Seferihisar Merkez; Emlakçı, Müteahhit, Seferihisar Merkez*]; E. Şirket Temsilcileri [*Halkla İlişkiler Görevlisi, Sığacık Marina İşletmeci İnşaat Şirketi, Sığacık; Yabancı Turistere Yönelik Turistik Tesis Yöneticisi, Sığacık*]; F. Seferihisar dışından Belediye'nin projelerine katkı koyan çeşitli Meslek Sahipleri, Uzmanlar, Aktivistler [*Gönüllü Danışman, Kültür-Sanat ve Sosyal İşler; Yerel Tarihçi; Proje Koordinatörü, Sivil Toplum Profesyoneli; Şehir ve Bölge Plancısı, Konak Belediyesi'nden emekli; Şehir ve Bölge Plancısı, Koruma Uzmanı; Mimar, Restorasyon Uzmanı; Mimar, Restorasyon Uzmanı; Mimar, Karşı Bisiklet Üyesi; Şehir Plancı, Öğretim Üyesi, Yarımada Gönüllüsü*]; G. Odak Görüşme [*Gödence Köyü'nde 2. Konut Kullanımı, Gödence*].

Saha çalışması süresince 100'ün üzerinde yerel "bilgi kaynağı kişi" (*informant*) ile temasa geçildiyse de, bunlardan yalnızca 40 tanesi farklı temsil etme kapasiteleri bakımından derinlemesine mülakat için belirlenmiştir. Derinlemesine mülâkatlardan 25 tanesi dijital ses kayıt cihazı kullanılarak gerçekleştirilmiştir. Toplam 3750 dakikayı bulan dijital ses kaydı, daha sonra tez içerisinde detaylı bir biçimde kullanım için deşifre edilmiştir. Dijital ses kaydının yanısıra katılımcı-gözlemci olarak katılınan Tohum-Takas Festivali ve Orkinos Balık Çiftliklerine karşı düzenlenen protesto dijital video kayıt cihazıyla kaydedilmiş, haftasonları Sığacık'ta kurulan Üretici Pazarları'nda tezgah açan yerel üreticilerle de kısa video-mülakatlar gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu video görüntüleri tez süreci boyunca gerek ara jürilerde Seferihisar'ı ziyaret etme fırsatı bulamayan jüri üyelerine konuyu aktarmakta, gerekse tezin ilerleyen süreçlerinde geriye dönüşü mümkün kılarak önemli bir hatırlatma işlevini yerine getirmekte etkili olmuşlardır.

Tezde kullanılan "kültürel siyasal iktisadi" yaklaşımını geliştiren Bob Jessop, bir yerleşime getirilen siyasal iktisadi düzenlemelerin, o düzenlemelere eşlik eden görece istikrarlı "iktisadi dağar"lar (*economic imaginaries*) ile birlikte analiz edilmelerini önermektedir. Bu yaklaşım, siyasal ve iktisadi boyutlarıyla öne çıkan mekansal süreçlerin her zaman onları önceleyen

"kültürel" unsurlarla birlikte kurulduğu tespitine dayanmaktadır. Ancak Jessop, "siyasal-iktisat" ikilisinin önüne getirdiği "kültür"ün, maddi olanı üstten belirleyen her türlü gayri-maddi (*semiosis*) unsur olarak anlaşılması gerektiğini özellikle belirtmektedir. Aksi halde bu yaklaşım, akademik uğraşlarını yerleşimlerin kalkınmasına yönelik *kültürel-iktisaditemalar* geliştirmekle özdeşleştiren sosyal bilimcilerin elinde araçsallaşmakta ve sunduğu analitik eleştirellik "sosyal-inşacı" (*social-constructivist*) bir takım projelerin tanımladıkları çerçeveyle sınırlı kalabilmektedir. Jessop'a göre ise, siyasal-iktisadı belirlemek üzere dolaşımda olan tüm söylemler, medyatik imajlar, plan, model ve projeler, önceden verili olmayan bir "kültür"ün kurucu unsurları olarak mekanın nasıl düzenlenmekte olduğuna dair tasarrufları görünür kılarlar. Bu bakımdan *Seferihisar'dan birCittaslowçıkarılmasına* eşlik eden iktisadi dağarların, Urla-Karaburun-Çeşme Yarımadası ve İzmir Büyükşehir düzeyinde diğer hangi üst ölçekli iktisadi dağarlarla temas halinde bulunduğu, yerine göre hangilerinin filtrelendiği ya da arkaplana atıldığı, yerine göreyse hangilerinin ön plana çıkarıldığının belirlenmesi önemli bir analiz kriteri olarak görülmüştür.

Ölçekler arası iktisadi dağarlar bakımından ele alındığında, örneğin Seferihisar'ın *Cittaslow* modeli liderliğinde yakın komşusu ilçelerle birlikte yarımada ölçeğinde "varlık temelli" (asset-based) bir kalkınma ağı geliştirmesi ihtimali üzerinde hiç durulmamış olması dikkat çekicidir. Oysa, Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nin yakın zamanda düzenlediği *Urla-Çeşme-Karaburun Yarımadası Ulusal Fikir Yarışması*'nda dereceye giren projelerin çoğunda Yarımada'nın kendi varlık dinamiklerini harekete geçirebilecek ve "mega-olay"lara ya da "mega-proje"lere bel bağlamayan dayanışma modelleri ön plana çıkmaktaydı. Bu tür yerleşimler arası dayanışma fırsatlarının değerlendirilememesi, *Cittaslow*'u Seferihisar ile sınırlı bir markalaştırma girişiminin içine hapsetmiş gözükmektedir. Bu durum, komşu ilçelerde daha aktif bir biçimde faaliyet halinde bulunan *Slow Food* üyelerinin Seferihisar'ın *Cittaslow* girişimine özel bir anlam atfetmemelerinde ve *Slow Food*'u *Cittaslow*'dan olabildiğince ayrı değerlendirmelerinde özellikle göze çarpmaktadır. Bu tür uygulamalarla farkında olmadan *Cittaslow*'un markasını küçük yerleşimlere "kaldıraç" (*leverage*) olarak sunmasındaki esas amaç olduğunu varsaydığımız, 'büyük şehirlerin karşısına küçük şehirlerin dayanışmasını yerleştirmek' fikrinden uzaklaşılarak, 'küçük yerleşimler arasındaki rekabetin geliştirilmesi' fikrine yaklaşıldığı gözlenmektedir.

Cittaslow'un Seferihisar'da ele alınma tarzına ilişkin fikir veren diğer bir uygulamada, Belediye Başkanı'nın Genel Sekreterliğini yürütmüş olduğu *İzmirEXPO 2015* deneyiminden esinlenerek Seferihisar'da düzenlenmesini önerdiği *Cittalow-EXPO*'sudur. Detayları henüz tam açıklanmamış olmakla birlikte, *Cittaslow* uluslararası koordinasyon komitesi toplantısında sunulduğunu ve "ayakta alkışlandığını" öğrendiğimiz bu proje, tüm dünyada *Cittaslow*'a üye şehirlerin EXPO'larda olduğu gibi ülke pavyonları içinde standlar açmaları ve 6 ay gibi uzun bir süre boyunca bir yandan 'yavaş felsefesinin en iyi uygulamalarını sergilemeleri, diğer yandan da ülkelerini tanıtmaları' esasına dayanmaktadır. Bu fikrin de ifade ettiği gibi *Cittaslow*, küçük

yerlerin "yere-bağımlı" (*place-bound*) kültürel-ekonomisine dayalı bir model olmaktan uzaklaşarak, fuarlara, kongrelere, festivallere, ulusal ve uluslararası buluşma ve etkinliklere dayalı bir "deneyim ekonomisi"nin (*experience economy*) farklı ölçeklere uyarlandığı (ör., *mini-mega-events*) eklektik bir "exponomi modeli" olmaya doğru gitmektedir. Bu bakımdan *Cittaslow* modelinin Seferihisar'daki seyrini yerleşim sakinlerinin mütevazi sosyo-mekansal pratik ve uygulamalarındansa, Belediye'nin kamuoyunun ilgisini ilçeye çekmeye yönelik "izlenim yönetimi" (*impression management*) stratejileri belirleyecek gibi görünmektedir. Bu bakımdan *Cittaslow*, yukarıdan aşağıya aktarılan yeniden ölçeklendirme ve yeniden yapılandırma politikalarını yerelde karşılayıcı/ dengeliyici bir model haline gelmektedir. Belediye öncülüğünde kasabanın kendi kendini yönetme yönünde bir irade sahnelemesinde özellikle iki unsur öne çıkmaktadır: (a) toplumsal ve çevresel ilişkilere yeniden yerleştirilme sürecindeki küresel neoliberal düzenin "iyi kurumlar"ı, yerelde kendi kendini örgütleyen bir iradenin mevcudiyetini proje ortaklıklarının olmazsa olmazı haline getirmektedirler, (b) neoliberal devlet, yeniden yapılandırma ve yeniden ölçeklendirme politikalarının sunduğu çelişkileri yönetilebilir hale getirmek için riski yerelde olabildiğince fazla tarafa aktarmak/ paylaştırmak durumundadır. Bu bakımdan tezin en önemli bulgusu, belediye öncülüğünde yürütülen *Seferihisar'dan bir Cittaslow çıkarma* girişiminin, günümüz neoliberal kentleşme süreçlerinin "üretkenlik-sonrası" paradigma bağlamında sunduğu "alışveriş merkezleri" ve "kapalı konut siteleri" gibi kamuya tamamen kapalı mekansal örgütlenme biçimlerinin *yanına* ve *karşısına* "küçük şehirler" seçeneğini yerleştirmiş olduğudur.

Bu tez çalışması Türkiye'nin ilk *Cittaslow* kenti Seferihisar'da, araştırma şartlarının yeni yeni olgunlaşmakta olduğu bir süreçte gerçekleştirildiğinden, kapsamını ilçede modelin uygulanmasına eşlik eden ekonomik dağarlarla sınırlamak durumunda kalmıştır. Bu bakımdan sonuç önerisi olarak, Seferihisar'ın ardından ağa üye olan Akyaka, Yenipazar, Gökçeada ve Taraklı ilçelerini de kapsayan karşılaştırmalı bir çalışmanın, yerel yönetim reformlarının farklı kent-bölgeler üzerindeki etkileriyle birlikte ele alınarak gerçekleştirilmesi,*Cittaslow* modeliniTürkiye genelinde değerlendirme fırsatı sunmak adına alana önemli bir katkı sağlayacağına inanılmaktadır.

APPENDIX H

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Gündüz, Can
Nationality: Turkish (T.C.)
Date and Place of Birth: 11 October 1976, Izmir
Marital status: Married
Phone: +90 232 368 83 43
email: can.gunduz@gmail.com

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	CMU Architecture, Pennsylvania	2000
BS	METU Architecture, Ankara	1998
High School	İzmir Özel Türk High School, Izmir	1994

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2010-2012	IUE Department of Architecture	Instructor
1998-2010	Foreign and National Architectural Offices	Architect

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English

HOBBIES

English-Turkish Translation

APPENDIX I

TEZ FOTOKOPİ İZİN FORMU

<u>ENSTİTÜ</u>

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	☐
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	▨
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	☐
Enformatik Enstitüsü	☐
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	☐

<u>YAZARIN</u>

Soyadı : ....GÜNDÜZ...

Adı   : ....CAN..

Bölümü : ....SOSYOLOJİ..

<u>TEZİN ADI</u> (İngilizce) : ....PRAGMATISM AND UTOPIA...
....UNDER THE AUSPICES OF NEOLIBERALISM:....................
....TURNING OUT TO BE CITTASLOW OF SEFERIHISAR.............

<u>TEZİN TÜRÜ</u> : Yüksek Lisans   ☐   Doktora   ▨

1. Tezimin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılsın ve   kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla tezimin bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisi alınsın. ☐

2. Tezimin tamamı yalnızca Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi kullancılarının erişimine açılsın. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.) ☐

3. Tezim bir (1) yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olsun. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.) ▨

Yazarın imzası ....   Tarih ....

205