THE GLOBAL IMAGE OF THE CITY: IMPACTS OF PLACE BRANDING ON THE IMAGE OF ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

THE GLOBAL IMAGE OF THE CITY: IMPACTS OF PLACE BRANDING ON THE IMAGE OF ANKARA

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Image is a mental representation of environment which is formed through accumulation of both concrete and abstract information of environment. The image is important because the ability to perceive and recognize the environment is crucial for being able to act and attain psychological satisfaction. Each person has unique image which is called personal image but there is also collective image of the city which can be described as the sum of personal images. In recent years the concept has become the subject of place branding which is idealized as a great opportunity to be involved into global competition for attracting investments, tourists and capital. The main motivation of place branding is to design an attractive image for the city by using spatial and non-spatial attributes to provide added-value in the competition among cities. For such an intention urban design and architecture are considered as main tools of transformation of the image through new urban landscapes or flagships. In this perspective urban image is becoming a concept which is produced by policy makers. Within this context one question constitutes the main motive of this thesis: whether the brand image which is determined by policy makers and private enterprise could match with the mental image of inhabitants or not.

The study mainly concerns to evaluate place branding approach and brand image form a perspective of environmental psychology. The thesis claims that there is a mismatch between inhabitants' urban image and brand image which neglects existing spatial, cultural and local values. This main assumption is discussed in the case of Ankara where it is witnessed large scale developments in urban environment according to branding strategies.

Key Words: Collective Image, Urban Image, Brand Image, Environmental Psychology, Place branding

KÜRESEL KENT İMGESİ: KENTSEL MARKALAŞMANIN ANKARA KENT İMGESİ ÜZERİNE ETKİLERİ

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İmge, çevrenin somut ve soyut bilgilerin birikimi ile oluşan zihindeki temsilidir. İmge insan ve çevre arasındaki ilişkide, çevreyi algılamak ve tanımak ve bu doğrultuda davranışların şekillenmesi ve psikolojik doyuma ulaşmak için önemli bir role sahiptir. Kentte yaşayan her bireyin kendi kişisel imgesi bulunmaktadır ancak bunun yanı sıra tüm kişisel imgelerinin toplamından kent için bir kolektif imgeden bahsedilebilir. İmge kavramı, son yıllarda sermaye, yatırım ve turistik kaynaklardan küresel payını almak amacı güden kentsel markalaşmanın konusu olmuş ve büyük bir fırsat olarak görülmüştür. Kentsel markalaşmanın temel amacı, mekâna dair ve diğer özellikleri kullanarak şehir için ilgi çekici bir imge oluşturmak ve şehirlerarası küresel yarışta şehre bir artı değer kazandırmaktır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, kentsel tasarım ve mimari, kent imgesinin yeni kentsel çevrelerin oluşturulması ve büyük ölçekli projelerin yapılması yoluyla dönüşümünde temel araçlar olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Bu çerçevede, kent imgesi gitgide siyasetçiler tarafından üretilen bir kavram haline gelmektedir. Bu bağlamda, bir soru bu tezin temelini oluşturmaktadır: siyasetçiler ve özel teşebbüs tarafından belirlenen marka imgesi, şehir sakinlerinin zihninde oluşan imge ile ne derece uyum göstermektedir?

Bu çalışma, çevresel psikoloji çerçevesinden mekânsal markalaşma yaklaşımını ve marka imgesini değerlendirmeyi hedeflemektedir. Tez, kentte yaşayanların zihnindeki kent imgesi ile mekânsal, kültürel ve yerel değerleri göz ardı eden marka imgesinin birbiri ile uyuşmadığını iddia etmektedir. Bu temel varsayım, markalaşma stratejisi doğrultusunda büyük ölçekli gelişimlerin gözlemlendiği Ankara örneğinde tartışılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kolektif İmge, Kent İmgesi, Marka İmgesi, Çevresel Psikoloji, Kentsel Markalaşma To my beloved boy, Puffy

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Context and the Aim of the Study

This thesis concerns inhabitants' image of the city and the brand image which is produced by policy makers regarding man-environmental relationship in urban environment. It aims to evaluate place branding approach from the perspective of environmental psychology, which is an issue overlooked in the existing literature. The thesis claims that there is a mismatch between the inhabitants' image of the city and the brand image introduced by policy makers and this mismatch negatively affects the relations between inhabitants and cities and enhances the distancing of people from their living environment.

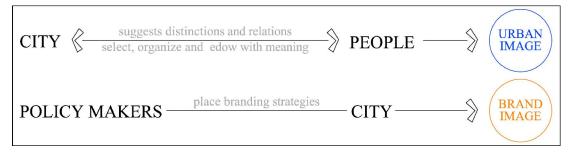


Figure 1.1: Framework of the thesis Source: Personal rendering

Images are formed through experiencing in the city within a cognitive and responsive process including sensation, perception, cognition, spatial behavior and affective response. For Gestalt psychologists, sensation is the first stage of the process that people gather first data by their senses. It is stable, consistent and enduring stage (Arnheim, 1969, Rapoport, 1977) that "there is constancy across cultures" (Rapoport,

1977: 33). In this first stage, the way that urban physical components are arranged within a series of form qualities/laws of perception (Koffka, 1963, Lynch, 1960) enables legibility of the cityscape which is "the ease with which its parts can be recognized and can be organized into a coherent pattern." (Lynch, 1960: 2) The notion of whole is an essential issue in understanding the city which contains similarities and differences. Gestalt psychologists mentioned that the "whole is not simply the sum of its parts, but a synergistic whole effect" (Heider, 1973 cited in Kelly and Kelly, 2003). Wertheimer thought that parts did not express a complete meaning when they behave individually; they gain meaning in a nature of the unity. Simultaneous contrast anticipated holism, in the sense that Gestaltists are likely to say that all such appearance of a color are legitimate, because "we always experience perceptual wholes, not isolated parts." (Behrens, 1998)

Perception and cognition (selection, categorization and evaluation) are different from sensation that they are not constant but depend among people. In these stages people differ in terms of the way they organize the stimuli depending on their individual differences which are found in age, gender, education, and lifestyle. Rapoport (1977), Lynch (1960), Warr and Knapper (1968) added culture as another factor revealing the differentiation. Regarding cultural and personal differences, the physical entities have different meanings for different observers. People give meaning to objects in accordance with what they think and feel (Hall, 1996) and what they give relative importance (Rapoport, 1977). In urban environment buildings, facades, hard and soft landscape etc. are the signs that convey symbols, and symbols give ability to make meanings. According to Lang (1987: 15) symbols created by urban intervention (architecture and urban design) are nonverbal mechanisms that "people communicate messages about themselves, their backgrounds, social statuses, and world view to others." Madanipour (1996) mentioned that in the cognitive process people evaluate symbols which are conveyed by the signs from the physical environment. In Jung's depth psychology, symbols are "visualization of sensation" (Barlas, 2006: 9) which are produced unconsciously. Deficits are aroused in the perceptual cycle if the symbol loses its meaning (Barlas, 2006) or if symbols conveyed by a sign are unfamiliar (Broadbent, Bunt and Jencks, 1980).

Through obtained and processed information and moreover human needs, people respond in two ways; spatial and mental (or emotional). Spatial behavior is basically movement pattern which includes daily and rare behaviors. Spatial behaviors are directed by human needs which have physiological, social and psychological bases. Mental behavior on the other hand can be summarized as emotional responses which affect preferences. A workable (Carmona et al., 2003; Lynch, 1960) urban image evokes positive feeling, meets psychological needs of security, cognitive and aesthetic. Eventually, it evokes sense of belonging which is psychological health in urban environment.

The way the physical environment is arranged is an important aspect of the image. This can be called as designative aspect (Pocock and Hudson, 1978) or in Lynch's term the structure which is about the spatial layout. This aspect of image is quite related with the concept of legibility that the elements of image are perceived separately and form a unified structure (Lynch, 1960; Rapoport, 1977). But the structure would not guarantee imageability of the city but there is also appraisive aspect of the image which consists of environmental meaning and symbolism (Pocock and Hudson, 1978; Carmona et. al., 2003; Lynch 1981; Rapoport, 1977; Madanipour, 1996, Appleyard, 1980; Lang, 1987). In urban environment, the meaning is conveyed or produced by the signs and they are interpreted by observers in the city. "Meanings attached to the built environment become modified as social values evolve in response to changing patterns of socio-economic organization and lifestyles." (Knox, 1984 cited in Carmona et. al., 2003) These are affective meanings which are about mainly likes and dislikes and they are related with evaluative meaning which is about people' preferences in urban environment. The designative and appraisive aspects are strictly related with each other that it is not appropriate to separate from one another. Eventually they are requirements for good image which is essential form human psychology in urban environment. The good image evokes sense of place and belonging that prevent from alienation and psychological dissatisfaction.

In the last two decades, the concept has regained its popularity yet in a new perspective of place branding. It has been the subject to cities' brand oriented

development strategies under the circumstances of re-imaging and adapting to changes in economic, social and political contexts. These changes dated back to the economic crisis in 1970s. The promising atmosphere that Fordism created after the World War II has collapsed by the end of 1960s, bringing the need for deregulation and change in production systems. Harvey (1990) summarized this period by welfare state policies and institutions supported income distribution measures, which aimed to sustain the demand for mass manufacturing of standardized products. Since 1980s, however, important changes have been taking place in the world in the wake of the collapse of Fordist production systems and Keynesian welfare state institutions, and new economic structure that is shaped by the global competitiveness has emerged. The neo-liberal policies which had spread out all over the world to overcome the crisis of capitalism (Leyshon and Thrift, 1997), emphasize the efficiency of private sector and market oriented development instead of domination of state on the economy. These policies seek to support the role of private sector, the increasing liberalization of trade and production networking in the global economy.

In the globalization era by 1990s the economic, social and economic boundaries in the world were disappeared and circulation of capital, people and commodities through global space has started (Brenner, 1999). This accelerated mobility has enabled companies to search for investment opportunities without considering the boundaries (Sassen, 1994). More than ever, markets appear to transcend the borders of nation states and this reshapes the positions of cities in global economic networks (Gospodini, 2002). Therefore, the differences in capabilities and assets of cities and competition among became more important. Especially the competition among the global cities is quite severe. "The name of the game in the first-tier cities with global reach is to attract and retain the headquarters of multinational corporations and all the business services that these corporations demand, such as international banks, advertising agencies, legal, accounting and communication support." (Boyer cited in Knox, 1993: 124)

In accordance with inter-city competition, the entrepreneurial mode of governance has been acknowledged by most of the city governments. According to Hubbard (1996: 1441) the entrepreneurial mode of governance has been characterized by "the

diminishing importance of the local provision of welfare and services by city governments in favor of a more outward oriented stance designed to foster local development and economic growth." "This renewed focus on the city as an economic driver coincided with a series of generational and lifestyle changes that has pressured government and the private sector into improving the attractiveness and vitality of urban areas." (Jansson and Power, 2006: 9) Within this respect, place branding as a favorable notion for cities was introduced with such objectives listed below;

- Attracting investment and capital
- Attracting global companies
- Attracting skilled workers
- Attracting new citizens
- Attracting visitors (Jansson and Power, 2006)

Moilanen and Rainisto (2009) suggest five stages for place branding; organization stage, research stage, forming brand identity, making plan and implementation. Place branding put construction of urban image in the center of this process and define urban environment as the primary object which can best reflect the "brand" in the competition. Urban design and architecture as branding tools concentrate on the construction of urban landscapes, frequently centered on flagship projects – signature buildings to attract external investment (Hubbard, 1996; Kavaratzis, 2005; Gospodini, 2002; Jansson and Power, 2006). The idea behind the reconstruction of landscape is declared as the regeneration of deprived areas in urban environment. Thus the flagships are acknowledged by cities as tools to transform of the negative image of declining or deprived areas into positive and create a new image with the help of modern office complexes, shopping malls, hotels and parks (Lang, 2011).

The place branding literature has been developed through three main groups of studies. The first group concentrates on the process from a chronological point of view and introduces the factors that trigger this new strategy. In the second group of studies objectives, strategies, techniques and tools of a successful branding effort are presented. In the last group of studies, the consequences of branding strategies are evaluated. In the last decade, especially after branding strategies becoming

observable in a tangible way in cities, the impacts of the strategy have been criticized. Critical approaches are developed through case studies since the place branding literature is still developing. There is a consensus on valuable contribution of evaluation of each case in the discussion the positive and negative outcomes of city branding policies, strategies and measure. Regarding consequences of various place branding histories, it was obtained a number of critics. It is possible to categorize into three;

- 1. Social Segregation: According to Hubbard (1997), this is the reason the flagship developments offer a concentration on consumption rather than production. The concentration of conception is symbolized by the flagships like shopping malls, luxury residences. According to Crilley (1993), Julier (2000) and Ren (2008) flagship projects, especially buildings, function like billboards or advertisements of capital. Even literally, building façades are covered by huge advertisements. This in the end creates consumption society but on the other side divided the society into two as rich and poor people. In this social segregation, not all resident have benefits from this new situation, even the consumption culture excludes poor people in urban environment (Healey, 1997). Hubbard (1996), Loftman and Newin (2003) mentioned that the created brand image is the image of hegemony which reveals two social groups of urban elites and others.
- 2. Spatial fragmentation: The motivation of attract investment into cities requires valuable investment in urban environment. The choice for these investments reveals concentration of specific locations. According to MacLeod (2002) to obtain highest profit, locations with low land value become the best for flagships. This in turn causes isolation of flagships and division between wealthy and poor districts.
- 3. Loss of identity and culture: Due to this approach place branding strategies trigger the shift of focus from the local identities to global identities, yet place branding approach claims the importance of identification of localities (Hubbard, 1996; Ashworth, 2008; Relph, 1976). On the other side, the replication of architectural and urban design styles (Law, 1993) destroys the differentiation among culture and cultural signs. According to Relph (1976)

global identities destroy the basis for identity by flagships, which are not related with the identity of the city.

In this study, place branding approach is evaluated from the perspective of environmental psychology using the evidence from Ankara case study. It evaluates inhabitants' image of the city and the brand image which is produced by policy makers regarding man-environmental relationship in urban environment.

Ankara is selected as the case study area, since the new rhetoric of "Brand City of Ankara" and the urban development projects have accelerated the transformation of urban environment for almost ten years in Ankara, similar to many cities in Turkey. Although there are not concrete evidence how these policies and projects contributed to the local economy and quality of life in Ankara, there are increasing dissent among inhabitants on the loss of cultural values and assets of Ankara.

The finding of the case study is expected to contribute the literature at two issues. First, to introduce psychological perspective to the city branding literature and second to provide evidence from Ankara, a fast growing metropolitan center from the developing world, that can provide the chance of comparison of the outcomes of city branding strategies of Ankara with the ones from different parts of the world.

Concerning the brand city rhetoric for Ankara, the study aims to find out to what extend the imposed brand image respects to the image of the residents of Ankara through depth surveys and analysis of mental images of inhabitants of Ankara and their perception on new brand images. Mainly, the study claims that the imposed brand image ignores local and cultural values evolved during the historical context; it is an imposed image detached from the real image of Ankara that leads to a mismatch between brand image and accumulated urban image.

Therefore, the study is built around two approaches of image; the first one is the urban image which is formed through accumulation of two aspects of image (structure and meaning) and the second one is the brand image which is defined by

policy makers and private enterprises. The study seeks to provide answers for the following questions;

- What are the relative importance of the arrangements of structure of the city and meaning conveyed by the structure for imageability of the city?
- To what extent does brand image defined by policy makers respect the urban image of inhabitants?
- What are the impacts of place branding strategies to the inhabitants' image of the city and relationship between man and environment?

The answer for the first question is explored within the literature of environmental psychology, which enlightens man-place bonding, the process of man-environment interaction, the formation of image regarding its aspect and factors affecting imageability. The dimensions found in the literature review are taken as to find the answers for the last two questions.

1.2. Design of the Case Study

In order to find out to what extent the brand image coincides with the urban image a case study will be introduced in Ankara. For this, a questionnaire is performed among 731 inhabitants of Ankara. Since it is intended to comprehend the collective image (which is the sum of individual images) in the selection of sample gender, age, duration of residence, education level, places to live and work are taken into consideration because each criterion¹ has impact in the formation of image.

By the questionnaire, it is aimed to understand the mental images (regarding two aspects of image) of inhabitants of Ankara and their perception of the new landscapes of place branding. In fact this main intention requires a multi-stepped research which is developed according to two aspects of image - designative aspect of image (structure) and affective (meaning) - contended in environmental

¹ Age is related with background experiences and places to be preferred, gender is related with interests, duration of residence is related with familiarity, education level is related with awareness and places to live and work is related with being familiar with frequently used places.

psychology literature. For that reason it is followed up various methods and techniques derived both from environmental psychology and statistics.

In order to understand inhabitants' image and image elements cognitive mapping technique which leads to understand personal mental images without any guidance, is performed. The data gathered through sketch maps is going to be processed by Frequency Analysis and collective maps regarding five elements of image are visualized in maps which lead to understand the legible parts of the city.

In the second part of the questionnaire, open-ended questions are asked people to understand the meanings (both in positive or negative ways) attributed to the structure of the city by respondents. Firstly the places mentioned by respondents are analyzed with the help of Frequency Analysis and in the second part mentioned places and their meaning for the respondents are analyzed by using Correlation Analysis in order to find the relation between the places and the categorical meanings. Moreover it is also asked people preferences for their leisure activities which leads to understand people' choices without any obligation (like work). In order to understand if there is a change in their preferences, a comparative analysis is realized with their past and present preferences.

In the last part of the questionnaire Likert method is used to comprehend people's perception of recent flagships projects in Ankara. The types of the project are determined according to the branding history of Ankara which is discussed in Chapter 4. Due to this premise, high-rise office buildings, luxury gated communities and shopping malls are asked people to evaluate and write reasons for their evaluations. This leads to comprehend the meaning attributed to the structure by inhabitants.

1.3. The Structure of the Study

This thesis consists of seven chapters. After the introduction, Chapter 2 puts the discussion on the relationship between man and environment in order to comprehend the concept of image, the process of formation of image and its aspects. The two

aspects of image – designative and appraisive – are discussed in detail in order to understand their importance in the formation of image. It is intended to draw a general framework of urban image in order to find out inhabitants image of the city in the case study.

In Chapter 3, the transformation of the concept of urban image into brand image is discussed through a concise chronological. It is intended to explore the dynamics of place branding approach and its main motivations, intentions and tools which are proposed for creating an attractive brand image. After comprehending the concept of brand image, it is discussed the brand image according to two aspects – designative and appraisive - of image which are mentioned in Chapter 2.

Chapter 4 discusses the transformation process of image in Ankara and the place branding strategies. In the first part of the chapter, a brief historical development of the city of Ankara is presented according to image elements. In the second part, different place branding approaches which are determined by city authorities is explored. After having discussed place branding approaches, the effects on the urban environment and new urban landscapes are presented.

After having studied the theoretical framework, Chapter 5 looks at the methodology and design of the case study. In the first part of this chapter, previous research methodologies used in literature are discussed in order to define the appropriate method for this study. In the second part, the aim, context and hypothesis of the case study are explained. The choice of sample size and criterions which are put forth in this process are explained. Next, the questionnaire and analysis method are presented in accordance with the main intention of the study.

Chapter 6 show the results of field survey which is realized in Ankara. This chapter intends to comprehend inhabitants' image of the city regarding two aspects of image. Based on this main intention, in the first part of the analyses the designative aspect of image is analyzed through cognitive mapping technique. In the second part affective and evaluative meanings are analyzed based on open ended questions. In the last part

the results of Likert method which shows participants' perception of brand image is presented.

The last chapter concludes the thesis giving a general evaluation of the study and a brief summary on the research findings. In fact, the main discussion point of this Conclusion Chapter is to what extend the urban image coincides with brand image. The thesis will end with the discussion about the reasons of the mismatch between brand and urban image.

CHAPTER 2

URBAN IMAGE

Human-environment relationship has been a theme of curiosity among psychologists for a long time and human geographers pointed out to the topic by introduction of environmental images into the field in 1960s. The concept of urban image has been introduced by Kevin Lynch and has had considerable impacts on urban literature both in theoretical and methodological ways. It was based on the acknowledgment that cities are multi-dimensional spaces and there is a continuous interaction between cities and people. This approach became essential to understand man-environment interaction for urban designers and architects (Lynch, 1960; Rapoport, 1977; Lang, 1987; Madanipour, 1996; Nasar, 1998). Thus they noticed that collaboration with psychologists is essential in solving design problems in architecture and planning.

This chapter examines the interaction between people and the city in order to understand which spatial and non-spatial attributes of urban fabric affect this interaction and how. The main objective of this chapter is to provide a concise theoretical background that will enable to discuss the impact of urban transformation through place branding approach on the image of the city and thus man-place interface.

2.1. An overview of Environmental Psychology

An increasing interest in man-environment interaction has rooted back in 1920s and evolved through two broad approaches of behaviorist and cognitive (Pocock and Hudson, 1978). Behaviorist approach emerged in in the early twentieth century by John Watson and explicitly developed by American psychologists Richard Hall and Frederic Skinner in the mid of the century. The main concern of the approach is to understand the man and environment relationship through observable and measurable variable as behavior rather than mental images. Meanwhile in Europe, German psychologist Kurt Koffka and Max Wertheimer developed Gestalt psychology of perception which focuses on the mental concepts. Edward Tolman² (1948), American behavioral psychologist, who was influenced by Gestalt psychology, elaborated his studies on behavioral setting with the mental representation of environment. He has developed his studies by experimental analysis in laboratory by rats. Similarly Kurt Lewin (1951) focused on the cognitive and behaviors.

By the end of World War II the studies of man-environment interaction extended through a distinct discipline of human geography and the field of Environmental Psychology has developed. The roots of the field are dated back in 1958 and became known by the researches of place-man interaction of Proshansky. Roger Barker (1968) one of the leading people in environmental psychology claimed that every organism should be examined in its own natural environment. The main concern of environment and behavior researches is the mutual relations between physical environment and human behavior. Similarly, a main focus of environmental behavior studies is finding way to improve quality of life through examining how environment affect human behavior and vice versa. "It generally assumes that there is an actor resulting in psychological response and an output from actor to situation termed action." (Zube and Moore, 1989: 203) His approach suggests that human being is an (active) actor that is affected by its surrounding and can change its surrounding. The physical surrounding can be a small neighborhood unit or a district or a city as well. Thus the concern of environmental psychology can be said that the relationship between human being and physical environment at any scale. The field assumes that each place (at any scale) has a mix of values and impressions. And these values make people feel good, comfortable, and safe or the opposite. Barker in his famous study of Ecological Psychology (1968) argued the importance of knowing the environment to predict human behavior and he studied on behavior setting. A behavior setting

² Edward Tolman is an important character in man and environment relationship, since he is the first one who developed the concept of cognitive map in his rat-maze experiments. This important contribution of cognitive map is later used by many environmental psychologists including Kevin Lynch, who use cognitive map method in understanding the image of environment.

exists at the interface between environment and behavior that the environment matches with the behavior happening in that environment.

In the following years James Gibson extended Barker's studies and proposed Ecological approach to perception and cognition (1976). Like Barker, Gibson noticed the concept of environment and the relation with human behavior. Different from Barker, Gibson coined the concept of affordances while Barker emphasizes on behavior settings. Affordances are opportunities or threats that environment proposes to organism. In Gibson's model it is proposed aspects and features of the two sides of interface, man and environment, that we on the one side, perceptual process and human needs which are the main motivation of the perceptual process help us get information about human psychology. On the other side, a comprehensive approach of environment clears up the concept of environment.

2.2. Man and Environment Interaction

There is a cyclical and inseparable interaction between man and environment (Lynch, 1960; Lang, 1974; Rapoport, 1977; Madanipour, 1996).

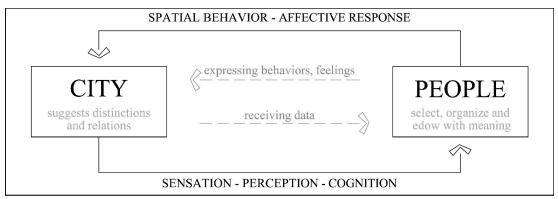


Figure 2.1: Cyclical interaction between people and city

Source: Personal rendering

The environment is the physical setting, on the other hand, man can be summarized as user with any background information, education level, gender and age etc. According to Lynch (1960) it is a cyclical process that the environment suggests distinctions and relation and human beings select, organize and endow with meaning. Images which are developed in this process are tested within a continuous interacting process. Similarly Rapoport (1977) mentioned that human beings evaluate and attach meaning to the information that they perceive. The evaluated data in mind give way to spatial behavior which is simply movement pattern.

Due to Gibson's the Ecological approach of visual perception this psychological interaction has three main processes: perception, cognition and spatial behavior. To comprehend these three processes is important in understanding man-environment interaction. Referring Gibson, Lang et al. (1974) stated that people in urban environment obtain or receive inputs in perception process, then they process, think, remember and feel in cognition process. Finally, spatial behavior denotes people's actions and responses. In this interface people is in the center of his environment and also the integral part of that environment. Therefore, people are affected from the environment surrounded them and affect the environment itself.

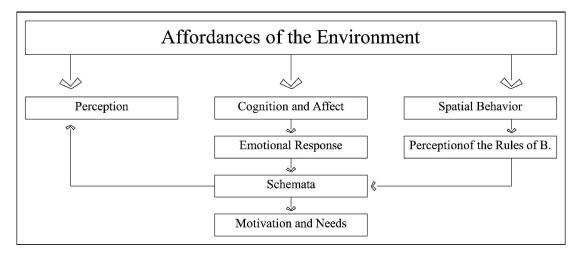


Figure 2.2: Fundamental components and processes of human behavior Source: Lang, J., (1987) "Creating Architectural Theory", Van Nostrand Reinhold, New York.

Gibson (1979) and Lang (1987) mention that human needs and motivations have significant impact on this perceptual cycle. In this mental process human needs have significant roles in the way we respond and behave. This is a goal oriented process that a person intends to collect information from stimuli and responds through his/her needs. Within this respect, to comprehend people' abilities of learning and giving meaning to environment and people' mental and spatial behavior the notion of human needs is requisite to comprehend.

2.2.1. Human Needs and Motivations

"A need has been described as a force in the mind that organizes perceptions, cognition and behavior to transform an existing, unsatisfying situation." (Lang, 1987: 84) Human needs have physiological, social and psychological basis or three of them (Lang, 1987; William, 1981; Barlas, 2006). One of the well-known psychologists, Abraham Maslow, offered a broad framework on human needs. In 1943 Maslow identified five major needs. According to him, *biological or physiological, safety, belonging, self-esteem and self-actualization* needs appear in a hierarchical order (Lang, 1987). In 1970 he added up two more *cognitive (knowledge and understanding) and aesthetic* needs. According to him, physiological, safety, belonging and esteem needs are deficiency or lower-level needs which means they arise due to deprivation. Deficiency needs are in hierarchical order in themselves, in other words the lower need must be met before moving to the higher one. The other two needs are called growth or higher-level needs. These do not arise from lack of something but rather from desire to grow.

	Physiological	Psychological	Social
Basic			
Safety			
Belonging			
Esteem			
Self-actualization			
Cognitive			
Aesthetic			

Table 2.1: Human needs

Deficiency Needs:

• **Biological (or physiological) needs** are the basic human needs like hunger, thirst or shelter. These needs have mainly physiological basis. If these are not

met, the survival of human being runs into danger and this would cause trust problems for the environment. Architecture and urban design disciplines meet some of physiological needs such as shelter but "no decisions are made only at this most basic level" (Lang, 1994: 217).

- Safety needs are needs for security or prevent from physical or psychological harm. In physiological terms, a person needs to prevent crime, accidents etc. The urban environment thus would provide a safe setting for living people. In psychological manner, a person yearns to be in a familiar or at least predictable environment to keep control. Safety needs combine with cognitive needs that a person would know and understand the setting for predictions. If these needs are not satisfied, feeling of lost causes chaos and anxiety.
- Belonging and love needs are related with belonging either to a social group, a community and/or a place. This need has social basis that a person needs to have emotional based relationships with other and "need approval from other people" (Lang, 1994: 219). At the same time it has psychological basis which need to be met by the environment that a person needs to belong to a place where it is possible to find pleasure. If these needs are not met, it causes "feelings of anxiety and often results in a withdrawal from society" (Lang, 1994:219).
- Esteem needs contain personalization and control. In social dimension, all human beings need to feel accepted, respected and also need to respect others. These needs are satisfied by controlling one's own life, other people's lives and symbols as well (Lang, 1994). According to Lang (1994) architecture and urban design presents sets of symbols which define the territory over one's own space. These territories and their expressions are often related with groups of people. Thus, "if we wish to be perceived as a member of that group we strive to use the appropriate architectural symbols" (Lang, 1994: 220).
- Self-actualization or self-realization needs are related with opportunities and choices. In social life after satisfying esteem needs, people intend to do what they are best in it.

Growth Needs:

- **Cognitive needs** are about the need to learn, explore and increase knowledge about the environment. The need for knowledge is essential because human need to understand the environment (or surrounding) to survive in it. The urban environment is full of information and wonder that people need to understand in an easy way. "To be fully self-actualized person there is also the need to understand, to organize, to analyze, to look for relationships and meanings, and to construct a system of values for their own sake and not for any external reward or expression of sel." (Lang, 1994: 221) If these needs are not met, confusions and identity problems explore.
- Aesthetic needs are "the desire to become knowledgeable and desire for beauty" (Barlas, 2006: 21). People need to know the creator and idea of an aesthetic structure for its own knowledge. And on the other hand, they need to understand the theories of aesthetic and beauty which are defined by their own cultures (Lang, 1994). The aesthetic needs are important as cognitive needs to survive and belong to a place.

To comprehend human needs is a powerful way to understand the psychological relationship between people and the city. Because, people select information which are appropriate for their needs (Lang, 1974). To satisfy needs, they organize and store selected information. They recognize them and put forth mental or spatial responses. This is a continuum mental process which is the way people interact with the city.

2.2.2. Perception

Perception is simply obtaining information from environment. There are different approaches which explain the nature of perception. Lang (1987) briefly categorized into two these approaches. The first category suggests that perception is dependent on sensory experiences and the second suggests that senses are not static but rather dynamic systems. *Empiricism* mentions association, *Nativist and Rationalist* emphasize innate ideas. *Transactional Theory* emphasizes on the role of experiences are in the process of perception. "Transactional theory assumes that past experiences are

projected on to the present situation in relationship to one's needs, that perception is governed by expectancies and predispositions and that the information obtained from the environment has a probabilistic nature to it which is validated through action." (Lang, 1987: 86) Regarding transactional theory, Ittelson (1952) in his approach mentioned that purposeful action plays significant roles in obtaining information from the environment. Due to him, our movements are purposive and while moving our perspective changes. For *Gestalt psychologists*³, sensation is the beginning of perceptual process. Human being with five senses (sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch) experiences the physical elements. Arnheim (1969) mentioned that this first stage of sensation is constant and universal among human beings. Perception on the other hand can differ from person to person - person perception - and therefore perception is a sensitive attitude or action depended on personal qualifications (habits, possessions, culture et.) and intelligence (Arnheim, 1969). In other words the physical setting of a city is seen and/or sensed in a same way but it can be perceived differently.

The second one on the other hand suggests that senses are not static that they function as perceptual system. Senses are different from a static camera image or vision but they express something meaningful. With regard to this basis, Ecological approach of James J. Gibson (1975) suggested that perception is based on information. Different from the conventional theories of perception, the starting point of Gibson's theory is not the retinal image but the "structure in the light extended over space and time" (Zhang, 2006). The perception process is related with the observer's memory not the information process in himself. The end product of perception is not an internal representation of the environment; it is the direct pickup of the invariants in the environment provide. Affordances are the cues that physical setting provides. The planes, lines (abstract geometry) are the elements that are visualized. Abstract geometries cannot be perceived, while physical (ecological)

³ Gestalt theory of perception has valuable contribution to design theory and practices, that its laws of perception have been used in a number of studies conducted in urban spaces. (e.g. Kevin Lynch) In this study the Gestalt laws of perception will be emphasized with the concepts of legibility and imageability in the previous part.

geometries such as surfaces and edges can be perceived by observers. According to Gibson, perception is not a simple process of gathering the information from environment and it is not a composition of elemental building such as form, shape and pattern. Instead, it is composed of substances and surfaces that provide affordances, although not all affordances are perceived in the same way by different observers. What a perceiver pays attention changes according to the meaning of that place. Therefore, the environment in which architects and designers see forms and shapes is not similar to perceivers who attribute environment a different functional or emotional meaning. According to Lang (1987) Gibson has valuable contributions to perception by emphasizing experience and movement. However, Gestalt laws of perception are still important not in term of the basis of perception but in terms of "ways we order the environment" (1987: 93).

2.2.3. Cognition and Affect

Cognition is "the throughput function involving the process of thinking, remembering and feeling." (Lang, 1974: 81) It is simply workings of mind that perceived data are transmitted and evaluated. According to Rapoport (1977: 108) it is a "taxonomic process, the world being made meaningful by naming, classifying and ordering through some conceptual system." Cognition is a continuum and different from the previous stages in that it is less constant even quite variable process where images are constructed and stored in the memory. To understand deeply the process it is worthy to understand the structure of the memory.

In psychology, memory is defined as the capability of encoding, storing and retrieving the information. New information are defined, encoded due to the existing information in the memory and recalled. New information is stored in the memory with the related existing information. If there is not a related storage for the new, a new folder is opened. This three staged process influence the mechanism in computers. For this process of memory, it is defined three classifications of memory in psychology; *short memory, intermediate memory and long term memory.*

Short term memory or temporary memory is approximately ten seconds memory. Sensed and perceptually encoded information are first transmitted to this memory and they "compete with internally generated information" (Lang, 1974: 91). This temporary memory functions to regulate the sensory inputs, to transform sensory inputs into processable information in the intermediate memory. In this process, already stored information guides this process of transformation. Thus different from the sensation, this process starts to differ among people due to background information, culture, values etc. This differentiation is based on the "meanings and relative importance" (Rapoport, 1977: 108). The intermediate memory builds representation of the transmitted information from the temporary memory by using familiarization and discrimination functions. (Lang, 1974) "The intermediate central processing memory supports the recognition, discrimination, and conceptualization functions of thought for up to a few hours." (Lang, 1974: 91) Similarly, Lynch (1960) pointed out that urban environment proposes relationships and discrimination. The observer picks, organizes and gives meaning to the received data through his/her storage (memory) and purposes. This is the process where the images are formed. The images produced in the intermediate memory are transmitted the main and unlimited storage which is called long term memory. "The transferred images on a low-priority basis to the permanent memory and reprocessed there to consolidate them into a useful and relevant form." (Lang, 1974: 91)

The data in the long term memory recalls classifying the new data received from the physical setting. Remembering is important for behavior. The ways we store and remember spatial information affect our use. According to Lang (1987) remembering these information depends on their importance and "how well categorized and organized they are" (1987: 93). There are also values and culture-bound which affect human behavior. These values can be different from those person held prior, thus, person need to develop a schema. For example, the high rise buildings in Istanbul or Ankara are things which are not familiar to a person living in a village. When he/she visits these cities he/she has to open a new folder for these buildings in his/her memory and develop new schemata. "Schemata provide us with algorithms for perceiving, learning and behaving....like templates for action." (1987: 94) In this sense image are types of schemata either physical or symbolic.

"Affect refers to some evaluative process of emotion, which give way to likes and dislikes." (Barlas, 2006: 23) According to Nasar (1998) like objects can be weighted as heavy or light, people are able to determine the physical setting and they can like or dislike. Due to Nasar's theory, in the perceptual process it is formed evaluative images.

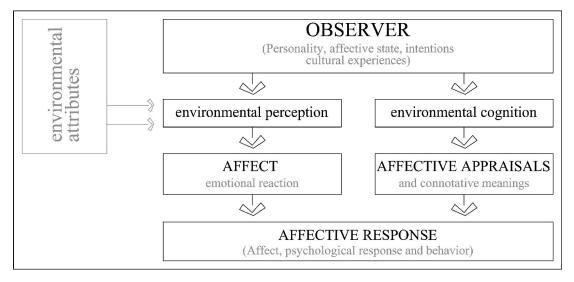


Figure 2.3: A Model of evaluative Response to the Environment Source: Redrawn from Nasar, J. (1998) "Evaluative Image of the City", Sage Publications

In the evaluative image, the preferences and emotional responses of people are main concerns. Due to him "the evaluative image represents a psychological construct that involves subjective assessments of feelings about the environment. The evaluative image contains two kinds of variables: visual aspects of the city form and human evaluative responses." (Nasar, 1998: 25) The first variables are independent while others are dependent. According to him, the image formation process involves a number of mental activities; recognition the content (it is a park), drawing inferences about the place into a mental framework (it is a safe park) and evaluating (Nasar, 1998: 4). People as observer evaluate the attributes of environment depending on internal and external factors. According to him, the internal factors which vary among people provide differentiations in images. Thus it is not possible to find a perfect agreement but there can be observed some common points. Due to him, "although we do not share the same evaluative images with one another, we do have some overlaps in our evaluative images." (Nasar, 1998: 4)

2.2.4. Spatial Behavior

Spatial behaviors are simply movement patterns. "An individual's behavior is a function of his or her motivations, the affordances of the environment, and the images of the world outside direct perception and the meanings those images have for the individual." (Lang, 1987: 97) It is possible to mention different scales of spatial behavior; meso-space, macro-space and micro space built environment. However, architects and urban designers manly concern of micro-scale in their research studies.

Behaviors include everyday behaviors (going to school, work, home etc.) and also rare behaviors. Even everyday repetitious, there is an ongoing process of perception and cognition. In psychology literature it can be generalized three study areas for psychological process and spatial behavior (Lang, 1974). The first one mainly focuses on general nature of this relationship. The second one is involved with pathology. The third and the most common one on the other hand emphasizes on the relationship considering the satisfaction of personal needs. Edward Hall, Robert Sommer, Harold Proshansky, William Ittelson, Amos Rapoport and many other leading theorists in psychology emphasized on human psychological needs direct spatial behavior. In another word, "spatial behavior (and movement pattern) is dynamically organized around the satisfaction of human needs." (Lang, 1974: 95)

Spatial behavior differs among individuals. However there is culture with common beliefs, values and symbols, which controls human behavior. In everyday life people are unaware of these imposed constraints, but "they develop the ability to intuit the attitudes and behaviors of others and the meanings of the environment within their own culture" (Lang, 1987: 98).

2.3. The Image

A mental construct -image- is formed and developed in this interaction between man and environment. The image is mental representation of environment which is formed through direct sensory interaction and indirect information, interpreted through observer's value system and stored in memory. Kevin Lynch, in his seminal work on The Image of the City (1960), stated that environmental images are formed in a two-way and cyclical process. In this process environment suggests distinctions and relations and people select, organize and endow the environmental information with meaning. According to Boulding (1961) image is the product of experience, memories, attitudes and immediate sensations. Thus image is not just an objective abstract picture of environment but a subjective and internal interpretation. It is formed through personal experiences by each individual differently and as a product of the process of perception and cognition, an image guides spatial behavior and preferences in urban environment (Lang, 1987; Pocock and Hudson, 1978; Rapoport, 1977). Similarly for Relph (1976: 56) image is used to "interpret information and guide behavior, for it offers a relatively stable ordering of relationships between meaningful objects and concepts".

Images have crucial role for people orient themselves in urban environment. "The way the built environment is structured very much affects the ease with which people find their way through buildings, neighborhoods, and cities." (Lang, 1987: 135) In other words, regarding whole process of human-environment interface, environmental images are perceived, cognitively evaluate and stored and they have important roles in directing behaviors. This is that important that the sense of security can only be supported by a clear image of spatial features are perceived separately and construct unity. Images also "include impressions about structure or appearance of a place, its relative location, its use and its values" and they can be thought of as "guiding schemata." (Lang, 1987: 135) Carr (1992) believes that clear and good images enhance the perception of affordances of environment. This thus leads an exposure of experience of environment and interaction and enhances place attachment.

The process of image formation has a dynamic nature that along with experiencing the city images change. In this lifelong process, past images are stored in memory and enable recognition of new images and evoke sense of familiarity. Kahvecioğlu (1998) in his research on image formation mentioned that there are three types of image related to the familiarity of the physical setting. The first one is the first image (or basic image) which is produced for the environment that a person has not ever perceived. In the formation this image, general images produced by past experiences are effective. It does not represent a complete image of that environment. The second one is developed image which is developed through familiarity and continuity. In this type, the developed image is affected by not only past images but certain and experienced knowledge about that place. Here the experiences and habits, moreover cultural background play important role in the formation of the real and permanent image of that environment. Different from the previous two, the third type is not based on experience on a certain place but it is formed by common qualities of environmental images. According to Kahvecioğlu (1998) it is this type of image which comes into being by the discussions on formation of images without experiences.

Regarding personal experiences in urban environment, every person has his/her own individual or personal image either well developed or not. This personal image which is formed according to personal values, memories and abilities changes and redefines as new information is included into the existing picture. Although every mental image has a unique character containing one's perceived and cognitively organized data, there are some commonalities in these unique images and formed a new type of image. Kevin Lynch (1960) called it collective image and differentiated from personal image. According to him, **personal image** is more subjective that the background information of a person can affect. In other words, the personal image is affected by education level, gender, belief, social position, values and other personal characteristics. Moreover, as Rapoport mentioned the physical position (drivers or passengers) even affect the perceptual evaluation of the environment. Images are partial which means they do not cover the whole city, simplified depending on the observer, idiosyncratic which means every person has a unique image and distorted based on subjective values and knowledge (Pocock and Hudson: 1978).

Collective image on the other hand needs a psychological agreement. Personal image is a subset of collective one that the collective image of the city can be considered as the meta-image containing common issues. Additionally the personal image is developed related to the concerns of the collective image of the city. It is collective image which can be summarized as overlapped personal images. Lang (1974) proposed in his approach for image formation even emphasizing on effects of cultural and social background. Due to him, cognition is twofold. "First, during the whole process of socialization an individual is taught not only appropriate roles but the appropriate times and places to act these roles; and second, a person encounters a setting within a social context." (Lang, 1974: 90) Similarly Pocock and Hudson (1978) mentioned that individual perception and behaviors are affected by society and collectively used urban spaces. This reveals shared needs, values and ideas and moreover common past experience and "similarities in socialization" (Carmona et al., 2003: 88) which induce collective images.

In the filter model of Warr and Knapper (1968) similarly mentioned effects of individual and shared values on image formation process and differentiated two images; cultural and personal. Due to this approach, the real world presents the physical setting and the perceived world represents the symbolized stimuli after an evaluation with respect to filters. The filters that occur in the stages of perception and cognition proposed by Rapoport depend on the cultural, biological and other differentiation among people. The filter (1) is named as the cultural image. It is an evaluation process and is also called "information filter" (Rapoport, 1977: 38) or knowledge. On the other hand, the second filter represents the evaluation of the real world according to personal goals. Thus as Lynch, Warr and Knapper (1968) concluded that rather than being simply a personal product, environmental image is also a product of an individual experience which is affected by collective and shared values and norms. Environmental images and particularly collective images are central to studies of the interaction between city and people in urban studies.

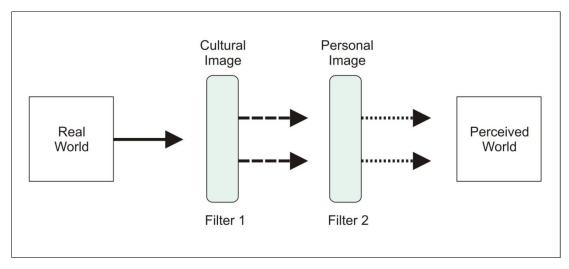


Figure 2.4: Filter Model of perceiving process

Source: Redraw from Rapoport, A. (1977), "Human Aspects of Urban Form", Pergamon Press Ltd., Oxford, England, pp. 38

2.4. Aspects of Image

To figure out and understand the image of the city particularly collective (or public, shared) image Lynch (1960) used cognitive mapping technique and short interviews with residents of three cities (Boston, New Jersey and Los Angeles). He is much more interested in legibility regarding orientation and navigation in urban environment. He basically argued elements of urban form and their legibility and imageability and put forth some attributes for a good urban image. He defined legibility as "the ease with which its parts may be recognized and can be organized into a coherent pattern" and imageability as "the quality in a physical object, which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer" (1960:2-9).

Along with cognitive mapping technique he tried to figure out various aspects which affect a workable or good image of environment. According to him, the image of the city is a compound of three components; identity, structure and meaning. Identity is the distinct character of object, structure refers to spatial relations to other objects and meaning is either practical or emotional meaning of the object. Due to him, for a good image urban environment must be identical which means unique and distinctive from others. The elements of the structure must be perceivable separately and in a coherent whole. And a good image must have practical and emotional meanings. Although Lynch put forth these three components he merely focused on physical components of urban image and neglected meaning. He merely emphasized if the environment is memorable or forgettable. However, in his later studies by referring studies on place identity of Relph and others, Lynch (1981) more emphasized on "meaning" considering sense of place and place identity. In the "Theory of Good City Form" (1981: 131) he described sense as "the clarity with which it can be perceived and identified, and the ease with which its elements can be linked with other events and places in a coherent mental representation of time and space and that representation can be connected with non-spatial concepts and values". Thus sense does not only depend of the quality of spatial form but also social and cultural values. These are common or shared cultural and social values which give identity to a place in a collective scale.

Omission of meaning in Lynch's study has been criticized that it should be paid attention to what the environment meant to people and how they felt about it, even they like or dislike. In Lynchian method the meaning is rather reduced to perceptual knowledge of physical form regarding legibility by using cognitive mapping. However, it is claimed that cognitive mapping method neglects this non-physical aspects of image. In the light of these criticisms Appleyard (1980) extended Lynch's study and examined the elements presented in cognitive maps. For him, these elements (path, node, landmark, edge, and district) are known by their distinctive form, visibility, their role as setting for activity and their significance in society (Carmona et al., 2003). According to Pocock and Hudson (1978: 31) physical attributes and their qualities are quite important in forming images, however just these attribute cannot "guarantee imageability and a place in the perceiver's mental model." The psychological interaction between man and environment is not a mechanic process rather it is active that people response through physical differentiation and also functional and emotional significance.

In this sense, Pocock and Hudson (1978) proposed two aspects of urban image as designative and appraisive. They (1978: 30) defined designative aspect of image which "concerned with description and classification". Designative qualities consist

of basic information of whereness and whatness. It refers to "a mental map, concerned with basic properties such as distance, orientation, location or spatial variations" (Pocock and Hudson, 1978). Based on the definition it can be said that designative aspects of image are quite related with the structure of the environment. Appraisive aspects of image on the other hand are related with "meaning" as Lynch mentioned. Different from Lynch they have more emphasis on these aspects regarding image. According to Pocock and Hudson (1978) appraisive aspect of image is related with "the meaning attaching to or evoked by the physical form". It consists of both evaluative and affective meanings. According to them, within the lifetime experience, people need to perceive and understand their surroundings, act and socialize in it and sense belongingness. It is the meaning which is attributed to space that space turns into place.

Similar to Pocock and Hudson, a number of theorists reached the same conclusion that structure of the environment is an important aspect but meanings attached to the environment are at least as important as physical aspect, even more (Carmona, 2003). Regarding the literature on image, it is thus possible to examine two main aspects of image, one is about the physical qualities or the structure of urban environment and the other is the symbolism and environmental meaning which is attributed to place.

2.4.1. Designative Aspect: Structure of Urban Environment

In the image studies, Lynch (1960: 9) separated meaning from the physical aspects of image and he mainly explored imageability - "the quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer" - by exploring physical qualities regarding structure of the environment. Lynch (1960) described the concept of structure as the spatial or pattern relation of an object with its surrounding. It refers to the position of an entity in a setting, as a part of a whole. In accordance to the urban image, the clarity of the structure of an entity gives to itself highly identifiable and good image of that entity. In urban environment, the legibility on a part of urban space into a coherent pattern strengthens the image. The term legibility is defined as "the ease with which its parts can be recognized and can be organized into a coherent pattern" (Lynch, 1960: 2). Legibility is the key for

understanding the city wealth. It is definite that legibility can help rethinking on how cities are represented and also how people interact with them. Considering human psychological needs, legibility in urban environment has impacts on meeting cognitive needs. A legible layout though will be best at the point where there is a free moving opportunity and when there is an ease in connecting people. "Legibility initiatives aim to link urban users to their destinations in a complete movement and information system, thereby making cities accessible, welcoming and easily understood" (Kelly and Kelly, 2003: 15).

Through mental mapping exercises he aimed to figure out the physical elements which left a strong image in observer's mind. Aggregating personal maps he intend to reach a public image of the selected cities of Boston, New Jersey and Los Angeles. Analyzing the maps he derived five key physical elements in urban environment; paths, nodes, edges, landmarks and districts. He found out in his study that despite the meanings vary people identified similar elements to orient themselves not just physically but also socially.

- Paths; are the channels in the city along with the observer move. They are the continuous lines in the city which can be seen in the form of street, roads or canals etc. and provide potential lines of relationships between two places According to Lynch (1960) paths are the predominant elements of the image that with less legible and confused paths the image would be less clear.
- 2. Edges; are linear and continuous elements that isolate one place to another. In mental maps edges refer to a continuous line or a boundary. "Edges are boundaries that break or contain or run parallel to the form; they are not used by the observer as paths but they may well be so used by others." (Lang, 1987: 137) Edges are usually omitted in sketch maps but regarding spatial behavior, they may be seam or ridge, or physical psychological boundary.
- 3. Districts; are small to large parts of the city which have identifiable physical characters. Since the city should be legible, its components should have an order and should construct a composition. This is the same for smaller districts and it is called nested hierarchy, which is stated in the definition of legibility.

- 4. Nodes; can be described as distinctive and strategic places in cities. The main characteristic of nodes is that they contain an intensive activity. This is because the observer has to make a decision and this increases the attention for the physical components of the environment. Nodes are in general accompanied by another legibility element: landmark (Lang, 1987). A node should give variety of information to help physical and psychological orientation. Moreover, these varieties of physical elements should contain an order to increase the sense of place.
- 5. Landmarks; are the dissimilar elements in unity in Gestalt terms. In Lynchian words, landmarks are the distinctive elements that identify the place by their uniqueness. According to Lynch (1960) "a sequential series of landmarks" provide a series of cues for the observers in movement. This is same with Cullen's serial vision while traveling along a line. Here line is a number of segments joined with each other by nodes or landmarks.

These five elements that Lynch put forth later are redefined by other theorists. Norberg-Schulz (1971, cited in Lang, 1987) differentiated the elements as places, paths and domains. Places are the nodes or landmarks with special characteristics. They are locations where important events take place. Paths are as they are in Lynch's theory. They are continuous elements constituting linkages within the whole structure. Domains, on the other hand, are the areas or districts "that contain similar elements which are defined by closure" (Lang, 1987: 140). David Stea (1969 cited in Lang, 1987) identified another set of features in a cognitive map; points, barriers, boundaries and paths. Here, the paths are similar to Lynch's paths. Barriers resemble to edges and points resembles to nodes. According to Gestalt laws of perception paths and edges can be considered as "elements of continuity" (Lang, 1987: 139). In Gestalt psychology it is stated that people tend to perceive continuous elements as a whole. Districts at the same time can be described with respect to the laws of proximity and similarity. Landmarks are the dissimilar elements in the unity.

A legible city has also valuable contributions to orientation and way-finding. Orientation is "the sense of clear relation of the observer with the city and its parts" (Lynch, 1991: 135). According to Lynch the sense of lost carries psychological disaster, causes sense of anxiety and terror, that orientation is linked to sense of balance and well-being. In urban environment, the ease of understanding the environment and orienting in that environment evokes sense of safety. People need to identify setting, understand and attach meaning to signs in the environment to orient themselves. According to Lynch (1960) legible and imageable environment which can be easily perceived with its parts and as a whole fulfill sense of security. Lynch (1991) listed the significant elements of orientation as; directed lines (strongly organized lines), sequences (linear but not necessarily directed), landmarks (isolated objects of peculiar form, key locations), spaces (locations with key functions), grid systems (compass directions), diffuse (compass orientation), topographic (orientation form, the slope), symbolic (use of maps). Amos Rapoport also focused on orientation not only for its importance for survival and sanity but also its influences on cultural variety. "Orientation concerns three main questions; where one is, how to get where one is going and how one knows that one has arrived" (Rapoport, 1977: 142). He classified orientation into three main headings: "topologically by recognizing continuity, through pattern (identifying elements and placing them in a frame of reference) and through positioning (using directional clarity and spacing)" (Rapoport, 1977: 174). For these types of orientation models, he developed four methods of increasing orientation. These are signs and verbal aides, pattern recognition, using behavioral pattern, landmarks.

Way-finding is another issue for the physical design process and the significant component of easily perceivable environments. In its absence, it is hard to find special points as starters and there would be a loss of effect and order. Lynch described way-finding as "a consistent use and organization of definite sensory cues from the external environment. In the process of way-finding, the strategic link is the environmental image, the generalized mental picture of the exterior physical world that is held by an individual. The image is the product both of immediate sensation and of the memory of past experience, and it is used to interpret information and to guide action" (Lynch, 1960: 3). Gluck (1990) stated that "way-finding is the process used to orient and navigate. The overall goal of way finding is to accurately relocate from one place to another in a large-scale space" (Gluck, 1990). It is obvious that an individual must perceive his environment to orient himself, to get satisfaction from

his/her outer setting and to find locations. "The individual must perceive his environment as an ordered pattern, and is constantly trying to inject order into his surrounding so that all the relevant perceptions are jointed one to the other" (Lynch, 1991: 199).

Lynch (1991) listed some characteristics as criteria of legibility for cities. The first one is that inhabitants should be able to fit together with the urban components. The structure must be legible not just in metropolitan scale but also in detail. The other criterion is that the image must be adoptable for new development and changes in physical structure. The last is "metropolitan image should be congruent, having a form which can easily be associated with the form of the existing social and functional organization" (Lynch, 1981: 67). Kevin Lynch emphasized the concept of legibility by mentioning the relationship between parts and whole. While considering positioning into a whole it is important to mention the concept of unity and its contributions on human psychology.

"Unity is defined as the state of being undivided or unbroken completeness or totality with nothing wanting. It is the smallest whole numeral representation. It has the quality of being united into one. Unity can denote a combining of all the parts, elements and individuals into an effective whole. It is applicable to people and objects forming whole notions of any concept. It implies oneness when there is a certain usual division." (www.wikipedia.com) Unity represents harmony among physical components or characteristics within a whole. Every part has a relative relation with each other within a whole, in other words "each element has a position in space that can be established only in relation to other elements in the system." (Lozano, 1990: 84)

In environmental psychology the quality of "totality" of the city is emphasized that people grasp the total figure and the differences. For those who share these assumptions the notion of "whole" is an essential issue in perception that it contains similarities and differences. Gestalt psychologists mentioned the "whole is not simply the sum of its parts, but a synergistic whole effect" (Heider, 1973 cited in Kelly and Kelly, 2003). Wertheimer thought that parts did not express a complete meaning when they behave individually; they gain meaning in a nature of the unity. Simultaneous contrast anticipated holism, in the sense that gestaltists are likely to say that all such appearance of a color are legitimate, because "we always experience perceptual wholes, not isolated parts." (Behrens, 1998) According to Koffka, the concept of organization is included the perceptual organization. In the perceptual organization, we perceive things and space within a whole. "For the Gestalt psychologists a whole was more than the sum of its parts and that the whole determined the form of any object that we see, rather than its parts." (Günay, 2005) Jack Nasar (1998) mentions that unity (order and clarity) is one of the most significant human judgment criteria of physical environment. According to him, it is a predictor of pleasant. Kevin Lynch uses the word structure to identify togetherness and fit of parts of urban environment. "Local structure makes it easier for us to identify a place by perceiving how its parts fit together." (Lynch, 1981: 134)

In architecture the characteristics such as form, material or color should be in harmony to emphasize aesthetic aspects. In the urban environment, unity of a setting enables it to be distinguished from its surroundings; thereby helping people draw its visual boundaries. Moreover, the uniformity in physical elements in terms of scale, material, color and harmony among objects strengthen the environment's identity. Since harmony enable successful integration of variable components, it is possible to relate the term to the uniformity of environment. In urban environment "the most important advantage of holism is the ability to deal with positional value of the elements in space, establishing a framework for the total urban system. Urban areas are spatial systems composed of parts whose values are not absolute but relative." (Lozano, 1990: 84)

Diversity is another important quality for legible environment. Diversity is basically the variety of components that increases the sense of place. It should be noted that a certain level of diversity is needed in spatial organization to help observer attach himself/herself to that place by more information. Lozano called diversity the changes in pattern. We can refer to Gestalt psychology when talking about good composition. The use of similar elements having clear and recognizable relationship, bring about an order that can be grasped as a whole. Thus, it can be claimed that similarity and dissimilarity (diversity) are other components of order. Regarding diversity, two important concepts are worthy to mention; chaos and monotony. Chaos can be referred to a stimulus with variety of different environmental component or characteristics that distracts observers. On the contrary, monotony can be also a disrupter when then the degree of similarity increases. Therefore, there is a thin line among similarity, complexity and chaos. There should be an optimum sense of complexity in creating legible environments.

Gestalt psychologists and later urban theorists developed a number of qualities which affect the unity. In Gestalt psychology, these qualities are listed as; proximity, similarity, closure, good continuance, closedness, area and symmetry. Kevin Lynch listed number of qualities that ease to understanding the physical setting. In his list of qualities, it is possible to recall Gestalt laws of form perception. Regarding mental images Pocock and Hudson (1978: 25) also mentioned Gestalt laws of perception that "mental image mirrors a greater degree of goodness than is actually possessed by the real world" and "Gestalt laws explaining how the objective arrangement dictates what is seen, bringing a spontaneous grouping and differentiation to produce good and meaningful structure".

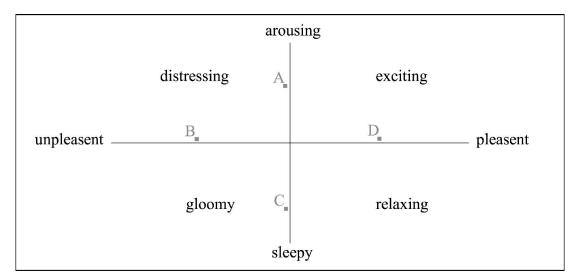
Singularity or figure ground clarity make physical element visible in the whole that an observer can easily recognize. Simplicity in form creates readable scenes. In accordance to simplicity Rapoport (1977) mentioned two contrary side of diversity as monotony and chaos. Continuity and directional differentiation strength the emphasis and facilitate the perception. According to Lang (1987) continuity of sequential elements make possible the perception of unity. Motion awareness make sensible environment for observer. "Since a city is sensed in motion, these are qualities are fundamental, and they are used to structure and even identify, wherever they are coherent enough to make it possible." (Lynch, 1960: 107) All these form qualities have a strong effect if they have been observed in a harmony in the city. As Lynch (1960) stated if they present alone or in a conflict the total effect may be weak.

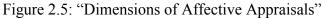
2.4.2. Appraisive Aspect: Evaluative and Affective Meaning

People give to objects meaning in accordance with what people think and feel (Hall, 1997) and what people give relative importance (Rapoport, 1977). The concept of meaning is quite an important and complex concept in environmental psychology. A number of theorists including Gibson (1950), Hershberger (1974) and Pocock and Hudson (1978) explained the concept of meaning through categorization. Gibson categorize into six (primitive concrete, use, meanings of instruments and machines, the value and emotional meanings of things, level of signs, level of symbols) while Hershberger (representational and responsive) and Pocock and Hudson (designative and appraisive) mentioned two main categories. Hershberger and Pocock and Hudson further differentiated responsive and appraisive meanings as affective and evaluative but Hershberger added up prescriptive meaning. The categorizations of Hershberger and Pocock and Hudson go in a quite similar way but there are also relations with Gibson's categories that meanings of symbols and signs and also values and emotional meanings correspond to Pocock and Hudson's evaluative but mostly affective meaning.

The evaluative meaning is a general opinion or judgment and preference which "specifically involve the assessing or ranking set of places" (1978: 68). The evaluative meaning simply refers to a ranking of betterness and worseness. One of the common methods to figure out the evaluative meaning is to determine key dimensions or assessment criteria⁴. Regarding this method, Jack Nasar who is one of the leading people in evaluative image proposed a model for assessment criteria. He (1998) focused on evaluative image and environmental quality and describes the concept of likability. Due to his field surveys and researches he points out Russell and Larry Ward's four dimensions – pleasantness, arousing, exciting, relaxing – are closely go with likability assessment criteria. In his further studies he expanded these assessment criteria due to studies of Russell and Snodgrass and emphasizes that these adjectives play an important role in emotional response and behavior.

⁴ See Pocock and Hudson (1978: 70-71) research studies which were conducted in New York, Boston, Columbus and Cambridge.





Source: Redrawn from Russell and Snodgrass (1989 cited in Nasar, J. 1998) "Evaluative Image of the City", Sage Publications

Another method proposed for evaluative meaning of image is on the other hand simply based on likeability and aims to find users' preferences. Regarding scale factor while the first method is useful in smaller scale like neighborhood or district, the second method has much more contributions in larger or city scale. It makes it available to find out user preferences on the one side and evaluative meanings of the physical image of the city for the users. However these two methods are merely based on personal evaluation. In other words, regarding the interaction between man and environment, these methods are much more human oriented. Different from human oriented there is also more environmental oriented side of meaning – affective meaning - which is based on environmental meaning and symbolism. The affective meaning is also quite related with the evaluative meaning that the affective meaning of the environment has impact on user preferences.

The affective meaning is simply emotional response to the environment. But it is not simply the likes and dislikes but also it consists of evaluation through values, attitudes and sometimes it is used as the synonym of connotative meaning. The affective meaning accompanies perceptual and symbolic meanings. In urban environment the symbolic meaning conveyed by the spatial image is particularly important for affective meaning. That is because; the urban environment is visible expression of value systems of the living people in that environment. This is signification or imageability of environment which is conveyed by the sending messages from the physical environment. Regarding messages, they can indicate a particular activity, a significant historical value or memories and sentiments.

Symbolic meaning is developed through signs in urban space. Sign is basically is the study of semiotics. Although the roots of semiotics are dated back to very early ages, the profound developments have revealed in the beginning of 20th century by Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) and Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914). In general terms, sign is something that stands for something else "in a literal rather than an abstract sense." (Lang, 1987: 13) It may refer to an object, a building, a physical entity but also an idea or a feeling. A sign has simple and straightforward meaning. Madanipour (1996) mentioned on a light from a house in the night as a sign of that there is someone in that house, to explain the concept of sign. In this example the sign is that light, the presence of a person is the referent and observer is the user of that sign. Peirce classifies sign into three considering physical (relational) correlation (relations), similarity and arbitrary relations. Indices are signs which lose its feature if the object is removed. They construct physical relation with the object (e.g. the smoke of a fire). Icons construct a direct relation with what it signifies (e.g. photograph). Lastly symbols are related with the interpreter that it lose its feature if there is no interpreter.

Symbols are different from signs. They are understood if the idea which they present is understood (Rapoport, 1977). It has a more complicated structure that it has indirect meanings. It may represent something invisible of something visible and they embody abstraction. For Jung's depth psychology symbol is product of unconscious. According to Lang (1987: 13) "a symbol is the result of a cognitive process whereby an object acquires a connotation beyond its instrumental use." Leslie White (1949) mentioned that to reflect our experience in physical environment symbols must have a physical form. For example a dove is a symbol of peace rather than depicting the bird itself. The function of symbols is communication and there may well be a relationship with environments which can communicate appropriate behavior and expectations (Rapoport, 1977: 319). This is because human beings are the only living with symbolizing. Moreover, human behavior consists of use of these symbols and their meanings (White, 1949). The meanings of symbols are very important in this sense, that "if symbols lose their meaning, life itself becomes meaningless" (Barlas, 2006: 10). Thus it can be stated that there is a strong relation between symbolic values in the environment, the meanings embodied in the environment and the behavioral settings.

Peirce described sign within ternary model which consists of object, interpretant and representatum. With respect to this approach Lang (1987) defined the semiological triangle as; thought or meaning (signified), symbol (signifier) and referent. Signifier may be something (a word, a building, a space), and signified is what signifier refers to. In this triangle these three components construct a relation that the signified may vary among individuals or groups of individuals because the referent is different. Similar to Lang, White also mentioned that symbols vary among various contexts. A thing may be a symbol in one context but it can be a sign in another context (White, 1949). Or, the same symbol has different meaning in different contexts. This is the result of differentiation of symbol systems in different cultures. Culture is the way a symbol is signified. Thus, in any culture a certain symbol can be signified with a different sign. They have continuum structure, that the concept of continuity is quite important for symbol system. In this long process some featured qualities provide to comprise the identity.

Symbols are the key concepts of a culture; moreover the culture depends on symbols. Barlas (2006) by referring Jung claimed that culture and cultural difference are variations of symbols. All thoughts, behavior and emotional responses are based on symbols. Here Carl Jung's approach to depth psychology has valuable contributions to the process of symbol formation and its relation with the culture. Jung's psyche contains of both conscious and unconscious parts which are very much dependent. The unconscious part on the other hand is a totality of personal and collective conscious. "Collective unconscious is a repository of archetypes, or fundamental patterns of symbols formation. Archetypes are inherited, that is, passed on from one generation to another and they evolve during the process. Therefore, what humans inherit is not a set of symbols, but rather the psychic structure, which generates symbols." (Barlas, 2006: 9)

The study of signs and symbols are the main concern of semiotics. Semiotics was first developed in linguistic by Saussure and Peirce and later it is expanded through various disciplines. In the late 1950 semiotics has become a subject in architectural literature against to the loss of meaning and by 1960s it was being widely discussed (Broadbent, Bunt and Jencks, 1980). Architectural semiotics used the linguistic model and it is based on seeing architecture as a language. It is intended to analyze urban forms and their meanings with respect to concepts of semiotics; sign, signifier and signified. According to Jencks (1980: 73) "architectural sign like other signs is a twofold entity having a plane of expression (signifier) and plane of content (signified)." The signifiers may be any forms, surfaces or volumes with a number of qualities of color, texture etc. and the signified may be any idea, function or activities etc. According to Jencks (1980) the architectural forms convey symbolic meanings and the primary aim is to communicate. Similarly Lang (1987: 15) mentioned that symbols created by urban intervention (architecture and urban design) are nonverbal mechanisms that "people communicate messages about themselves, their backgrounds, social statuses, and world view to others."

Every urban space contains meanings and values and places are spaces with meaning. This "would be those that allow people to make strong connection between the place, their personal lives, and the larger world. They relate to their physical and social context. These connections may be one's culture or relevant history, to biological and psychological realities." (Carr et al, 1992: 20) Or in other words "they attach to stimuli, which are associational and, in turn, depends on past experience, and culture influencing standards and environmental evaluation." (Rapoport, 1977: 320) Thus the physical environment which is associated with meanings is more than a physical image but it represents something for the society.

Norberg-Schulz (1980) stated that meanings constitute the basis of places. He mentioned genius loci - the spirit of place – as one of the most stimulating form of meaning which "determining identity, distinguishing each place from another. It is

by this and through this that we find our place in the world, reference ourselves and establish ties of identification". (Castello, 2010: 91) The spirit of place is concerned the relationship between place and man. It is the meaning that place is distinguished from others with a specific character and even it is this meaning that space turns into place. Space in general defined as three-dimensional extent which objects have relative positions. However, in urban context space is not a three dimensional geometry but experiential field that human life involved in. That is everyday experiences take place "in a three-dimensional whole - occurs concretely in spaces and these spaces can be differentiated qualitatively" (Castello, 2010: 89). Space and place are two related but different concepts that "space provides the context for places but derives its meaning from particular places" (Relph, 1976: 8). This indicates that space turns into place when it acquires meaning and definition (Tuan, 1977). Norberg-Schulz (1979) mentioned that place, as a combination of concrete and abstract aspects, where individual's identity depends on belonging to that place. These aspects together determine distinct character of place and evoke the sense of place. In other words, strong identity of place leads strong sense of place.

The word identity is based on the Latin word "identitas" and it means the sameness. "Identity of something refers to a persistent sameness and unity which allows that thing to be differentiated from others." (Relph, 1976: 45) Place identity which was introduced by Proshansky (1978) is "a substructure of the self-identity of the person consisting of, broadly conceived, cognition about the physical world in which the individual lives" (Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1983, p. 59). Due to Proshansky and Norberg-Schulz (1979) there is a relationship between place identity and selfidentity and place is an important feature for human beings that personal identity depends on the place that he belongs to. In other words identity of place deals with the sense of belonging and answers the questions of "who I am" and "where I am" and place identity helps and preserves the continuity of self-identity.

Originally the concept of place identity is considered by two distinct perspectives. One focused on the physical elements on environment while other emphasized social conception of place and activities beyond the structure of environment. However in later studies these two approaches were drawn into closer relationship, which led a comprehensive approach for place identity. According to Smith (1997) this understanding links the physical image with function that place support and psychological and emotional aspects.

Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff (1983: 60) described place identity as "memories, conceptions, interpretations, ideas and related feelings about specific physical settings." It defines a bond between place and man. This man-place bonding is developed through identification of distinctive characteristic of a particular place and meaning attributed to that place. It refers to a set of "cognitions, emotions and bonds of belonging related to the places where the person lives, which become a substructure of the self". (Vidal et al., 2012:80) Montgomery (1998) states that identity determines how place looks like and the urban image is a combination of identity. Similarly, Relph (1976) stated that urban images are important components for urban identity is reflection of meaning of place on individual identity. And the place identity is developed through direct relation between place and how man perceives or visualizes the place.

Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) mention that developing place identity is strongly related with place attachment. Place attachment can occur at personal and group levels. While personal memories, emotions and feelings influence personal attachment, collective memories and shared experiences influence collective attachment to place. Collective memory has strong linkage with physical structure of city and constitution of place identity. Maurice Halbwachs (1992), one of the most influential names on collective memory, states that certain elements in structure of urban environment are central in the formation of collective memory and identity. He added that collective memory is developed through physical images and representations and moreover the use of built environment over time. Moreover the signs and their symbolic meanings have contribution to the collective memory.

"The memory flowing from interaction between the community and its collective use of the space is engraved in the cognitive recesses of the community, interwoven with social, historical and psychological components

at the heart of a place's meaning. Recognition of the presence of memory as a component in the structure of place therefore has to be credited as an intrinsic attribute of the place, since it is memory that can stimulate the good (or bad) images evoked by a place''. (Castello, 2010: 183)

Rossi (1982) similarly mentioned the relationship between people and places and focuses on the importance of memory in this relationship. According to him the signification of place lies in the memories but not in the functions. In this respect familiarity is an important factor for more meaningful environment. People tend to be familiar to the environment and easily attach meaning. Familiarity in urban environment enables relative "degree of control" (Barlas, 2006: 85) and helps to identify the territory where he/she belongs to. The signs and meanings conveyed by them are important markers for familiarity. Familiarity is also important for the sense of belonging. As Lynch (1981) stated the attachment to place is more powerful if form and the familiarity work together.

2.5. Conclusive Remarks

This chapter presented theoretical discussion on urban image. Within this discussion first the interaction between city and people and the formation of image was reviewed. In the second part the concept of image was analyzed by introducing personal and collective images. Finally in the last part, aspects of urban image were introduced as designative or physical and affective or meaning and symbolism. Along with these discussions, it is intended to put forth a detailed overview of the concept of urban image and the factors affecting the formation of image.

In summary, image is formed and developed through experiencing the city within a perceptual and cognitive process. The formation of image is differentiated among people since perception and cognition are two processes which differ due to gender, age, education level, duration of inhabitant e.g. This is called personal image that every inhabitant living in the city has its own image regarding his/her personal qualifications and preferences. Despite everyone has his/her own image there is also commonalities which consist of similarities in socialization, values, beliefs and

memories. This is called collective (public or shared) image which can be defined as the collection (or sum) of personal image and it is in the center of urban studies and this dissertation.

There are two aspects of image. The first one is physical or designative aspects as Lynch's study was mainly concentrated in. Due to his study, there are five elements (path, node, landmark, district and edge) and a set of form qualities which are the key features for legible and imageable environment. Legibility is the ease of perceiving the city as a whole and its parts separately and imageability can be described as the quality of physical environment which gives high probability of evoking strong image. However, the physical aspects of image do not guarantee the imageability but there are also environmental meaning and symbolism which affect the collective image. Thus the second aspect of image is the appraisive aspect which is related with the meaning of urban environment. It consists of both evaluative meaning which is mainly user preferences and affective meanings which is mainly based on the meaning attributed to the physical image. Due to this premise, the physical image of the city contains symbolic meaning for inhabitants. Thus urban environment is not just a physical stimuli but it represents something for observers. It may be a particular activity, sentiments, beliefs memories or values. It is this meaning which is attributed to urban environment enables people to construct a strong bond with the environment. Even it is this distinguishing character that space turn into place for its users. Remembering human psychological needs, this bond is an important factor for psychological health in the city that it leads sense of belonging or attachment and security.

Symbolic meaning conveyed by physical image is key feature in man-place bonding. For this reason, changes in the physical setting or symbolic meaning or creating new urban landscapes and new meaning may have impacts on this bond. Rapoport (1977) mentioned that creation of symbols by small and large scale projects must be evaluated intensively. The reason behind this argument is that if the designer's symbol cannot match with the common base (symbol without a common meaning), the confusion of fragmented symbols or the absence of common meanings may cause psychological breakdowns. In the light of this premise, an important question comes into being about the effects of rise of globalized symbolization of today's cities. Thus, in the following chapter, the place branding approach will be analyzed regarding its conceptualization of image of the city.

CHAPTER 3

FROM URBAN IMAGE TO BRAND IMAGE

In the previous part of the study, the context and components of the urban image was evaluated through the human – environment perceptual relationship and key points of environmental psychology. In this section the focus point will be on the transformation process of the concept from urban image to global urban image. In relation to the questions need to be answered through the study, the theoretical background of this section composes of two three parts.

In the first part, the changing paradigm of urban image will be investigated considering modern and postmodern literature. In this part I intend to propose a multi-dimensional study (referring the previous section) that affects the physical and psychological environment of the city. For such an intention, a comparative study for the transformation urban space (modern city – postmodern city – brand city) will be expected to highlight the changes social, economic and political areas and connectedly the spatiality and understanding of urban image. In the second part, thorough discussion on the definition, strategies and techniques of place branding approach which puts brand image into the center, is developed. In such a framework, the new understanding of urban image will be discussed. Due to these premises, it is discussed place marketing as a starting point of place branding, the shift from marketing to branding, and different considerations of the branding notion developed by different theories. Moreover, main motivation, aims and tools of place branding are presented. In the last part, the brand image is analyzed according to two aspects of accumulated urban image – physical structure and meaning. In this respect, it is intended to put forth the differences between urban image and brand image.

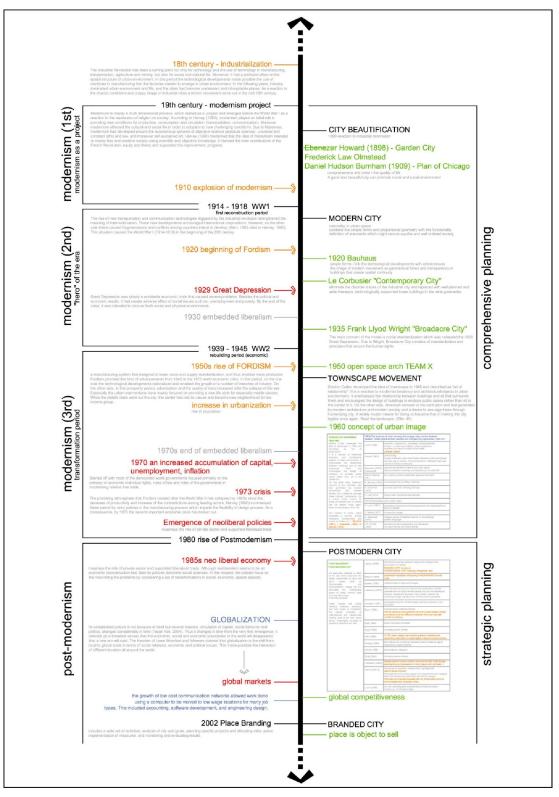


Figure 3.1: Evaluation of literature Source: Personal rendering

3.1. Changing Paradigm in the Concept of Urban Image

The concept of urban image emerged in 1960s. The physicality was not only reason of emergence of the concept but also economic, politic and scientific transformations triggered the emphasis on human – environment perceptual relations. In this context, the literature review includes the significant breaking points before and after the emergence of the concept.

3.1.1. Industrial Revolution and the rise of Modernism Project

The Industrial Revolution has been a turning point not only for technology and the use of technology in manufacturing, transportation, agriculture and mining, but also for social and cultural life. Moreover, it had a profound effect on the spatial structure of urban environment. In this period the technological developments made possible the use of machines in manufacturing that the factories started to emerge in urban environment. In the following years, industry dominated urban environment and life, and the cities had become unpleasant and inhospitable places. As a reaction to the chaotic conditions and crappy image of industrial cities a reform movement came out in the mid-19th century.

By 1850s, the huge social movement from rural to urban areas with the rise of industrialization and new opportunities had changed the politics and social atmosphere of the urban environment. Towards the end of the 1850s, "urban planning developed as a way of organizing and stabilizing urban society through the rational design of space and the systematic ordering of human activity." (Legates and Stout, 1996) In this context, the city beautification movement was initiated by the leadership of Ebenezer Howard⁵, Frederick Law Olmsted⁶ and Daniel Burnham⁷, as a remedy to tremendous adverse changes in American cities. These architects thought

⁵ Ebenezer Howard (1889) is the father of the utopia of Garden City which was used as a model of suburban development.

⁶ Frederick Law Olmsted, an American landscape architect, was famous with designing urban parks.

⁷ Daniel Burnham is an American architect and urban planner. His famous work, Plan of Chicago, is the first comprehensive plan (www.wikipedia.com).

that an aesthetic transformation was needed to create more pleasant environments in these cities. The main theory behind this movement was that orderly environments were essential for good society. A good and beautiful city can promote moral and social environment. In 1890s Camillo Sitte, emphasized the strong influence of physical environments on human soul. For him, the city should be providing secure and happy places for citizens.

The counter arguments for the industrialization of urban environment emerging in the second half of 19th century based on the new idea of modernism. Modernism is mainly a multi-dimensional process, which started as a *project* and emerged before the World War I as a reaction to the repression of religion on society. According to Harvey (1990), modernism played an initial role in providing new conditions for production, consumption and circulation (transportation, communication). Moreover modernism affected the cultural and social life in order to adoption to new challenging conditions. Due to Habermas (1962), modernism had developed around the autonomous spheres of objective science (absolute science), universal and constant ethic and law, and moreover self-sustained art. Harvey (1990) mentioned that the idea of modernism intended to create free and creative society using scientific and objective knowledge. It claimed the main contributions of the French Revolution; equity and liberty and supported the improvement, progress.

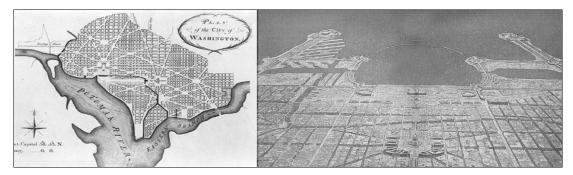


Figure 3.2: L'Enfant Plan of Washington, Burnham's Plan of Chicago Source: http://en.wikipedia.org

3.1.2. High Modernism after the World War I

The rise of new transportation and communication technologies triggered by the industrial revolution strengthened the meaning of internationalism. These new developments encouraged international corporations. However, on the other side these caused fragmentations and conflicts among countries intend to develop (Kern, 1983 cited in Harvey, 1990). This situation caused the World War I (1914-1918) in the beginning of the 20th century.

The first global war had caused severe damages in terms of spatiality, social and economic issues. Harvey (1990) mentioned that the modernist approach had been strongly considered for recovering of the collapsed cities, even in most of the literature modernism was claimed the "hero" of that period. In this sense, in the post-war period it was started a serious reconstruction process based on modernist idea. It was intended to re-construct the economic structures and the urban politics that caused an unpleasant milieu. To cope with these problems and the effects of capitalism, modernism combined new concepts in itself. The main objective was stated as to get the social happiness and satisfaction, and moreover to cope with the confusion of 19th century. Moreover the modern movement aimed to obtain "definition of standards which might secure a polite and well-ordered society." (Norberg-Schulz, 1974: 187) In this respect, the modern movement dominated urban space through the objectives and used the urban environment as the most significant tool to show the new approach of happiness and a new order.

The idea of modernism intended to link with which is infinite by assuming time is stable. The concept of time for modernism was thus based on modern period that reject the earlier period and history. It aimed to collect the momentary data and provide advance, progress. The idea of advancement is the key concept of modernism. Thus the modern movement redefined the concept of time and intended to provide advancement in itself. The modern understanding of time not only affected social, cultural or economic and political issues, but also it triggered new ideas in shaping urban environment. Considering the principle of advancement, the modern architecture and urban architecture theorists intend to create an international

style. The internationally accepted principles not only shaped the buildings themselves but also affected the urban environment. One of the major manifestations of international style is to upgrade man's condition in settlements. To reach this objective, the simple forms and proportional geometry are combined with the functionality (Norberg-Schulz, 1974). Due to these premises the urban developments in the modernist era focused on the large scale developments which were functional, rational, efficient and universal.

Modernism considered the "space" (urban space) as the physical medium of social and the tool of production and reproduction process as well. In other words, urban space, which is the major focus of modernist approach, should be suitable (in an order) for both social relationships and industrial (production, distribution of goods etc.) activities. This brought front the separation of differentiated activities in urban space, and strict zoning approaches. As a social issue, place was fragmented into units and reunified into a whole structure. These units and insertions, "by imposing their model of scenic unity in which solids dematerialized into transparent and interpenetrating forms and structures filled in or hollowed out space, decomposed the city into a random array of homogeneous sites, emptied of historic reference and ignorant of building types and city places specific to each location" (Boyer, 1996: 46).

While thinking the post-war period, a number of leading urban architects were highlighted that they drew the frame of the modernist approach. The first that it is important to mention is the Bauhaus School. Bauhaus school was influenced by modernism which had made its presence felt in Germany before the World War, despite the prevailing conservatism. Due to Roters (1969) The Bauhaus school was not an institution, but it is an idea. The main contribution of the idea was declared by Gropius as: "In the past, the ornamentation of buildings was considered to be major function of the visual arts. They played a vital role in the creation of great architecture. Today, these arts stand in a self-sufficient isolation from which they can be redeemed only by conscious co-operation and mutual understanding between all those involved. Architects, painters and sculptors must rediscover and understand the many-sided aspects of building, both as a whole and all its parts; only then will their

work be informed with that architectonic spirit which was lost in salon art." (Roters, 1969: 5)

Bauhaus intended to create a new social vision which was adversely affected from the War. Different from who tried to find new ideas, Walter Gropius intended to link the technological developments with artistic issues. Bauhaus not only create physical environments but also intended to create social environments. By 1923, the artistic side of Bauhaus began to disappear, and the mass production of the physical environment to meet the social needs gained importance. 1933 was the end of the Bauhaus School because of the political pressures. Walter Gropius described the image of modern movement as geometrical forms and transparency in buildings that create spatial continuity. The followers of Wright and functionalism similarly accepted the universal architectural language using rationality and technicality in CIAM⁸. Similarly Le Corbusier supported functionalism and moreover aesthetic needs and used the power and significance of functionality.

Le Corbusier's works of contemporary city proposed simple grid plan with repetitive neighborhood units were one of the best examples of modern urban architecture. He intended to draw the principles of modern town planning. "Such fundamental principles, if they are genuine, can serve as the skeleton of any system modern town planning; being as it were the rules according to which development will the rules according to which development will take place." (Le Corbusier, 1929 cited LeGates and Stout, 1996: 337) In his plan Le Corbusier put forth four main principles;

- 1. We must de-congest the centers of our cities
- 2. We must augment their density

⁸ CIAM was the series of congress that a number of architects who were against to the chaotic structure of industrial environment and the 19th century architecture. In these congresses, the city was considered by separate units of transportation, residents, recreation and working areas. The idea is to obtain pure modernist space (Günay, 1999). He proposed the main design principles as; Particularism where each habitat has its own identity, Human association against functional organization, Use of the line (Pedestrian Street) as the unifying element instead of open spaces, Continuity of elements to make up macro-forms, instead of discontinuous composition of them, Variety of volumes and spaces, Idea of ground-scraper for horizontal communication.

- 3. We must increase the means for getting about
- 4. We must increase parks and open spaces (Le Corbusier, 1929 cited LeGates and Stout, 1996: 340)

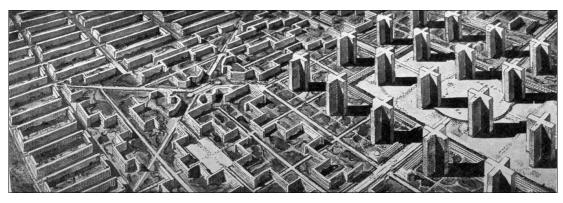


Figure 3.3: The Contemporary City of Le Corbusier Source: www.wikipedia.com

Very briefly, due to these principles the modern city of Le Corbusier intended to eliminate the disorder traces of the industrial city and replaced with well-planned and wide freeways, technologically supported tower buildings in the wide greeneries. Le Corbusier transformed the world by "elevated highway, which opened up a wider perspective and enabled housing to be concentrated in residential towers and nature to touch the base of every building" (Boyer, 1996: 45).

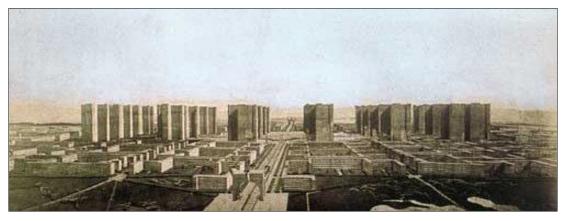


Figure 3.4: The Contemporary City of Le Corbusier Source: www.wikipedia.com

1929 Great Depression was another breaking point for the world. Great Depression was simply a worldwide economic crisis that caused severe problems. Besides the political and economic results, it had severe adverse effect of social issues such as; unemployment and poverty. By the end of the crisis, it was intended to recover both social and physical environments. This brought forth new ideas. Frank Llyod Wright's Broadacre City was one of the most important modern models in that period. The main concern of the model is social standardization which was collapsed the 1929 Great Depression. Due to Wright, Broadacre City consists of standardization and principles that secure the human rights. Similar with Le Corbusier, he proposed an urban development concept considering social needs and reflected to physical environment. On the contrary however, he mentioned the togetherness of working and residential areas. The Broadacre model proposed "diversity in unity, recognizing the necessity of cultivation as a need for formality in most of the planting" (Wright, 1935 cited LeGates and Stout, 1996: 348)

Frederic Stout (1999) emphasized that every historical era creates its own form and language. While after the Industrial Revolution the "rapid change" determines the form, in the modern era the functionalist movement put forth another form. The functionalist urbanism developed between the two world wars proposed "the establishment of a unity of form and function, and the recovery of essential meanings" (Norberg-Schulz, 1974: 200). It is intended to create problem solving design approach rather than to propose abstract imagination.

Stout (1999) defined the bird's view image of the modern period as "imitative of a received landscape tradition that had been commonly applied to rural and wild nature scenes" (Stout, 1999 cited in LeGates and Stout, 1996: 144). Christine Boyer (1996) on the other hand, called the form of modern city as open city that the modern movement erased the traditional view and created series of impressions. According to her especially, the developments in transportation system that decreased the time travel changed the perception of places between two destination nodes. The modern view thus changed the stable image of the traditional city and turned into dynamic view. Moreover, the vertical perspective in the modern city enabled a new way of

seeing. Boyer evaluated the new way of seeing and called the new image of the modern city as "panorama".

3.1.3. Emergence of the concept of Urban Image after World War II

With the rise of populations and connectedly the increase in urbanization made modernism a source dealing with urban problems. Moreover, modernism started to dominate the daily life technically and created visible changes in social life. However, 1929 economic depression and later the World War II in 1939 were turning point for the world that caused severe damages on cities for the second time. By the end of the second war, the second reconstruction period in political and economic issues started.

The post war period was significant in terms of the rise of power of Fordism which was first introduced in 1920s. Although 1920s was accepted the beginning of Fordism, it became its highest period by 1945s. Harvey (1990) listed a number of reasons for the late rise of Fordism such as the economic and politic decisions. Fordism is basically a manufacturing system that designed to lower costs and supply standardization, and thus enabled mass production. But in the following periods, it became social and economic phenomena especially in social science. While thinking social sciences, its contribution is significantly important that it imported simpler methods into all kind of manufacturing process. This in turn provided economic growth and widespread advancements.

Fordism provided this kind of advancements from 1945 to the 1973 world economic crisis. In this period, on the one side the technological developments rationalized and enabled the growth of a number of branches of industry. On the other side, in this prosperity period, urbanization and the quality of lives increased after the collapse of the war. Especially the urban interventions have mainly focused on providing a new life style for especially middle classes. While the middle class went out the city, the center has lost its values and become new neighborhood for low income group.

In economic terms, to cope with the collapse after the war, new economic policies based on the power of the capital have emerged. The movement of capital, labor and goods supported the emergence of new markets and new actors as a consequence. This in turns strengthened the power of capital instead of form and functionality. On the other side, newly emerged trends and movements (abstract influences) showed themselves in modernism. In modern literature this post war period was called the start the *decline of modernism*.

Harvey (1990) stated that the two external factors (Great Depression and World War II) and additionally the inner contradictions of modern movement triggered the decline of the power of modernism. Due to him, modern movement has never coped with the development dynamics although spatial proposals of Le Corbusier and others were flexible enough. Moreover, the main hypothesis of universality that created monumental and unchangeable environment could not answer the newly emerged social needs. In other words, the stability of space could not follow the fluidity of time.

As a consequence, by 1950s and 1960s the idea changed considerably. Against the theory of physical determinism, some theoreticians argued about the significance of social affects in relation with physical environment. Jane Jacobs (1961) mentioned the fall of modern city to point out the empty and unsafe city centers, and moreover the social problems lived in urban space. This brought forth the emphasis on human – environment relationship.

In 1960s the concept of urban image was introduced to react to the modern manipulation of space, the destructive impacts of modernism and the loss of human dimension in cities. Kevin Lynch, who focused on architectural review and urban experience, defended the townscape movement. "The phenomenological view of the city was espoused ultimately by Lynch and Jacobs. It identified a whole new vocabulary of urban form – one that depends on sights, sounds, feels, materials, textures, facades" (Jacobs & Appleyard quoted in Akit, 2004: 3). In the light of these ideas Lynch tried to describe the city components and their general characteristics. Kevin Lynch proposed the concept of urban image as an essential quality for urban

environment. A good place is one which supplies people's psychological needs, in some way appropriates to culture and enhances the community awareness. Similarly Gordon Cullen (1961), Christopher Alexander (1965) and later Amos Rapoport (1977) also emphasized the importance of space perception for citizens and stated that designing the urban form should be considered as an art of relationships to promote for the citizens to have a serial vision.

Lynch (1960) put forth three main components for an urban image as; identity, meaning and structure. Identity is the special characteristics of the environment that separate it from others. A legible environment should have "emotional or practical" meanings for its users. And lastly the structure of an environmental setting is based upon the relationships of physical elements and recognized as separated parts and wholes (Lynch, 1960: 8). Lynch related these abstract issues with physical environment and developed a common language to describe the qualification of physical environment. According to him the five elements (path, node, district, edge, and landmark) and their characteristics create legible environment. He defines the legibility of a city as: "...the ease with which its parts may be recognized and can be organized into a coherent pattern." (Lynch, 1960:2) The term is concerned with the relationships of physical elements or urban components and their imageability. This requires a part-whole relation that the togetherness of "parts" can only produce unity.

3.1.4. The Changes after the 1973 Economic Crisis

The promising atmosphere that Fordism created after the World War II has collapsed by 1965s since the decrease of productivity and increase of the contradictions among leading actors. Harvey (1990) summarized these period by strict policies in the manufacturing process which impede the flexibility of design process. As a consequence, by 1973 the second important economic crisis has broken out. In the recovery period (1970s and 1980s), new political and economic solutions had emerged that it will later affect whole world. The neo-liberal economy approach started to spread out all over the world to handle with the crises of capitalism. Neo-liberalism has emerged to prevent from the repetition of the 1929 crisis and its severe damages. It mostly emphasizes on the efficiency of the private sector instead of the domination of state on economy. Thus, it seeks to maximize the role of private sector and supported liberalized trade. Although neoliberalism seems to be an economic reconstruction tool, later its policies dominate social sciences. In this respect, the policies focus on the recovering the problems by considering a set of transformations in social, economic, spatial aspects. The recovering period ended by 1980s and neoliberalism showed itself not only in the economic policies but also various number of fields including urban environments.

3.1.4.1. The Postmodern Movement

By 1980s there has occurred multi-dimensional transformation in the world. With respect to these changes, it was affected scientific approaches, economy, modes of production, free moving of capital, structure of society (from industrial to information) and, physical environment and urban image as well. The common belief is that 1980s were named turning point in history, however, there are different approaches. Lyotard and Baudrillard define this period as the beginning of postmodern era. On the other hand, for Harvey and Jameson postmodernism is a condition. As a third approach, Giddes, Black, Habermas define postmodernism as an incomplete project. Although these ideas vary, the changes in a number of fields come together in a common frame.

Tekeli (2009) mentioned that postmodern approach stays against all kind of determinism⁹. Rather contextual analysis dominates the postmodern movement. This changed the idea of unity, thus fragmentation, chaos, collage, discontinuity and indeterminism appeared. In urban studies this approach drew new understanding instead of comprehensive approach. One of the most important reasons behind this approach is that it is difficult to meet the needs in developing atmosphere with a significant speed. Thus postmodern planning changed the implementation method

⁹ Modern approach to scientific knowledge had a deterministic quality, since natural science of modernism, based on Newton accepted the rational calculation, predictability and deterministic causality and positivist knowledge.

from comprehensive to incremental. This in turns reveals another important keyword of postmodernism; fragmentation instead of wholeness. The concept of fragmentation offers heterogeneity, togetherness of various issues. On the contrary, modernism defends homogeneity as it can be followed from the modern urban architects and theorists.

3.1.4.2. The Postmodern City and its Image

David Harvey¹⁰ mentioned that modernist mode of production did not correspond with flexibility of postmodern and this affected the urban design and architecture disciplines. According to him "the modernists see space as something to be shaped for social purposes and therefore always subservient to the construction of a social project, the postmodernists see space as something independent and autonomous, to be shaped according to aesthetic aims and principles which have nothing necessarily to do with any overarching social objective, save, perhaps, the achievement of timeless and disinterested beauty as an objective in itself." (Harvey, 1990: 66) He defines the postmodern city as a "collage city" with the rise of "historical eclecticism, (as inventing tradition by imitating the older forms), multiculturalism, (reference with the locality and ethnicity), and spectacle (a theater scene, commercialization of built environment)." (Velibeyoğlu, 1999: 4)

Frederic Jameson views the postmodern city as an alienated city. According to him it is the city as "above all a space in which people are unable to map (in their minds) either their own positions or the urban totality in which they find themselves." (Jameson, 1991: 89) The postmodern city blurs the boundaries between the reality and virtuality that the city is a theatrical space with multiple signs, symbols and an imaginary scene (Leach, 2002). The image of the postmodern city in this sense, is the presentation of fragmented and collage city. The city "begins to provide a sense of a city that is constantly changing" and "the city is regarded as a partially connected multiplicity which we can only ever know partially and from multiple places."

¹⁰ Harvey views postmodernism as a movement that covers the problems of modernist movement. "There is much more continuity than difference between modernism and postmodernism." (Harvey, 1990: 116)

(Thrift, 2000 cited in Fahmi, 2003: 3) These fragmented and deconstructed places in the city fracture the sense of totality of urban environment. Moreover, the togetherness (juxtaposition) of fragmented spaces side by side produces "a montage of urban images." (Fahmi, 2003)

Read (2006) mentioned that cities started to be understood in a dynamic sense and linked to universals. In the global world the city is not just a background as it is used to, but the subject. While the ancient places and the rhythms were disappeared in the "modernity" as Augé (1995) mentioned, "supermodernity" created non-places with lack of relational, historical and concerned with identity. "Non-places are non-identitary locations that do without the traces of history. As the paradigmatic loci of super-modernity, non-places are narrowly associated with images, to the point that, according to Augé, we are becoming accustomed to limiting our relation to the world to that which can be accessed through images." (Resina and Ingenschay, 2003: 77-78)

Christine Boyer in her famous book "The City of Collective Memory" summarizes the image of the city with three aesthetic conventions. The city as a work of art; represents the image of the traditional city before the 19th century. It contains of harmonious order, unity and rationality. Architecture and urban design is utilized to strength the unity of society and gather people in collective unity. The city as panorama; represents the modern metropolis of early 20th century. Not only the mobility changed the understanding of time, but also boundaries among places were broken down. In urban environment the spaces became changing scenes which created series of fleeting impressions and sequential images. By 1980s the electronic communication and computer simulated environments encircle the globe. As a reaction to dominated order and unity, the city of spectacle represents the contemporary city with fragmented images, iconographical meanings and symbolic conceptions. The image of the city is commercialized and the art of selling urban space and popular form of consumption dominates the urban environment as well. (Boyer, 1996) "This renewed focus on the city as an economic driver coincided with a series of generational and lifestyle changes that has pressured government and the

private sector into improving the attractiveness and vitality of urban areas." (Jansson and Power, 2006: 9)

By the end of 1980s, the shift from welfare state to entrepreneurialism in urban governance has made the significant changes in urban environments (Knox, 1993). He assumes that one major reason of this shift is the inability to cope with 1973 economic recession with welfare state. Harvey (1989) mentioned that in the new culture of entrepreneurialism, government and private sector joined their power "in order to secure external funding and investments." (Knox, 1993: 10) He also adds that this force the speculative and piecemeal projects in urban management. "Meanwhile, the deregulation of the savings and loan industry in 1980s allowed new investors to use federally insured savings deposits to fund a variety of speculative projects." (Knox, 1993:11) As a consequence, planning profession tuned to economic constraints and thus piecemeal developments rather than a comprehensive approach. As Christine Boyer suggested planning started to create fragmented urban spaces with economically supported elements.

McCracken (1988) mentioned symbolic meanings inserted in urban place, surround people consciousness. Signs and symbols that refer to another reality (or imaginary world) construct a "web of signification." (Knox, 1993: 19) Eyles (1987) affirms that this web of signification can make things classifiable and identifiable. On the other hand however, Robson and Foster (1989) mentions the temporality of these signs that they can be easily wild.

3.1.5. The rise of Globalization by 1990s

By 1990s the transition from international to global economy re-exposed the concept of globalization. It is important to understand the concept in an extensive sense because the changes before and after the concept revealed new dynamics in spatial environment. In literature it is mentioned that globalization represents a blur picture. It's complicated picture is not because of itself but several reasons, circulation of capital, social behavior and politics, changed considerably in time (Taşan Kok, 2004). Thus it changed in time from the very first emergence. It defends (in a broadest sense) that the economic, social and economic boundaries in the world will disappeared that a new era will start. The theories of Lewis Mumford and followers claimed that globalization is the shift from local to global scale in terms of social relations, economic and political issues. This made possible the interaction of different location all around the world.

3.1.5.1. The History of Globalization

Although the term became very popular by 1990s, the roots have been predicated on early times. Some theorists claim that globalization is much related with the concept of capitalism that its history is as old as civilization. On the other hand, some others associate globalization with the modern era. In the contemporary meaning it is not wrong to link globalization with the western capitalism. Due to Giddens and Pierson (2001) the spreading out of the western capitalism to all around the world by new technologies lead the concept of globalization come into being by 19th century.

After the World War II, "globalization began in earnest, framed by the Bretton Woods Conference and the establishment of the World Bank and the IMF" (Tasan Kok, 2004: 51). This led emergence of new organizations of international economic institution. On the other hand, the fall back of Europe from the world economic arena and the rise of new two powers Russia and USA lead two poled world since 1990s the collapse of Russia. After the collapse of Russian association, under the unique power of the world - USA -, the liberal tendencies strengthened and technological developments were accelerated. In this period the free moving of products and money forced the boundaries among countries. This is to say that by 1990s the concept of globalization became much more significant in different issues such as economic, politic and social life.

3.1.5.2. The Impacts of Globalization and Neoliberalism

As it is stated in the previous part the neoliberal policies were introduced by 1980 that it was based on free market dominations and flexibilities both in economic and social politics. With the rise of globalization neo-liberal policies spread all around

the world. The general characteristic of neoliberalism is "the desire to intensify and expand the market, by increasing the number, frequency, repeatability, and formalization of transactions. The ultimate (unreachable) goal of neoliberalism is a universe where every action of every being is a market transaction, conducted in competition with every other being and influencing every other transaction, with transactions occurring in an infinitely short time, and repeated at an infinitely fast rate" (http://web.inter.nl.net/users/Paul.Treanor/neoliberalism.html). Due to this objective, the growth of the global markets and increase in the mobility of the capital are the main contribution of neoliberalism. The mobility of the capital has enabled the investment opportunities of countries without considering the boundaries. "The recipient countries contribute to the global economy by creating an alternative destination for investment and expenditure coming from advanced capitalist countries." (Taşan Kok, 2004: 57)

It is obvious that the technological developments are one of the main factors behind globalization. Harvey mentioned in his various papers and books, the technological interventions made possible to transfer a number of data, to travel among various places, to communicate with anywhere in the world. That means that the spent time diminish and spaces became closer, or in Harvey's word these transformations lead The technological developments in space-time compression. "transport. communications and institutional support for global capital had conspired to seemingly make places less important - less unique" (Cresswell, 2004: 54). Transport technology enabled people to move all around world in a short time period. Good and services also gained free moving opportunities. Global chains (trades) situated in variety of place in different location. "Clothes came from around the world, ethnic restaurants expanded from the expected Chinese and Indian examples to include Mexican, Vietnamese or Mongolian." (Cresswell, 2004: 54) This also made possible to find different good in your market nearby.

By 1990s the dark images of violence and deprivation of cities have changed by emphasizing the image of the city as a valuable asset (Jansson and Power, 2006). And also, globalization in the late 20th century dramatically affected the dynamics of urban networks. More than ever, markets appear to transcend the borders of nation

states and this reshapes positions of cities in the network (Gospodini, 2002). By the end of 1990s, emergence of new political powers (Japan, Europe etc.) triggered the free moving of various issues including capital, labor, and information. This lead the tendency on differentiation between places became more important. "The name of the game in the first-tier cities with global reach is to attract and retain the headquarters of multinational corporations and all the business services that these corporations demand, such as international banks, advertising agencies, legal, accounting and communication support." (Boyer cited in Knox, 1993: 124)

The growing awareness of city's role in the global arena develops a new focus. "This renewed focus on the city as an economic driver coincided with a series of generational and lifestyle changes that has pressured government and the private sector into improving the attractiveness and vitality of urban areas." (Jansson and Power, 2006: 9) Moreover, the increased awareness and importance of integrating into global competitiveness (in different scales) make branding approaches inevitable for cities. In this respect, the concept urban branding was introduced with such objectives listed below;

- Attracting investment and capital
- Attracting global companies
- Attracting skilled workers
- Attracting new citizens
- Attracting visitors (Jansson and Power, 2006)

3.2. Place Branding Approach

The concept of place branding was presented by Philip Kotler in 1990s. This changed city approaches and "Brand City" is integrated into urban literature. In 2001 Peter Van Ham was focused on the multidimensional nature of place branding (Grundey et al., 2006). The work of Wally Olins in 2002 on the other hand focused on nation branding that branding is crucial for counties and they should act like companies in the global area. Similarly Simon Anholt (2005) emphasized on global competition and the role of place branding in his book Brand New Justice.

The place branding approaches are rooted in **place marketing** that cities have used place marketing for many years. The rise of "Entrepreneurial City" made the marketing issues for city administrators. "Entrepreneurialism as a mode of urban governance came about as a response by individual cities to the collapse of the Fordist social democratic arrangements that had facilitated the spread of managerial forms of governance." (Griffiths, 1998: 41) Entrepreneurialism highlights cities considered as business or companies and strengths the use of marketing strategies in urban environments. Ashworth and Voogd (1990) defined place marketing as "a process whereby local activities relate as closely as possible to the demands of target customers." (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990, p. 41) Consequently, the intention is to improve or build the image of the city firstly to pursue economic development and secondly to satisfy social needs of city residents.

3.2.1. Place marketing

The place marketing application has developed through three discrete phases; smokestack chasing, target marketing and product development (Kavaratzis, 2008). The first stage, smokestack chasing "was concerned with generating manufacturing jobs through attracting companies with subsidies and the promise of low operating costs and higher profits from existing or alternative sites." (Kavaratzis, 2008: 5) This first stage mainly focuses on the promotion of the city and its attraction through economic development and incentives for industry. The second stage which called target marketing, still involves attraction of economic activities. But different from the first one, the improvement and promotion of the physical environment also gain importance. "Representation continues to mention low operating costs but includes the sustainability of local community for target industries and the more general notion of good quality of life, with an emphasis on recreational opportunities and local climate." (Kavaratzis, 2008: 5) The third stage, product development, includes the objectives of previous two stages but adds an emphasize on global competitiveness.

Barke (1999) separates the evolution phases of place marketing into two, with regard to the approach to urban image. According to him, in the first phase, the primary goal

is the promotion of cities. It is intended to find new forms of representation of place and enhance a favorable image, using mostly the distinctiveness. In the second phase, the global competitiveness dominates the concept so that "the marketing of cities began to transcend mere advertising and started to incorporate hallmark events, specific, high-profile development in the built environment." (Kavaratzis, 2008: 6) Here the first phase, can be named as inner image, refers to the residents' mental representation of the city. By the changes in economic, politic and social milieu, there appeared a second urban image that can be called outer image. This desired outer image "provides the necessary target for marketing activities to aim at." (Kavaratzis, 2008: 8) This new understanding of urban image reveals the concept of **place branding.**

3.2.2. Place Branding

There is no common definition of brand in marketing literature. Anholt (2005) summarizes these different definitions into two groups. The first one is the simple definition that the term branding simply refers to "designed visual identity." (Anholt, 2005: 117) This simple definition (in general applied for product branding) is much more common that it covers names, slogans, logos. Branding in this sense is nothing more than advertising. The second is the advanced definition that includes the simple definition but also it covers a wide area including various actors, strategies, objectives. These two different groups of definition get together in one common argument that; the brand is more than an identifying name given to a product; it embodies a number of attributes (Ashworth, 2008). Moreover, "the aim of branding is to make an almost indistinguishable link between the character of an object and its branded image of form." (Jansson and Power, 2006: 10)

Places can be accepted as branded objects, if their identity and differentiations are used as characteristics of a special form of marketing (Karavatzis and Ashworth, 2005). However, place branding is different from product branding since place contains various assets different from a product to be branded. Place branding includes a wide set of activities; analysis of city and goals, planning specific projects and allocating roles, active implementation of measures, and monitoring and evaluating results. Jensen (2005) argues that there are four main differences between place and product branding: the number of stakeholders, legitimate differences, identities that places possess and the profile of consumers. Besides all differences, physicality is the most important issue that place branding differs from product branding. The common agreement in literature mentions that place branding is most powerful when it is coordinated with the physical transformations, process of urban development or redevelopments. Due to these promises, Kotler et al. (1999) puts forth emphasize on spatiality and put forth four distinct strategies for place branding:

- design (place as character)
- infrastructure (place as fixed environment)
- basic services (place as service provider)
- attractions (places as entertainments and recreation)

There are various methods mentioned in the literature that some of them cause misunderstandings. According to Ashworth (2008) one type is branding the place due to a product is named for that location (geographical nomenclatures). Although the product and place are linked, "there is no conscious attempt to associate any supposed attributes of the place." (Ashworth, 2008: 2) Another one is co-branding which is again based on the linkage between product and place. Different from the first one, co-branding "attempts to market a product by associating it with a place." (Ashworth, 2008: 2) Ooi and Stöber (2008: 3) on the other hand, mentioned on three types. The first one is to strengthen the positive side of the city. It is basically focuses on unique and attractive issues such that culture, local cuisines. The second is to create high profile icons. It can be an architectural icon such as Eiffel Tower or can be a worldwide event as Olympic Games. The last one is to brand the place which is selected as a special place by worldwide authorities such as the cultural sites of Unesco. Ooi and Stöber (2008) mentioned that in recent past, branding through using urban history, culture and art has been very popular. The reason of using historical information in such a way has a global message, since being unique very important in branding. The local art, culture and history of a space make it different from others. The second reason is that branding messages need to comprise human factor of that place; Ooi and Stöber (2008) called it "humane picture of the place". The third reason is that cultural issues are exciting for outsiders (tourists) who want to share experience. The fourth and last reason of using cultural issues in branding is that "residents want to perceive their places as spaces for the arts, culture and life." (Ooi and Stöber, 2008)

However, place branding is not just promotion of place image by public authorities (Ashworth, 2008). Place branding on the other hand, is a strategic and tactical process of place management. It contains of "creation of place identity and use this identity for further other desirable process, whether financial investment, changes in user behavior or generating political capital." (Kavaratzis, 2005) It covers both the urban quality for residences and strong identity for outer users. Therefore, it is more than a creation or promotion of place images.

Place branding integrated into future urban development strategies. According to Anholt (2005), if the techniques of advanced branding are intelligently applied to places, the results can be successful. It is not just about to attract tourists or investors but it is also about the economic, social and physical development of the place. Therefore, it works in two directions; inward and outward (Jansson and Power, 2006). Inward branding is about to improve the quality of life by redeveloping urban space for its resident. But also branding on the other hand works as an outward branding to attract the investments, new citizens, tourists to the place. For such an intention, place branding constructs its basis on creating or re-creating the image of the city which can be called as brand image.

3.2.2.1. Brand Image

Branding approaches are based on image formulation and building or rebuilding the image of the city. It should fit the consumer's psychological needs in the competitive market. In the context of place branding, it also puts the perceptions of environment in the center and "treat those mental maps in a way favorable to the city's circumstances and further needs for economic and social development." (Kavaratzis, 2008: 10) In this sense, like brands, cities should satisfy psychological, physical and emotional needs since there is a two sided relationship between physical environment and human psychology. Rapoport (1977) pointed out that environmental perception

of a city is important because the physical setting has a meaning for observers and affects the human sense of quality and quality of living. The livability of places depends on how much satisfaction observers get from the space and opportunities provided to observers such as walking, sitting and so on (Gehl, 1987). Urban image, which is the result of the process of sending various messages by the physical environment and forming images in receivers mind, thus stands very close to branding issues. Construction and management of urban image orient the place branding strategies since "encounters between cities and their users take place through perception and images." (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005: 507) Similarly, according to Kotler and his colleagues, one of the aims for place branding is to "promote a place's values and image so that potential users are fully aware of its distinctive advantages" (Kotler et al., 1993: 18 cited in Zenker et al., 2009).

The image in the place branding approach points an image that identifies and distinguishes the city to be branded. According to Graham (2002) the brand image should enhance a distinctive identity (to distinguish one place from another). This means in other words, the brand image of a city should be considered as a unified entity containing place's assets. Vermeulen (2002) emphasizes on "planned" image of the city as the object of branding activities. Cova (1996) asserts that place branding approaches are closely related with cultural meanings and distinctive image of the city. Kavaratzis (2004) noted that branding brings together characteristics of place and market needs. "It provides a base for identifying and uniting a wide range of images intended for the city in one marketing message, the city's brand." (Kavaratzis, 2005: 63)

3.2.2.2. Branding Strategies and Strategic Planning

Planning discipline was dated back to modern period that it considered the city as an object which had to be organized due to the future calculations and projections. By the rapid development in the world and the growth conditions led planning needed to develop through new theories and methods. Thus by the mid-1970s and even more in 1980s, planning was reevaluated to face with the problems of quick urbanization. On the other hand, the start of competition among cities involved private actors into the

system that strategy and strategic planning included new dimensions into the planning discipline.

In the origins of Strategic Planning, it lays the adaptation to rapid urbanization and merely unpredictable future. The intention of strategic planning approach is to draw the goals and priorities of the city in national and international levels. It provides flexibility to planning discipline that determines main intentions, decisions and actions (Healey, 1997). It has a systematic and comprehensive structure which can be updated during the process. Different from the comprehensive planning, the process gets together a number of actors to determine common visions and long and short term decisions (Albrechts, 2001). It enables feedbacks and revisions thus it is not a one way procedure. There can be listed three main stages in the Strategic Planning Process; determination of strategies, the implementation of strategies and the control of these implementations. Among them the first stage is the most important stage that it contains of determination of vision, strategies, principles and actions considering SWOT analysis (strengths, weakness, opportunities and threats).

By 1990s, the competition among cities and the concept of entrepreneurialism changed the understanding of strategic planning concept. The national, regional and international image of a city gained importance. The concept of strategic planning enlarged including several actors and their interactions, common visions and new image for cities. Thus, Strategic Planning as a tool of place branding became significant since public and private authorities cooperate in ways based on identifying the vision – the desired image of the city, defining the goals and strategies to reach to the vision. Strategic Planning process also concerns the analysis of strengths and weaknesses, the distinctive character that is desired to be promoted.

Today, Brand Management Plan, which is not different from Strategic Planning, has been new concern of city authorities. In this sense, tools of strategic planning are used in a specific concentration of city brand, the image of the city. Different from the strategic approach, in brand management plan it is important to define the market conditions, the main target group, the competitors and their brands to develop meaningful, likable and memorable brand like in branding an object. However, place branding is more complex than object branding, that there are a number of dynamics to create a successful place brand. Due to this premise for a good city brand;

- It should be defined the strengths and weakness of the city's current position
- It should be put forth the values of the city (cultural, architectural, natural etc)
- It should be developed a common vision for all public and private stakeholders and moreover in this common vision it should be considered living people in the city
- It should be prepared branding program including future intentions, goals, strategies, guidelines and their effects on urban environment. Related with these it should be organize programs for informing and integrating public into the process

Especially in recent years, the unavoidable rapid urbanization due to competition constraints has brought to the agenda the futures of the cities. In some of the academic researches, it was criticized the ignorance of the city as a whole in the process of emphasizing on competitiveness and its reflection on urban environment. Due to this premise, in the branding process a comprehensive point of view considering not only the attractive flagship projects but also the quality of life and the livable urban environments is highlighted. In the leadership of European Union, The European Consultative Forum on the Environmental and Sustainable Development in 1997 focused on sustainable urban environments with spatial, economic and social strategies (METU, 2011).

3.2.2.3. Techniques of Place Branding

In the discussions of types of place branding, Jansson and Power (2006) draw a simple but conclusive framework. They propose two groups for place branding techniques. These two issues are linked with each other under the meta-narrative of brand image. Only their appropriate combination influences the scope and effectiveness of place branding (Kavaratzis, 2005). The first one is the immaterial technique and they should be seen as supporting techniques. The immaterial branding mainly based on promotion and advertisements including city logos,

motto¹¹ and symbols. These kind of branding tools have been considered frequently for several years especially with the development on communication technologies (internet, visual documents). It is intended to show off the positive side of the city or the issues that should be branded. It may be sometimes historical values such as Rome that its logos and symbols are full of history. Additionally, city logos sometimes contain the landmarks which may be historical or a structure of a wellknown architecture or artist. Gaudi's artworks for example or "Torre Agbar" designed by Jean Nouvel are frequently used in the advertisement of Barcelona. On the other hand, the promotion tries to figure out that the city has a high quality level of living. To sum up, the immaterial branding tools try to show off that the city is worth to see with its unique, special values and help raise the general awareness. Besides, a successful city logo which is identifiable and comprehensible also strengthens the population's identification (Lisiak, 2009).

The second is the material technique that contains of "physicality". In place branding, the goal is defined as to promote the city by crating livable environments, increasing the quality of life, making better places, erasing the bad images and replacing with good ones. Based on these aims, cities increasingly attempt to use urban design and architecture tools. Gelder and Roberts (2007) state that master planning, urban design, architecture and landscape design are major branding tools. According to Jansson and Power (2006) "the built environment has in itself often functioned as the symbol or image that best promotes a city of region." (Jansson and Power, 2006: 18) The built environment used to have a symbolic value and power and it becomes more significant in contemporary global world. (Gospodini, 2002, Jansson and Power, 2006) Through the history the symbolic building such as churches, governmental buildings, business centers helped us to understand a place.

Ashworth and Voogd (1990) highlighted the popularity of place branding in the field of city planning and architecture. They put forth three main techniques fashionable among urban planners; *Personality branding* (this refers to a symbolic name o that

¹¹ "Paris is romance, Milan is style, New York is energy, Washington is power, Tokyo is modernity, Barcelona is culture, Rio is fun." (CEO's for Cities, 2006)

identify that place, ex. the Gaudi gambit after the success of its Barcelona application), *Signature building and design* (these projects generally refers to cultural or historical values of that place but also they contains of redevelopment projects, ex. the Pompidou ploy after the grand projects on the Paris Beaubourg), *Hallmark event branding* (Edinburgh festival, Venice Festival). Richard and Wilson (2005) highlighted the importance of culture and stated that place branding can be derived from physical assets and the living culture together. Therefore they categorized the strategies of place branding into four; creating *iconic structure*, staging *mega-events*, *thematisation* (crating a theme) and *heritage mining* (using the historic resources).

Jansson and Power (2006) determined three branding strategies under material and immaterial categorizes. Material and immaterial issues should be taken into consideration together. In the immaterial category there is branding through advertisements, logos and slogans. In the material category on the other hand there are branding through signature buildings, events, flagship projects and branding through planning strategies, urban redevelopments, institutional and infrastructure supports. According to them, branding through signature building, events and flagship projects is one branding strategy very popular and common in branding literature. These strategies add recognizable and symbolic value to place. However, they have been questioned in planning and branding literature especially for five years. They explain the danger by referring Charles Jencks (2005) that the increase in signature buildings or designs destroys cities by canceling each other. On the other side, branding through planning strategies, urban redevelopments and large scale developments are also effective to strengthen the place's brand. These strategies are long term focuses in contrast to signature and small scale splashes. "These type of approaches attempt to link many areas of urban, economic, social and infrastructural development in order to create an integrated platform within which the city or region gets remade and re-imagined." (Jansson and Power, 2006: 27)

Hubbard and Hall (1998) defined the place branding strategies from a different perspective. Due to them branding strategies consist of physical, promotional, organizational and social issues. Based on these premises there are six main strategies; *advertising and promotion, large scale physical development, public art*

and civic statuary, mega-events, cultural regeneration, public and private partnership.

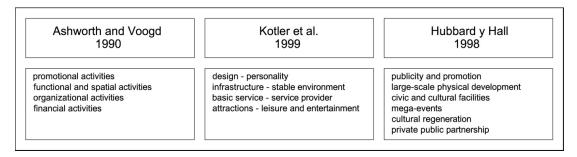


Figure 3.5: Different Branding Approaches Source: Redrawn from Seisdedos (2006)

Kavaratzis (2004) drew the branding framework based on communications. According to him, "everything a city consists of, everything that takes place in the city and is done by the city, communicates messages about the city's image." (Kavaratzis, 2005: 67) There are three different types of communication that the image is communicated through; primary, secondary and tertiary. The primary communication is the communicative effects of the city that it consists of four main areas; *landscape strategies* (strategies which are relevant to urban design, architecture, green spaces and generally public spaces in the city), *infrastructure projects* (projects which are related with the accessibility and its improvement), *organizational and administrative structure, city's behavior*.

Castello (2010) differentiate two ways of place making in branding approach: contextualized and non-contextualized. The contextualized place making is "understood as one where perception is stimulated by cloning the forms found in the actual environment, meaning that the forms employed in generating the new constructions use the dominant language of that context." (Castello, 2010: 157) The contextualized place making covers two approaches of conservation and imitating. Conservation of places mainly concerns preservation of historical and cultural values of places and rehabilitation. Imitating on the other hand deals with development of places in accordance with the values surrounding of that place. Non-contextualized place making similarly has two ways. The first one occurs through reproduction

which guarantees reproduction of familiar images. The second one is on the other hand is the introduction of "exotic or alien images" which have no connection with its surroundings. According to him the last one is the most accepted method in place branding practices. There are several branding approaches in literature and the subject is still developing through researches and implementations. Based on literature review, I evaluate and summarize techniques of place branding as shown in the figure. Due to this model, the process should contain a strategic plan that the vision, goals and strategies are defined based on the image which wants to be create. Due to the defined image, place branding techniques should be put forth. In this sense, it is possible to talk about two different techniques; material and immaterial tools. The immaterial tools (logo, motto, slogan etc.) can be defined as supporting tools of material ones. The material tools on the other hand are the physical interventions and they can be grouped into due to the scale of intervention; urban scale and architectural scale. In this sense, there is a wide range of tools from iconic symbolic buildings to large scale urban developments, conservations.

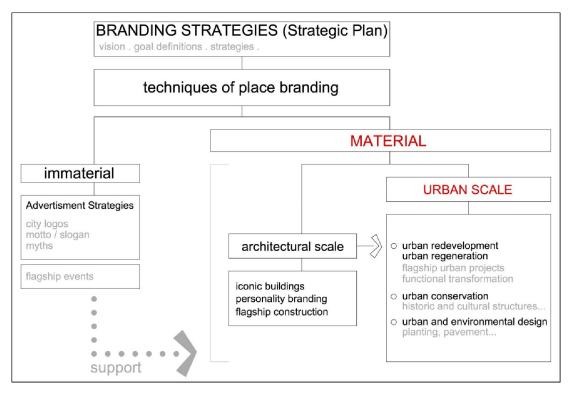


Figure 3.6: Branding Strategies

Source: Personal rendering

These branding techniques and the use of urban design schemes differ through the scale of urban environment. Gospodini (2002) explains this difference, with reference to Harvey, with the ability to adapt the global trends. According to him, by means of design, some cities can be highly adaptable and fast-moving in response and some others are lack of such power to integrate in the global competition. Similarly Jansson and Power (2006) point out that competitiveness is happening in different levels and cities are trying to attract different thing. The level or the scale of the brand city directly affects the strategies that should be chosen.

3.3. Impacts of Place Branding on the Image of the City

Place branding is idealized as a great opportunity for the cities to provide an add value in global competition. The main motivation of place branding is to create an attractive brand image for the city. Most often cities are legitimated their branding strategies through architectural and urban design projects. In order to secure urban development and integration into the competition, cities intended to alter their image through the manipulation in urban environment. Especially for ten years place branding strategies and tools have started to be followed in urban environment in many cities around the world. This accelerated tendency on re-designing urban space according to branding strategies attracted attention to concepts of space and place and more over its relationship with people and their perceptions.

According to Castello (2010), Koolhaas (1997), Hannigan (1998), Sorkin (1992) the new understanding of place no longer reflect a reality but rather it is invented and thematic through place branding strategies. Hannigan (1998) ties to re-read urban spaces in accordance with place branding activities and he developed the concept of fantasy city which today's city presented a new type of place focusing on leisure and entertainment offering attractive and mix facilities to its users. The notions that he mentions can be confused with the concept of urbanity, but he separated himself by emphasizing on commercialization of urban places and culture as well. According to him (1998: 3-4) fantasy city has six main features:

- It is thematic, partial or whole
- It is branded, consumer oriented

- It operates day and night
- It is modular, combining different components of activities like themed restaurants, mega-complex cinema e.g.
- It is solipsistic, isolated from surrounding in physical, economic and cultural terms
- It is postmodern, uses technologies of simulation

In his study of fantasy city, Hannigan (1998) not only mention the branding strategies of today's world but also he emphasizes on the profile of city users as well. According to him, in the era of place branding and materialization of places, users are seen as customers or consumers. And in turns, it appears a consumer society which defines behavior of this society. "The fantasy city knows very well how to meet this behavior, be it through the technological seduction it can produce, the social interaction it represents, or the opportunities it provides for incorporating new experiences into the field of cultural capital, offering possibilities for increments in status, on the level of both the individual and the social group alike." (Castello, 2010:66)

The creation of new urban spaces (or landscapes) is also mentioned by Sharon Zukin (1995). Regarding domination of place branding efforts in urban environments she put forth four arguments:

- "The reconstruction of landscape represents a search for expression by the new hierarchies of power, and places are redefined to accommodate these hierarchies.
- There is a profound change in the interface between public and private spaces in cities: shopping malls become de facto public spaces.
- Another important change is the high value placed on image. In terms of
 prices, the value of material products declines, while the value of the image
 increases in prestige. But not just in prestige: places of fantasy sell images
 well and an increase in value can be detected, even attributed to the human
 image: excessive salaries are paid to people in the world of entertainment,
 sport and fashion because their images help to increase sales.

• A theory is developed that culture creates economic value, not just in the lucrative official culture industry itself, but also in non-profit cultural institutions (such as art and science museums or non-governmental organizations involved in art-cultural activities). This new logic helps to add a complementary component to the concept of place: '... an aestheticization of value, not in the sense that life has become more beautiful, but in the sense that economic problems are presented as susceptible to a cultural solution''' (Castello, 2010: 67-68)

Regarding main arguments behind city branding the creation of urban spaces through branding strategies revealed another criticism that branded places are usually mentioned with shopping activities. Thinking of urbanity and vitality, this dominance is favored in some place branding writings. However, the form of shopping activities like shopping malls are criticized that these constructions are not parts of city but they propose closed and pseudo-public spaces as Zukin (1996) mentioned. This can be explained as the transformation of public space into a controlled and not freely accessible urban space. This reveals privatization of public space those are under the control of private owners.

Promoting consumption activities and defining the consumption spaces not only affect the structure of the city but also the way to experience the city. From a psychological point of view, as urban image developed through the interaction between people and urban space, people's mental image of the city started to replace with mental image of these pseudo public spaces. To extend, pseudo public spaces are controlled and separated spaces from the city rather integrated in the city. They are the spaces where people come to gather but not within a city. Ellin (1999) mentions changes in perception and lifestyle to determine transformation of the concept in the new world. He emphasizes on culture and sense of place as two important factors for urbanity. According to Castello (2010) since human existence is quite relevant with historical context, in this new urban spaces people themselves produce a new historical reality. He also mentioned that the historicity is frequently omitted or imitated. However, it is important to highlight the preservation of culture

rather than to see the place as just an economic product is an important factor for the success of revitalization.

Regarding two aspects of image as it was explored in the previous chapter the brand image will be discussed in the next part of the study according to designative (structure) and affective (meaning and symbolism) aspects.

3.3.1. Designative Aspect of Brand Image

Flagships encouraged by the place branding strategies and competition rules lead singular urban interventions. In the aim of transforming the negative image to a positive one, declined areas are becoming the subject of urban regeneration. Although urban regeneration has a quite positive reputation in literature in terms of increasing the quality of life, its use in the branding process is away from its primary intention. It functions more likely a fragmented intervention independent from surrounding and the city. Especially the regeneration tool has more adverse effects in more flexible understandings. Within this perspective, the fragmentation of the city can be analyzed in accordance with planning and architecture disciplines.

According to Harvey (1989) there is connection between design through branding strategies and postmodern approach. In terms of dealing with physical space place branding embraces urban fragments rather than comprehensive planning. Comprehensive planning is rooted back in the first half of 20th century. After the World War I, in a reconstruction period of cities, the town planning activities considered a kind of comprehensiveness. This was based on the part whole relationships that Bauhaus School proposed by referring Gestalt psychology. Based on these issues the aesthetic and physical qualities dominated the urban environments but the social and economic lives of the cities were underestimated.

By 1950s, the development in the assistant sciences, the rise of the urban consciousness, the technological developments and their contribution to analytic researches affected approached to planning discipline. (Günay, 1992) Tekeli (2002) mentioned that the rationalist-comprehensive planning approach that included

physical, social and economic issues, exposed by 1960s. The comprehensive planning model assumes that an ideal planner is able to determine a number of issues including human needs and the authority is capable of propose a rational and comprehensive plan that meet all social and economic needs. The process contains of a number of steps starting with defining present conditions and future goals, collecting analytic data considering strength and weakness. Due to the revisions and new inputs the plan and its alternative are proposed and finally the selected plan scheme implemented. Thus, the rationalist comprehensive planning intends to realize a plan that has its wholeness and self-consistency based on multi-dimensional and comprehensive research. In macro scale the goal is to realize or reach to the whole and in micro scale the primary goal is to increase the quality of lives (Tekeli, 2009)

The multi-dimensional changes by 1980s and moreover technological improvements providing rapid developments and urbanization made the rationalist-comprehensive planning insufficient. These changing set of economic and political spheres led to dramatic changes in the physical environment, the perception of territoriality. The deterministic structure of the approach became incapable in dealing with the new global world order and globalization. The main argument behind this situation is that in the modernist period, it was assumed that the future of cities and societies was predictable. In the postmodern period on the other hand the changes in science and emergence of new theories (chaos theory, Heisenberg's theories) made the predictability an invalid concept.

In 1990s the tendency of changes rose by globalization and the competition among cities. The new global order affected the context of government and the relationship between governing and governed. Thus, the stable environment of modern period gained a considerable dynamism. The reactions to comprehensive approach led the search for new planning approaches. In this respect, the Strategic Spatial Planning, which was first considered by 1960s, gained momentum by 1980s. Strategic Spatial Planning in very general sense aims to answer the rapid changes and reach a desirable future. For such an intention it proposes a "vision" and a number of "strategies". "Strategic plans, characterized by medium- and long-term visions and grounded on a voluntary basis, have taken various forms according to the different

situations where they were produced." (Rizzi and Dioli, 2010: 40) The flexibility is adopted in the planning process. Thus it is intended to cover the changing needs by revisable strategies. By rising the global competitiveness and emergence of branding cities opened up new needs of attracting capital and investors. This in turns triggered the brand oriented strategies, iconic and spectacular urban interventions under the vision as becoming a branded city. The particular intervention due to rapidly changing needs underestimate the significant of the concept of unity.

Regarding the concept of unity, flagships which are seen as main tool of place branding have diverse effect on unity. In the critics of place branding literature it is called spatial fragmentation. Due to Macleod (2002) spatial fragmentation is directly related with the profit oriented urban development strategies. According to this approach, the cheaper urban land brings the more profit. In other words, to maximize the profit of the investment (here is flagship) it is intended to select cheaper land (in poorer districts) to develop. This in turn causes isolation between poor and rich parts of the city (Macleod, 2002). Similarly, Pizarro, Wei and Banerjee (2003) mentioned that the domination of private sector in urban environment leads the representation of power and capital with luxury and wealthy urban parts which are isolated and segregated from the older urban parts. According to them (2003:), place branding and capital "plays a key role in urban transformations that include changing the urban hierarchy, spatial discontinuity and segregation, uneven spatial development, environmental degradation, homogenization of urban landscape, privatization of the public realm, and transitional and hybrid urbanism". The introvert structure of flagships does not connect with the other parts of the city. It can be interpreted as plot based architecture and urban design which serve its own rather than the city. Within this perspective urban design become a tool to design semi-private spaces rather that public ones.

Another aspect of the impacts of flagships is about the level of complexity. In urban environment the optimum level of complexity increase the interest and evokes positive feelings. Monotony on the one side and chaos on the other side have negative impacts. Within this perspective, the place branding efforts through spectacular and unique itself cause chaos in urban environment. It is the reason that each flagship project competes to become more visible than the others. This competition of visibility leads flagships to be structurally prominent. Thus as the number of spectacular forms increase the level of complexity increase and in turn it diminishes the legibility of distinctive elements in urban environment.

3.3.2. Appraisive Aspect of Brand Image

In the cyclical and continuum interaction between the city and people, people attach meanings through experiencing the city. Place branding approach transforms the type of meaning from experiential to imposed (or mediated). Carrera (1998) calls it meaning as intention that it is different from meaning as understanding, emotional and symbolic. The meaning as intention is a product of place branding imposed by decision makers (or city authorities). It is explicit because it is not formed or developed in personal processes or in other words it is not accumulated.

In the urban environment, new urban landscapes in general show themselves in the form of shopping mall, entertainment centers, business plazas and luxury gated communities. The commonality among them is that they promoted places of consumption rather than production which in turns it involves the commodification of place. According to Venturi et al. (1977) and later Crilley (1993) these iconic structures have some common structures especially in buildings that they function as advertisements and billboards. Harvey explained this situation that the global economy shows itself in various urban environments with symbols of power which are consumption oriented. Similarly according to Hubbard (1996) they are the spectacular areas of consumption which are the results of entrepreneurial policies. Moreover, they are urban traces of inter-city competition based of attraction of new investors. Likewise Bourdieu's notion of symbolic violence (1977) supports these arguments and he added that architecture and urban design embody the symbolic capital. The notion of consumption imposed by new urban landscapes, causes fragmentation in society among different groups and it has to be questioned whose profit is the new urban politics (Harvey, 1987, Boyle and Hughes 1994). Similarly Hubbard (1996: 1446) mentioned that "on a theoretical level, it can be argued that examinations of changing social relations under urban entrepreneurialism should

move away from a totalizing, monolithic view of urban culture towards a fragmented, problematized, notion of struggle for dominance of hegemony." Herod (1991: 82 cited in Pizarro, Wei and Banerjee, 2003: 116) argues that "scale is produced as the resolution of processes of cooperation and competition between and among social groups in building landscapes".

On the other side the imposed meaning of consumption changes the change in life styles, preferences and spatial behavior. In the process of imaging the cities and creating attractive living atmosphere and by using architecture and urban design it is defined new lifestyle codes replaced with the old ones. According to Zukin (1996) "in global cities the strategy of producing spaces for cultural hegemony imposes a new way of seeing urban landscape – internationalizing it; because it is inherent in the symbolic economy of a global city, to shape the tastes of global elites and aid in the circulation of images that influence climates of opinion and investments and mentalities." The very first example that it can be seen in our daily life is the loss of open public spaces, the use of streets replaced with big shopping malls. Especially in most of Turkish cities, urban streets with cultural, recreational and shopping activities now transform into (shopping) mall streets and people's old rituals are forced to change. Pizarro, Wei and Banerjee (2003) mentioned that place branding offered a new form of public space which are "privately owned and treat the public as consumers". This in turns cause "the decline of the traditional public space and realm and blurring of the boundary between public and private" (p: 117) Gospodini (2002) called these changes in the lifestyle as new public culture obtained by new place identity.

Another issue which is affected by place branding is identity. In order to compete in global arena, the identity of city has been emphasized as a significant tool. It is mentioned the local identities of cities brings an add-value in the competition that it enables to become identifiable, different from others. In other words, unique qualities or identity have notable contributions for branding the city (Ashworth, 2008; Kavaratzis, 2005). In this perspective, it is usually emphasized on local cultural values and symbols as one of the key factors in brand positioning. The use of local identity and culture show itself in the form of famous name (e.g. Gaudi) or unique

architecture (e.g. La Tour Eiffel). On the other side, however, place branding approach is criticized in accordance with domination of global culture and identities on locality. Along with the rise of globalization the culture has been popularized and spread through mass media. Pizarro, Wei and Banerjee (2003:122) defined the globalization of culture as "there is an integration of all messages in a common cognitive pattern where different communication modes borrow codes from each other: interactive educational programs look like video games, newscasts are constructed as audiovisual shows, trial cases are broadcast as soap operas, sports games are choreographed for their distant viewers so that their messages become less distinguishable from action movies, and the like".

In urban environment the popularized culture has shown itself in the forms of new architectural styles. As it is mentioned in the previous chapter, the culture expresses itself with signs in the city but this time it is the popular culture which spread out its signs around the world. In this sense, the aim of promoting local cultural values replaces with global values and this in turns starts to reflect into urban environment. The landmarks and iconic structure in the city are not simple physical entity with brand value but also they have symbolic value for the city. According to Harvey entrepreneurialism have significant effects on physical and imaginary environment of the city with full of symbols. Similarly Hubbard (1996) mentioned that the dominant global culture effect local cultures by symbolizing. Philo and Kearns (1993, p. 25) interpret this situation as a conflict because "the manipulation of culture and history by the place marketers runs against the understandings of local culture and history built into the daily encounters with city spaces of the city's 'other peoples." This situation can be interpreted as imposing global culture into local.

In urban environment, imposing symbols and signs on the other side dissolve the connection with the past. Remembering the formation of image in the previous chapter, the continuity of symbols increase familiarity and this in turns evokes sense of place. People in urban environment use their past experiences and images to connect with the environment. They evaluate the environment and find it imageable by comparing with their existing information. Within this sense memory especially collective memory, is an important attribute for identity. Branding process however

proposes new symbolic signs (and unfamiliar meanings) which are different from the symbol system of that culture. This situation causes a breakdown in the process of understanding the city. Here the breakdown is the result of integration of global symbols into cultural symbol system.

In a different perspective, place branding is criticized that it destroys the unique character of the city form and architecture and creates similar structures. According to Law (1993) the replication of flagships across world triggers the loss of identity of cities by removing the differentiation among culture and cultural signs. According to Relph (1976) global identities destroy the basis for identity by flagships, which are not related with the identity of the city. Similarly due to Pizarro, Wei and Banerjee (2003: 122) it is homogenizing urban form and architecture that it is produced similar artifacts in different cities all around the world. And it makes sense "to believe that eventually all cultural difference would be erased and cultural sameness superimposed, fueled by the immensely powerful, transnational media corporations" (Benyon and Dunkerly, 2000: 7 cited in Pizarro, Wei and Banerjee, 2003). In place branding literature it is one of the most emphasized critics that from London to Shanghai, Dubai to New York all cities share the same view that it dissolve the identity of cities. For this sense the most mentioned example which is come up with is the Jean Nouvel's Torre Agbar in Barcelona and Norman Foster's 30 St. Mary Axe in London.

3.4. Conclusive Remarks

In this chapter it was explored the transformation of the concept of urban image into brand image through a concise chronologic overview. Later it was analyzed the concept of brand image according to its motivation, aims and tools. In the last part of the chapter brand image was discussed according to two aspects of urban image as designative and appraisive (consist of evaluative and affective meanings).

The literature review shows the spatial changes in urban environments were developed parallel to the economic, politic and social, moreover scientific knowledge approaches changes. Especially multi-dimensional changes by 1980s have been turning point. The concept of globalization with all its concerns started to affected whole world. The globalization wave led cities to concentrate on integrating the global network. By 1990s, place branding has been declared the key concept of global competition to attract foreign investment, global companies etc. The free moving of goods, labor, and especially capital led the cities turned their face to outside world. The competitive arena forced cities to develop brand strategies and strategic plans. This in turns affected not only the spatial structure of urban environment and planning approaches but also its image. The urban image in the new competitive arena has become the key concept which is now different from the origins on the concept.

The concept of urban image is declared in 1960s as an essential quality of urban environment. The image was described as a unified entity that people can organize their mental images for psychological satisfaction. As a reaction to the modern manipulation in urban environment, the leading theorists have focused on the good urban image as a tool of urban vitality, legibility of urban space and psychological satisfaction. 1980s was breaking points in the development of urban space and consequently the understanding of urban image. By this period multi-dimensional changes were considered that the nature of urban transformation and the diverse character of the newly built areas under the waves of postmodern trends were fragmented. The fragmentation in urban environment thus affected the urban image in the same way that urban space consisted of various messages. By 1990s a new understanding of place branding became the subject as a reaction to 1990s dark images of violence and deprivation. Since that time cities' images became a valuable asset to improve the attractiveness and vitality of urban areas.

Place branding approach put the concept of image in the center. It is assumed that an attractive image has valuable contribution in global competition among cities. In this respect it is developed two main branding tools to promote the image of the city. The first one is immaterial tools which are mainly based on advertisement activities and city mottos. The second toll on the other hand is much more related with the structure of the city. Using these tools, it is followed up series of urban transformation in order to change the bad image into a good one. From the point of

view of urban design and architecture, place branding proposes great opportunity designers to express their skills. However from environmental psychology and human psychological health in urban environment the subject is quite gloomy.

Changing role of place and thus the perception of place are two most important critics aroused. Place branding by putting competition in the center, involves commodification of space and changes the role of public places by replicated them into pseudo public spaces like shopping malls. In other words, these huge malls stole the role of public space and meaning attributed to the physical image of old public spaces. Thus although the structure survives in the city, the meaning attributed to the structure dissolves. On the other side parts of urban environment become spaces for fragmented developments yet the meaning conveyed by these structures are underestimated by city authorities and investors. Remembering the two aspects of image (structure and meaning), it is questionable whose image of the city and what kind of an image that it is mentioned, accumulated or imposed.

CHAPTER 4

BRANDING ANKARA

Place branding strategies differ among cities in terms of planning process, administrative structure and branding tools. Each city writes its own "brand city" history. This chapter focuses on transformation of urban image of Ankara through brand oriented urban interventions. Moreover it is intended to figure out the types of new urban landscapes in Ankara.

Understanding the transformation of urban image of Ankara can only be possible by probing the time period from the establishment of Capital city to today. In order to do so, the first part of this chapter provides a concise chronological background. In analyzing the transformation, the plans of Ankara will be analyzed in order to understand the physical image which is wanted to create and the implementations of plans will also analyzed in accordance with five image elements of image. The main objective is not to put forth a detailed historical urban analysis; on the contrary, the aim is to understand the transformation of urban image. In the second part of this chapter, the brand image of Ankara which is wanted to be created will be analyzed according to the statements of decision makers and new urban landscapes.

4.1. Ankara in History

The image of Ankara will be analyzed according to the elements of physical image through analyzing planning practices and implementations. Regarding this main intention, the review will be conducted into five parts regarding important breakpoints in city history; 1923-1930 The Modern Capital City (Lörcher Plan), 1930-57 Green City (Jansen Plan), 1957-1970 (Yücel-Uybadin Plan), 1970-1985 (structural Plan) and 1985-2005.

4.1.1. 1923-1930: The Modern Capital City of New Republic

Ankara, after being selected the capital city, became the representation of the new Republic which is modern and contemporary. This modern city has been considered the impetus of the new republic and moreover it is planned as the image and symbol of the Republic (Tankut, 1998). For such an intention the planning and modern architecture practices became the primary tools of the construction of modern capital city.

The identity of modern capital city has been encouraged by the transformation and development of the physical structure of the city through planning practices. According to Tankut (1998) there are two important issues of planned development. The first one is functionality of urban environment which proposes new administrative, economic, social and cultural facilities for city residents. It was revealed a number of various but dominantly the significance of governmental and political activities within the city. The economic activities were mainly depended on banking sector. According to Ergut (2006) this is the reason of an effort to gain economic independence. On the other side, the modernized and civilized culture reform exposed the need of cultural and social and also educational activities. All the activities are one part of the identification of the powerful city. The second issue that Tankut (1998) mentioned was urban aesthetic or urban image which trigger positive feelings and enable strong connection between the city and its residents.

The very first development schemes were made by the Heussler Company for the historical city of Ankara in 1924. This first attempt is followed by the plans for the new city by the architect Carl Lörcher. **Lörcher plan** in 1925 covered an area of 400 hectares of marshland in Sihhiye. The plan directed the developments and implementations between the old and new city and the plan has set principles for the symbolic city center. The plan determined main axis, boulevards, building blocks and public spaces. According to the Lörcher Plan the city center was located in Ulus near to the Old City (Citadel) and the New city was developed as new residential area. The old and the new city were determined to develop along with the main axis.

During this period, the very first examples of modern architecture were seen in urban environment those which reflected the modern face of the new Republic. These were not only the administrative buildings, but also social and cultural buildings as Ankara Palace (1924-1928), Ziraat Bank (1926-1929), Community Center (1927-1930), and Ethnography Museum (1925-1928). Although their functions have changed in time, these building are still landmarks of Republican period. Regarding proposals of the plan, districts (with identified character) were located along a path and landmarks and nodes defined the distinctive character of this main path.

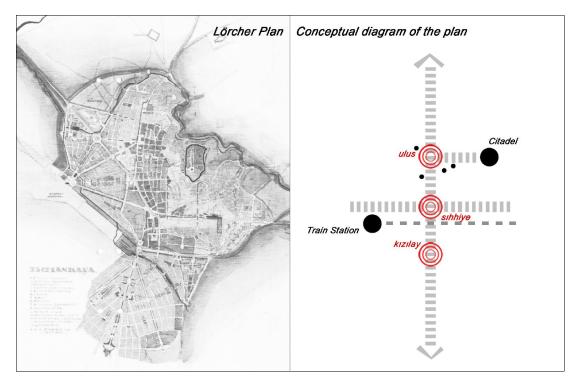


Figure 4.1: Lörcher Plan and Conceptual diagram Source: Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara and Personal rendering

Integration of the old and the new city is the main starting point of Lörcher Plan. However rapid increase of population revealed the new governmental district of Çankaya which included administrative and governmental facilities. This new district has been developed according to Garden City principles with a number of open urban spaces (squares and parks).

In 1928 the population of the city has increased and a number of public investments were held to build up new roads buildings. Along with the population increase,

Lörcher plan became outdated in meeting the needs of population. To handle with this situation, in the same year (1928) a competition was held and German planner Herman Jansen won the competition.

4.1.2. 1930-1957: The Green City

Jansen Plan was acknowledged in 1932, projected for a time period of 50 years. It was based on the existing plan of Lörcher but proposed new residential areas to meet increasing demands. Like in Lörcher Plan, in Jansen Plan the identity of the capital city has been strengthened by symbols of governmental, economic and cultural facilities with modern architecture and planning practices.

Herman Jansen in a conference in Istanbul put forth four planning principles and he reflected these principles in his plan for Ankara. According to him these principles which guided planning process were urban health and sustainability, pedestrian priority and public space, garden city and open greenery and human scale (Tankut, 1998; Cengizkan, 2005). He inspired by two movements; human scale and urban design notions of Camillo Sitte and garden city concept of Ebenezer Howard (Tankut, 1998). Through these main principles, in Jansen Plan, it was intended to create a strong image for the new capital city. In this sense, the proposed form of the city had a clearly readable or legible structure.

The urban spine – Atatürk Boulevard – which was proposed in plans of Lörcher and Jansen was one of the most important image elements in the city. In Jansen plan, the spine constituted the most important connector of old and new parts of the city and consisted of new facilities including administrative, leisure, commercial and cultural. It also connected the two center of the city. The first one was Ulus which was determined as the commercial center and the second one was Yenişehir which was the administrative and business center. The Administrative Quartier in Yenişehir was one of the most important plan decisions of Jansen. This decision led the commercial activities spread through the boulevard. There was also another main path in the direction of east-west parallel to the railway. In the intersection of the two main paths Shhiye was determined one of the main nodes like Kızılay and Ulus squares.

Landmarks basically represented the New Republic. The administrative buildings which were design according to modernist move were located along the main spine and defined the nodes and squares. Besides administrative buildings, buildings for economic, social and cultural activities were located in accordance with designing new way of life for city residents: Institute of Girls (1930), Ministry of Interior (1932-1934), National Exhibition Hall (1933-1934), Central Railway Station (1935-37), Municipalities Bank (1935-1937), Ankara Opera House (1933-1948).

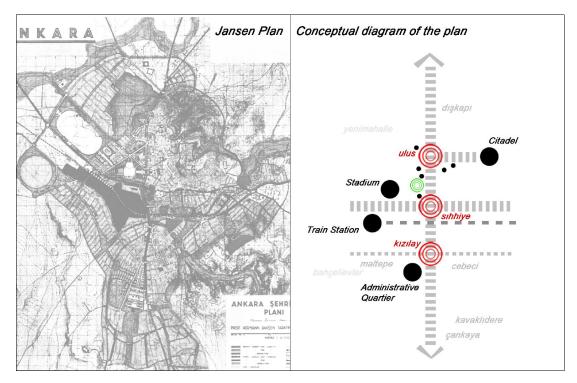


Figure 4.2: Jansen Plan and Conceptual diagram Source: Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara and Personal rendering

The residential districts were located on the south-north direction and east-west direction. It was proposed 18 districts which were mostly located towards the east and the west (Tankut, 1990). According to the plan, on the south part of the city through Atatürk Boulevard, it was planned two residential districts of Kavaklıdere and Çankaya. On the east-west direction Maltepe and Cebeci districts were located. Besides residential districts, in Cebeci it was proposed an educational district. On the west, in 1936 the first development scheme for Bahçelievler was also proposed by Herman Jansen. In 1944, Saraçoğlu district with 434 housing units was developed in Kızılay, as the residential district for bureaucrats. In addition to the plan in 1948 it

was proposed a plan for the residential district of Yenimahalle. The Jansen Plan has sustained its validity until 1950s despite some modifications. For example, some parts of the working neighborhood which was proposed in the north part of the city turned into disordered industrial areas and also the main city center which was designed around the main train station could not survive its existence after the proposal of the green corridor between Ulus and the station (Günay, 2012).

After the World War II, Turkey was significantly affected by economic problems and the extensive stress of migration from rural to urban areas. In this period, like in developing countries, rapid urbanization has started in Turkish cities (Tekeli, 2005). In this period, the planned development of the city had corrupted by rapid population growth. The population projection for 1928 of Jansen plan has exceeded in 1950s. In this period new developments had been observed in Bahçelievler, Yenimahalle, Gazi and Aydınlıkevler districts (Günay, 2012). On the other side, slum and illegal settlement showed of themselves in Altındağ, Kurtuluş, Cebeci and Mamak districts. To control the development and revise the plan, the initiatives of Municipality of Ankara announced another competition.

4.1.3. 1957-1970

In 1956 by the competition, the plan proposal of Yücel-Uybadin was selected as the first project which was approved in 1957. The plan did not propose a visionary transformation for the city rather it stood as a plan for legitimization of existing development (Cengizkan.2005). In this plan, based on the existing south-north development corridor, it was proposed new districts Yenimahalle, Etlik, Keçiören, Aydınlıkevler in the north and Çankaya, Gaziosmanpaşa, Balgat and Dikmen in the south. Moreover, Yücel-Uybadin plan was the first plan that the development of the city exceeded through western corridor which later has been encouraged and Demetevler was proposed. However, the population projection of the plan exceeded its limits and hence a plan revision was held. In 1959, just after two years of the approval of Yücel-Uybadin Plan governor of Ankara submitted a plan revision of "District Height Regulation". Although counter arguments of Yücel the plan was approved in 1961 and building heights were doubled especially in Bahçelievler,

Emek, Yukarı Ayrancı, Maltepe, Küçükesat, Çankaya and Aydınlıkevler districts (Çalışkan, 2004).

Parallel to residential developments in north-south direction, and the construction of the National Assembly Building in 1961 (Akay junction), the city center was located in Ulus replaced along with the boulevard and Kızılay became the new city center. The boulevard was emphasized with two important nodes where social activities took place and landmarks of modern republic. Regarding landmarks, first examples of skyscrapers which were called as modernist structures were appeared along the boulevard (Cengizkan, 2005). These skyscrapers were located in different parts of the center of the city. Emek business center (1965) was built in the center of Kızılay district, Anafartalar commercial center (1967) was built in Ulus and Grand Ankara Hotel (1966) was built on Atatürk Boulevard.

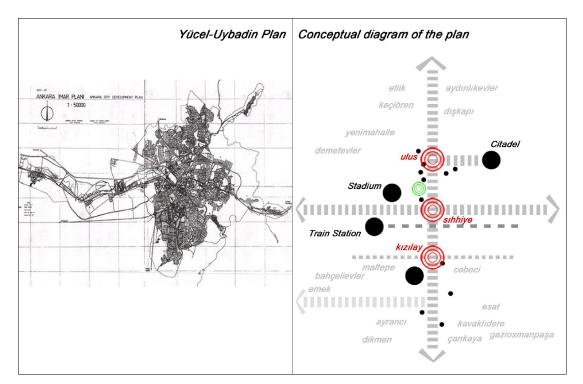


Figure 4.3: Yücel-Uybadin Plan and Conceptual diagram Source: Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara and Personal rendering

One of the main geographic characteristics of Ankara was hill in the city. They were protected in Jansen plan and even Anıtkabir which was constructed one of these hills in 1953 strengthened the emphasis of hills. However by Yücel-Uybadin Plan, some of these hills were destroyed and replaced with some other functions. The most wellknown of them was Kocatepe Mosque which was constructed in 1987 on one of the open spaces in the city.

The Yücel-Uybadin Plan followed the existing traces of the previous plans. However it was not developed some new proposals like green system rather along with the plan decisions the green areas in the city diminished and even destroyed by new developments. Regarding population rise and the illegal housing developments which surrounded the city led to develop a comprehensive approach for planning Ankara. For this reason in 1969 the Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau started to study on the first Structural Plan.

4.1.4. 1970-1985: Western Corridor

The first plan in metropolitan scale was initiated in 1969. Different from the previous planning experiences, the process started with an extensive research studies. After these studies, it was proposed corridor schema for development of the city. Based on this decision the western corridor was determined as the main development corridor. The first development -Batıkent- in the western corridor was proposed along the Istanbul Highway. Beside the residential district of Batıkent, it was also proposed squatter prevention zones in Sincan. Between these two areas, Eryaman and Elvankent residential districts were designed. On the other side, along the Eskişehir Highway it was proposed another development zone in Çayyolu.

Despite proposals of new residential developments in the peripheral zones, the city center stayed in the same location. In other words, Kızılay remained as the city center where different commercial, social and cultural activities were placed. It also became an important transportation node for the city based on the new transportation policies. On the other hand, the importance of Ulus as a city center diminished but landmarks of modern republic still survived in Ulus.

The spine –boulevard – was still the main connector of south and the north part of the city and also city centers of Kızılay and Ulus. Beside the boulevard, two

important paths were defined according to the western corridor. The first one was the Istanbul Highway which connected the north-west part of the city to the center and the second one was Eskişehir Highway which connected the south-west part to the center.

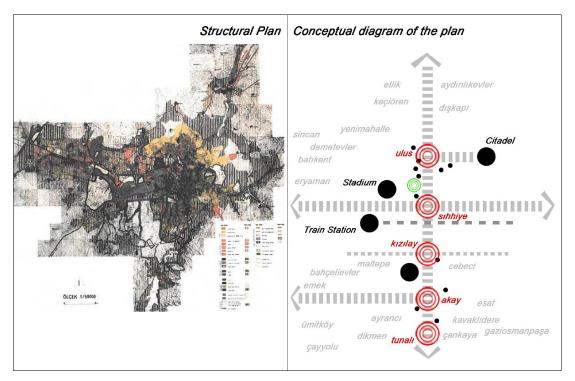


Figure 4.4: 1990 Structural Plan and Conceptual diagram Source: Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara and Personal rendering

4.1.5. 1985-2005

In 1986, according to extensive analysis and studies derived by METU City and Regional Planning Department, 2015 Structure Plan for Ankara was prepared. At first, studies were started to find solutions for transportation problems but later macroform proposals were prepared. 2015 Structure Plan mainly preserved development strategies of the previous plan and proposed development through western corridors and decentralization. The plan however was not approved by the ministry.

In this period, the macroform of the city has enlarged along with two main western corridors, Çayyolu, Eryaman Mass Housing Areas. Policies of decentralization and partial developments shaped this macroform. But on the other side partial developments in various areas in the city also affected the macroform.

By mid-1980s, the economic liberal movement in the world has started to effect Turkish economy. Changes in economic scope influenced both social life and lifestyles and physical form of the city. On the one side neo-liberal economies imported consumption oriented social life, on the other side city authorities started to concentrate on meeting changing social needs by new activities and urban and architectural programs. According to Uludağ (2004) parallel to the economic and social changes, new images and architectural forms emerged in this period of time.

The consumer society and liberal economies have exposed trade centers, office buildings, and headquarters of private companies and shopping malls which were designed with a new architectural program (Uludağ, 2004). In Ankara, the first traces of business centers and shopping malls are dated back in this period with Atakule Shopping Complex (1989) and Karum Shopping and Business Center (1991). These two symbols of new social and economic situation are located in the city, close to residential centers (Uludağ, 2004). Atakule, consisting of shopping mall and a landmark tower, is located in Çankaya. It was the first great shopping mall with identifiable architectural form and activities inside. For the first time, Atakule brought together variable activities (shopping, cinema, food etc.) under one roof.

Karum Business and Shopping Center was the second shopping center with the motto of "A New Center in Ankara", which is located on the Tunalı Hilmi Street. It was built as part of hotel and convention center complex of Sheraton and sooner became one of the most popular landmarks in the district. In no time, these two landmarks become the most important new landmarks of city where people spend their leisure time, meet and have fun. Though, their presence in urban environment has defined a new life style, but at the same time they become the symbolic images of consumer society (Uludağ, 2004). In a very short time period, the development of these two shopping malls has become attractive forces for their surroundings. They brought an add value to the residential areas and also led to emerge new activities such as luxury shops, bars, elite restaurant (Uludağ, 2004).

The changing political and economic policies not only accelerated the construction of new centers but also changed the social life in old public spaces. The popular pedestrian streets of Karanfil and Konur have been developed as meeting places where social, cultural and commercial activities pursued. Uludağ (2004) stated that the liberal economic and political strategies introduced not only a new life-style but also relatedly new symbolic meanings to urban environment of cultural consumption and identities.

By the mid-1990s, the reconstruction of urban environment through liberal policies has incrementally continued. But this time huge shopping malls which were disconnected from the city and located in the peripheral districts have emerged. These malls which consisted various activities (commercial, cultural, social) became the popular images of the new lifestyle while old public spaces preserved their structures. They offered not only commercial activities but also leisure time facilities for its users. Malls were mainly located in the southern peripheral districts where high income groups were located (Güvenç, 2001). These districts were on the other hand physically separated from the inner city zones.

4.2. By 2005: Brand City Rhetoric

The concept of brand city, after becoming popular in Turkey, has started to affect development strategies of many cities. It is this popular trend by 2005 that cities have been eager to create "brand" for them (see google search results for brand city in Turkey).

In 2007, Ministry of Culture and Tourism prepared "Turkey Tourism Strategies for 2023" which was approved in July 2007 by the decision of Higher Council of Planning¹². The main intention of this study is to promote strategic planning studies and implementation in tourism with collaboration of public and private sectors, and moreover defining brand cities and their branding strategies. In this study, it was put

¹² Yüksek Planlama Kurulu

forth strategies for creating brand cities due to their tourism potentials and Ankara like Istanbul and İzmir was defined as "Brand City of Urban Tourism"¹³.

In 2008, one year before the Municipality (local) elections, the concept of "Brand City of Ankara" became one of the mottos among the candidates for the Mayor of Greater Municipality of Ankara. In this context, candidates declared their projects in the way to make Ankara a brand city. The current mayor Melih Gökçek proposed 141 projects including flagship projects (mega projects)¹⁴, transportation and infrastructure projects and social projects. In March 2009 elections were held and Gökçek was again selected the mayor of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara.

In November 2010, in Tourism Panel in Ankara, tourism and brand image of Ankara were discussed by General Manager of Ankara City Culture and Tourism, Association of Ankara Club, Ankara governorship and other participants. The main intention of panel was to discuss and put forth alternative strategies and opportunities to strengthen "**City of Culture and Tourism**" image of Ankara. Moreover, it was discussed that the emphasis on the identity of Ankara as the capital city should be developed through fair and convention activities. For this reason, it was concluded that appropriate infrastructure inventions should be taken into consideration. Consequently, in this meeting, it was mainly discussed potentials of Ankara as the capital city and fair and convention tourism center (http://www.ankarakulubu.org.tr).

In May 2011, in Congress of Brands of Ankara, Alaaddin Yüksel the Province Governor of Ankara and Salih Bezci the President of the Chamber of Commerce mentioned on branding Ankara and put forth their intention as to turn Ankara into the "**City of Brands**". In this meeting, Bezci stated that:

"World cities should compete in the global arena. To reach this aim, businessmen in Ankara should invest in different brands so that people can

^{13 &}quot;Şehir Turizmi Geliştirilecek Marka Kent"

¹⁴ Some of the proposed flagship projects were; Disneyland, Zoo, Ankara Fair Center, City Sports Arena, Renovation of Stadium, Gerede System.

meet with different brands and brands in Ankara contribute to image of the city." (www.atonet.org.tr)

Again in May 2011, before the general elections in June 2011, The Prime Minister declared new projects for Ankara under the main heading of "New Vision of Ankara". Among the listed projects, it was mentioned that Ankara would become "The Center of Defense Industry, Health and Thermal Tourism". Based on this new image for the city, The Prime Minister declared a number of projects as; new district in southern part of the city (Güneykent), two full equipped hospitals, a new brand stadium, a great fair field, the biggest zoo in Middle East, a number of regeneration projects and renovation of façades of building in Kızılay according to Seljukian architectural style (www.imo.org.tr).

In March 2012, in Arkiparc Land Estate Fair in Istanbul, the Mayor of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, Melih Gökçek, mentioned the importance of the city of Ankara. He stated that investors are mainly concerned with Istanbul; however there are a number of potentials in Ankara and he invited businessmen to invest in Ankara. He added that the municipality proposed a number of opportunities in construction sector, industry and also commercial sector. Even he mentioned that the Shopping Fest in Ankara will be the impetus of lively commercial life in the city. Later he presented his flagships projects for Ankara;

- Theme Park
- Urban Park Harikalar Diyarı Park in Sincan which is expected to be the first in ranking in water show
- Huge "Ferris Whale" (120 m height) in Güvenpark (Kızılay) In order to promote tourism
- New Fair Field with Movie Studio (plateau) on the Çankırı (Airport) Highway
- Regeneration of Hacı Bayram Mosques and surroundings and new gates with Seljukian style
- Creation (!) of Ulus Historic Square through demolishing buildings in the area

- Channel project in Lake
- Cable Lift as a new transportation mode
- New Business Center in İskitler with skyscrapers
- New plan (!) for Aoç

In May 2012, Greater Municipality of Ankara organized first **Shopping Fest** with a new branding motto of "Shopping Paradise". By this event it is intended to make Ankara as one of the first important shopping and tourism destinations in the world. During the festival, it is organized sales and promotions in shopping malls, some competitions and gifted raffles, decorations and lightning in shopping malls and some shopping streets in the city. On the other side, a number of promotion activities have been conducted in foreign countries in order to announce the festival.

In May 2013, mayor of the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara presented future projects for the brand city of Ankara. In this presentation he mentioned a new brand image of Ankara "Brand City of the Star Country"¹⁵. Regarding this brand image he proposed aims and strategies. In this sense, it is intended to develop four visions for Ankara as;

- City of Convention and Fair
- City of University and Education
- City of Industry
- City of Health and Thermal Tourism

Before the local election in March 2014, branding Ankara and the concept of Brand City of Ankara again became the most favorable statement among candidates. As in the previous elections, candidates proposed their projects for Ankara which promote the so-called brand image of the city. One of the candidates Mansur Yavaş declared his vision for Ankara as; the city of Defense Industry, Fair and Congress, Education, Health Tourism. He also mentioned lost identity of city center Ulus and Kızılay because of the huge amount of shopping malls and hence he proposed a revitalization projects for these areas. On the other side the current mayor and candidate of the

¹⁵ "Yıldız Ülkenin Marka Kenti"

Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara Melih Gökçek declared 18 flagship projects which can be listed as (one that highlighted); biggest theme park in Europe (Ankapark), Ankara "Bosporus", heavy rail system project between airport and city centers, a Fair field, Mosque and Cultural Center and Museum, a multipurpose Convention Center, the Ankara Tower, a number of agricultural and thermal projects in villages and a number of recreational area in surrounding locations of the city (www.memurlar.net).

To sum up, for almost 7 years it has been an emphasis on branding Ankara which especially accelerated in pre-election periods. However, in this period of time it is observed that different brand concepts have been adopted for the city and a number of flagships or mega-projects were proposed according to these concepts. Even, again in this period some of these projects were realized in urban environment. Regarding a number of approaches of brand image of Ankara in time, it would not be inconvenient to say that there is not a comprehensive and well developed branding strategy for the city. Rather in an attempt to branding the city, it is now observed fragmented and singular flagship projects in urban environment. During this period, especially along the Eskişehir Highway (western corridor) a number of singular projects have started to emerge. A number of high rise office buildings, shopping malls, hotels and convention centers and moreover luxury gated houses (and residences) started to define a new identity for the highway which has previously defined as public and education corridor. The first focus point on the highway was Cukurambar and Söğütözü districts which consist of office buildings, shopping malls, residences and cultural and convention centers. The developments then have expanded through Mustafa Kemal district and Konya Highway.

In the next part of the study, recent developments in the city of Ankara will be analyzed. Based on types of developments, the analysis will be conducted under three main headings; Shopping malls, Luxury and gated communities and Residences, High rise office buildings. This analysis will help to understand transformation in urban environment which are declared as the images of brand of Ankara.

4.2.1. Shopping Malls

One of the most considerable changes in the city of Ankara occurs through shopping malls of which the number has increased in last eight years. Today it is listed thirtyeight shopping malls in Ankara with various scales. They consist of several shops, food courts, and leisure activities like cinema and game centers. Due to the statistical data, Ankara is the first in ranking in the city which has the highest shopping mall area per capita in Europe.

The map below shows the distribution of shopping malls in Ankara according to their dates of opening. It is shown that by 2006 there has been rise in the constructions of malls. From 1989 to 2006 it was constructed 15 shopping malls in the city while this number increased to 38 in eight years. In other words, by 2006, each year almost four shopping malls were constructed. The first shopping malls were located in the city with relatively small scales (Atakule and Karum). Latter malls started to appear in the suburban areas, near to newly developed residential areas. Starting from 2006, shopping malls started to spread all over the city but especially in western corridor. Starting from Söğütözü district to Çayyolu district 13 malls are located along Eskişehir Highway.

According to Uludağ (2004) the emergence of shopping malls in urban environment has changed the habits and lifestyles. They became the center where people come together and socialize and moreover spend their leisure time. In short, shopping malls proposed an imitation of public space in a box. According to research study of Oğuz and Çakcı (2007) which was conducted in order to understand the use of shopping malls showed that people prefer to spend their time in malls rather than in the city center. The main reason of this result is stated that malls own various activities in one space. Other important reasons that people prefer malls were mentioned as security and climate conditions (See Fig 4.5).

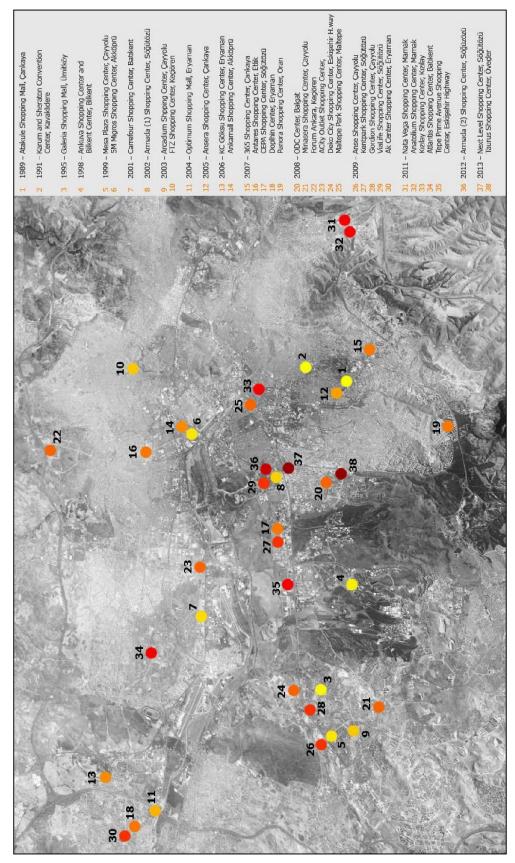


Figure 4.5: Distribution of Shopping Malls Source: Personal rendering

4.2.2. Office Buildings

The first skyscrapers in Ankara emerged in 1960s along the main spine – Atatürk Boulevard – of the city. After that period a number of skyscrapers which were used as office buildings were located in different parts of the city. For almost last 5 years, office building with spectacular visual qualities started to be observed particularly in Söğütözü and Çukurambar districts and Konya Highway.

They have common features that one of the main intentions is to be "visible". In this sense, height, building material and design are three important characteristics of these buildings. As being an iconic representation of world city, buildings with new architectural style and features intend to become visible for competition among cities but also inner city competition. In other words they try to produce their unique identity as singular elements in the city but also they together intend to be seen as urban statement in city scale.

Regarding height, material and design, especially Çukurambar zone and also the zone which is developed along with Konya Highway has become a scene for these flagship projects. Regarding the construction speed in recent years it is very much hard to determine these developments, however it is observed a number of high rise building which are used as business center in the area. Some of them are already constructed but some others are under construction.

The map shows (Figure 4.6) that there is a concentration in Çukurambar district, on Konya and Eskişehir Highways. It is listed 30 buildings in the area which are already constructed and some others are under construction. Each building in these areas is constructed in their lots. They connect with their surroundings only with vehicle oriented paths. Considering the arrangement of buildings in the area it wouldn't be wrong to say that the buildings are fragmented elements in the area. In addition, it is apparent that the longstanding subway construction and street network did not take into account to provide a coordinated transport system and pedestrian network as well.

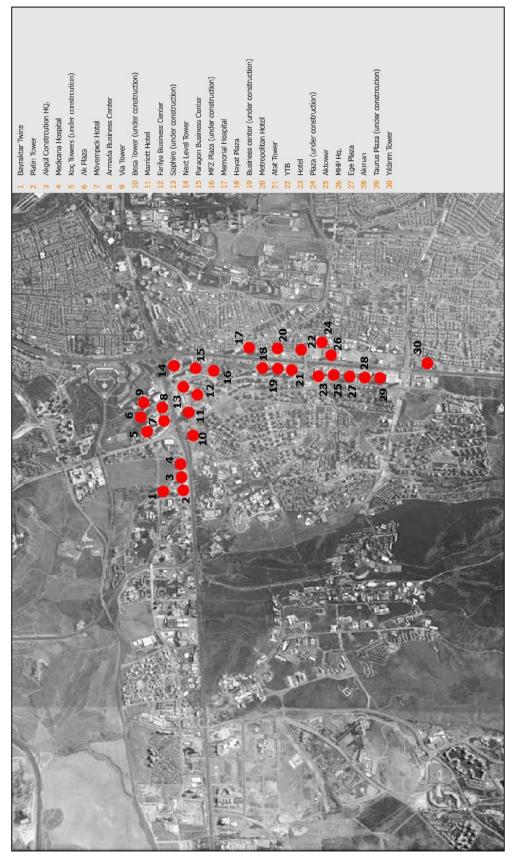


Figure 4.6: Distribution of High rise Office Buildings Source: Personal rendering

It is possible to evaluate this situation from various viewpoints. The first point would consider the principles of unity and Gestalt those mentioned previously in Chapter 2, together with the concept of legibility coined by Lynch (1960). He mentioned that an area is legible, only if separate legible parts could compose a coherent pattern. On the other hand, according to Gestalt Principles, similar forms are more effective in constituting a legible whole, while differing forms complicate it. In other words, too much diversity would lead to chaos. In this respect, although Çukurambar district is intended to be a new modern business center; the individual isolated parts forming the district with weak relations make it difficult to perceive the district as a meaningful whole. The competition among building in order to become visible landmark creates a chaotic picture. Consequently this picture makes difficult to perceive the region as a part of whole city

An additional evaluation criterion would be about the provided places and place quality. The district has a vehicle oriented transportation system, including access to buildings. The private vehicle as the only alternative for accessibility provides an inconvenient condition for pedestrian experience. In other words, arriving at a certain destination in the area that would be one of the isolated buildings with its own closed space, lacking any interaction with other buildings, provides an experience only of the building itself, rather than the whole district.



Figure 4.7: Skyscrapers in Çukurambar and Söğütözü Districts Source: Ahmet Soyak, www.panoramio.com

The photograph above shows the new silhouette of Çukurambar and Söğütözü districts. The first developments have started in the beginning of 2000s but especially after 2005 many skyscrapers have been built in the area.

4.2.3. Luxury Gated Communities and Residences

For especially last twenty years, economic and politic changes in Turkey lead emergence of luxury gated communities as an opportunity for a better quality of life. It is assumed that these flagship projects which emerged in various parts of urban environment would support livable image of the city. Actually gated community emerged in 1970s in United States and later they are observed in many other countries as a solution of preserving from crime in cities. In previous years, they became preferences of high income group as a sign of prestige.

While gated communities are observed as new housing types, they differ from conventional ones with their various social activities including; parks, sports and leisure activities and even small scale commercial centers. They are thus different from a house which meets basic and psychological needs but they present a new life style for their users. Related to this new life style, it would not wrong that they send messages to inhabitants that gated communities are symbols of richness and prestige. In other words, they have symbolic meaning which are imposed into the society.

In Ankara, the very first examples for gated communities are Bilkent Houses and Angora Houses which were located in suburban area. In previous years it is observed some other examples but different from the previous example they were located in the city close to city center (like Park Vadi Houses). However, for almost eight years, accelerated number of gated communities and residences has been observed in various part of the city. Today, it becomes possible to follow various projects in the city and even in TV advertisement.

In the beginning of 2014, several big construction company owners declared that Ankara needed to change its image as a city of bureaucracy to social and modern city through luxury gated communities. Ünal Pala, director of a construction company stated that there is great demand for gated communities in Ankara. For a developed city, these structures are must and investors should concentrate on themed gated communities. (www.emlakkulisi.com) Observing these structures in the city is very much hard to comprehend since there are lots of gated communities under construction. Some of these can be listed as; *Park Oran (Oran), Nova Tower, West Gate, Mahall Ankara, İncek Life, Altın Oran, Park Vadi, Avrupa Mahallesi (Çayyolu), Aloha Evleri (Büyükesat), Ulusoy City (Ümitköy), Ankara-Ankara (Eskşehir Highway), Gökteşehir Residence (Çukurambar), Uptown İncek (incek), Crystal Towers (Yenimahalle), İncek Prestij (İncek), Aksoy Vip Residences, Arya Nuans, Şehrin konakları (Gölbaşı), Akkent Modern, Ankarama and etc.*



Figure 4.8: Posters of West Gate, Mahall Ankara and Ankarama Source: westgate.com, mahallankara.com, ankarama.com

Considering the name of the projects it is possible to observe the impact of "brand" and immaterial branding strategies (mottos). Each project intend to convey a message like "it is the ideal place to live" to observer or inhabitants. For instance, in the poster of West Gate residences the project is declared as the new symbol of the city, in the poster of Mahalla Ankara it is proposed that the project contributes to the urban architectural identity and Ankarama on the other side emphasis the new life for the users. This is actually in the nature of place branding that it is intended to create new identities and convey new meanings to become attractive and memorable among others.

4.3. Conclusive remarks

Ankara has a history of almost 90 years. As the capital city of the country it has a symbolic meaning for Turkey. In the very beginning of the city macroform, the city is planned according to the Garden City principles. Before 1970s it can be said that

Ankara was a city of parks and green spaces. In this period, the bases of the main city center (Ulus, Kızılay) with administrative buildings, landmarks, paths (Atatürk Boulevard as the main spine) and surrounding districts were defined according to a series of planning practices. The linear city center is the place where all commercial, social and cultural activities took place. The green areas, parks and recreation areas also integrated into this system. After 1980s the liberal economic system has affected cities in the world and as well as Ankara. By 1990s the physical structure of the city and the social life changed according to new consumption habits and patterns. Introducing the concept of shopping malls in the beginning of 1990s defined a new lifestyle which is separated from the city itself rather depended on a closed box. In the following years, the tendency of building shopping malls has been eagerly continued by spreading different parts of the city, especially suburban districts. Meanwhile the macroform of the city overflowed from the center and expanded along western corridor while the city center and the spine survived their presences. "In the city of the 2000s, the transformation of the urban landscape with new urban and cultural challenges, the dense use of inner city lands and public-private collaborations has generated new spatial organizations and new public relations in the city." (Uludağ, 2004: 24)

By 2005, on the one side increasing number of malls in the city change the definition of the public spaces in the city which are enclosed and pseudo public spaces. On the other side the concept of place branding get into the planning agenda. From that time a number of "flagship" projects are introduced as tools of branding Ankara. Considering series of branding concept for Ankara, it is not very much possible to understand a clear vision. City of defense industry, education, fair and congress, shopping or health tourism are determined as the brands for the city. Meanwhile, the physical structure of the city have changed considerably that high rise office buildings and skyscrapers, gated communities and residences and especially shopping malls have become the new elements which define the new physical image of the city. Çukurambar and Söğütözü districts especially become the center of these interventions. Even these districts are declared as the new modern center of the city where mostly skyscrapers (offices, residences or hotel) shaped the form of districts. Today, the spatial layout of these districts is shaped with partial developments. In other words, fragmented and lot based developments are become visible in their designs, building heights and building materials. There are declared as the new symbols of the "global city" and the new "image". This leads a new understanding of urbanism only with architecture.

....we are left with a world without urbanism, only architecture. The neatness of architecture is its seduction; it defines, excludes, limits, separates from the "rest" – but it also consumes. It exploits and exhausts the potentials that can be generated finally only by urbanism and that only the specific imagination of urbanism can invent and renew. [...] The relationship between architecture and urbanism seems to be of this nature: urbanism creates a possibility that architecture fulfills, but by exhausting it. What is more, this limit and the sense of exhaustion have the effect of placing the architect in a very special relation to chaos. (Koolhass, 2003)

On the other side, public life in urban spaces is redefined with new culture of consumption and urban spaces become commodities. This shift leads "merging of social life" (Uludağ, 1997). Moreover, occupation of open spaces by flagships is another result of branding in Ankara. Here it is important to remember that branding city through flagships is not only related with architecture but also as Zukin (1995: 24) says "involving both shaping public space for social interaction and constructing a visual representation of the city".

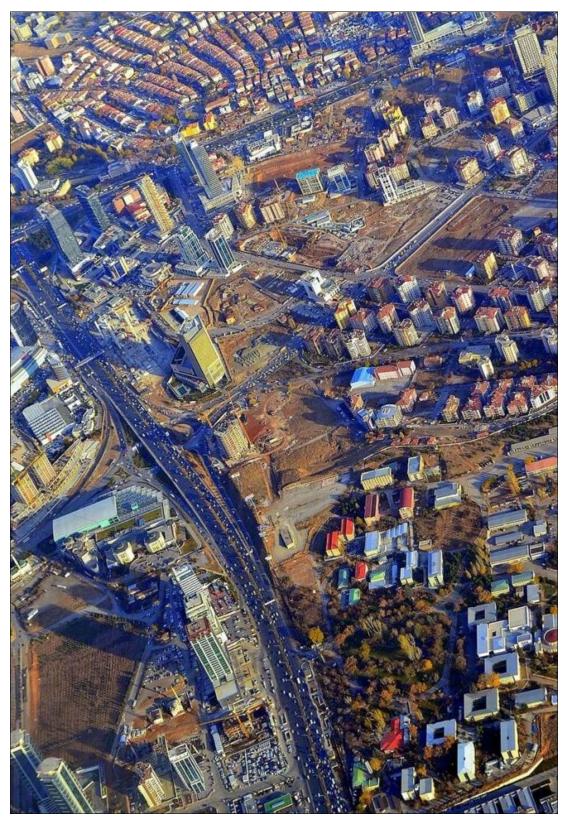


Figure 4.9: Çukurambar, 2014 Source: www.wowturkey.com

CHAPTER 5

THE METHOD

In the previous chapters, the concept of image is analyzed into two main headings. The first one is the image which is a mental product of cyclical and continuum experience of the city. The formation and components of image and moreover its role in place identity was analyzed through the environmental psychology literature. The second image is on the other hand is defined as brand image which is defined by policy makers in order to get into the global competition among cities. Within this context the transformation of the components of urban image through place branding was analyzed. In Chapter 4 brief history of spatial transformation of Ankara was discussed regarding the image components and place branding strategies.

In this chapter, the selected method of the research will be presented in order to understand inhabitants' image of Ankara and moreover to what extend brand image respects to urban image. Ankara is selected because firstly since the beginning of 2000s branding Ankara has become popular theme for development and secondly there are considerable changes in the physical environment of the city. Moreover, there is no detailed research on impacts of place branding on the image of the city in Turkish cities. Thus the study aims to fill this gap by analyzing accumulated urban image and inhabitants' view on new urban landscapes of place branding.

5.1. Research Methods in Environmental Psychology

Since the very beginning of environmental psychology literature, it has been conducted a number methods to understand and measure human perception of environment. Along with the growth of interest to the subject, a variety of discipline - sociology, psychology, planning and architecture – has introduced different

methods including in-depth interviews, surveys, questionnaires, observation methods and mapping. They all have strengths and weakness and measurement problems since environmental images are psychological entities which are difficult to measure (Pocock and Hudson, 1978). However, theorists agreed that cognitive mapping method is one of the most appropriate methods to measure the image of the city.

5.1.1. Cognitive Mapping

Cognitive map is a mental representation which contains a person's acquired, coded and stored information about the spatial environment. In daily life people receive information from a complex and changing environment and "aggregate information to form a comprehensive representation of the environment" (Down and Stea, 1973: 10). This process is called cognitive mapping and the final product can be called as cognitive map. Cognitive map is first introduced by Edward Tolman in 1948, one of the early cognitive psychologists, in an experimental research with rats in mazes. After Tolman's experiments on rat and their behavior, cognitive maps and spatial images have become subject in Boulding's studies by 1956. His studies inspired geographer and planner and in 1960 Lynch used graphical representation of cognitive mapping method in his research on the image of the city and its legibility and imageability.

Image and spatial behavior are main concerns of cognitive maps. Cognitive maps are important in daily life that spatial behavior depends on them (Down and Stea, 1973; Rapoport, 1977; Pocock and Hudson, 1978; Lynch, 1981; Lang, 1987; Golledge, 1999). Given a cognitive map, a person can regulate or organize basis of spatial behavior and moreover it is a "requisite both for human survival and for everyday environmental behavior" (Down and Stea, 1973: 10). Cognitive maps present sets of information that enable people to identify current environment and predict what might be in that environment. In this sense, cognitive maps are also important for psychological health that to know and orient in environment support sense of safety and belonging. For urban planning and design, cognitive mapping is quite valuable in understanding the interface between man and urban environment. Cognitive maps are distorted, schematized, incomplete (Down and Stea, 1973) and partial, simplified, idiosyncratic and distorted (Pocock and Hudson, 1978) and changeable mental maps. They are changeable because as cognitive map are developed through experiencing any changes in experience affects the map. Down and Stea (1973) mentioned that cognitive maps consist of simplified and concise information, redundant information are omitted in time. They are distorted and simplified that they based on subjectivity rather than reality in terms of distance and direction. These distortions have major effects on spatial behavioral patterns. They are also schematized and simplified according to categorization of environmental information that a person code and store. Cognitive maps are also partial which means maps do not cover the whole city. Rapoport (1977) explained this situation by experiencing the city. According to him people use parts of the city "by ignoring much of it they make it into a set of small places." (1977: 122) Regarding partial experience, people remember the city through "symbolic parts". The symbolic parts and elements help remember places and affect preferences. "When such features are missing, cities become indistinct – they have low imageability." (1977: 123)

Cognitive maps are also idiosyncratic which means every person has its own unique image of city. In other words, cognitive map includes information of environment but this information is interpreted by the person who experiences the environment. Thus, cognitive maps do not reflect the real but imaginary environment. Person's physiological, social and personal qualifications affect his/her cognitive map. So every person has his/her own map for the same experienced environment. However, there are also group or collective perspectives in cognitive maps. According to Down and Stea (1973) there are three factors underlying group perspective. The first one is recurrent and regular features in spatial environment. The second is shared or common information-processing capabilities and parameters among people. And the third one is common spatial behavior patterns.

Given limited capabilities of individual and the complex structure of environment, people need to know two basic and complementary information for their survival and daily spatial behavior; locations and attributes and cognitive maps consist of them (Down and Stea, 1973). *Locational information* is about whereness and "leads to a

subjective geometry of space" (1973: 16). Locational information includes information about distance, direction and relational information. For example, if one person want to go a shopping mall, he/she needs to know the distance between the shopping mall and his/her current location, the directions to go there and also to get the easiest route he/she needs to know the location of shopping mall relative to some others that he/she knew within past experiences. *Attributive information* on the other hand is about "what kind of phenomena are" (1973: 17). These attributes can be descriptive (denotative meaning) or evaluative (connotative meaning). However, this does not mean that every phenomenon has both denotative and connotative meaning. Down and Stea (1973) mentioned that one can have denotative meaning but not connotative meaning for the observer which means that "it may play no significant or valued role in the person's behavior" (1973: 19). Thus, it may be not represented in his/her cognitive map and this makes each cognitive map unique.

According to Rapoport (1977: 123) cognitive map consist of two kinds of elements; "those known by outsiders and by most inhabitants and local elements used by inhabitants of specific areas, having special associations and values for smaller groups or individuals depending on the specific variables involved." The first kind of elements is the symbolic structures of the city which are known in the world like Eiffel Tower. These may be called as the main signature elements of the city which are mostly used in branding. The second kind on the other hand is more important regarding the interaction between the city and its residents. It consists of shared elements regarding collective memory of the city and shared values. Thus much more than merely physical elements, meaning, symbols, activity or in brief abstract features play important roles in cognitive maps.

One of the well-known uses of graphic representation of cognitive maps (sketch maps) in urban environment is the study of Lynch conducted in three cities Boston, Jersey City and Los Angeles. In his study he both uses verbal and graphic representation to understand components of perception in urban environment. According to Down and Stea (1973) Lynch's study put forth the difference between cognitive maps and cartographic maps in terms of abstraction level and symbols chosen to depict information. In his research he used two phased study. In the first

stage, he used cognitive mapping and he acquired five elements in maps. In the second stage he conducted questionnaires among people who frequently use the site. Interviewing people enables to understand the content of maps that people draw. Lynchian method has valuable contributions for urban planning and design but it is also criticized by many following researches. There are two main critics; the first is the small sample size (30 in Boston, 15 in Jersey and Los Angeles) which causes Lynch to neglect observer variation. The second and most emphasized one is that he only pays attention to physical structure of the city but neglect the meaning, social and cultural activities and components.

Francescato and Mebane (1973) used the cognitive mapping method to figure out differences between the images of Rome and Milan. In their research they did not content with people's conception of physical form of the city – which they called image, but they needed to investigate the overall cognitive representation of the city including symbols, beliefs and activities – which they called schema. For this reason they both used cognitive mapping and interview methods in one research. Their main intention in choosing two-phased method is that in cognitive maps people omit some important features while drawing although they mention in interviews. So, in the interviews researchers asked people to list significant elements in the city which they like and don't. In the cognitive maps on the other hand they used scoring techniques to figure out which elements of image (path, node, district, edge, and landmark) are mostly emphasized by users of the city.

Lack of meaning in Lynch's study has been criticized by various theorists and researchers. To deal with this problem, differentiated research methodologies have come into being. Most of them are concentrated on evaluative meaning (like and dislike) and people preferences (See Jack Nasar). But on the other hand there are some others which focus on meaning and image.

5.1.2. Social Representation Technique

In 1976 Milgram and Jodelet carried out their study on the image of Paris in the context of cognitive mapping but they consider both physical and social, cultural

meaning of the city as factors affecting the formation of image. "The authors offer an original perspective on the images of the city that integrates social aspects of the representation in several senses: as a socio-cognitive construction of urban space, they consider the influence of interviewees' social resources when preparing their mental maps and note that the social structure of the city and its meanings are expressed in the images that it stimulates in its residents." (Alba, 2011: 3) In 1982 authors separately studied on social representation and cognitive maps and they revised their early studies. Milgram (1982) stated that cognitive maps represent not only physical attributes (especially for orientation in spatial behavior as Lynch mentioned) but also meaning attributed to place regarding, social and cultural issues. Similarly Jodelet (1982) mentioned that social representation technique makes "it possible socially constructed image of the city as a whole, without needing to break it down into fragments that are its specific spatial components". (Alba, 2011: 4). Jodelet (1982) also focused on Proshansky's place identity and symbolic aspects of urban environment and meaning.

Milgram and Jodelet study in 1976 was conducted in different districts of Paris with 218 residents. In the first stage, it was collected individual sketch maps and they are analyzed to find out the collective image of the city. The analysis showed individual elements and also collective or common elements in maps. They tried to find out components of collective image by listing most expressed elements drawn in individual maps (scoring method). In the next step of the research they intended to complement the sketch maps by presented 40 pictures to identify. Evaluating the image enables to complement the missing part of the sketch maps even people notice. Further they categorized evaluated pictures and drawn sketch maps and comprehended the differentiation image elements among people. On the other side the method enabled researcher to find out symbolic meaning conveyed by the structure (although they are missing in cognitive maps). They thus concluded that knowledge of places is not only based on the spatial characteristics but also the importance given in culturally and socially created signs.

Social representation method was used in many researches which are conducted to find out the meaning of place. One of them is Phill Hubbard's research in Birmingham which focused on the impacts of entrepreneurial approach on urban environment ant the meaning of newly emerged flagships. For such an intention he designed a methodology using social representation techniques. He first showed 15 pictures of flagships to residents and asked them to categorize as they wanted. He did not put any restrictions for categorization. End of people's categorization of pictures he had a small interview with respondents to explore how and why of categorization. He resulted that among all there are three types of categories including practical and affective or emotional meanings; *physical characteristics, cognitive responses, human activities.* In his study, he aimed to reveal if residents internalized the meanings of spectacular landscape of consumption which were imposed by developers and politicians by using place branding strategies.

In conclusion it can be listed a number of methods to comprehend the image of the city regarding its two aspects; designative or physical and appraisive or preferences, meaning and symbolism. Cognitive mapping method itself has valuable contribution in understanding the physical image of the city and its legibility. But cognitive mapping is not sufficient in comprehending the appraisive aspect of the image. In this sense, a combination of cognitive mapping and social representation technique will be more appropriate to explore the image of the city regarding two aspects.

5.2. The Aim and the Context of the Case Study

The case study is designed to find inhabitants' image of the city and their views on new urban landscape introduced as the branded images of Ankara. Derived from this main intention, the case study is built around the aspects of image. It is already argued that the designative (structure) and appraisive (meaning) aspects of image are important in the formation of urban image. For this reason the main hypotheses of the case study are decided according to the findings in Chapter 2, which discusses the image in environmental psychology. These hypotheses can be grouped according to the two aspects of image.

Designative aspect: Structure

• The physical elements of image enhance imageability, if they are perceived separately and form a coherent whole.

Appraisive aspect: Affective and Evaluative Meaning

- Meanings attributed to the physical image, which consist of collective memories, cultural, local and historical values enhance imageability.
- People prefer to experience places that they attach meaning.

Regarding these hypothesis of the case study the following are used to identify the framework of the case study and selected methodology:

- What are the elements of structure, which form the inhabitants' image of Ankara?
- What are the meanings attributed to the structural elements of the city, which enhance the imageability?
- What are the places that inhabitants prefer to experience?
- How do inhabitants interpret the new urban landscapes of place branding?

To find out the answers, the research method is organized around a questionnaire study. It is aimed to measure firstly inhabitants' image including physical aspects and meaning attributed to the physical environment and secondly participants' view on new urban landscapes. The study proposes a methodology, which combines methods and techniques derived both from environmental psychology and statistics. From environmental psychology, the study keeps the fact that cognitive mapping method is the most appropriate way of understanding users' perceptions and open ended question method enables to understand respondents' personal expression and meaning attributed to the environments. From statistics, the study uses various techniques, mainly frequency analysis and correlation analysis, which allow understanding respondents' evaluations and assessments.

5.3. The Questionnaire

The preparation of the questionnaire is based on aspects of image (designativestructure and appraisive-meaning) and moreover participants' view on new urban landscapes. Moreover in order to reach a collective image it is needed to comprehend respondents' profile. In this regard, the questionnaire is designed into four main parts.

General information

In the first part of the questionnaire it is intended to obtain general information about the interviewees; gender, age, the duration of residence, education level, the location to live and work. These aspects are important that age and duration of residence is quite with familiarity, education level is related with awareness and places to live and work are related with the use and familiarity. Since it is intended to reach the collective image of the city, the sample requires including participants with different qualifications and backgrounds. Therefore, the general information about participants leads to form an appropriate sample.

Designative Aspect of Image: Structure

In the third part of the questionnaire, it is used **cognitive mapping method** to comprehend inhabitants' personal mental maps of the city regarding elements of image (landmark, path, node, district and edge). It is intended to explore the collective image of different groups of people. In this part, it is asked interviewees to draw a sketch of Ankara on a blank page as they know and remember. Interviewees are not forced to draw the whole city but rather it is intended to obtain key features that they know and remember. Cognitive mapping method has its own weakness that people are not very much willing to draw. In this respect, on the questionnaire form, it was highlighted that the quality of drawing would not be evaluated.

Appraisive Aspect of Image: Affective and Evaluative Affective Meanings and Symbolism

In the third part of the questionnaire, an **open ended question** is designed to comprehend what comes into mind when thinking about the city of Ankara regarding

positive and negative feelings that evoke. Open ended questions in contrast to close ended questions encourage the subject to express his/her own knowledge and feelings. In the context of research, the open ended question enables to find out firstly the missing components in sketch maps and secondly the meaning attributed to written components of the structure. To find out the meaning it is also asked interviewees to write reasons for their answers.

Evaluative Meaning: Preference

In the second part of the questionnaire, it asked people to specify their present and past choices for leisure activities. It is an **open ended question** that people are free to choose any place, thus there is no restrictions or guidance in their answers. The question leads to understand which parts of the city is mostly experienced by respondents and moreover it also enables to comprehend if there is changes in the use of urban spaces.

Evaluation of New Urban Landscapes

In the fourth and the last part of the questionnaire it is intended to comprehend participants' perception of flagships by using **Likert scale method**. Flagships to be evaluated were selected according to the findings in Chapter 4. In this sense, skyscrapers as office buildings, luxury and gated communities (residences) and shopping malls were selected as three most dominant flagships which were emerged through place branding strategies in Ankara. In this part, participants were asked to evaluate these three types of structures according to the most to least favorable. In this respect, the evaluation scale was prepared into 5; very unfavorable (1), favorable (2), neither unfavorable nor favorable (3) favorable (4) very favorable (5). Moreover it was asked to write reasons for their evaluations.

5.4. The Choice of the Sample and Sample Profile

The questionnaire is conducted among inhabitants of Ankara. Since it is intended to find out the impacts of place branding on image, participants are requisite to have been living in Ankara.

Based on the statistical data of TUIK in 2013, the population in the metropolitan area of Ankara (including 25 districts) is 5.045.083. Regarding the context of the thesis which is based on the image of the city, peripheral districts are excluded and the population of the city is taken as 4.476.362 including 9 municipal districts; Çankaya, Keçiören, Yenimahalle, Mamak, Sincan, Etimesgut, Altındağ, Pursaklar, Gölbaşı. However areas covered by these 9 municipal districts have been enlarged by Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara in 2012 and surrounding villages (they transform into districts) have been added into these nine. Thus according to the context of the study surrounding villages and districts are also excluded and it is reached a population of 4.356.214.

In sampling process %95 confidence level and %5 margins of error is accepted as the most accepted ratio for sample size. Due to the population size of 4.356.214, %95 confidence level and %5 margins of error the sample size was calculated as 385. It was estimated that one third of the questionnaires would be completed by participants. Thus, it was prepared 1155 questionnaires.

Since it is intended to reach to a collective image of Ankara, during the distribution of questionnaires it is paid attention to get a sample profile which consists of participants with different age, gender, education level, duration of residence, and participants who live different parts of the city. To reach this aim, questionnaires were distributed in nine municipal districts. The majority of participants (1000) were recruited using exponential non-discriminative snowball sampling. This is simply a chain referral process that enable researcher to reach population that are difficult to sample. On the other side the method has some disadvantages that it may cause an uncontrolled sampling and also sampling bias. To overcome these issues, in the process it is followed up two main stages. In the first step it was defined 30 (first level) contact persons (with a variety of socio economic structure) who live in different municipal districts in the city. In the second phase questionnaires were distributed to 50 (second level) contact persons by the first level contact persons. Moreover 200 questionnaires were distributed to local café in various districts. The rest of participants (115) were recruited by face to face interview and using random sampling in different municipal districts. Consequently, a total of 731

questionnaires of 1155 are completed in one month, May 2014. That means that the sample size has %95 confidence level and %3 margins of error. Among 731, 588 questionnaires are with cognitive maps (% 80 of total questionnaires).

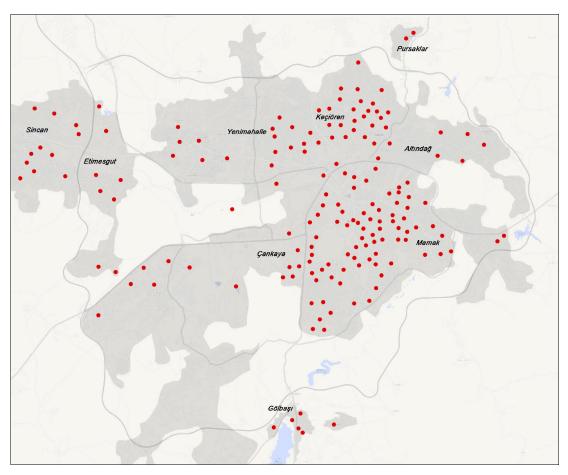


Figure 5.1: Distribution of Sample Source: Personal rendering

Using exponential non-discriminative snowball and random sampling, survey is realized different districts in Ankara. In the north part of the city (including Sincan, Etimesgut, Yenimahalle, Keçiören, Altındağ, Pursaklar and Mamak districts) 362 surveys and in the south part of the city (including Çankaya and Gölbaşı districts) 396 surveys are realized. The figure¹⁶ above shows the distribution of sample in the city.

¹⁶ Note that each red point in the map shows the location of the realized questionnaire. However in each location it is realized different amounts of questionnaires; this is why there are not 731points on the map.

In order to explore different perceptions, it is intended to reach a sample which is equally distributed according to different characteristics of participants. As a result the distribution of sample size according to gender, age, education level and duration of residence is obtained as below;

a. Gender

According to gender the sample is composed of %48 male and %52 female.

	Male	%	Female	%	Total
GENDER	352	48	379	52	731

Table 5.1: Distribution of gender

b. Age

It is defined four groups, <24, 25-34, 35-44 and >44. The distribution of sample according to these four groups is presented in the table below. Age is related with experience, knowledge and preference. Thus there is a difference between each group especially in using urban space.

Table 5.2: Distribution of age

	< 24	%	25-34	%	35-44	%	> 45	%	Total
AGE	155	21	257	35	182	25	137	19	731

c. Education Level

According to Arnheim (1969) education has contribution to awareness of environment. In this sense, education level is grouped according to the education system which means the first group consists of basic education (primary, middle and high school), the second group consists of high education (university) and the third one consists of higher education (master and PhD).

Table 5.3	3: Distribu	ation of	education

EDUCATION	1	%	2	%	3	%	Total
LEVEL	304	42	295	40	132	18	731

d. Duration of Residence

Duration of residence is grouped into four main categories; less than 14 years, 15-24 years, 25-34 years and more than 35 years. These different groups of people have different experiences in the city according to time spent. While the last group is much more familiar with the city, the first group experiences only the new structure of the city.

Table 5.4: Distribution of age

DURATION OF	< 14	%	15-24	%	25-34	%	> 35	%	Total
RESIDENCE	191	26	177	24	187	26	176	24	731

5.5. Analysis

All data which were received from questionnaires are firstly digitalized with the help of MS Excel. In the second step, based on the parts of the questionnaire it is followed up different evaluation methods basically Frequency and Correlation Analysis by using SPSS program.

• Evaluation of Cognitive Maps

According to the data gathered in the survey, it is obtained 588 maps of 731 questionnaires. Some of the respondents' did not draw a map or sketch because of various reasons.

The scale, size and drawing techniques are left up to the person and consequently it is obtained differentiated maps. Some of them cover a large area of the city and four elements of image are observed in maps. They are well-developed maps which give wide range of information. Some maps are fragmented maps which have clues about the different parts of the city. As a third type, there are also partial maps which cover only a small part of the city. Among sketch maps there are drawings which are maps and not. However, even the drawing is not a map; there still contain valuable information. Figure 5.2 is an example of well-developed map which covers large part of the city. Main paths, districts landmarks and nodes are defined in the map.

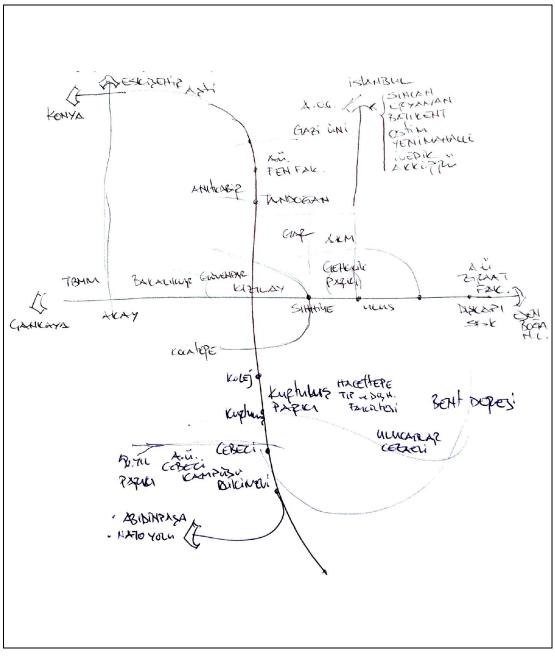


Figure 5.2: Example of well-developed sketch map Source: Questionnaire

Figure 5.3 shows an example of fragmented maps. In the map, there are different drawings of different parts of the city. The connections between elements are not drawn by respondents.

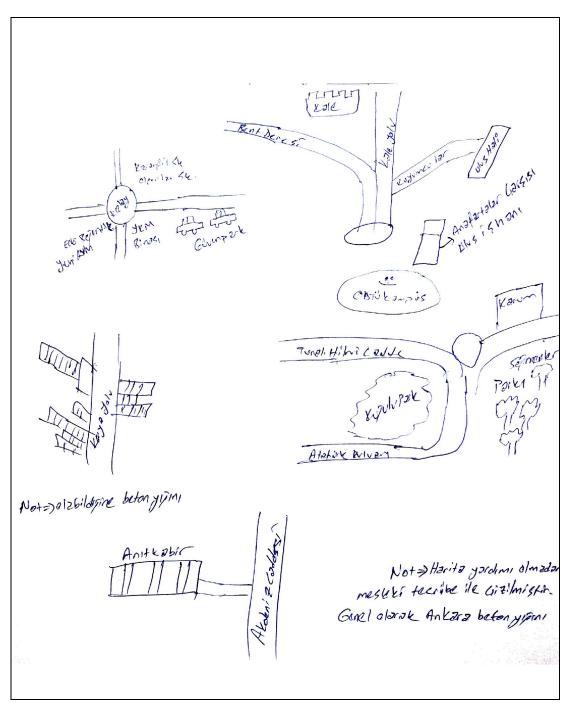


Figure 5.3: Example of fragmented sketch map Source: Questionnaire

Figure 5.4 and 5.5 are examples of partial maps. In general partial maps cover living and working places of the respondents.

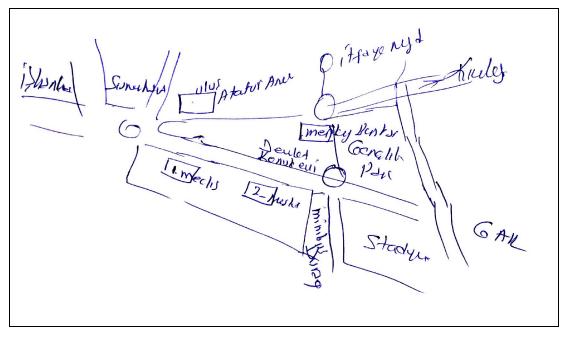


Figure 5.4: Example of partial sketch map Source: Questionnaire

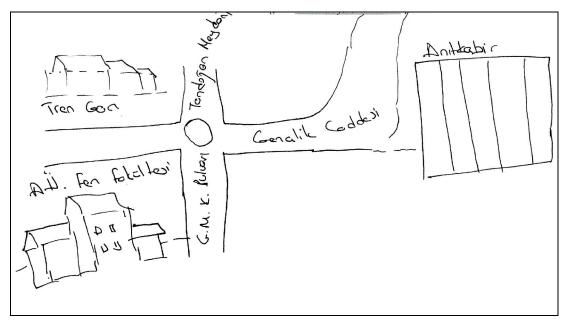


Figure 5.5: Example of partial sketch map Source: Questionnaire

Figure 5.6 is an example of free drawing. These drawings would not be interpreted as maps but still they have plenty of meaningful information, especially in terms of landmarks. In the drawing below, the respondent specifically emphasizes Anıtkabir by drawing and name. Hence this can be interpreted as the landmark of the city for the respondent.

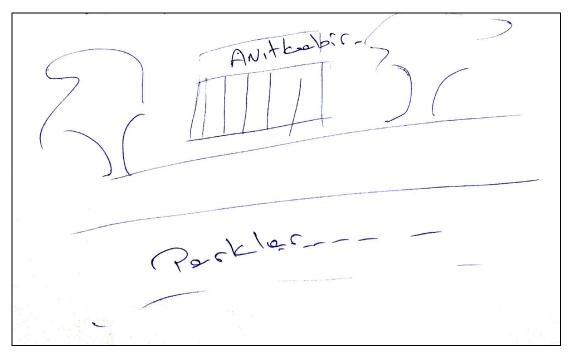


Figure 5.6: Example of free drawing Source: Questionnaire

Analyzing personal cognitive maps, it is observed that any edge is mentioned thus in the analysis edges are excluded. The other four elements (paths, districts, landmarks and nodes) on the other hand are drawn in maps. Following the definitions of these four elements;

- a. Lines which connect two other components are determined as path. Some paths are quite definite regarding nodes and landmarks on them but it is not written any name. Names of this kind of paths are defined with the help of google map (such as the line which connects Ulus, Sihhiye and Kızılay present the Atatürk Boulevard)
- b. Districts are determined according to the written names on the map (such as, Çankaya, Kuğulu Park, and Harikalar Diyarı etc.)

- c. Landmarks are also determined according to names (such as, Atakule, Kentpark Shopping Mall etc.)
- d. According to the definition of nodes, they are focal points, junctions or loci. However, it is important to note that it is quite difficult to differentiate nodes from landmarks in maps. Thus, nodes are differentiated from landmarks as they represent a junction (such as Akay junction). Shopping malls on the other hand are evaluated as landmarks, since it is not possible to know from maps if they are used as nodes or just landmarks.

The elements drawn in cognitive maps are listed in MS Excel Program. The list is analyzed in SPSS by using Frequency Analysis. The Frequency Analysis is an appropriate way to find out mostly mentioned elements in personal maps. Each elements is presented on a map separately and it is also produced a map by overlapping maps of elements which contains these elements to figure out the collective image of participants. Considering collective map of participants, it is conducted a discussion based on the concept of legibility.

• Evaluation of Meaning of Urban Landscape

It is used a three stepped analysis. In the first step of the analysis, the answers (both negative and positive separately) will be analyzed by Frequency Analysis (with the help of SPSS 16.0) in order to juxtapose places according to mostly mentioned. The results are presented in numeric form and also they are visualized on the city map. In the second step, the reasons written by participants are listed. According to criteria of participants' own choosing with no restrictions are classified into groups. This procedure leads explore the meanings of written places attributed by the participants. In the last step, correlation analysis is used in order to understand the relationship between frequencies and the categorical meanings.

• Evaluation of Preferences

Past and present choices for leisure activities are firstly analyzed through Frequency Analysis in SPSS. In the second step the places are grouped according to their characteristics into four; urban public spaces (street and squares), parks and recreation areas, historic and cultural places and others. In the final step a comparative analysis is conducted based on the past and present frequencies and categories.

• Evaluation of Meaning of New Urban Landscape (flagships)

The data which is obtained through Likert scale method is evaluated through firstly frequency analysis. Frequency analysis is conducted for each setting; skyscrapers as office buildings, luxury and gated communities (residences) and shopping malls. In the second step, reasons for respondents' evaluation are categorized. In the final step the frequency analysis and meaning categories are discussed relationally.

CHAPTER 6

RESEARCH FINDINGS

This chapter presents research findings of the survey which is conducted among 731 inhabitants in Ankara. The chapter is organized based on the parts of questionnaire.

In the first part, individual cognitive maps are analyzed in order to reach the collective cognitive map regarding five elements of image. In the second part, meaning attributed to the structure of the city is examined in positive and negative terms. In the third part use of urban environment and people' past and present choices for leisure activities are presented. In the fourth part, people perception of flagships in Ankara is discussed in order to comprehend the meaning attributed to these new urban landscapes.

Consequently in the conclusion part of this chapter a general evaluation is conducted through correlation of each parts of the questionnaire. The findings from each part of the questionnaire are discussed in order to understand the image of Ankara from inhabitants' point of view.

6.1. Designative Aspect of Image: Structure

The designative aspect of the image is analyzed through sketch maps drawn by participants (a total of 588 maps). Regarding cognitive mapping technique, sum of individual sketch maps (or cognitive maps) represents collective map of the city. The designative aspect of the image considering cognitive maps is analyzed in two steps. In the first step of analysis of sketch maps, each elements of image will be analyzed separately. The Frequency Analysis helps to demonstrate which elements are mostly drawn in maps. Moreover, separated maps of each element facilitate to observe the

distribution of elements and lead to discuss areas where they are congregated. In the second step the collective cognitive map is presented. It is produced by overlapping individual sketch maps.

6.1.1. Elements of Image

According to the data set of 588 maps, it is observed maps with any of four elements (or all) of image; path, node, landmark, district. A total of 523 different elements are determined which are drawn on maps. However, it is not observed any edges in maps. Thus, these 523 items are grouped according to image elements under four main headings.

Among these 523 elements, landmarks and districts are mostly mentioned ones (%36 and %35) while nodes are the least ones (%3). Here it is important to remember that in this study nodes are considered as junction points in the city. Although node has also different definitions, it is hard to differentiate landmarks and nodes through sketch maps. In this sense, for example shopping malls are evaluated as landmarks since it is not possible to predict how a person uses them.

	Frequency	Percentage
P: path	134	26
L: landmark	187	35
D: district	188	36
N: node	14	3
TOPLAM	523	100

Table 6.1: Distribution of image elements

a. Paths

Paths are channels by which people move along which can be in the form of road or sidewalk etc. In the maps paths are determined as the lines which connect two or more items. According to cognitive maps, it is observed different 134 paths which vary in size and location.

NAME	Frequency	NAME	Frequency
Atatürk Boulevard	153	Samsun Highway	14
Eskişehir Highway	134	Turan Güneş Str.	14
Tunalı Hilmi Str.	113	Dikmen Str.	13
Konya Highway	74	Meşrutiyet Str.	12
İstanbul Highway	44	Anadolu Boulevard	10
Cinnah Str.	41	Necatibey Str.	10
7.Str (Bahçelievler)	38	Olgunlar Str.	10
Ziya Göklap Str.	28	Park Str.	10
GMK Str.	27	Akay Str.	9
Bestekar Str.	21	Esat Str.	9
Tunus Str.	20	Gençlik Str.	8
Hoşdere Str.	19	Kumrular Str.	8
Karanfil Str.	19	Filistin Str.	7
Arjantin Str.	15	İncek Boulevard	7
Çetin Emeç Str.	14	J.F. Kennedy Str.	7

Table 6.2: Frequency Analysis of Paths

*The table shows top 30 paths according to frequency analysis

The frequency analysis shows that Atatürk Boulevard is the mostly mentioned path in the maps with a frequency of 153 (%14 of total). Atatürk Boulevard is one of the oldest paths in the city which is determined through the planning practices of Lörcher and later Jansen (see Chapter 4). It was first designed as the main spine of the city and as the connector of south and north parts of the city. Thinking of its first emergence it has survived its importance for almost 80 years. On the other side, the Boulevard is the main axis which connects the north and the south parts of the city. Thus it has also functional importance for the city. Another important issue which differentiates boulevard from the other paths in the city is that the linear city center (Ulus, Kızılay, and Kavaklıdere) is located along this boulevard.

Eskişehir, İstanbul, Konya and Samsun Highways are main arteries in the city where most of the residential districts take places. However, among them Eskişehir Highway differentiates from others that it is the main road where university campuses, administrative building and other working places are located. In other words, it is one of the most important paths of the city that daily routine movement takes place. Remembering that experience or use enhances memorability, thus it is quite understandable that Eskişehir Highway is in the second place with a frequency of 134 (%12 of total).



Figure 6.1: Distribution of paths Source: Personal rendering

The map in Figure 6.3 shows the distribution of paths in the city. The paths in the map are mainly concentrated in the center and spread from the center. As it is stated in the previous chapter, Ankara is developed around the center of Ulus and expanded through north and south directions. Later the macroform of the city spread along western corridor. Regarding development of the city, the map of paths reflects the main structure of the city.

There is a concentration in the center of the city Kızılay, and moreover Kavaklıdere and Bahçelievler districts. Even almost all paths in the city center are drawn in sketch maps of respondents. One reason of the concentration of paths may be the spatial relation among them that they form a unified pattern. The other reason can be stated that these paths are important since they consist of various social and cultural activities. They are paths that pedestrian movements are mostly take place. The literature on environmental psychology tells us that there is a difference between experiencing by car and on foot. People are much more aware of their environment while experiencing the environment while walking. From this point of view, it is possible to evaluate the newly emerged modern center of the city; Çukurambar and Söğütözü districts. It is observed that Eskişehir Highway is the only path which defines these districts, but there are no other defined paths in these districts although a number of activities take place like shopping, social activities and business. This can be interpreted as the result of lack of pedestrian oriented transportation system.

b. Landmarks

Landmarks are determined as dissimilar elements with a distinctive identity in urban environment. According to analysis it is observed 187 different landmarks in maps.

NAME	Frequency	NAME	Frequency
Anıtkabir	152	Main Train Station	23
Atakule	102	Esenboğa Airport	20
Grand National Assembly	59	Karum Sm.	17
Ankamall Sm.	44	Panora Sm.	17
Kentpark Sm.	44	Gordion Sm.	15
Cepa Sm.	43	19 Mayıs Stadium	11
Atatürk Monument (Ulus)	37	A.U. Faculty of LHG	11
Terminal (AŞTİ)	35	Küçük theatre	11
Armada Sm.	33	Hittite Sun Monument	11
Historic Assembly	29	AKM	9
Opera House	29	Akün	9
National Library	28	Tepe Prime	9
Çankaya Köşkü	26	Gazi University Hospital	8
Kızılay Sm.	25	Sümerbank (Ulus)	8
Kocatepe Mosque	25	Taurus Sm	8

Table 6.3: Frequency Analysis of Landmarks

*The table shows top 30 landmarks according to frequency analysis

As it is observed in the frequency analysis of paths, landmarks also differ in terms of the duration of existence in the city, their qualifications and sizes. Among these landmarks, there are monuments (Atatürk Monument in Ulus and Hittite Monument in Sıhhiye) and some buildings with various activities. On the other side, in the list there are both historic buildings which were built in the very beginning of the Republic (Opera House, Sümerbank and other historic buildings in Ulus) and recent development (Shopping Malls). In this sense analysis of landmarks will give much more appropriate information after examining the meanings of these landmarks. However, still it is possible to say that apart from meaning attributed to these structures some of recent developments but especially shopping malls take place in cognitive maps. Even %13 of total listed landmarks is shopping malls.

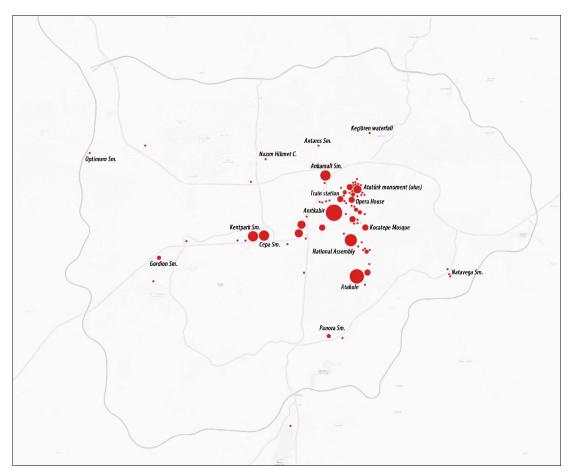


Figure 6.2: Distribution of landmarks Source: Personal rendering

The distribution of landmarks on map is presented above. According to map it is observed the landmarks on the main spine of the city (Atatürk Boulevard) are much more visible that the others. From the historic center of Ulus to Çankaya it is observed 21 percent of total landmarks. There are also some frequently mentioned landmarks in Bahçelievler and Anittepe districts such as Anitkabir and National Library.

There are some other less frequently mentioned landmarks which are mainly shopping malls (like Gordion and Arcadium in Çayyolu, Nata Vega in Mamak, Panora in Oran, Taurus on Konya Highway and Optimum in Etimesgut). Along the Eskişehir Highway it is also observed important landmarks which are also shopping malls (Kentpark, Cepa and Armada shopping malls).

The branded districts of Ankara on the other hand – Çukurambar and Söğütözü – are less visible in terms of landmarks. It seems that there is a dilemma that although flagship projects concern "visibility" and "memorability" as the most important criterion, it would not be wrong to say that they are unsuccessful in reaching this main intention. At this point one may criticize this argument that these flagships are quite new in urban environment. However, main criterion of flagships in place branding strategies is to be noticeable and notable regarding dynamic and fast competitive environment. Its nature of being different from surrounding is independent from time, even the faster it is recognized the more successful it is in the period of consumption.

c. Districts

Districts are small to large parts of the city which have identifiable physical characters. "They can be recognized internally, and occasionally can be used as external reference as a person goes by or toward them." (Lynch, 21960: 66) Districts may neighborhood districts, university campuses or parks and recreation areas.

NAME	Frequency	NAME	Frequency
Kızılay	301	Ümitköy	38
Ulus	182	Çayyolu	35
Kuğulu park	120	Beşevler	34
Metu	95	Mamak	33
Bahçelievler	93	Balgat	31
Kavaklıdere	89	Emek	30
Çankaya	80	Cebeci	29
Gençlik park	70	Oran	29
Sıhhiye	66	Ayrancı	27
Ankara Citadel	65	Dikmen	27
AOÇ	61	Maltepe	25
Gölbaşı-Lake Mogan	61	Sakarya	25
Güvenpark	55	Göksu park	24
Yenimahalle	53	Etlik	23
Bilkent	45	Bakanlıklar	22
Lake Eymir	43	Dışkapı	22
Sincan	43	Gaziosmanpaşa	22
Batıkent	40	H.U. Beytepe Campus	20
Seğmenler park	40	Küçükesat	20
Keçiören	38	Çukurambar	19

*The table shows top 40 districts according to frequency analysis

Based on individual cognitive maps, it is observed 188 districts which are differentiated in size and characteristics. Written districts in maps are neighborhood districts, parks and recreational areas, university campus and historic districts. Among 188 districts, %56 of total is neighborhood districts, %20 is parks and recreational areas, and % 7 is university and education campus and the rest includes industrial areas, historic districts and others.

Kızılay and Ulus are two districts which are mostly drawn in sketch maps. These two districts present the two centers of the city. Moreover, Kavaklıdere, Bahçelievler and Çankaya also are frequently mentioned in maps. Besides, either small or big most of the parks in the city are expressed as districts with their distinctive characteristics.

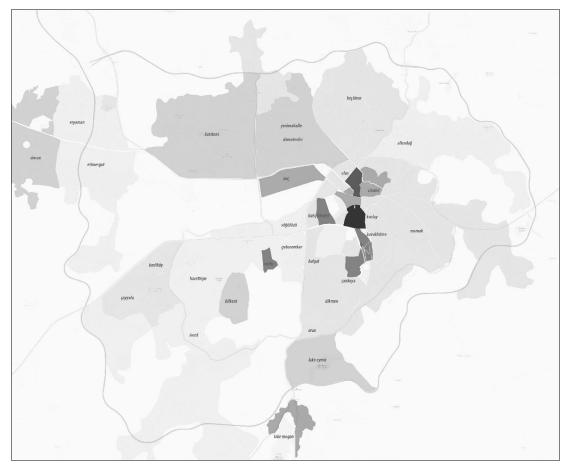


Figure 6.3: Distribution of districts Source: Personal rendering

The map shows that similar situation in the maps of paths and landmarks are observed in the distribution of districts that there is a congregation of districts along the main spine of the city, Atatürk Boulevard. Among them, Kızılay, Ulus, Sıhhiye, Kavaklıdere and Çankaya are these districts which define the boulevard.

Considering the newly developed districts of Çukurambar and Söğütözü where place branding strategies are mostly shaped the spatial layout are again invisible districts in maps. Actually, absence of these districts is more appropriate indicator for them since it is assumed that Çukurambar and Söğütözü are the new modern central districts of the city. In other words, although unique elements in these districts are not legible in their own it is expected to be legible as a district. This shows us that singular elements stay inadequate to form a coherent pattern.

d. Nodes

"Nodes are strategic foci into which observers can enter." (Lynch, 1960: 72) They are not small points but they can be squares, central districts. They can be also main junctions mostly a transportation hub. Regarding this definitions it is observed 14 nodes in cognitive maps.

Kızılay, Ulus and Sıhhiye are three important nodes in the city. They constitute the linear center of the city. There are central activities; administrative, commercial, cultural and social activities. On the other side these are centers of the main public transportation system including light rail system (Ankara), underground and buses. They also constitute main artery which connects south and the north parts of the city. Other junctions in the list are located on the west and east parts of the boulevard. Moreover, there are also metro stations in these areas.

NAME	Frequency	NAME	Frequency
Kızılay	301	İtfaiye square	4
Ulus	182	Sincan square	4
Sıhhiye	66	Zafer square	2
Tandoğan square	41	Cebeci junction	1
Kolej junction	25	Esat junction	1
Akay junction	6	Genel Kurmay junction	1
Şili square	5	Yıldız junction	1

Table 6.5: Frequency Analysis of Nodes

*Kızılay, Ulus and Sıhhiye are evaluated both as districts and nodes since in the drawing they contain qualities of these two elements.

There are also four squares in the list. Zafer and İtfaiye squares are pedestrian oriented squares which are located on the boulevard. Şili square is not a pedestrian square but it is the point which connects Kavaklıdere and Ayrancı districts. On the other side Şili Square is also important that many people (especially younger) use the square as meeting place. Sincan square is the main square in the district. There are various activities (shops, café, administrative building) in the square and moreover it is also a meeting point for residents in Sincan.

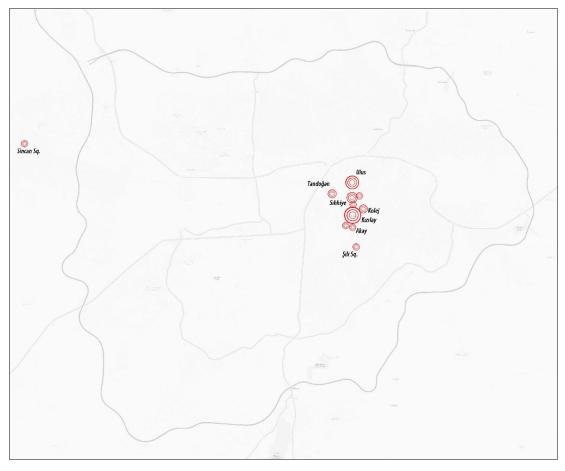


Figure 6.4: Distribution of nodes Source: Personal rendering

6.1.2. Collective Image

Collective or public image is sum of personal images of inhabitants. In the research the collective cognitive map is produced by overlapping 588 individual sketch maps of respondents¹⁷. The evaluation of collective map can be followed up through revisiting the concept of legibility of Kevin Lynch. A legible environment should be perceivable in parts and as a whole. In the previous part each element was analyzed separately. In this part on the other hand the relation between the elements appearing in the map are discussed. Regarding these relations it is intended to comprehend the legible parts of the city.

¹⁷ Respondents vary according to gender, education level and duration of residence. Moreover they live in different districts in the city.



Figure 6.5: Collective image Source: Personal rendering

Ankara has a dispersed macroform through north-south and east-west directions. The center of the city started from the historic center of Ulus to Çankaya is observed in maps. There are no edges defined in maps however the "Çevreyolu" which surround the city can be interpreted as the edge of the city in general. Five of the main highways –Eskişehir, İstanbul, Konya, Samsun and Çankırı Highways – are mentioned in maps but with differentiated frequencies. These five highways are the main arteries in the city where especially residential districts are located.

Atatürk Boulevard is the strongest element of image in the city. The boulevard is defined with on the south part Çankaya Köşkü (President House) and on the north part Ulus Square. Along the boulevard there are a number of streets (Konur, Yüksel, İzmir, Selanik, Tunus, Bestekar, and Tunalı Hilmi etc.) which are connected to the boulevard mainly in Ulus, Kızılay and Kavaklıdere (central districts). The boulevard

is also defined with a number of landmarks and nodes. Akay junction is defined as the connection of boulevard and Eskişehir Highway. Along the highway, it is observed a number of landmarks which are mainly concentrated in Bahçelievler, Çukurambar, and Söğütözü. Bahçelievler district is one which is mostly emphasized as an important district but also paths (7th Street, 4th Street, 3rd Street etc.) and landmarks (Anıtkabir, National Library) are also quite visible. On the other side, university campuses on the highway are also other visible districts.



Figure 6.6: Concentration of elements of image Source: Personal rendering

The map above shows that there is a concentration of all four elements in the linear center along the Atatürk Boulevard. The area is defined with connected paths, landmarks and also nodes and districts. Each element is perceivable separately but also forms a unified structure which in turns makes the most legible part in the city.

Other parts of the city are only determined with districts. Main paths (like İstanbul Highway, Etlik Street etc.) determine the boundaries of districts and connect them to each other.

Eskişehir highway on the other hand is defined with only landmarks which can be interpreted as less legible than the linear center. In this sense Çukurambar and Söğütözü districts which are developed according to branding strategies are just defined with landmarks as well. As it is mentioned before the lack of pedestrian experience or vehicle oriented development may be one of the reasons. The other reason for their weak image may be that closed and introvert spaces which are provided by malls are not perceived as part of the city but they are fragmented elements in mental maps. The analysis of meaning in the next section will be more explanatory.

6.2. Appraisive Aspect of Image: Meaning of Urban Landscape

The affective meaning of the image consists of the meaning attributed to the physical image. To comprehend the meaning it was asked people to list what comes in their mind when talking about Ankara regarding positive and negative aspects. Open ended questions are asked in order to understand the meaning attributed to environment. This method leads people to express their own thoughts and feelings without any restriction or guidance. Data obtained from the survey are analyzed in frequency analysis. Moreover, it is asked people to write the reasons for their choices. In the first step the reasons are categorized and it is presented their frequencies. In the second step, correlation analysis is used to comprehend the relationship between the reasons and frequencies.

6.2.1. Positive Meaning

A total of 667 respondents write names of places or buildings while other 64 respondent declared that "there is no such thing when I am thinking of Ankara". 2683 answers of 667 respondents are firstly analyzed through frequency analysis. Consequently, a total of 290 different places are listed.

NAME	Frequency	NAME	Frequency
Anıtkabir	308	Sakarya	14
Kuğulu Park	151	Ulus	14
Lake Eymir	122	Altınpark	13
Tunalı Hilmi Str.	122	Train Station	13
Seğmenler Park	96	Blue Lake	13
Atakule	94	Ulus Square	13
Citadel	81	Kavaklıdere	12
Metu	76	Keçiören	11
Shopping Malls	74	Tunus Str.	11
Parks	74	University Campuses	11
Aoç	74	İncek	10
Kızılay	67	Museum	10
Lake Mogan	64	Art & Sculpture Museum	10
Hamamönü	57	50.yıl Park	9
Bahçelievler	47	Arjantin Str.	9
Göksu Park	45	Atatürk Monument (Ulus)	8
Opera House	37	Atatürk Boulevard	8
Gençlik Park	35	Bilkent	7
Historic Buildings (Ulus)	32	Çukurambar	7
Botanik Park	31	Küçük Theatre	7
N. Grand Assembly	27	National Library	7
7.Str (Bahçelievler)	27	Oran	7
Historic Assembly	26	Park Str.	7
Güvenpark	26	Tandoğan	7
Harikalar Diyarı	24	Ulucanlar Museum	7
Dikmen Valley	22	Ziraat Bank (Ulus)	7
Bestekar Str.	20	AKM	6
Çayyolu	19	Batıkent	6
Hacı Bayram	19	Gazi district	6
Kurtuluş Park	18	Karanfil Str.	6
Çankaya	17	Koru	6
Kocatepe Mosque	17	Kumrular Str.	6
Ahlatlıbel	16	Nazım Hikmet C.C.	6
Museum of Ethnography	16	Yüksel Str.	6
ODTÜ Forest	16	Anıttepe	5
Ümitköy	16	Ayrancı	5
Hittite Monument	15	Emek	5
Museum of Anatolian C.	14	Estergon Castle	5

Table 6.6: Frequency Analysis of Positive Meaning

Table 6.6 (continued)			
Filistin Str.	5	Ankara Arena	2
GOP	5	Aşağı Eğlence Square	2
H.U. Beytepe Campus	5	Beşevler	2
Zoo	5	Beypazarı	2
Samanpazarı	5	Beysukent	2
Saraçoğlu district	5	Beytepe Forest	2
Sincan	5	Embassies	2
Şinasi Theatre	5	Cebeci	2
Ankara Palace	4	Çankaya Municipality	2
Cinnah Str.	4	Çengel Han	2
CSO	4	Çiğdem	2
Eryaman	4	Elvankent	2
Hastaneler	4	Etlik	2
Konur Str.	4	G.U. Campus	2
Mamak	4	Museum of Aviation	2
Next Level	4	Hippodrome	2
Olgunlar Str.	4	İstanbul Highway	2
Papazın Bağı	4	İş Bank (Ulus)	2
Tandoğan Square	4	İzmir Str.	2
Cermodern	4	Kennedy Str.	2
Anıtpark	3	Kuzey Ankara	2
Trad. Ankara Houses	3	Marriott Hotel	2
Bakanlıklar	3	Mebusevleri	2
Balgat	3	Meclis Park	2
Diyanet Mosque	3	ODTÜ Vişnelik	2
Esenboğa Airport	3	Ostim	2
Eskişehir Highway	3	Park Vadi	2
Konutkent	3	Sabancı Dorm	2
Roman Bath	3	Sincan Square	2
Sıhhiye	3	Soğuksu National Park	2
19 Mayıs Stadium	2	Sümerbank (ulus)	2
Monuments	2	Şili Square	2

* Places with a frequency less than two (2) are not listed

The list above can be interpreted with the collective cognitive map. In this sense it is observed two distinctive consequences. The first consequence is that there are similar results in both analyses while the second consequence is opposite results which means frequently drawn in maps map less frequently mentioned in analysis of meaning.

It is observed that Anıtkabir is one which has the highest frequency like maps. It will become more understandable when the meaning attributed to Anıtkabir is analyzed. At this point, it would not be wrong to say that its symbolic meaning has quite important for many people living in Ankara as shown in frequency analysis. Thus Anıtkabir has strong imageability considering its physical image and meaning.

Parks and recreation areas including Kuğulu Park, Lake Eymir etc. are also frequently stated with positive meanings. These are also mentioned in cognitive maps. That means that there is something beyond physical image, but also they have quite important meanings for respondents. Not only these two but also many other parks and recreation areas in different locations are also stated with positive meaning (Aoç, Göksu Park in Etimesgut, Harikalar Diyarı in Sincan, Kurtuluş Park, Anıtpark, Altınpark, Gençlik Park etc.).

Regarding paths, Tunalı Hilmi Street which has quite high frequency in maps also has positive meaning attributed by respondents. Beside Tunalı Hilmi Street, it is observed many of others which are especially located in the city center (like Yüksel str., 7.street, Bestekar str., Tunus str. etc.).

Another important result is frequencies of historical places and buildings. There is again similar result like in cognitive maps. Remembering landmarks mentioned in the maps, along the main spine it is listed a number of historic buildings (mostly early republican period; Opera House, Historic Assemblies in Ulus, İş Bank, Sümerbak, and Museum of Ethnography etc.) which are visible as structures and also have a strong meaning.

On the other side, opposite phenomena from the maps also appears. Atatürk Boulevard for example is the one which has a strong physical image among others however according to the attributed meaning it is less significant. In other words, although Boulevard has a strong physical image, it has not strong meaning for observers. Shopping malls is another example that almost every mall in Ankara is observed in maps while in the questionnaire they are in the 9th place. This shows that they have physical importance either as a landmark or node but the meaning

attributed to shopping malls is not very strong. In order to understand the meaning attributed to written places it is asked respondent to write comment and reason for their selection. Among written spaces, it is observed 8 different categories according to the meanings attributed by respondents.

REASONS	Frequency	Percentage
symbolic-identity-memory (S)	156	37
open space-parks (P)	104	25
like (L)	60	14
open space-streets (ST.)	41	10
Function (F)	33	8
demographic (D)	14	3
order-planned (O)	9	2
modern (M)	3	1
Total	420	100,0

Table 6.7: Frequency Analysis of Reasons

Respondents mostly mentioned symbolic meaning of places and identity of Ankara. %37of total answers mention that when thinking of Ankara, there are places which make Ankara identifiable and distinctive from other cities. These are the signs of early republican period and modernization of Ankara. People also state that if they try to introduce Ankara to someone who does not know they stated that they will choose these places as the images of identity of Ankara. Respondents also mention the historical importance of these structures (buildings or parks), the continuity of cultural values and collective memory of the city.

%25 on the other side mentioned the need for parks and recreation areas and respondents define parks as the most valuable urban places, especially parks which are located in the centers like Kuğulu Park, Seğmenler Park and Gençlik Park as shown in frequency table (Table 6.6). The rest of recreation areas like Lake Eymir and Lake Mogan are defined as opportunities to escape from built environment. Respondents also mention on the continuity of green spaces in Ankara. It is used to be possible to observe the continuity which was designed in the early Republican period; however, recent interventions in urban environment break the green and open space system into parts.



Figure 6.7: Kuğulu Park, Seğmenler Park, Gençlik Park Source: wowturkey.com

14 percent of respondents mention that they enjoy being and spending their leisure times. 10 percent emphasize on the importance of open spaces but mostly streets and squares. For instance, several streets in Kızılay district (Yüksel, Konur, Olgunlar, İzmir streets etc.) and Kavaklıdere district (Tunalı Hilmi, Bestekar, Tunus streets etc.). Specifically, street activities, street life and spending time in urban public spaces are three subjects which are frequently noted by respondents.

8 percent of respondents emphasize on functionality. Places which propose variety of activities are evaluated in a positive way. It is also stated that places with different opportunities contribute into social life in Ankara. The socio-demographic structure is another issue. People attribute some positive meanings to places with higher socio economic structure. 2 percent of participants emphasize on order and planned environment and 1 percent on modern and sign of developed city.

The correlation analysis table below shows the list of places which are frequently mentioned in the questionnaire and the categories of meaning attributed to these places. Correlation analysis leads to understand statistical relationships among frequencies and categorical meanings. It shows the various meaning attributed to the places from higher to lower frequencies. It is possible to read the table of correlation analysis in two ways; vertical and horizontal. While reading horizontally gives mostly mentioned places in each category, reading vertically on the other hand leads to understand the meaning attributes to each place.

NAME	S	Р	ST.	L	F	D	М	0
Anıtkabir	99	Г	51.	1	Г	D	IVI	0
Kuğulu Park	29	56		9	6			
Lake Eymir	11	68		8	8	3	2	
Tunalı Hilmi Str.	18	08	36	27	13	6	2	
Seğmenler Park	18	62	50	13	4	2		
Atakule	87	02		9	2	2		
Citadel	72		10	13	5			
Metu	29	47	10	21	3	3		
Shopping malls	3	4/		47	44	5	6	
Parks	3	96		4/	44		4	
	33	43		21	3		4	
Aoç Kurday		43	18	32	13	3		
Kızılay	34	50	18			3		
Lake Mogan	8 70	52	19	28 11	12			
Hamamönü					6	6		6
Bahçelievler Göksu Park	31	71	13	38	6	6		6
	100	/1		29				
Opera House	100	21		1.0	10			
Gençlik Park	53	21		16	10			
Historic buildings	100	57			5			
Botanik Park	38	57			5			
G. National Assembly	100			10		10		
7.Street	9		55	18		18		
Historic Assembly	93	11	17	7		(
Güvenpark	44	11	17	22	~	6	~	
Harikalar Diyarı	5	75		10	5		5	
Dikmen Valley	20	60	27	20	07			
Bestekar Str.	9		37	27	27	11	11	
Çayyolu				45		11	11	33
Hacı Bayram	75	16		25				
Kurtuluş Park	36	46		9	9	11		1.1
Çankaya	11			45		11	22	11
Kocatepe Mosque	67			33				
Ahlatlibel		56		33	11			
Museum Ethnography	86		14					
ODTÜ Forest	14	86						
Ümitköy				14			14	72
Hittite Monument	78			22				
Museum of Anatolian C.	100							
Sakarya	30		50	10	10			
Ulus	70		10	10	10			
Altınpark	17	50	<u> </u>	33				

 Table 6.8: Correlation Analysis of Meaning and Frequencies (%)

Table 6.8 (continued)								
Train Station	100							
Blue Lake		60		20	20			
Ulus Square	50		50					
Kavaklıdere	25		50	25				
Keçiören			25	38	25	12		
University Campus		83			17			
Tunus Str.			50			50		
İncek		40					20	40
Museums	100							
Art and Sculpture Mus.	100							
50.yıl Park		100						
Arjantin Str.			33			67		
Atatürk Monument (Ulus)	100							
Atatürk Boulevard	50				50			
Bilkent		20	20	40		20		
Çukurambar					33			67
, Küçük Theatre	60			20	20			
, National Library	33			67				
Oran				67		33		
Park Str.				50		50		
Tandoğan	34			33		33		
Ulucanlar Museum	100							
Ziraat Bank (Ulus)	100							
AKM	25			75				
Batıkent			33	33			17	17
Gazi district	50	50						
Karanfil Str.				33	67			
Koru				60		40		
Kumrular Str.	50			50				
Nazım Hikmet C.C.				33	67			
Yüksel Str.	50			25	25			
Anittepe			67	33				
Ayrancı				100				
Emek	25		50		25			
Estergon Castle				100				
Filistin Str.			50			50		
GOP			100					
H.U. Beytepe Campus		100						
Zoo		100						
Samanpazarı	34		33	33				
Saraçoğlu district	100							
*Places with a frequency less	than fi	$\frac{1}{100}$	ra not	listad	L	ι	I	

*Places with a frequency less than five (5) are not listed

The correlation analysis shows that among 84 places, 28 (%33) of them have symbolic meanings. All places with symbolic meanings have historical background and most of them represent early Republican period (historical buildings in Ulus, Opera House, Museums of Ethnography and Art and Sculpture, Hamamönü etc.). Among them Ankara Citadel represents ancient and medieval era of Ankara. Hamamönü on the other hand contains of traditional Ankara houses and represent Ankara in19th century. Few ones are rather newer but they have also strong symbolic meaning (Anıtkabir – 1953, Grand National Assembly – 1961, Kocatepe Mosque – 1987, Atakule – 1989)



Figure 6.8: Anıtkabir, Hamamönü and Citadel Source: Municipality of Altındağ and Wikipedia

Besides, there are also Kızılay and Ulus districts which have symbolic meanings. These two central districts also represent early republican period and they survive their importance as center of the city for almost 80 years. Gençlik Park is another important district that although it is a park in the center, the symbolic value for the city is more important. Both buildings and districts also all are evaluated as the part of the identity of Ankara that they have positive contribution into place identity.

Lake Eymir, Kuğulu Park and Seğmenler Park are quite important in terms of parks and recreation areas. Different from others, Kuğulu Park has also symbolic meaning for respondents. Similarly Aoç is also evaluated as an open space (as park) but on the other side it has symbolic meaning. Newer parks on the other side (Göksu Park, Harikalar Diyarı) are just evaluated as open spaces (park) but they are not symbolically important for interviewees. Most of respondents state that they enable people to spend their weekends in open airs rather to be in closed spaces. According to urban spaces (street and squares) places in Kavaklidere, Bahçelievler, Ulus and Kızılay districts come forward as the most popular places for pedestrian activities. These places provide variety of opportunities for activities and they are also places for socialization. Some respondents state that they are the indispensable part of urban life and they enrich the city opposite to closed and introvert places. Additionally, regarding the street patterns some districts are also mentioned like Anittepe, Batikent, Kavaklidere, Bahçelievler and Koru. According to statements of respondents, in these districts the traditional street pattern and life in streets are preserved.

Areas which are developed through branding strategies (Çukurambar and Söğütözü) and also landmarks in these areas are also missing in affective meaning. People only attribute positive meanings to mall which is mostly based on its functionality but not the physical appearance. The lack of these areas in open ended answers should be questioned. They are not in cognitive maps and also there is no positive meanings attributed to them. The duration of existence in the city would not be a reason for their lack because if it is so, new parks (Göksu, Harikalar Diyarı) would also be missing.

In summary, while thinking of Ankara people mostly mentioned old and historic places. The symbolic meanings and identity are the two important indicators for their evaluations. Regarding these two indicators, buildings with historical or symbolic meanings are more imageable than others. They take places in mental maps in terms of physical and meaningful elements. It is obvious that familiarity enhances memorability which means as long you experience you remember more. But, this does not mean that everything in your experienced environment convey meaning. One best example in Ankara can be Emek Skyscrapers which is the first high-rise modern building located in the center of the center Kızılay. Although Kızılay has a strong image in terms of structure and meaning and a number of landmarks are also quite imageable, Emek building is not exist in nether cognitive maps or list of meaning.

6.2.2. Negative Meaning

In the second part, it is asked people to write down places which evoke negative feelings and thoughts with reasons. When it is asked people to write negative places or buildings that come into their minds, some of them specify places while few others mention about the general problems in the city (like environmental quality). They are not included in the list but considered in general evaluations. These data also have valuable contributions. As a result, a total of 245 different places or buildings are listed (see Table 6.13).

NAME	Frequency	NAME	Frequency
Shopping malls	234	Çelik Kafes	10
Skyscrapers (Çukurambar)	120	Bahçelievler	9
Ulus	117	Etimesgut	9
New City Gates	107	TOKİ houses	9
Clock sculpts	83	Aști	8
Çinçin ve Bentderesi	82	Hamamönü	8
Kızılay	62	Gölbaşı	8
Gökkuşağı (Bahçelievler)	38	Atatürk Boulevard	7
Sincan	38	Göksu Parkı	7
Governmental House	35	Kuğulu underpass	7
Gençlik Park	35	Sakarya	7
Mamak	32	Cankırı Str.	6
Keçiören	29	, Dışkapı	6
Aoç (present)	26	Dikmen	6
Demetevler	21	Fountains	6
Malazgirt Boulevard	21	Siteler	6
Atakule	19	Artificial waterfalls	6
Buildings	19	Batıkent	5
Squatter houses	16	Etlik	5
Güvenpark	16	Keçiören cable lift	5
Kızılay Square	16	Konya Highway	5
Ulus Square	16	Flower billboard	5
Sıhhiye	16	Çankaya Hotel	5
Yenidoğan	15	AKP Headquarter	4
Citadel	14	Cebeci	4
Altındağ	13	Çankırı Highway	4

Table 6.9: Frequency Analysis of Negative Meaning

Table 6.9 (continued)			
Harikalar Diyarı	11	Kurtuluş Park	4
Ankapark	10	Kuzey Ankara	4
Pursaklar	4	Altınpark	2
Şentepe	4	Anafartalar	2
G. National Assembly	4	Balgat	2
Tunalı Hilmi Str.	4	Batikent metro station	2
Ulus Hali	4	CHP Headquarter	2
Cat Figure/symbol	4	Doğantepe	2
Adliye Binası	3	Emek	2
7.Street	3	Eryaman	2
Çankaya	3	Gazi	2
Çayyolu	3	Gülveren	2
Dikmen Valley	3	Hacı Bayram	2
Estergon Castle	3	Hasköy	2
Zoo	3	İncek	2
İstanbul Highway	3	İsmetpaşa	2
Keçiören waterfall	3	İtfaye Square	2
Kocatepe Mosque	3	Keçiören 75. Yıl tower	2
Lunapark	3	Oran	2
Maltepe	3	Park Str.	2
Mamak dumpsite	3	Park Oran	2
19 Mayıs Stadium	3	Samanpazarı	2
Abdi İpekçi Park	2	Sıhhiye bridge	2
Abidinpaşa	2	Tuzluçayır	2
Ahmet Hamdi Mosque	2	Yaşamkent	2
Aktaş Bazaar	2	Yenimahalle	2

* Places with a frequency less than two (2) are not listed

Top seven places in the list are frequently mentioned in questionnaire. Especially shopping malls are on the top of the list with a frequency of 234 which means that approximately one third of respondent state that malls have negative meanings in urban environment. In this table it is quite interesting that the first two are the tools of place branding strategies. At this point it is important to remember that these are the results of an open ended question thus there is no choices or guidance. This reminding is important because this explain the absence of skyscrapers in cognitive maps.

Another interesting consequence is about the new city gates and clock sculpts. These two elements are not observed in any of sketch maps but they are very frequently mentioned in affective aspect of the image. They are not able to take place in mental maps in terms of both structure and meaning. The reasons will explain this situation in the previous part.

Some places which have positive meanings attributed by respondents have also negative ones like Kızılay, Ulus, Atakule, Bahçelievler, Hamamönü, Gençlik Park and Harikalar Diyarı. Aoç is also in the list but in the questionnaires it is especially mentioned that new interventions (Ankapark – new theme park, New Governmental House) in the Aoç land are negative but Aoç must be protected as a cultural and natural value for Ankara. Regarding these places in the list it is obtained a number of reasons which are categorized into 13 main headings.

REASONS	Frequency	Percentage
fragmented-incompatible with identity (I)	87	14
destruction of open spaces (P)	81	13
Dislike (L)	76	13
unaesthetic-bad image (A)	58	10
destruction of urban social life (S)	53	9
bad environmental quality (E)	51	8
disordered-unplanned (O)	47	8
crowd (C)	36	6
destruction of historic place (H)	33	5
demographic (D)	26	4
security problems (S.)	22	4
rant and consumption (R)	18	3
quantity (Q)	16	3
TOPLAM	604	100

Table 6.10: Frequency Analysis of Reasons

*The letters present abbreviation of that category

14 percent of respondents mention spatial fragmentation and incompatibility. According to this category, some interventions in urban environment are fragmented parts which do not have any connection with their surroundings. Moreover they are fragmented from the society and the city culture. These structures are incompatible with the place identity, history and the memory of the city. 13 percent of respondents view that recent development in the city cause destruction of parks and green areas in the city. The way they construct is one of the most important comments in the questionnaire. According to the statements of respondents, the major problem in the city is transformation of green and open spaces into built up areas. Regarding this problem, especially recent interventions through place branding policies are criticized by many respondents. 13 percent just state their thought as dislike. 10 percent of respondent on the other hand emphasize aesthetic qualities and their effects on the image. In this group it is mainly discussed that there are any aesthetic care in new buildings and structure in their own and as a whole. In other words, both singular projects and their wholeness are incompatible with city aesthetic.

9 percent of participants criticize the dissolution of life in public spaces; street and squares. Especially considering shopping malls participant indicate mall as the main reason for the death of street. It is criticized that shopping malls create introvert and closed spaces in the city whereas people prefer to spend time in open air and public spaces. Moreover, some interventions in the city are criticized that policies are more vehicle oriented rather pedestrian one. Parallel to these critics 8 percent of respondents emphasize environmental quality. Especially barriers on pedestrian ways and squalidness of old center (Ulus and Kızılay) are two important aspects.

Disorder and unplanned development are other important issues. Most people mention that planning principles are neglected in the new developing areas (especially Çukurambar). Even some of them state that skyscrapers are built in the same way squatter houses are, but they are worse in terms of building height, environmental sensibility and human scale.

Demographic and security problems go quite parallel that some districts in the city are evaluated as insecure because of the low education level and socio-demographic profile living in these districts. 3 percent of respondents mention that especially shopping malls and skyscrapers are product of rant and imposed consumption culture into the city and also they are products of dominant interests which cause social segregation in society.

NAME	Ι	Р	L	Α	S	Е	0	С	Η	D	S.	R	Q
Shopping malls	12	17	20	10	19		3	3				6	10
Skyscrapers (ç.ambar)	11	17	18	24	6		14					11	
Ulus	2	1	8	2	1	22	15	12	9	15	13		
New City Gates	39		28	30		1						3	
Sculpts of Clock	36		31	23		5						5	
Çinçin ve Bentderesi	9		13			27	13	3		13	22		
Kızılay		6	9	2		11	19	28	11	14			
Gökkuşağı	29		20	20	6	9	10					6	
Sincan	4		21	15		19	7			26	4	4	
Government House			100										
Gençlik Park			29	10		5		10	18	14	14		
Mamak			20			25	15	5		20	15		
Keçiören	5		13	27		5	13	5		32			
Aoç (current)		27			5				59			9	
Demetevler		11	16	11		6	33	11		6	6		
Malazgirt Boulevard	20	20	40	20									
Atakule			31	38		15	8		8				
Buildings		83		6		11							
Illegal houses	23			8		15	31	8			15		
Güvenpark			17			25	8		17	25	8		
Kızılay Square		7		13		22	22	22	7	7			
Ulus Square				7		20	12	7	7	27	20		
Sıhhiye			8			31	15	8		15	23		
Yenidoğan	14		14			14	30	14			14		
Citadel						32		17	17	17	17		
Altındağ	10	10	20			30	10	10			10		
Harikalar Diyarı			25	25			25			13		13	
Ankapark	50											50	
Çelik Kafes		29	57	14									
Bahçelievler			12			12	39	25	12				
Etimesgut			40			20				40			
TOKİ Houses	22		22	56									
Aști						25		50		25			
Hamamönü	20			20					40		20		
Atatürk Boulevard			20			20		20	40				
Göksu Park			28	16				28		28			
Kuğulu underpass			25	50	25								

Table 6.11: Correlation Analysis of Meaning and Frequencies (%)

*Places with a frequency less than five (5) are not listed

** Values represent percentages

The correlation analysis table above shows the relations between frequency analysis and reasons in categories. Like the correlation analysis for positive meaning, it is also possible to read the table in two ways. Regarding identity and incompatibility, new city gates and sculpts of clock which are built in last year are two structures that people find them quite incompatible with the identity of the city. They are evaluated as "artificial" signs of a fake history whereas Metropolitan Municipality declared the as the new symbols of the city (www.ankara .bel.tr).



Figure 6.9: New City Gates on Konya, Samsun, Çankırı Highways Source: ankara.bel.tr

The products of place branding are on tops on the list. Respondents mention a number of reasons for their negative evaluation. For shopping malls, beside likability adverse effect of the urban paces and street life and dissolution of parks and recreation areas are mentioned as two meanings attributed to malls. Although malls intend to create new understanding of urban space, the meaning conveyed by these structures is interpreted in the opposite way. Actually this is an important indicator of the gap between conveyed and attributed meanings. Similarly, skyscrapers are also evaluated as unaesthetic and cause of dissolution of city aesthetic whereas they are built as quite remarkable structures. From another point of view they are seen as the elements which cause the decline in open and green spaces in the city like shopping malls.

Kızılay, Ulus, Güvenpark and Citadel which also have quite important positive meaning are in the list because of their bad environmental qualities. Actually they have not problems with their identities or importance for the city but policies which neglect city center and focus on new developing spaces and malls are criticized by many respondents.

To conclude, it is asked people to write places come to their minds while thinking of Ankara in both positive and negative way. It is conducted open ended question method to comprehend respondents' own thoughts without any guidance or restrictions. As a result, 290 places with attributed positive meanings and 245 places with negative meanings are obtained. In the previous part the frequency analyses of them is presented. In this section, the results are shown in maps.

In the map, orange points show places with positive meanings and blue points show places with negative meanings. The scale of points differs according to the frequencies which mean larger point represents higher frequency.

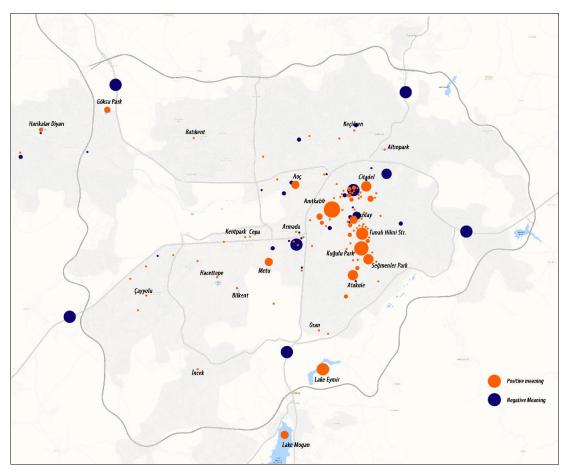


Figure 6.10: Meanings attributed to urban environment¹⁸ Source: Personal rendering

¹⁸ Because of their amount and varied locations Sculpts of clocks are not shown in the map. Moreover, in the questionnaire shopping malls are expressed in general so that only specified malls are shown in the map

This comparison is carried out including all places (except places with a frequency equals to 1) with both negative and positive attributed meanings to comprehend the general picture of inhabitants' evaluation. While thinking of Ankara respondents predominantly mention the core of the city which has been developed from the very beginning of the Republican period (from 1932). The area has been developed through the principles of Lörcher and Jansen Plans and preserved its main structure since that time. Respondents mostly emphasize the area with landmarks, nodes and paths as the parts of the place identity of Ankara. On the other side new urban interventions are mostly evaluation as the cause of dissolution of the identity of the city. This argument may be criticized since there is difference in duration of existence in urban environment between new and old places. However analyses show that despite the short time some places are in the positive side like parks and recreation areas (Harikalar Diyarı opened in November 2004, Göksu Park opened in June 2003). This case gives clues about what people need and expect from the urban environment which can be also understood from the emphasis on open public spaces either parks or streets and squares, in the reasons for their evaluations.

6.3. Appraisive Aspect of Image: Evaluative Meaning and Preferences

Past and present choices for leisure activities is an important indicator for people' preferences. Because, there is no restriction for the leisure activities, in other words people are free to choose a place for them. In this respect, it is intended to find respondents present and past preferences in order to in order to find changes in the use of different spaces in urban environment.

a. Present Preferences

In the questionnaire it is asked people to write down present and past preferences for their leisure activities. Answer is analyzed through frequency analysis with the help of SPSS 16.0. Based on the research conducted among 731 participants, it is obtained 1735 different places that they prefer.

PLACES	Frequency	%	PLACES	Frequency	%
Kavaklıdere	285	16,4	Batıkent	6	0,3
Kızılay	233	13,4	Beşevler	6	0,3
Shopping malls	208	12,0	Hacı Bayram	5	0,3
Bahçelievler	132	7,6	Botanik Park	5	0,3
Lake Eymir	89	5,1	Emek	5	0,3
Lake Mogan	77	4,4	Filistin Str.	5	0,3
ODTÜ	59	3,4	Anıtkabir	4	0,2
Parks	46	2,7	Cermodern	4	0,2
Kuğulu Park	39	2,2	Papazın Bağı	4	0,2
Seğmenler Park	39	2,2	Ayrancı	4	0,2
Göksu Park	38	2,2	Çıkrıkçılar Str.	4	0,2
Ulus	35	2,0	Eryaman	4	0,2
Çayyolu	33	1,9	Köroğlu Str.	4	0,2
Citadel	26	1,5	Museums	3	0,2
Ahlatlıbel	26	1,5	50.yıl Park	3	0,2
İncek	22	1,3	Arjantin Str.	3	0,2
Hamamönü	19	1,1	Cebeci	3	0,2
Ümitköy	16	0,9	Demetevler	3	0,2
AOÇ	13	0,7	Etlik	3	0,2
Harikalar Diyarı	13	0,7	Kızılcahamam	3	0,2
Çankaya	13	0,7	Tandoğan	3	0,2
Dikmen Valley	12	0,7	Yenimahalle	3	0,2
Gençlik Park	12	0,7	Yıldız	3	0,2
Blue Lake	11	0,6	National Library	2	0,1
Bilkent	11	0,6	Opera House	2	0,1
Sincan	10	0,6	Beypazarı	2	0,1
GOP	9	0,5	Haymana	2	0,1
Keçiören	8	0,5	TIGEM	2	0,1
Oran	8	0,5	Balgat	2	0,1
Çukurambar	7	0,4	Birlik	2	0,1
Park Str.	7	0,4	Dikmen	2	0,1
Tiyatrolar	6	0,3	Eskişehir Highway	2	0,1
Samanpazarı	6	0,3	Kırkkonaklar	2	0,1
Altınpark	6	0,3	Sıhhiye	2	0,1
Kurtuluş Park	6	0,3	Kocatepe Mosque	2	0,1

Table 6.12: Frequency Analysis of Current Preferences

* Places with a frequency less than two (2) are not listed

** Kavaklıdere as a district consists of Tunalı Hilmi, Tunus and Bestekar Streets

These places can be categorized according to their contents. In this respect people' preferences are grouped into five main headings; parks and recreational areas, streets and squares (urban space), shopping malls, cultural and historic places and others.

Uses / Preferences	Frequency	Percentage
Streets and Squares (urban space)	915	53
Parks and recreation areas	513	30
Shopping Malls	208	12
Cultural and Historic Places	80	5
Other	19	1
Total	1735	100

Table 6.13: Categories of Current Preferences

The results show that people are much more willing to spend their leisure time in public spaces (%53). Among them Kavaklıdere (including Tunalı Hilmi Street, Bestekar Street, Tunus Street, Kennedy Street, Bülten Street and Büklüm Street which are mostly mentioned) and Kızılay are two district which are frequently preferred by participants. Both are the central places in the city where various activities take place including shopping, cultural activities (cinema, theatre, and museum), restaurants, café and bars. Especially in recent years, it is observed an increasing numbers of café and bars which address both day and night activities.

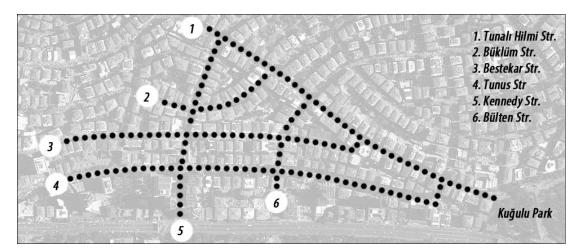


Figure 6.11: Kavaklıdere district Source: google earth and personal rendering

30 percent of places on the other hand are parks and recreational areas. There various parks and recreational areas in the list some of which in the city (like Kuğulu Park, Seğmenler Park, Botanik Park) and others in the peripheral districts (like Lake Eymir, Lake Mogan, Göksu Park, Harikalar Diyarı etc.). While the inner city parks are used any time during the week, outer parks are mostly preferred in weekends.

12 percent of places are shopping malls (all malls listed in questionnaires are grouped under the common name of shopping malls but not separately analyzed). As it mentioned in the previous chapter, there are 38 shopping malls in different districts in the city. They offer wide range activities in one place like shopping, social and cultural facilities, entertainment. Actually, considering increasing number of shopping malls in Ankara since 2006, it is interesting that shopping malls are less preferred places than public spaces and parks and recreation areas.

5 percent of the places are cultural and historic places (Hamamönü, Citadel, Küçük theatre, museums etc.). In the face to face interviews, some participants mentioned that recent regeneration and renovation interventions in Hamamönü make the place attractive (which is also valid for Citadel), that is why although they are not used to go these places but now they prefer. They add:

"After the regeneration... you can spend time in historic streets and houses of Ankara... it is great to be able to experience the historic Ankara"



Figure 6.12: Hamamönü before and after renovation Source: mimarlikforumu.com

b. Past Preferences

It is obtained 681 places for inhabitants' past preferences for leisure activities. The answers are analyzed through frequency analysis and they are similarly categorized as; urban spaces, parks and recreation areas, shopping malls, cultural and historic places and others.

PLACES	Frequency	%	PLACES	Frequency	%
Kızılay	196	28,8	Ümitköy	4	0,6
Shopping malls	82	12,0	Altınpark	4	0,6
Ulus	82	12,0	Seğmenler Park	4	0,6
Bahçelievler	62	9,1	Arjantin Str.	3	0,4
Gençlik Park	61	9,0	Bilkent	3	0,4
AOÇ	34	5,0	Çayyolu	3	0,4
Kavaklıdere	28	4,1	Etimesgut	3	0,4
Atakule	9	1,3	Keçiören	3	0,4
Lake Mogan	9	1,3	Mamak	3	0,4
Parks	7	1,0	Kurtuluş Park	3	0,4
Citadel	7	1,0	Lunapark	3	0,4
Park Str.	6	0,9	Batıkent	2	0,3
Sıhhiye	5	0,7	Eryaman	2	0,3
Cebeci	4	0,6	Sincan	2	0,3
Çankaya	4	0,6	Botanik Park	2	0,3
GOP	4	0,6	Lake Eymir	2	0,3

Table 6.14: Frequency Analysis of Past Preferences

* Places with a frequency less than two (2) are not listed

According to the categorization it is obtained the table below.

Uses / Preferences	Frequency	Percentage
Streets and Squares (urban space)	434	64
Parks and recreation areas	138	20
Shopping Malls	91	13
Cultural and Historic Places	10	1
Other	8	1
Total	681	100

Table 6.15: Categories of Past Preferences

A comparative analysis between present and past uses of places gives a number of important results. The first one is about the decrease in the use of K121lay. According to past preferences K121lay is on the top of the list (%28,8) whereas in the current situation it is less preferred (%13,4). Of course there can be a number of reasons but changes in functions located in K121lay would be one of the reasons. Especially after the emergence of shopping malls in Ankara, most of the shops, cafés and restaurants preferred to locate in these malls rather to be in the city center which in turns decreases attractiveness of the center. This is not the main concern of this thesis but the extensive PhD dissertation of Banu Aksel Gürün (2009) about the impacts of shopping malls on retail market gives clues about the fragmentation of urban center.

Kavaklidere on the other hand has a notable increase in use (from %4,1 to 16,4). As it is mentioned before, the increasing number of activities including restaurants, café and bars would probably change the use of Kavaklidere district. However it is important to talk about the physical qualities of Kavaklidere that it is not a pedestrian oriented district as opposed to Kizilay. In this sense it is quite interesting that as despite all disadvantages people prefer to be in urban space. According to the meanings attributed to the urban environment which is presented in the previous part, this is probably the reason that people are much more willing to spend their leisure time in open spaces in the city rather to be in a closed place.

Another important issue is observed in frequencies of shopping malls. As it is stated in Chapter 4, for almost last five years the number of shopping malls is doubled in Ankara. As a policy of branding Ankara, city authorities are very much concentrated on developments of shopping malls in different districts in the city. However, despite increasing number of malls, user preferences are not very much affected. A questionnaire survey which was conducted in Ankara among 831 participants by Oğuz and Çakcı, leisure time preferences were asked. According to this analysis %10,9 of participants preferred shopping malls. In this respect, it can be said that there is a small increase in the use of malls but more appropriate results will be obtained from the further steps of the questionnaire.

6.4. Evaluation and Meaning of New Urban Landscapes

The meanings conveyed by the new urban landscapes or flagships are analyzed through Likert method. In the first step, it is asked to evaluate three flagship projects which predominantly determine the new urban landscape of Ankara (high rise office buildings, luxury gated communities, shopping malls). In the second it was asked people to write down reasons for their evaluations. It is important to note that although every respondent evaluate three components of branding, not every respondent writes a comment since it is not obligatory. Nevertheless, most of the respondent (524; %71 of total) write a reason for one or more components.

6.4.1. High-rise Office Buildings (skyscrapers)

As it is mentioned in the previous chapter that Çukurambar and Söğütözü are designated as the new and modern center of the city where high-rise office building are located as the determinant of "modern". Regarding these new developments it is asked people to evaluate. The results of 731 respondents' the evaluations of high rise buildings are shown in Table 6.16. According to result, half of the respondents (%51) have negative opinions (either just negative of strongly negative) about the newly developed high-rise building. While %22 is neutral and %27 is positive or strongly positive.

Likert Scale	Frequency	Percentage
1 (strongly negative)	161	22
2 (negative)	211	29
3 (neutral)	163	22
4 (positive)	163	22
5 (strongly positive)	33	5
Total	731	100

Table 6.16: Likert Analysis of High rise Buildings

Although these percentages have words on general evaluation, the reasons for evaluations will bring more appropriate results. As it is mentioned the reasons for people's evaluation is also asked. The reasons are categorized both for positive and negative evaluations.

a. Positive Evaluations

It is obtained 137 reasons for positive and strongly positive evaluations. The written reasons are grouped under six main headings; signification, image and reputation, city and order, economic contribution, affective response and aesthetic.

Positive and Strongly Positive	Frequency	Percentage
indicator (sign) of modern	65	47
image - reputation - prestige	17	12
planned - ordered	14	10
welfare and economic contribution	14	10
like	14	10
aesthetic	13	9
Total	137	100

Table 6.17: Reasons for Positive Evaluation

The results show that almost half of respondents interpret that high rise office buildings (skyscraper) are the signs or indicator of a modern city. Regarding the main intention of creating the brand new and modern business center of Ankara, it would not be wrong to say branding strategies are successful for some inhabitants living in the city. However there are some interesting details which I faced with during the face to face interviews. Some of the respondents who find high rise building positive and modern are not very much aware of these buildings or districts.

"I know there are skyscrapers in Çukurambar...I see them on TV advertisements...and saw in real for one...They were good...and people say like that....like in modern cities in the world (again on TV)."

This is quite interesting. Even though it is not very much experienced (or even seen) the advertisement campaigns lead people to evaluate them as they experience. However, cognitive maps shows the truth, as they are not experience they are absent in maps. The meaning on the other hand is not an experienced meaning but rather an imposed meaning.

17 percent of respondents believe that skyscrapers fit very much with the identity of the city as Capital. Even some of the respondents state that this is a "must" for Ankara.

"High rise buildings, skyscraper must be in Ankara because Ankara it is the capital city but not İstanbul." Or "Ankara must be planned (or designed) better than İstanbul because it is the capital city....."

Now this also says something to us. First of all, the indicator of being a modern and prestigious capital city is seen to be defined related with the new architecture. Especially the emphasis of İstanbul in a competitive manner supports this assumption that Ankara must be seen like İstanbul. Whereas, the definition could be different like in Rome. Although Rome has quite important historical background which could not be compared with Ankara, I try to mean something different that the definition of modern and prestigious capital city can be based on historic values. That this would change the meaning imposed into citizens' minds.

10 percent of respondent that newly developed center is orderly planned. Regarding planning however it is frequently referred to the past condition of Çukurambar which was a district of illegal houses. Concerning urban regeneration project in district, illegal houses were replaced with apartments, high rise residence and office buildings and restaurants, café. This is interpreted as transformation of bad image of the district into a good one by planning decisions.

"....transforms non planned urbanization into planned and ordered one...." and "positive.....because of transformation of squatter houses...."

10 per cent think that high rise office buildings and skyscrapers have economic contributions in both internal and external aspects. Regarding external aspect, it is mentioned that these developments make city attractive for external investors, which fits with the main intention of place branding. Regarding internal aspect, people believe that skyscrapers are signs of new job opportunities and increase in social welfare.

10 percent of respondents just state that they like them but some of them emphasis that they are positive if only they do not cause destruction of green and open spaces and they do not locate in the city center. Other 9 percent mention aesthetic qualities. Again some respondent put a condition for positive evaluation that if only they unify with the aesthetical qualities of the city.

b. Negative Evaluations

It is obtained 307 reasons for negative and strongly negative evaluations. The written reasons are grouped under five main headings; aesthetic, open spaces and greenery, city unity, image and identity and social life.

Negative and Strongly Negative	Frequency	Percentage
unaesthetic - visual pollution	92	30
adverse effects on open spaces and green areas	80	26
fragmented from the city – disordered - unplanned	48	16
adverse effects on urban identity and image	45	15
adverse effects on social life	42	14
Total	307	100

Table 6.18: Reasons for Negative Evaluation

Overall, 30 percent of the 307 sorts performed by the respondents are concerned with physical aspects and visual qualities. They defined high rise buildings as unaesthetic and even repulsive structures which cause visual pollutions. Moreover most of them mentioned that heights of building obstruct visibility of sky and cause depressed atmosphere in the city.

26 percent on the other side mention their effects on the physical environment, open space and green areas of the city. In this category people both mentioned destruction of urban open spaces like streets (and squares) and green areas either inner city parks and natural areas. It is interesting that the reason for the diminishing number of green and open areas is perceived as these new development strategies. Although in recent period city authorities and municipality have emphasized increasing numbers of parks (Harikalar Diyarı, Göksu Park, Mogan Park etc.), the perception of people is quite different from what is imposed. Regarding the answers especially free answers,

green areas and parks mean something different for citizens. It is frequently emphasized that peripheral parks cannot meet needs for urban open space; rather people prefer to in the city and in the inner city parks. Peripheral parks on the other hand are perceived as places just for weekend activities. Thus, a general complaint is about destruction of inner city parks and recreation areas and transformation of the city into a "heap of concrete" (beton yığını).

"These are concrete structures which cause depression in the city" / "there left no open spaces for spending time but there exist only buildings everywhere"

16 percent of respondents mostly focus on the relationship between the newly developed center and the city as a whole. Respondent who mentioned unity and wholeness frequently emphasize that each high-rise building is concerned in a singular point of view and the relationship of one building to others are underestimated. On the other side it is also mentioned that although these structures constitute a unity in themselves like a zone or district, they do not integrated in to the city as well. They are defined as fragmented structures which differ from their surroundings in formal qualities like size, design, building material etc.

"Singular project without concerning unity, wholeness" / "Fragmented structures which are developed independent from comprehensive planning "

15 percent concern with urban identity and image. According to this group of reasons, high rise buildings have adverse effects on the identity of Ankara which is defined as the capital of Republic. It is mostly emphasized that the identity of Ankara is composed of early republican modern architecture and planning approaches and moreover open and green system. The developments occurred in Çukurambar however neither strengthen the identity nor add value to the identity. Even they cause loss of identity of Republic and import other unfamiliar ones.

"Products of capital oriented development without concerning local and unique identity of the city" / "Structures with any relation with urban history"



Figure 6.13: Çukurambar, old and new Source: zaman.com.tr and aksam.medyator.com

14 percent of answers are about the social life and social interactions. It is claimed by exterminating and even occupying urban public spaces high rise buildings have adverse effects on social life and interaction in streets, parks and other public spaces. In this sense, privatization of public space is one of the most common complaints of respondents. On the other side, respondents also mention that the social segregation is another problem caused by these structures which import the meaning of "places for high level income groups".

"They destroy social life in the city....in urban space, and also cause alienation" or "They cause social segregation...." / "They increase gap between different social classes living in the city"

This is actually quite important in terms of the meaning. As it is mentioned in previous chapters meaning is produced or generated by architects or city authorities and also interpreted by observers. Place branding mainly intends to change the image of the city by not just transforming the structure of the city but imposing or generating meanings (or messages in this situation). It is this intention to become visible in global arena. Concerning this perspective, aims to create new modern business center for Ankara can be or may be successful for external observers but it is quite explicit that the messages conveyed by these structure are not interpreted as

they are by internal observers. This situation can be defined as the gap between generated (conveyed) and interpreted meanings.

6.4.2. Luxury Gated Communities and Residences

It is again obtained 731 answers for the evaluation of gated communities. %35 of respondent evaluates as negative or strongly negative while %24 is neutral and %41 of respondent evaluates positive or strongly positive.

Likert Scale	Frequency	Percentage
1 (strongly negative)	101	14
2 (negative)	155	21
3 (neutral)	178	24
4 (positive)	236	32
5 (strongly positive)	61	8
Total	731	100

Table 6.19: Likert Analysis of Luxury Gated Communities and Residences

The positive and negative evaluations are also analyzed according to the reasons written by respondents.

a. Positive Evaluations

It is obtained 93 answers for the evaluation of gated communities and residences. According to reasons, it is obtained three categories; needs, security and modern way of life which are quite equably distributed.

Table 6.20: Reasons for Positive Evaluations

Positive and Strongly Positive	Frequency	Percentage
meeting various needs	33	35
security	32	34
modern	28	30
Total	93	100

35 percent of respondents mention the opportunities proposed by these places like, sports, commercial, leisure and recreational activities. This is interpreted as easiness

in daily life that people can reach any activity without run into chaotic atmosphere of the city and traffic. In this sense it is evaluated as a tool for improving quality of life.

"Everything that I need is inside in one area....easy to access.....comfort"

Security is stated as another important reason with %34. Respondents frequently state nowadays it is very much hard to find secure traditional residential districts in the city. Both singular residences and gated communities propose highly secure environments with 24 hours security services. This makes people feel safe especially in terms of their children.

30 percent of respondents mention that gated communities and residences propose more modern and livable environments for living. The environmental quality (gardens etc.) and physical qualities of houses are now must for modern times. These structures are signs or indicator of modern way of life for inhabitants but also external observers. Thus they contribute to the good image of the city.

"They offer modern environment for living which is must for this era"

b. Negative Evaluations

For negative evaluations it is obtained 128 reasons written in questionnaires. They can be grouped into three main headings; social segregation, impacts on street life and its relationship with the whole city.

Negative and Strongly Negative	Frequency	Percentage
social segregation	58	45
street life - intra neighborhood relations	50	39
spatial fragmentation	20	16
Total	128	100

Table 6.21: Reasons for Negative Evaluations

Social segregation is especially mentioned reason t-for the negative meaning conveyed by gated communities and residences. 45 percent of respondents think that

gated communities separate people from each other in terms of social classes. Both residences and gated communities are proposed as luxury living environments that low and even middle income group cannot afford.

"Residences which are built for only wealthy people cause social segregation in urban environment"

The subject of social segregation which is caused by place branding strategies is one of the most emphasized ones that urban products of place branding are luxury and expensive. Crilley (1993), Julier (2000) and Ren (2008) stated that the consumption oriented luxury residences divide the society into rich and poor people. Thus, regarding this segregation, not all resident have benefits from this new situation, even the consumption culture excludes poor people in urban environment (Healey, 1997). Similarly, Luymes (1997) mentioned that gated communities put physical and invisible social barriers among people from different social classes.

39 percent of respondents on the other hand mention death of street life and neighborhood culture in traditional residential districts. Due to this premise, luxury residences produce closed and fragmented living units which disallow social interaction in districts.

"They kill neighborliness and interaction" / "They dissolve neighborhood culture in the city"

It is also stated that environments produced by gated communities are not real spaces but they act like they are parts of urban environment where not every citizen is allowed to get in. In other words, these are the places for few people who can afford to be in this area but not for everyone.

"Artificial relationships artificial social life"

The last reason listed in questionnaire is very much related with the previous one that physical fragmentation causes social segregation. 16 percent of respondent claim that

gated communities are fragmented parts in urban environment. They are closed and introverted areas where all activities are inside and no interaction is offered. In branding literature, branding strategies are also criticized to cause spatial fragmentation in urban environment. That is why the motivation of attract investment into cities requires valuable investment in urban environment. The choice for these investments reveals concentration of specific locations. According to MacLeod (2002) to obtain highest profit, locations with low land value become the best for flagships. This in turn causes isolation of flagships and division between wealthy and poor districts.

"Fragmented spaces form the city" and "....singular and closed developments which have no relationship with its surrounding"

Respondents also criticize that especially gated communities and residences built in the center (or in traditional neighborhood districts) damage existing urban pattern in terms of lot sizes, height and building materials. It is stated that they are incongruous with their surrounding neighborhood patterns. Figure 6.14 shows an example of such development in Oran district where two closed different patterns of 1970s and 2010s is observed. These two patterns vary in terms of building heights, building types, and plan configurations.

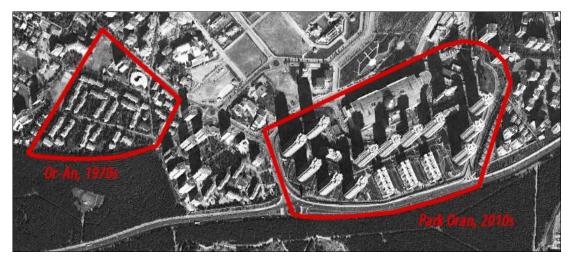


Figure 6.14: Oran in 1970s and 2010s Source: google earth

6.4.3. Shopping Malls

In the final step of the questionnaire it is asked people to evaluate shopping malls in general. The results of 731 respondents' the evaluations shopping malls are shown in Table 6.22. According to result, %53 of respondents have negative opinions (either just negative of strongly negative) about shopping malls, %19 is neutral and %28 has positive or strongly positive evaluations.

Table 6.22: Likert Analysis of	Shopping Malls
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Likert Scale	Frequency	Percentage
1 (strongly negative)	182	25
2 (negative)	208	28
3 (neutral)	139	19
4 (positive)	146	20
5 (strongly positive)	56	8
Total	731	100

Like high rise buildings and residences, it is also asked respondents to write reasons for their evaluations.

a. Positive Evaluations

73 respondents write their opinions and evaluations which are categorized into six main headings.

Positive and Strongly Positive	Frequency	Percentage
meeting various needs	35	48
required for development	14	19
quality	11	15
fit with the identity of "capital"	6	8
good for various climate conditions	4	5
job opportunities	3	4
Total	73	100

 Table 6.23: Reasons for Positive Evaluations

The qualification of shopping malls which is mostly mentioned among several people that "it meets every need in one place" is again frequently stated reason for positive evaluation in questionnaires. This result is not very surprising that shopping mall mainly intends to consist of various activities of shopping (food or clothing), social and cultural like cinema, even theatre entertainment center. Moreover, it offers a number of choices in food courts and restaurants. By the day new other activities are added into the complex like sport centers. In the questionnaire it is mostly mentioned that this provides such easiness in daily life. Based on previous researches conducted in Ankara, this reason was again on the top of the list. In the research of Oğuz and Çakcı in 2007, 43, 58 percent of total respondents stated "various activities in one place" as the main factor in preferring shopping malls. In this sense, from the first emergence in urban environment shopping malls are favorable for people in terms of multi-facility characteristics.

19 percent of respondents states that shopping malls are symbols of development and modernization so that there should be in Ankara. Parallel to the previous one, 15 percent mentions the quality that malls are well and qualifies spaces according to urban spaces in city center. Hence people feel more comfortable and prefer malls rather to be in the center.

"Shopping malls are qualified places which make Ankara more livable"

8 percent think that shopping malls well fit with the identity of Ankara as the capital city. This goes parallel with the answers for high rise buildings that Ankara is needed to be developed more and high rise building and malls would be the main tolls for the development.

"Shopping malls are symbols of developed cities"

Suitable for every climate conditions is another aspect which is emphasized by %5 of respondents. It is said that malls offer preserved places which is a necessity for Ankara (hot summers and cold winters). In the same research of Oğuz and Çakcı, climate control was also frequently emphasized by %16, 94 of total participants.

Referring Lin (2009), Oğuz and Çakcı (2012: 725) stated that "the thermal environment in indoor public spaces impacts the use". Lastly, shopping malls are evaluated positively in terms of job opportunities offered in various shops and restaurants in the mall.

b. Negative Evaluations

Regarding the negative evaluations of shopping malls, it is reached highest number of participation with frequency of 225. The written reasons are also categorized into six.

Negative and Strongly Negative	Frequency	Percentage
death of street life - public space	112	50
quantity	45	20
consumption oriented	27	12
death of city center (economic)	25	11
others	16	7
Total	225	100

Table 6.24: Reasons for Negative Evaluations

50 percent of respondents find "death of street life and public space" as the most negative impact of shopping malls. Shopping mall intends to produce a place where most of the needs in public space are met in it. Its physical and functional qualifications are very much imitation of public spaces. However there is one important issue which differ malls from urban space that they are not the real public spaces. They just tend to be public spaces since public spaces require full accessibility in every period during the day. Thus malls are pseudo-public spaces which are controlled by the owners of them. From this perspective, it is observed that although malls may be successful at first, in the current situation they are mostly criticized in terms of death of public space as it is shown in Table 6.24.

Actually, in recent years (almost two years) it is possible to observe the reflection these critics in the transformation of the architectural form of the existing malls. Malls which are first built as closed box now change their structures and open the box to the street despite of high economic costs. This can be interpreted as an important indicator of people's needs for open public spaces.

"They are privatized and closed spaces which dissolve life in streets" / "...privatization of public spaces..."

On the left it is shown the photography of Arcadium shopping mall before renovation. It looks like usual shopping mall which is closed and introvert. On the right side, the photography shows after the renovation process. It is seen the front façade of the mall completely changed and opened towards the street.



Figure 6.15: Before and after the renovation of Arcadium Shopping Mall Source: arcadium.com.tr

In the questionnaire, 20 percent mention the quantity of malls in Ankara. Both in this part and the previous part (open-ended questions) of the questionnaire, the increasing number of shopping malls is frequently criticized. Especially since 2006 the number of shopping malls has significantly increased (see Chapter 4). Even, it is now possible to observe two or more malls which are located side by side (Kentpark and Cepa Shopping Malls). Despite increasing number, it is not observed notable difference in their uses but on the other side increasing quantity is evaluated as a negative aspect. At this point, it will be valuable to remember branding policies which are conducted over shopping and shopping malls. As it is mentioned before, it is intended to advertise Ankara as the center of shopping malls through new malls and festivals. However, the research shows that people living in Ankara do not think

in the same way. This can be interpreted that public opinion is underestimated in development of branding strategies.

"There are too many...all is same..." / "They are everywhere in the city" / "it is getting boring to see malls everywhere"

12 percent of participants state that shopping malls as consumption oriented places which are imposed by city authorities and dominant interests. In branding literature it is the one of the most common critics for place branding that it is imposing consumption society and urban spaces are commoditized. According to Hubbard (1997), this is the reason that flagship developments concentrate on consumption rather than production to maximize profit.

11 percent of participants on the other hand emphasize death of city center. Respondents mostly mentioned that after emergence of malls, a considerable number of shops (mostly luxury) left the city center and took place in shopping malls. This in turns cause the center turns into depressed area in the city. On the other hand it is also frequently stated that small business in the city which are not able to be in malls are quite affected in economic terms.

To conclude, it is analyzed participants' perception of three flagship projects which recently dominate the city structure of Ankara. It is asked people to evaluate these flagships it they have positive contribution to city image and also it is asked to write the reasons for their evaluations. It is used Likert method for the evaluation and open-ended question for meaning attributed to these structures.

Due to the analysis, almost half of the respondents (%51 and %53) think that high rise buildings or skyscraper and shopping malls have negative impacts on the image of the city while gated communities and residences are more positively evaluated. Reviewing the reasons for negative evaluations, it is reached two important consequences. The first one is about the fragmentation of urban structure and dissolution of public spaces. Respondents frequently state that it is intended to create new understanding of public space by pseudo spaces which are actually controlled by

private owners. In this sense, the emphasis on urban public spaces and life in streets are pretty much important for the man-environment relationship.

The other important issue is that flagships cause not only fragmentation of the structure but also fragmentation among social groups in the city. This can be called as social segregation that the meaning and symbolism of these flagships are imposed by branding strategies. While urban space is separated into luxury and poor ones the society and the social life is also separated into two.

6.5. Conclusive Remarks on Research Findings

This chapter of the thesis intends to comprehend the image of the city from inhabitants' point of view and their view on new urban landscapes introducing by place branding strategies in Ankara. The inhabitants' image is analyzed through the two aspects of image.

Analyzing mental images of inhabitants' of Ankara is presented in detail according to the analyses and it puts forward different consequences. These consequences can be analyzed through the table presented below. The four of them has a common point that all are observed in cognitive map but the last one is missing. On the other side first two differ from the others that they have positive meaning whereas the last three have negative meanings.

Case	Cognitive Map	Meaning (+)	Meaning (-)	Preference / Use
Α				
В				
С				
D				
Е				

Table 6.25: Aspects of Image of Ankara

• Case A: Visible - Desirable

In the case A, place (or building) is observed both in cognitive map and positive meaning but it is not used. What this situation means that the physical image is a strong element in mental image. The positive meaning attributed to this structure on

the other hand enhances the imageability of it. This turns this place into an important landmark for the city which is an identifiable object and serves as an external reference point. It has mostly a symbolic meaning for inhabitants and they are mostly interpreted as the images of the identity of Ankara. As a landmark which is widely accepted by the citizens of Ankara it also enhances sense of belonging. As Proshansky concerned the place identity leads the individual identity as being from Ankara ("Ankara'lı"). One of the best examples for this case can be Anıtkabir. Anıtkabir although is not very much visible in everyday life which means people do not experience in routine, its symbolic meaning not just in personal level but also in collective level makes Anıtkabir as one of the most important elements of the image of Ankara. Similarly Atakule is another example. It has a unique form and offers an opportunity to see the city from the top that any of buildings offer. However Atakule is a little bit different from Anıtkabir that it is quite visible since it is located one of the highest places in the city.

• Case B: Visible – Desirable - Used

The case B is observed in collective cognitive map, it has positive meaning for respondent and also it is used by inhabitants. This is quite different from the previous one that it has meaning and also usage that it is not a static or symbolic landmark for inhabitants but means something different. Kuğulu Park, Seğmenler Park and some others park are examples for the case B. It shows that especially parks and recreation areas have positive meanings for inhabitants. People prefer to spend their leisure time in open spaces in the city. But inner city parks are more important than the peripheral ones that inner city parks provide accessibility in any time during daily life. The peripheral parks on the other hand provide an opportunity for weekends and holidays. Public spaces and pedestrian oriented areas area (like streets in Kavaklıdere and Kızılay) also mentioned as desirable places. They are also used and people mostly complain about the decline of public spaces in urban environment.

• Case C: Visible - Undesirable - Used

The case D represents a place of building which is shown in cognitive map, used as well but it is attributed negative meanings by inhabitants. This is the case shows that either as a landmark or node the place finds place in designative aspect of the image but the meaning attributed to it is quite negative that while thinking of Ankara it is not shown in the maps of meaning. On the other side, regarding negative meaning and the use it can be said that it is not the preference of users but rather an imposed use which is not preferred by inhabitants. Shopping malls are the best examples for that case. Although almost every mall is shown in collective cognitive map, people do not prefer to spend their time in those places.

• Case D: Visible - Used

This category consists of elements which are visible in maps but people do not attributed any meaning to them. The most significant example in this category is Atatürk Boulevard which is on the top of the list in frequency analysis of paths. Boulevard is one of the oldest paths in the city and it has an important role that it connects the south and north parts of the city and moreover the linear centers of the city. Beside its function as a connector, we know from the history that the Boulevard is one of the main public spaces in the city but it has lost its meaning as a public space in time.

• Case E: Invisible - Undesirable

In the case E, elements are only attributed negative meaning but they are neither visible in maps nor in usage. These are invisible and undesirable elements in urban environment that they are not physical or symbolic landmarks. New city fates and sculpts of clock are two structures in this category. People think that they are artificial objects in the city and they do not any connection with place identity, history or memory. On the contrary, they are objects which obstruct pedestrian movement in urban environment. Skyscrapers in Çukurambar and Söğütözü districts are also in this category since none of them are drawn in the map but in the open ended questions they are in the second places which are attributed negative meanings.

These cases help to understand the image of the city regarding two aspects of image. Moreover they have quite valuable contributions on the hypothetical assumptions on the image of the city. Regarding the designative aspect of the image it is assumed that the way the elements of image are arranged is important for the legibility. As Lynch and many other following theorists in environmental psychology contended, people perceive the environments with the help of simplified five elements and for legibility the elements should be perceived separately and should constitute a coherent whole. In other words, the togetherness of elements is the way people could remember the structure of the city. Overlapped 588 mental maps of participants show that the most legible part of the city is the central zone from Ulus to Çankaya which is also the linear center of the city. There is also Bahçelievler district in which the elements of image are drawn in the map. Evaluation without considering the meaning would not be very descriptive but regarding Lynch's concept of legibility, these parts of the city are defined with paths, landmarks, nodes and districts as well in respondents' minds.

The analysis on meaning attribute to places in the city pointed out the similar parts of the city like in cognitive maps. These can be interpreted as these parts are not only physical images but they have also meanings mostly symbolic meanings for citizens. Beside symbolic meaning people mostly highlighted socio-cultural meanings of public realm which consists of streets, squares, parks and recreation area.

On the other side the elements of branding in urban environment not only stay inadequate to be a part of the image in minds but they also seem not to form an image (supposedly brand image) in their own. Contrary, they are mostly criticized as structural elements which dissolve the symbolic and social cultural meanings of the city despite their imposed meaning of modern.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The main aim of the thesis is to find out to what extent the urban image coincides with the brand image. For this reason, the thesis is structured around the concepts of urban image and brand image, which are theoretically discussed in previous chapters (Chapter 2 and 3). After theoretical discussions, a concise historical analysis of the image of Ankara is presented and more specifically the new brand image which is defined by policy makers and investors are discussed according to their statements and new urban landscapes (flagship projects) in the city of Ankara. Based on the theoretical discussions, an empirical study comprising questionnaires for 731 inhabitants of Ankara with different characteristics and backgrounds in order to find out the collective image of inhabitants and comprehend the importance of two aspects of image, namely structure and meaning. Moreover, the questionnaire study helps to understand views of the inhabitants of Ankara on existing place branding strategies and meaning attributed to the elements of existing brand image. Consequently, based on the questionnaires conducted in Ankara among 731 inhabitants, the empirical study reveals two important consequences.

- First, it supports the environmental psychology literature indicating that in the formation and evolution of city image both arrangements of image elements forming a coherent pattern and the meanings attributed to the physical elements of the image are two important aspects of image.
- Second, the brand image which is not connected to the unique features of urban environment and local values, and meanings, is not able to correspond to the urban image, which is the mental representation of observers. In other words, there is an inconsistency between cognitively developed and imposed images.

These two consequences were attained through compiling series of analyses which were mainly about two aspects of image which are the designative aspect or structure and appraisive aspect or meaning and symbolism.

Overlapped 588 sketch maps of the respondents provide us to comprehend the designative aspect of collective image of Ankara. This overlapped map¹⁹ provides several findings; the first one is about the image of the city, the second is about the brand image and the third one is their connectedness to each other besides the impacts of place branding on the image of the city (Figure 7.1).

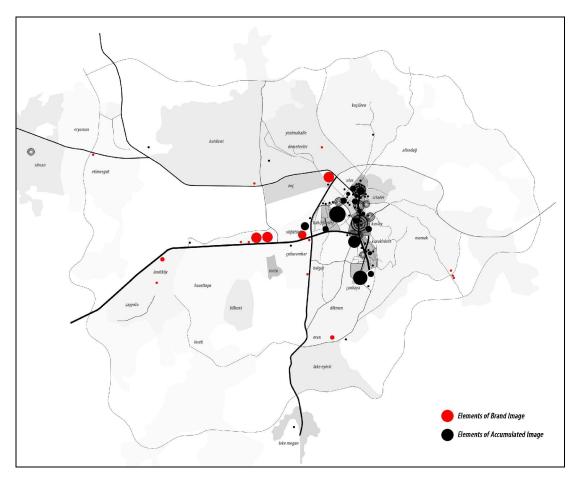


Figure 7.1: Designative Aspect of Image Source: Personal rendering

¹⁹ In the map the colour red indicates the elements of "Brand Image" of the city, while the black dots represent the elements of the "Accumulated Image" of the city. And the elements of brand image are defined according to the findings in Chapter 4.

The image is a process of accumulation which means it is formed and developed in time through experiencing the city. The image "is the product both immediate sensation and of the memory of past experience, and it is used to interpret information and to guide action" (Lynch, 1960: 4). The way physical elements arranged and congregation of image elements (path, node, landmark, and district) enhance the legibility of the city. They are the simple elements of the environmental image. "They must be patterned together to provide a satisfying form." (Lynch, 1960: 83) The map (Figure 7.1) shows that the core of the city is the most legible part of the city. The area consists of all elements of image and denotes a unified structure²⁰ that inhabitants of Ankara are aware of this area. This unified structure represents harmony among physical components or characteristics within a whole and since harmony enable successful integration of variable components, it is possible to relate the term to the uniformity of environment. As it is mentioned before in environmental psychology the quality of "totality" of the city is emphasized that people grasp the total figure and the differences. For those who share these assumptions the notion of "whole" is an essential issue in perception that it contains similarities and differences.

On the other hand, the red dots represent the elements of brand image. Each point refers to a landmark (mostly shopping malls), but on the other side it is not observed any of other elements like paths, districts or nodes. It is possible to read the map with Gestalt principles and the concept of unity. When we look only for the red points, they do not construct a unified structure like the black ones. They are fragmented points in the graphic and they are **fragmented parts** in the city as well. They are not a part of unified structure but they are only unified in their own. In terms of their content, they offer multiple activities in themselves but they do not relate to the city. In branding literature new urban landscapes and flagship projects have been often criticized for creating fragmented environment. At this point, it is interesting that only shopping malls are visible in maps, while skyscrapers are not. This picture would probably be a result of their differing relations with city dwellers.

²⁰ All elements in this structure are legible in their own and they form a unified whole that it becomes the legible part of the city.

Shopping malls provide a possibility for users to experience them, by internalizing public space. However, skyscrapers only stand as textures, without giving any opportunity to experience them by leisure time activities. In addition, shopping malls provide functional opportunities for their users by attending their needs in many ways; unlike skyscrapers that only appear in city's skyline without any functional relation with dwellers.

Consequently, the elements of image forming a unified structure in the city determine the designative aspect of inhabitant' urban image. On the other side the elements of brand image which spread the city in the form of landmark and they are not parts of a coherent whole which is defined by the togetherness of other image elements. In fact, the perception of elements of brand image seems likely to fall behind in forming a unified brand image.

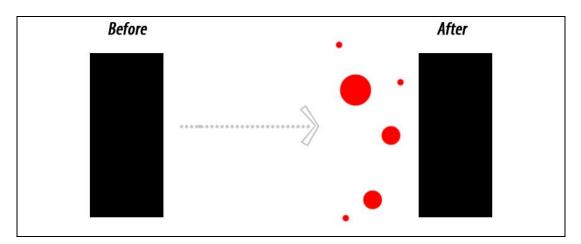


Figure 7.2: Urban and Brand Image according to Designative Aspect Source: Personal rendering

Meanings as the second aspect of the image conveyed by the structure are interpreted by inhabitants. One of the best ways to find out the attributed meaning to a structure is to ask people to list places or buildings in Ankara. The findings are presented in the previous chapter regarding positive and negative meanings. Considering these analyses it is possible to evaluate meanings conveyed by the tools of place branding in the entire city. In this sense, the data gathered from the frequency analysis is schematized in Figure 7.3 which shows the positive meaning attributed to the structural elements. This map can be evaluated in three main headings; meanings of existing physical images, meanings of branded physical images and their relationships. The map of affective meaning of existing structure of the city resembles to the cognitive map.

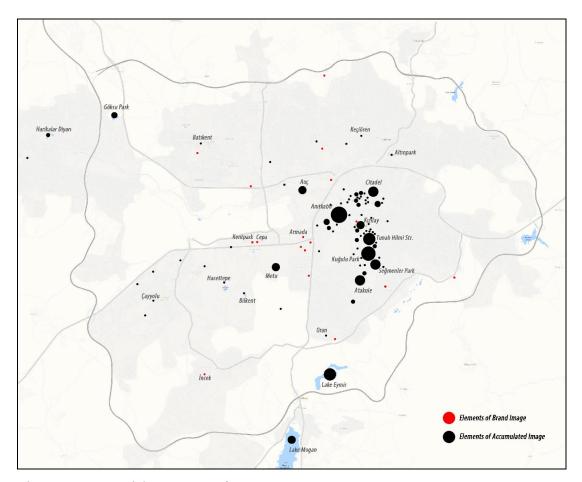


Figure 7.3: Appraisive Aspect of Image Source: Personal rendering

In the core of the city there is also congregation of meanings. But there are also dispersed small black points in the city. Still it would not be wrong to talk about a **unity** in the core. According to answers of open ended questions, people attach positive meanings to places or buildings firstly if these places have connections with the history and local values of the city. The frequency and correlation analyses on meanings attributed to places show that most of the places of the early Republican Period are the places which constitute the identity of the city. Secondly, urban public spaces (streets, squares and parks) are evaluated in the positive way since they are

inseparable and vital parts of the urban life. Either symbolic or use values the core of the city is again the most imageable part of the city.

On the other hand, the elements of brand image are less significant elements in the city regarding the meanings attributed to them. According to the frequency analysis of meaning, only shopping malls have attributed meanings, which are mostly based on their function. In other words, few respondents, who are fond of shopping malls, underline only the function of these buildings. Other structural elements of branding, which are not mentioned in the maps, have quite negative meanings attributed to them.

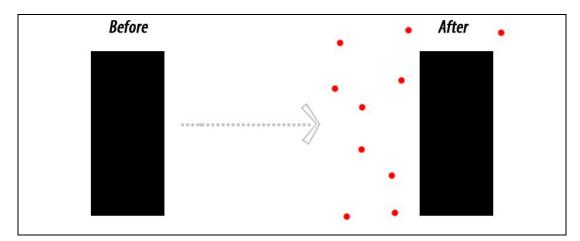


Figure 7.4: Urban and Brand Image according to Designative Aspect Source: Personal rendering

From the graphic it is clear that although policy makers were interested to create an image for the city, in order to enhance the attractiveness of Ankara among other cities, people do not interpret them as positive signs in the city, on the contrary they mostly criticize them to dissolve the urban identity.

Based on the two maps presented above it is possible to obtain a map of synthesis in order to comprehend inhabitants' image of the city. The map in Figure 7.5 shows both the urban image (green), which is accumulated, and the brand image (yellow) regarding two aspects; structure and meaning.



Figure 7.5: The Collective Image Source: Personal rendering

According to map, the structural elements and meaning attributed to them are seen to be congregated in the core of the city. Moreover, there are some points mentioned in the peripheral areas of the city which are mostly parks and recreation areas (Lake Eymir, Lake Mogan, Göksu Park and Harikalar Diyarı). Inhabitants' collective image of Ankara is composed of accumulation of designative and appraisive determinants. The core of the city is defined as the mostly legible and imageable part of the city by residents since the physical elements and the meaning attributed to these elements overlapped in residents' minds. On the other side, the elements of brand image which is introduced into urban environment in order to promote a new image and identity for the city stay inadequate to form a coherent pattern. In fact, the analyses conducted in Ankara reveal that people do not internalize the elements of brand image and meanings conveyed by the structure. Especially regarding the meaning attributed to brand image elements, it is not possible to mention about a relation between these symbols and society since they are not connected with the collective memory and history of the city. Consequently, it can be said that there is a mismatch between the accumulated image of inhabitants and the brand image imposed by the common interest groups. Considering the findings of the research carried out in Ankara three main factors help to comprehend the mismatch between urban and brand image.

• Identity, collective memory

In the appraisal of places regarding meaning in both negative and positive ways, the respondents of questionnaires indicated the importance of identity and collective memory of the city. As Proshansky contended that collective memories and conceptions are quite important for the place identity and as Relph (1976) mentioned the place identity is related with the physical image of the city. People attended to the questionnaire survey mostly think that the identity of place is derived from its early Republican Period which also symbolizes the capital of the new Republic. In other words, from the participants' point of view, the new urban landscapes are not parts of this identity but the images of Republic mainly determine the place identity. Concerning this identity of the city which differentiates it from others, the new urban landscapes of branding do not support the identity; on the contrary, they dissolve it. They are mostly interpreted as the symbols of global values, but not local ones; they reveal the mismatch between two images. In turns, this situation causes deterioration of the bonds between man and environment which has been developed through identification of distinctive characteristic of a particular place and meaning attributed to that place. This issue is discussed in place branding literature, emphasizing the loss of local identities in the process of city branding (Law, 1993; Relph, 1976; Pizarro, Wei and Banerjee, 2003; Philo and Kearns, 1993). In this sense, the new symbol system introduced into urban environment by place branding has been criticized seriously; since it is believed that branding have negative impacts on local and cultural symbol system, which has been developed in history of a city. Regarding place branding practices in Ankara, policy makers should take into consideration the interaction between residents and the city and moreover the collective memory of the city in the process of urban environment.

• Public realm

According to the findings of the questionnaires the respondents made an emphasis on the adverse effects of the structural elements of brand image on public realm. Most of respondents claimed that the new urban landscape and projects have an overwhelming preoccupation of urban public spaces, including both streets and parks (or recreation areas) and believe that they cause the decline of public spaces. More specifically, privatization of public spaces especially by shopping malls triggers the decline of public spaces and /or disappearance of the meanings of public spaces. Public spaces on the other hand are the most vital parts of the city, which provides full access to all inhabitants without any restriction. They enable people to experience the city itself, not only closed and introverted parts of the city. That is why pseudo public spaces, such as shopping areas, cannot be interpreted as an alternative to public spaces, although they offer a variety of opportunities and advantages. As Banerjee (2001) has emphasized, the tendency of privatization of public spaces are not more than an illusion or a scene, like in the film of The Truman Show. They are not real but pseudo public spaces.

• Physical dimension and Order

The analysis of branding strategies shows that creating vertical structural elements and lot based designs are the very common attitude of place branding in different cities (Banerjee, 2003). In the research study, the physical dimension of the new urban landscapes is criticized since they do not provide order and harmony as well. Moreover, people commented that new developments are fragmented from the city and their surroundings. The spatial fragmentation that respondents mentioned in the questionnaire is one of the main topics, which is discussed in branding literature that singular flagship projects are profit oriented developments and cause fragmentation in urban environment (Macleod, 2002). Considering singular (or piecemeal) developments, respondents highlight that each flagship project differs from others in terms of size, design and also material. Thus, the central point of critique is that these projects dissolve the unity in both city and district scales that it is an essential concept for man-environment psychological relationship and legibility and imageability of the city. Regarding the results of the research study which is realized with a sample of residents, branding practices in Ankara reveals two main critical questions: *What is branded?* and *Branding for who?*

The place branding and its tools of planning and architecture disciplines are evaluated as the main impetus of urban development. Since last years, Ankara concentrates much more on these projects to create a new image and add value for the city and boost economy. In this regard, urban space is used as the main tool for singular and spectacular projects. The evidences firstly show that these large-scale developments which do not represent the unique character of the city and fall behind to integrate with the city, act like a large cover for the city which neglects the local dimension. This can be called as localization of global entities although the main motivation of place branding approach is said to promote local values of the city in the global arena. In this respect, a duality in the image of the city is possibly observed; on the one side created modern image for the city and on the other side accumulated urban image of the city. This in turns as Gospodini (2002) states can cause identity crises for cities.

Secondly, regarding the target group, the research results show that place branding practice in Ankara is mostly based on an extrovert approach. In other words, in the process of planning and design of places through branding approach the human dimension and involvement of residences in the branding process are neglected. However planning and design disciplines are not simple tools which only deal with the physical environment but they concern various dimensions including social, perceptual, functional and temporal dimensions. In this regard, residents who experience urban spaces must be taken into consideration in urban development process in order to shape vital and livable urban environment according to living people in the city.

7.2. Main Contribution of the Thesis to the Field

The existing literature on place branding deals with strategies, tools, measures and projects which can increase the attractiveness and competitiveness of cities. The

literature is developing through re-visiting branding stories of different cities in the world. The discussions are mostly developed around the principle of new urban landscapes, role of architecture and urban design disciplines.

One of the most important contributions of this study to the existing literature is to introduce environmental psychology perspective into existing place branding literature. The new understanding of the concept of image as "urban brand image" which is introduced by place branding approach has been discussed according to the "collective urban image" in environmental psychology. Within this perspective, psychological process (sensation, perception, and cognition, spatial and affective response) has been underlined that it is very important in man-environment interaction. Regarding this perspective, this thesis and the research study fill the gap in place branding literature where there is a lack in empirical studies in order to understand impacts of place branding from inhabitants' point of view.

Another important contribution of this study is to revisiting designative (structure) and appraisive (meaning) aspects of image that they play crucial roles in the formation of images. The empirical results illustrate that the congregation of elements of image (path, node, landmark, node and district) are important for unity and unity enhances imageability of the city. Moreover, the study put forth that meaning conveyed by physical images are interpreted by observers according to their memories and backgrounds. In this respects, the findings of this study contribute to planning and urban design disciplines and highlighted psychological aspect in place making process.

7.3. Limitations of the Study

There are two main limitations faced during the survey. Regarding this process, the first constraint was about cognitive mapping method used in the questionnaire. Although it is explained the respondents that the quality of drawing are not taken into consideration, people were not very much willing to draw a sketch map. They feel anxious about their ability of drawing or they do not want to spend long time with

drawing the sketch. Any case, 80 percent of respondents drew a sketch map or a drawing.

The second limitation has aroused in open ended questions. On the one side open ended questions enabled to reach very personal thoughts of respondents, on the other side since they were quite flexible, sometimes it was not possible to get relevant answers. Especially, in answers mostly mention their daily and routine problems that they face with.

7.4. Recommendations for Further Works

This study mainly concerns the concept of image with regard to place branding practices in Ankara. In this sense, the study reveals a number of inferences about the urban and brand image, but more specifically about Ankara. However, place branding is a developing literature, covering mostly the branding practices in various cities. On the other side, there is lack of empirical studies which focus on how residents view and use new urban landscapes in order to further our knowledge of the local impacts of place branding histories have valuable contributions to re-reading the interaction between the city and the environment. Nevertheless, according to the research study a comparative analysis can be conducted regarding various case studies in different countries regarding branding the cities. These kinds of studies can highlight the differences in approaches to place branding concept.

On the other hand, the findings of this thesis are important in understanding the importance of man-environment psychological interaction and the formation of image. Findings reveal the importance of the role of environment designers, who concern the relationship between the physical space and human beings. In the further studies planning and design disciplines can be re-visited in order to put forth design principles which deal with the human dimension in urban development. Moreover, the identity of the contemporary city can be re-examined regarding the manenvironment psychological interaction.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

	[
1. Yaşınız?	?
2. Cinsiyet	iniz? 🗌 Kadın 🗌 Erkek
3. Eğitim I	Durumunuz?
🗌 İlkokul	Ortaokul Lise Yüksekokul Üniversite Yüksek Lisans/Doktora
4. Kaç sen	edir Ankara'da yaşıyorsunuz?
5. Hangi m	nahallede yaşıyorsunuz?
-	mahallede çalışıyorsunuz / okuyorsunuz? (eğer emekli iseniz önceden en uzun süre yeri belirtiniz)
7. Boş vaki	itlerinizde Ankara'da en çok gitmeyi tercih ettiğiniz yerleri yazınız.
8. Geçmişt lütfen yazı	te boş vakitlerinizde gittiğiniz fakat <u>artık gitmeyi tercih etmediğiniz</u> yerler varsa

2. BÖLÜM

İçinde yaşadığınız Ankara'yı, hafizanızda kaldığı kadarıyla sizin için önemli olan yerleri gösterecek şekilde basit bir kroki çizerek anlatınız.

. Lütfen hayalinizdeki değil aklınızdaki MEVCUT Ankara'yı çiziniz. Çizim kalitesi önemli değildir. . Lütfen şehrin dış hatlarını değil İÇİNDEKİ parçalarını çiziniz.(bu parçalar; <u>cadde ve sokaklar,</u> meydanlar, parklar, mahalleler, önemli yapılar ve benzeri aklınıza gelen kent parçaları olabilir)

. Çizim üzerinde yerleri yazarak belirtebilirsiniz.

. Lütfen çevrenizden yardım almadan ya da herhangi bir haritadan yararlanmadan çiziniz.

3. BÖLÜM

1.a. Ankara denildiğinde aklınıza gelen olumlu ya da olumsuz KENT PARÇALARINI yazınız. (kent parçaları; tek binalar, anıtsal yapılar, cadde-sokak, meydanlar, park ve mahalleler olabilir.)

Not: Kutucukların tamamını doldurmak zorunda değilsiniz, aklınıza ilk gelenleri yazınız.

OLUMLU	OLUMSUZ	

1.b. Olumlu ya da Olumsuz değerlendirmelerinizin <u>nedenlerini</u> aşağıda belirtebilirsiniz.

2. Ankara'da son y katkısını nasıl değe			ı gelişmelerin A	nkara kentinin	imajına / kimliğine
a. Gökdelenler (yül	tsek katlı iş mer	kezleri / ofi	is yapıları / rezid	anslar / oteller)	
Cok Olumsuz	Olumsuz	Ne olu	umlu ne olumsuz	: 🗌 Olumlu	🗌 Çok Olumlu
			<u>J</u>		11
b. Lüks ve Kapalı (güvenlikli) Ko	nut Siteler	i		
Cok Olumsuz	Olumsuz	Ne olu	umlu ne olumsuz	Olumlu	🗌 Çok Olumlu
		fri-			
c. Alışveriş Merkez	leri				
Cok Olumsuz	Olumsuz	Ne olu	umlu ne olumsuz	i 🗌 Olumlu	🗌 Çok Olumlu
d. Olumlu ya da O	lumsuz değerle	ndirmeleri	inizin <u>nedenleri</u>	<u>ni</u> aşağıda belir	tebilirsiniz.

CIRRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Grad.
MS	METU, Urban Design	2007
BS	METU, Dept. of City and Regional Planning	2004
High School	Ankara Anatolian High-School	1998

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Institution / Place	Enrollment
2006 -Present	Promim Urban Design Co.	Urban Designer
2004 - 2006	METU, Dept. of City and Regional Planning	Project Assistant

FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Advanced English, Fluent French, Beginner Italian

AWARDS

1. 2008: Uludağ National Park Landscape, Urban Design and Architectural Design Idea Competition – Bursa – 3. Prize

2. 2008: Küçükçekmece City Center Urban Design Project Competition – İstanbul –
 3. Prize

3. 2007: Ilhan Tekeli Master Thesis Award in Middle East Technical University

4. 2006: Çamlık Urban Design and Architectural Design National project Competition – Balıkesir - 3.Mention