New Urban Landscapes and Urban Image

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Abstract

Recent accounts of place branding seen to have become an important tool for the cities which eagerly demand to take place in the global competition. Within this perspective of creating a brand image, urban space has become the scene for new urban landscapes for making city attractive, yet, the existing urban image and identities of urban places have ignored. This paper intends to highlight this omission by evaluating the brand image which is created through place branding strategies from a perspective of environmental psychology, to reveal the mismatch between inhabitants' urban image and policy makers' brand image. Using Ankara as the case study, which has recently put the place branding on the top of urban development agenda, a survey is presented in order to figure out whether the brand image corresponds with the urban image. The findings demonstrate that new urban landscapes designed through branding strategies do not take place in accumulated urban image. Consequently, this paper puts forth inhabitants' main concerns on urban image and identity which can potentially play a crucial role in developing urban politics.
Keywords: Urban Image; Place Branding; Environmental Psychology; Built Environment; Urban Design.

1. Introduction

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 (Lang, 1987; Lynch, 1960; Madanipour, 1996; Nasar, 1998; Rapoport, 1977).

Image is simply described as the mental representation of the city which is formed through direct sensory interaction and indirect information, interpreted through observer's value system and stored in memory. In this process environment suggests distinctions and relations and people select, organize and endow the environmental information with meaning. It is thus an accumulation of both physical and abstract information about the city. Every inhabitant in the city has his/her own personal image regarding his experiences, preferences and personal characteristics, but also there is a collective image - the overlapped personal images – which is the main subject of urban studies. Hence, the collective image consists of both physical components of the city and meanings attached to them. The collective image or urban image is quite important in our daily life because the ability to perceive and recognize the environment is crucial for being able to act and attain psychological satisfaction. Additionally, 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 concept of urban image which was first coined in 1960s, started to become a theme of curiosity for place branding from the beginning of 1990s. The main intention of place branding is make the city more attractive in the global competition among cities and thus capture its global share from the capital, investment and touristic resources. Thus, it is idealized as a great opportunity for the cities to provide an add value in global competition. In order to reach this intention, urban design and architecture become main tools in reshaping urban environment and creating attractive images for the city. This accelerated tendency on re-designing urban space according to branding strategies come into being the concept of brand image which is formed and designed by policy makers rather than people living in the city.

Although the discourse of environmental psychology preserves its value, place branding on the other side became very effective way of re-thinking cities. Especially by 2000, the idea of planning and designing through branding strategies has spread all over the world. While place branding approach has become a popular apparatus among policy makers and affected urban environment, its impacts on the urban image became a theme of curiosity for this study. Hence, in this study, place branding approach is evaluated from the perspective of environmental psychology.

It aims to figure out to what extend the brand image correspond to the accumulated urban image in inhabitants' mind. For such an intention, the findings obtained by the survey studies which was conducted in 2014 and 2019 will be presented. Ankara is selected as the case study because from 2007 to 2014 the new rhetoric of "Brand City of Ankara" and the urban development projects have accelerated the transformation of urban environment in Ankara. In this period of time, a number of actors in the city have developed various brand images and strategies for the future of the city. Regarding those strategies, urban environment started to be transformed through various large scale urban design and architectural design projects. Along with the case of Ankara the study mainly focuses on the difference between urban image and brand image. Yet, the study claims that there is a mismatch between inhabitants' mental image and policy makers' designed brand image which neglect the existing spatial, cultural and local values.

2. From Urban Image to Brand Image

Following the path from urban image to brand urban image, bears an understanding of concepts, related processes and aspects, thus it is helpful to understand main concerns environmental psychology and place branding on formation of urban images. Urban images are formed within a cognitive and responsive process including sensation, perception, cognition, spatial behavior and affective response. Sensation is the process that people gather data from environment through their senses. For Gestalt psychologists those stages include universal or common characteristics, thus they are stable and consistent (Arnheim, 1969, Rapoport, 1977). 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) Perception and cognition on the other hand are different from the first stage as they differ among people, so that they are not constant stages. In these stages people 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. The physical entities have different meanings for different observers with regard to cultural and personal differences. Spatial behavior is basically movement pattern which includes daily and rare behaviors. Spatial behaviors are guided by physiologically, socially and psychologically based human needs. 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 and eventually, it evokes sense of belonging. Regarding the relationship between man and environment and the process, it can be said that every person has his/her own urban image or "personal image as Lynch said. On the other side there is a collective urban image which can be defined as overlapped personal images. Moreover, collective image consists of common needs, background information, history, identity and cultural sharing and lead personal images to improve (Lynch, 1960; Pocock and Hudson, 1978).

In 1960, Kevin Lynch made his research on urban image in selected three cities by using cognitive mapping method. In his study, he tried to put forth the components and elements of urban image. Structure, identity and meaning were the outcomes that he revealed whereas the mainly focused on the structure. 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). The leading study of Lynch has been very much inspiring for following researcher, as we still use cognitive mapping method in our surveys. Although its success, the method was also criticized by many other theorists in following periods since 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 (Appleyard, 1980; Carmona et. al., 2003; Lang, 1987; Lynch 1981; Madanipour, 1996; Pocock and Hudson, 1978; Rapoport, 1977). Similar with these developments in the subject, Lynch also revised his researches on urban image and gave more importance on meaning and sense in his book in 1981. 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. In the following years, a number of studies which were conducted by very important theorist agreed that the designative and appraisive aspects are strictly related with each other. Eventually they are both requirements for good image which is essential for human psychological health regarding sense of place and belonging in urban environment.

The discussions on the subject of image started to change in 1990s when the subject was mentioned with new concepts of place marketing and branding. The concept of place branding is dated back to 1970s when the crisis affected whole world after the World War 2 and the Fordist movement. This dramatic atmosphere brought 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. The world's social and economic boundaries were disappeared in the era of globalization by the 1990s and the circulation of capital, people and commodities through global space began (Brenner, 1999). This accelerated mobility has enabled companies to look for investment opportunities without taking the boundaries into account (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). Consequently, the differences in capacity and assets of the city and competition among them 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) Most city governments have recognized the entrepreneurial mode of governance in accordance with the inter-city competition. "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) In this regard, place branding was introduced as a favorable concept for cities with such objectives; attracting investment and capital, attracting global companies, attracting skilled workers, attracting new citizens, attracting visitors (Jansson and Power, 2006)

Place branding is mainly based on the concept of marketing. Due to this approach, a city is taken into consideration as an object to be promoted and featured with its unique characteristics. Thus, it is intended to design an image for that object (city in place branding) in order to constitute brand value. However, there are a number of differences in designing a brand image for an object and a city, since city has various layers like spatial components, social and cultural life and different actors. Regarding multi layered structure of the city; different strategies are discussed in place branding literature. According to Jansson and Power (2006) it is possible to group place branding strategies into two; immaterial and material. The immaterial one is about promotion and consists of motto, city logo. The material one on the other hand is about the spatial environment of the city. In this regard planning, urban design and architecture are the main tools in transforming the physical environment and creating a city to be brand. 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 landscape reconstruction is declared as the regeneration of deprived areas in urban environment that can contribute positively to the city's attractiveness. 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, 1987).

3. Place Branding History of Ankara

The place branding history of Ankara can only be traced together with its spatial development history, to place the branding strategies to a relevant context. Thus, it is presented a very brief urban history which begins with the Republican period. Since the establishment of Turkish Republic, different dynamics affected the spatial development of the city of Ankara. In the period of 1923-1930, the city has been considered as the Modern Capital of the young and new Republic (Tankut, 1998). Due to this perspective, it was intended to design a modern urban image which contains administrative, economic and socio-cultural activities in spatial dimension (Tankut, 1998). Old town and new city centre were designed to be connected along the Ulus-Sıhhiye-Kızılay axis. In 1930-1957 with the main spatial decisions of Jansen Plan, on this main axis (path) a number of landmarks and nodes were developed as it was intended to strength the Modern Capital image of the city (Tankut, 1998). In 1956, the plan proposal of Yucel-Uybadin protected the main spatial decisions of Jansen Plan but proposed new districts on the north and south. Moreover, the very first developments through western corridor were proposed in this plan. Parallel to residential developments, by the construction of the National Assembly Building in 1961 (Akay junction), the city center in Ulus was replaced by the boulevard and Kızılay became the new city center and new modernist landmarks appeared. By 1980s, the macroform of the city has developed along western axis through 2015 plan decisions. By mid-1980s, on the one hand the development through the west continued, on the other side new activities and architectural programs appeared in the city. According to Uludağ (2004) 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. 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). 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. Beginning from 2000s, the concept of place branding which has influenced urban development strategies in the world by 1990s started to take effect in Turkey. Regarding this new discourse, branding story of Ankara started by 2007.

- **Brand City of Urban Tourism (2007):** Ministry of Culture and Tourism prepared "Turkey Tourism Strategies for 2023" in 2017. The main purpose of this study is to promote strategic planning studies in tourism in collaboration with public and private sectors, as well as to define brand cities and their branding strategies. In this study, it was put forth strategies for creating brand cities due to their tourism potentials and Ankara defined as "Brand City of Urban Tourism".

- **Brand City of Ankara (2008):** During the local elections campaign, the term brand city has been the most popular slogan among candidates for the Mayor of Grater Municipality. In the context of branding, the Mayor proposed 141 projects including flagship projects (Disneyland, Zoo, and Ankara Fair Center etc.), transportation and infrastructure projects and social projects. In this period, one of those projects was introduced as the new and modern business center of Ankara and as the new modern face of the city that should be promoted. In the light of these branding strategies urban transformation process has started in the Çukurambar district.

- **City of Culture and Tourism (2010)[1]:** In the Tourism Panel 2010 in Ankara, brand image of Ankara was discussed by General Manager of Ankara City Culture and Tourism, Association of Ankara Club, Ankara governorship and other participants. The main purpose of panel was to discuss and put forth alternative strategies and opportunities to strengthen the new image of Ankara.

- **The Center of Defense Industry, Health and Thermal Tourism (2011)[2]:** In May 2011, before the general elections, The Prime Minister declared new projects for Ankara under the main heading of "New Vision of Ankara". Along with a number of projects like 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, a new brand image was declared for Ankara. 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.

- **Shopping Paradise Ankara (2012)[3]:** In Arkiparc Fair 2012, the Mayor of the city 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 mentioned that the Shopping Fest in Ankara will be the impetus of lively commercial life in the city. In May 2012, a new brand image was defined by the municipality through the Shopping Fest organization. By this event it is intended to make Ankara as one of the first important shopping and tourism destinations in the world. Regarding this new brand image, shopping malls in the city have been defined as the leading landmarks.

- **Brand City of the Star Country (2013)[4]:** In 2013, Metropolitan Municipality presented future projects for the new brand image of Ankara. Regarding this new image the Mayor proposed aims and strategies and four main visions; City of Convention and Fair, City of University and Education, City of Industry, City of Health and Thermal Tourism. Regarding those brand images a number of large scale urban projects were again introduced. Among them one came into prominence which was about a new and modern center for the city defining by significant building (skyscrapers particularly) in Çukurambar district.

- **Brand City of Ankara (2014):** In 2014 during the local elections, it was proposed a number of large-scale urban projects with the emphasis of brand city.

Place branding history of the city of Ankara occupied the urban agenda between 2007 and 2014. From 2014 to 2019 when a new local election took place, the concept of branding has begun to be forgotten gradually, and no new brand image was defined for the city. However, since 2014 the concept of "Brand City of Ankara" has continued to be emphasized by policy-makers during national or local elections. Also, this period, some previously defined projects also had the opportunity to come to life. In this period of time one of the most important branding projects declared by municipality, Ankapark (Wonderland) was implemented. The implementation process took long time and the park was opened in 2019 right before the local elections. However, its gates were closed again shortly after its opening and it is now open to the visitors of the city. On the other hand, skyscraper construction continued in order to create the new business center envisaged for the Çukurambar region.

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[1] http://www.ankarakulubu.org.tr/blog-ankara-kulubu.aspx?blgID=170&altMID=109 (last access: 15.04.2016)

[2] http://www.atonet.org.tr/yeni/index.php?p=1788&l=1 (last access: 20.03.2018)

[3] https://www.ankara.bel.tr/haberler/bakan-gkek-stanbul-arkiparc12de/ (last access: 20.03.2018)

[4] http://www.sabah.com.tr/ankara-baskent/2013/04/14/ankara-marka-sehir (last access: 20.03.2018)

- **Brand City of Ankara (2019)**: As a new local election took place in March 2019, the ideas and projects of the candidates about the city started to emerge. Unlike other elections, the two prominent candidates in this election stated that they generally attach importance to social projects. Mansur Yavaş, the current mayor who won the 2019 elections, stated that he wanted to make Ankara a brand city and emphasized the concept of liveability. For this purpose, besides the projects that will meet the basic needs of the inhabitants of the city, conservation and regeneration projects (like Saraçoğlu district renewal project) were introduced in some important areas that are part of the city's identity. Immediately after the elections were concluded, studies on some proposed projects were initiated. However, with the pandemic process that affected the whole world in 2020, many projects were put on hold.

To conclude the short history of branding of Ankara, there has been introduced a number of brand image for the city. Regarding those various images a number of large-scale projects were proposed in order to support brand images. However, most of those projects were not realized thus the brand images stayed just as abstract sayings. On the other side, especially the shopping mall became one of the main urban elements in urban environment regarding the branding strategies. The brand image of shopping has been also supported by the Shopping Festival which is organized once in a year. Additionally, in order to create a brand city, the skyscrapers took place along the Eskişehir Boulevard as the new and modern centre of the city. Especially in the last 7 years, the concept of branding has become less and less talked about in the city's agenda. On the other hand, it can be said that since 2019, the issue of branding has started to be handled together with the concept of urban identity, and in this direction, conservation and renewal projects have started to be given importance in the city.

4. Research Design

The research is developed into two phases. The first phase is based on an extensive survey conducted in Ankara in 2014[5]. In the second phase of the research, it aims to update the data and figure out the changes and impacts of new interventions based on previously designed brand images. This second phase which is conducted in 2019, is designed as a preliminary survey for an extensive on in the future.

Aiming to build a medium to compare the literature findings with practical reflections, a survey was needed to be conducted, to grasp the citizen's view on both city image and brand city image. The survey was conducted with 731 inhabitants in Ankara in 2014. Using exponential non-discriminative snowball and random sampling, survey is realized different districts[6] in Ankara. In order to explore different perceptions and achieve a collective image, it is intended to reach a sample which is equally distributed according to different characteristics of participants; gender, age, education level and duration of residence. These aspects are important that age and duration of residence is quite with familiarity, education level is related with awareness and gender provides different points of view of male and female respondents. Due to these criteria, the participant profile is composed of %52 women and %48 men. Regarding age factor, %24 of participants are under 24, %35 of them are between the ages of 25-34, %25 of them are between the ages of 35-44 and %19 of them older than 45. Regarding education level; %42 of the participants are in the group of basic education, %40 of them graduate from a university (high education) and %18 of them have masters and/or Phd degrees (higher education). Lastly the participant profile is categorized into four regarding duration of residence. Due to this, %26 of participants have lived less than 14 years, %24 of them have lived for 15-24 years, %26 of them have lived for 25-34 years and %24 of them have lived more than 35 years.

In order to reach the main intention of the survey, the survey was designed according to the two aspects of urban image; designative and appraisive and it was selected appropriate methods with the help of urban image literature.

Designative aspect of image: In order to obtain physical components of urban image a very well-known methodology in urban image studies; cognitive mapping was selected. Participants were asked to draw the map of Ankara in their minds. For the maps, the quality of drawings was not considered. The scale, size and drawing techniques are left up to the person and consequently it is obtained differentiated maps. Every item drawn on the maps was transferred electronic environment in order to find out the frequencies. By the results of frequency analysis, a collective image map which shows the designative components was visualized by the researcher.

Appraisive aspect of image: In order to find out the meaning attached to the environment social representation[7] method was selected. The social representation method in urban image studies focus on open ended questions in

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[5] The data which are used in this first step is based on the Phd dissertation prepared in Middle East Technical University, City and Regional Planning Department.

[6] 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 were realized.

[7] Social representation method was first put forth in 1976 by Milgram and Jodelet. They used this methodology in order to find out the image of Paris in a comprehensive manner. In the following years the method was used by a number of theorists to complete the missing part of cognitive mapping method.

order to cover the missing part of maps and find out the meaning attributed to the component. Regarding this method, two questions were asked to participants;

1. What does occur in your mind first about Ankara?
2. Why?

For the first open ended question, participant listed first five places or landmarks. The answers in the form of lists were analyzed by frequency analysis 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.

5. Findings

5.1 Designative Aspect of Image of Ankara

The designative aspect of urban image analysis is based on cognitive maps drawn in surveys. The five elements of urban image which were first defined by Kevin Lynch were analyzed by frequency analysis method. Although Lynch listed five elements[8] (path, node, landmark, district and edge) "edge" was excluded since no one draw any edge on maps. As Lynch (1960) mentioned every inhabitant has a personal image and also there is a collective urban image which is formed through overlapping personal images. In the light of this statement, it is intended to overlap the cognitive maps in the survey and put forth the collective urban image of Ankara.

The designative aspect of collective image map shows that there is a concentration of four elements of urban image. This part can be named as the most legible part of the city referring to the description of the concept. According to Lynch (1960) legibility is clearly reading the elements and the wholeness of the urban image. Based on this description, the most legible part seen in the map it is possible to observe each element and the whole structure as well.

This corridor runs along the Atatürk Boulevard. It starts from Ulus which is the historic center of the city with historic citadel and neighbourhoods and goes to Çankaya which can be named as the modern center of the city. Along the path (the Atatürk Boulevard) nodes like Ulus, Sıhhiye, Kızılay and Kavaklıdere (Tunalı Hilmi Street) and most of landmarks which belong to Republican period and reflect the history of the city come into prominence. Considering the history of the city, it is seen that this corridor was revealed in the first planning studies of the city and has continued its importance and existence until today. In this deep-rooted past, this corridor has a symbolic importance not only with the physical but also with the many buildings and areas within the area that refer to the city's qualities of being a republic and a capital. Therefore, it is not surprising that the inhabitants appear prominently in their mind maps.

Apart from the image corridor, which is prominently on the map, some image elements scattered throughout the city are seen. These elements are some shopping malls in the city which are declared as the most important elements of the place branding strategies. Regarding the designative map, it won't be wrong to say that some shopping malls are visible for inhabitants. However, in terms of legibility, they do not go with the other image elements but rather they find their place in the form of fragmented elements in the city.

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[8] Detailed lists for the image elements observed in the cognitive maps can be found in the Phd dissertation titled "Global Image of the City: Impacts of place branding on the image of Ankara".
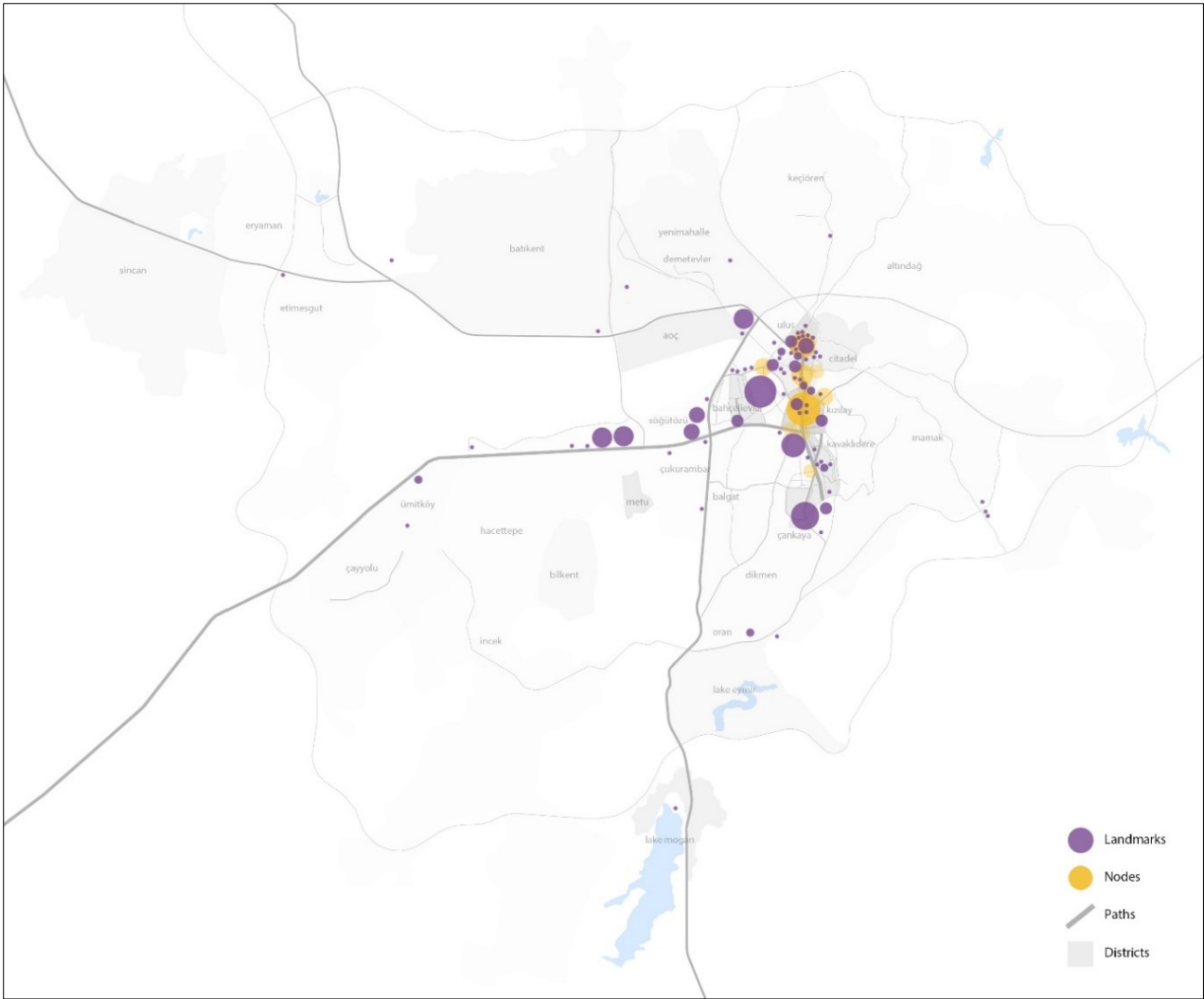
Figure 1. Designative aspect of urban image

5.2. Appraisive Aspect of Image of Ankara

The affective aspect of the image consists of the meanings attributed to the physical components. In order to find out the appraisive aspect of image, it was asked respondents to write somewhere/thing when they think about Ankara. %92 of respondents wrote one or more than one places or structure, whereas %8 of them left unanswered. Among listed items, it was obtained 290 different places.

Table 1. Frequency Analysis of Meaning

Name	Frequency	Name	Frequency
Anıtkabir	308	Blue Lake	13
Kuğulu Park	151	Ulus Square	13
Lake Eymir	122	Kavaklıdere	12
Tunalı Hilmi Str.	122	Keçiören	11
Seğmenler Park	96	Tunus Str.	11
Atakule	94	University Campuses	11
Citadel	81	İncek	10
Metu	76	Museum	10
Shopping Malls	74	Art & Sculpture Museum	10
Parks	74	50.yıl Park	9
Aoç	74	Arjantin Street	9
Kızılay	67	Atatürk Monument (Ulus)	8
Lake Mogan	64	Atatürk Boulevard	8
Hamamönü	57	Bilkent	7

Bahçelievler	47	Çukurambar	7
Göksu Park	45	Küçük Theatre	7
Opera House	37	National Library	7
Gençlik Park	35	Oran	7
Historic Buildings (Ulus)	32	Park Str.	7
Botanik Park	31	Tandoğan	7
N. Grand Assembly	27	Ulucanlar Museum	7
7.Str (Bahçelievler)	27	Ziraat Bank (Ulus)	7
Historic Assembly	26	AKM	6
Güvenpark	26	Batıkent	6
Harikalar Diyarı	24	Gazi district	6
Dikmen Valley	22	Karanfil Str.	6
Bestekar Str.	20	Koru	6
Çayyolu	19	Kumrular Str.	6
Hacı Bayram	19	Nazım Hikmet C.C.	6
Kurtuluş Park	18	Yüksel Str.	6
Çankaya	17	Anıttepe	5
Kocatepe Mosque	17	Ayrancı	5
Ahlatlıbel	16	Emek	5
Museum of Ethnography	16	Estergon Castle	5
ODTÜ Forest	16	Samanpazarı	5
Ümitköy	16	Saraçoğlu District	5
Hittite Monument	15	Filistin Street	5
Museum of Anatolian C.	14	GOP	5
Sakarya	14	H.U. Beytepe Campus	5
Ulus	14	Zoo	5
Altınpark	13	Sincan	5
Train Station	13	Şinasi Theatre	5

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

In the table above, it is observed different nodes and landmarks. Among those places, there are historic places, public open spaces and parks which were recently realized as well. The Figure 2 shows the distribution of meanings attached to the urban space which are obtained through the survey. It is observed in the map that the meaningful places for participants are mostly concentrated along the main axis of the city Atatürk Boulevard. With regard to the map showing designative aspects of urban image, this concentration of appraisive aspect of image mostly match with designative one. Thus, the main corridor of Atatürk Boulevard with historical places situated along the corridor is the imageable part of the city regarding designative and appraisive aspects of urban image.
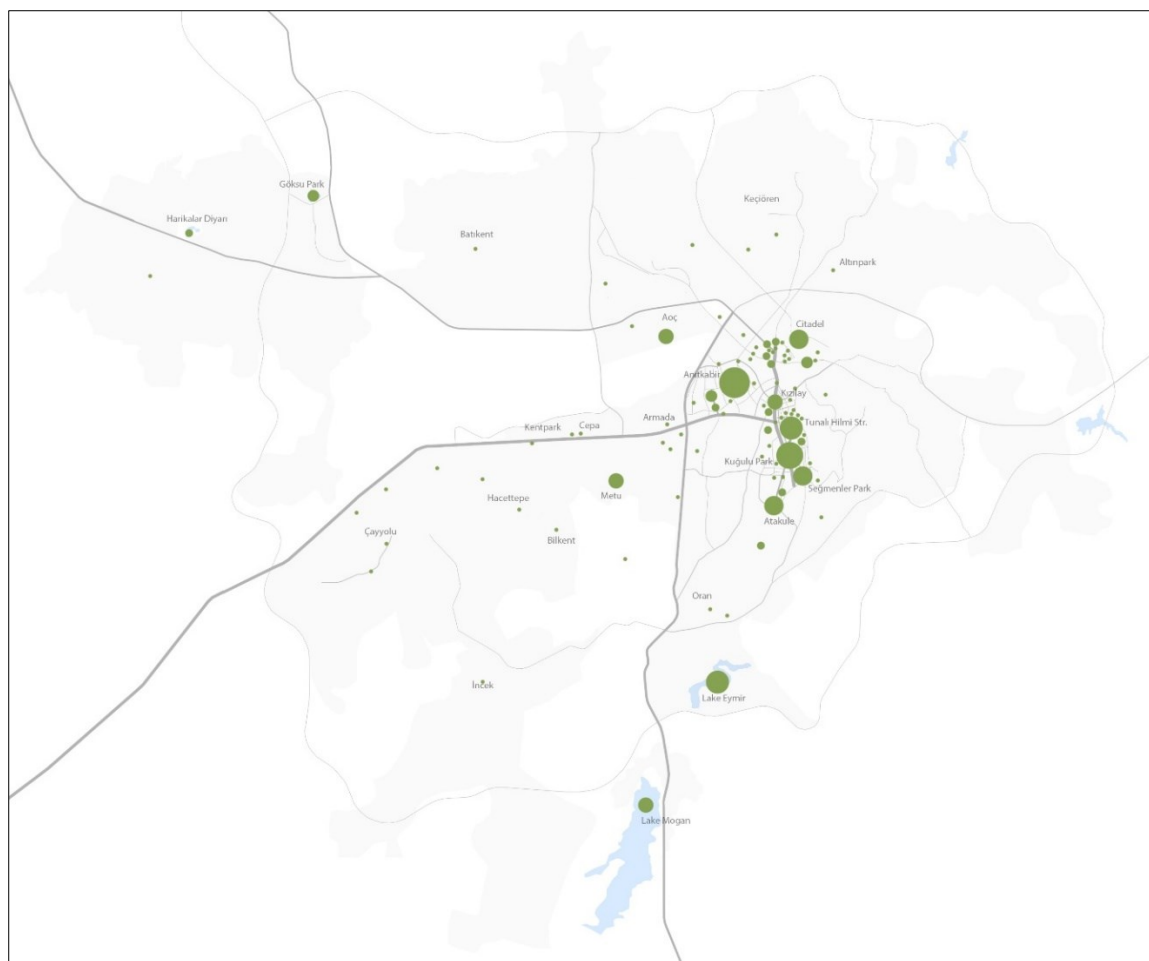
Figure 2. Appraisive aspect of urban image

The appraisive aspect of urban image firstly analyzed with the help of frequency analysis in order to figure out the meaningful places in urban environment. In the second part of the survey, it is intended to figure out the reason of selection of those places. To reach this intention, it is asked people to write one or more reasons why they mentioned those places when they think of the city of Ankara. The table 7 in the below shows the frequency of the answers.

Table 2. Frequency Analysis of Reasons

Reason	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**

According to the survey, 37% percent of participants mentioned that identity and symbolic meaning are the most decisive aspects. Buildings and places which are listed in the survey are determined as parts of urban identity and moreover they are mentioned because of their symbolic meanings. Participants also mentioned the importance of these elements in terms of continuity of cultural values and common or urban memory. In this respect, Antıkabir, Ankara Castle, Kızılay and Ulus come into prominence with their symbolic meanings. Ulus and historic buildings around Ulus, the building along the Boulevard which represents Republican period on the other side are mentioned as the elements contributing to the identity of the city.

25% of the respondents emphasized that the green areas (parks and recreation areas), which are decreasing in number especially in the urban environment, are very important in terms of social life and environmental quality in the city. In

addition to the green areas within the city, the recreation areas (such as Lake Eymir, Mogan Lake), which are located in the periphery of the city, are also part of Ankara's former green identity. Among these, the Atatürk Forest Farm (AOÇ) is differentiated not only by a green and open space but also by its symbolic value.

While 14% of the participants evaluated the names of places only by expressing their appreciation, 10% of them emphasized the importance of urban streets and gathering areas in urban areas. In this context, Kavaklıdere, Bahçelievler, Ulus and Kızılay are the areas where pedestrians can be used more actively. As part of the vitality and social life of the city, the pedestrian streets are especially attributed by the participants.

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.

Table 3. Correlation Analysis of Meaning and Frequencies (%)

NAME	S	P	ST.	L	F	D	M	O
Anıtkabir	99			1				
Kuğulu Park	29	56		9	6			
Lake Eymir	11	68		8	8	3	2	
Tunalı Hilmi Str.	18		36	27	13	6		
Seğmenler Park	19	62		13	4	2		
Atakule	87			9	2	2		
Citadel	72		10	13	5			
Metu	29	47		21		3		
Shopping malls	3			47	44		6	
Parks		96					4	
Aoç	33	43		21	3			
Kızılay	34		18	32	13	3		
Lake Mogan	8	52		28	12			
Hamamönü	70		19	11				
Bahçelievler	31		13	38	6	6		6
Göksu Park		71		29				
Opera House	100							
Gençlik Park	53	21		16	10			
Historic buildings	100							
Botanik Park	38	57			5			
G. National Assembly	100							
7.Street	9		55	18		18		
Historic Assembly	93			7				
Güvenpark	44	11	17	22		6		
Harikalar Diyarı	5	75		10	5		5	
Dikmen Valley	20	60		20				
Bestekar Str.	9		37	27	27			
Çayyolu				45		11	11	33
Hacı Bayram	75			25				
Kurtuluş Park	36	46		9	9			
Çankaya	11			45		11	22	11
Kocatepe Mosque	67			33				
Ahlatlıbel		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		33				
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			
Anıttepe			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 five (5) are not listed

6. What has changed from 2014 to 2021?

The extensive survey of 2014 put forth the collective image of inhabitants of Ankara regarding designative and appraisive aspects. Looking at the designative aspect of urban image, it is revealed that the city's historical spine (Atatürk Boulevard) and nodes and landmarks defining the boulevard are the most legible and imageable parts of the city. Since the first planning experiences of the city, this main spine, which holds five elements together, has taken place in the minds of the citizens as a whole. The area consists of all elements of image and denotes a unified structure 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. On the other side elements of brand image do not construct a unified structure but they observed as fragmented landmarks or nodes in the city. According to survey study, Çukurambar district which is declared as the new and modern center was observed only %3 of mental maps. Shopping malls which have been increasingly developed through branding strategies of "Capital of Brands" and "Shopping Paradise" come into prominence in the cognitive maps. Especially Cepa Shopping Mall (%7) and Kentpark Shopping Mall (%7,5) on the Eskişehir Highway and Ankamall (%7,5) on the Konya Highway were appeared in %22 of the maps. Thus, it will not be wrong to say that shopping malls are quite in the urban environment.

Regarding the second aspect of urban image – the appraisive aspect – the meaning map is examined and it revealed that the elements along the boulevard, the historical centers and the boulevard itself in the mental map which shows the designative aspect are also seen as meaningful parts of the city. In another words, in the core of the city there is also congregation of meanings. Concerning the open-ended questions in the survey, the emphasis on Ankara' urban identity and history shows that the urban image has been accumulated over time and that there is a strong link between image and identity. On the other hand, the emphasis on the public sphere in survey studies shows that the process of experiencing the environment strengthens the image in the minds of the users. Regarding the elements of brand image, which are observed as a focal point in mental maps, it is observed that they have lost their presence in the meaning map.
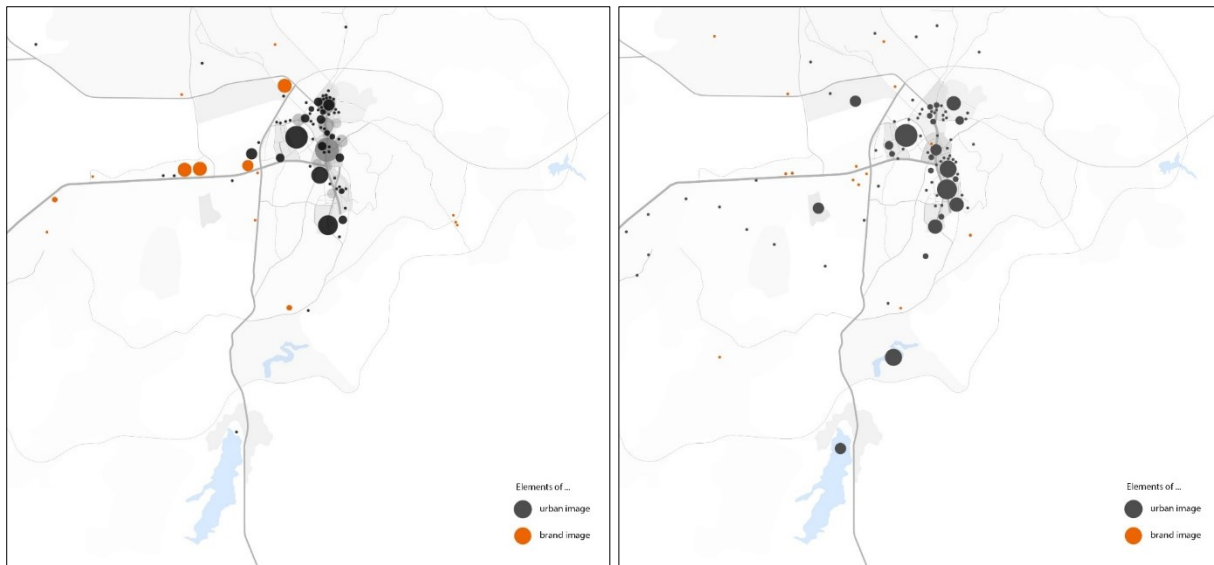

Figure 3. Urban and brand image - designative and appraisive aspects

The maps above show this disagreement between inhabitants' urban image and the brand image which is designed by policy makers. Consequently, it would not be wrong to say that the urban branding strategies that continued until 2014 and their reflection on the urban space did not find a place in the collective image of the city. Although a new urban branding strategy and brand image were not introduced after 2014, previously pursued strategies continued to find a place in the urban space. Many projects that were mentioned under the name of branding, especially during the election periods, could not be realized and remained as promises.

The most important **"implemented"** project which was declared as an element of branding the city is "Wonderland Eurasia" but known as Ankapark Amusement Park. It is located on the Atatürk Forest Farm (AOÇ) and Zoo. In the end of 2013, the construction initialized. In 2015 a roller coaster and the ferris wheel were tested. Although the park was nearly complete by 2017, the public opening of the park took place in 2019. However, soon after its opening before the local elections the doors of the park were closed again and today it is not used. When we look at the 8-year history of the park, it is seen that it is an area that does not fall off the agenda due to the various large toys placed in it, the fact that it cannot be opened to public use, and the money spent for the area.

Figure 4. Before and after Ankapark. Source: google earth

The other development took place in Çukurambar district. In the area, which was previously introduced as a new and modern center, the construction of high-rise buildings continued and the area became visible. With the developments taking place on both sides of the Eskişehir road, the empty parcels in the area have left their places to high-rise buildings. The building, which was built instead of the "Steel Cage" structure, which was located on the Eskişehir road and was subject to great discussions at the time, has become spoken among the citizens with its form.

Figure 5. Çukurambar district and the skyline. Source: www.hurriyet.com.tr

There are also some other developments based on branding strategies in different part of the city. These are some large scale urban projects and mostly include gated communities and multi-functional areas. In this sense, two projects that have come to the fore in the last 7 years can be mentioned. The first of these is a multi-functional urban development project, which started in the old EGO area under the name of "**Merkez Ankara**", and includes residential, commercial and office uses. The site is located at the very central point in the city that it is a quite accessible location.

Another important development took place in the existing shopping malls. Especially since 2015, a structural transformation process has begun to be seen in some existing shopping centers. The existing closed architectural structures have turned into a more open form that relates to the street with the new arrangements made on the facades. On the other hand, in some newly built shopping centres, a new architectural language has developed, which is mostly related to the outside, sometimes including the street and mostly relating to the roads surrounding it. From this perspective, **Arcadium, Galeria, Atakule** and **Armada** shopping malls can be listed among the prominent examples.

Figure 6. Before and after Arcadium Shopping Mall. Source: www.arcadium.com.tr

These developments and changes in urban space raised a new question within the scope of the study. "Do these new urban projects affect the urban image?" A new study was carried out with a small sample group in order to find an answer to this question. This small study can basically be regarded as a preliminary study of a more extended survey. According to the first results of this preliminary study, it is aimed to shape the new research. Within the scope of the study, in the survey conducted with 50 people living in Ankara, they were asked to state their thoughts about the recent projects which mentioned previously. More specifically, they were asked to evaluate the effects of these projects on urban image.

Table 4. Survey Findings of 2019

	negative evaluation	neutral	positive evaluation
Ankapark	35 (%70)	4 (%8)	11 (%22)
Çukurambar district	22 (%44)	11 (%22)	17 (%34)
Gated communities	42 (%84)	-	8 (%16)
Shopping malls	18 (%36)	-	32 (%64)

1. According to the results of the survey study, 70% of the participants think that Ankapark has a negative effect on the urban image. There are three main reasons for this idea. According to the participants, the fact that the park was not opened for public use and that a lot of money was spent during the construction phase was found to be quite negative. However, beyond this, making it in the AOÇ (Atatürk Forest Farm), which has an important value for the city, and damaging this area has emerged as the most emphasized issue by the participants. At this point, the fact that the AOÇ area is an important part of the urban image and identity supports the survey study conducted in 2014.
2. When we look at the evaluation of Çukurambar region, it is seen that positive and negative evaluations are close to each other. While those who evaluate it negatively think that the area does not fit the image of the city and its identity, on the other hand, those who interpret it positively refer to the modern image it adds to the city. In the light of these evaluations and comparing with the findings in 2014, it will not be wrong to say that the development in the district is not enough to convince inhabitants of Ankara. In other words, the district is not evaluated as a part of the image of the city.
3. The most significant difference in the survey study is seen in the evaluation of luxury gated communities. The majority of the participants negatively evaluated these projects, which they thought luxury gated community projects did not contribute to the city and even caused physical and social segregation in the urban environment. These results and evaluations are very similar to the study conducted in 2014. In this sense, it would not be wrong to say that it is very difficult for these projects to have a place in the image and identity of the city.
4. When the evaluation of shopping malls in the survey study is examined, it is seen that the majority of the participants' evaluations are positive. Unlike the other three developments in urban environment, shopping malls were evaluated positively, unlike the 2014 study. While 36% of the participants listed reasons similar to the evaluations in the previous study, 64% stated that it was a positive part of the urban image.

Considering the results obtained in this survey study, it is seen that many elements that are considered as a part of the brand image of the city after 2014 and found place in the urban space are negatively evaluated by the inhabitants. The most interesting point in this study has emerged in the evaluation of shopping malls. It would be appropriate to understand the difference in the evaluations in 2014 and 2019 by looking at the urban space instead. As mentioned before, the architectural structure of the shopping malls changed between these periods and gained a structure that relates to the streets and open spaces. Some shopping malls try to keep this street culture alive directly within its own structure. Its evolution from a closed structure to a structure that touches the street was positively evaluated by the inhabitants of the city by putting the vitality it brought to the city in the foreground. This situation can be considered as an indicator of how important the relationship between the street and people stands.

7. Conclusions

Urban branding has been frequently mentioned on the agenda of cities in recent years. Especially in Turkey, brand city studies are continuing in many small and large cities. However, in this adventure, how these branding strategies will affect the cities and the citizens are still developing and new case studies are needed. Within this perspective this study aims to contribute to the literature in two ways. First, it provides a theoretical framework to understand how place branding strategies might affect inhabitants of that city to be branded. Second, it provides a broad data set of field study conducted in a newly developing country (Turkey) that will contribute to one of the most important shortcomings in the still developing field.

The findings of the surveys point that the brand image of Ankara proposed by the branding strategies does not overlap with the inhabitants' image in their mind. Reasons behind this mismatch highlighted two important topics to be considered in place branding studies;

- urban identity and accumulation of urban image
- public space and public life

In the fields of environmental psychology and urban design, the image of the city is defined as the mental representation of the city that has accumulated over time (Lynch, 1960; Pocock and Hudson, 1978; Rapoport, 1977; Warr and Knapper, 1968). The combination of physical components in the urban space and the fact that they are perceived as parts and as a whole, and the meanings attributed to the physical components in relation to the history and identity of the city are important features for a strong urban image. The term image in place branding field on the other hand can be described as a designed image by policy makers in order to be legible in the market (Gospodini, 2002; Hubbard, 1996; Jansson and Power, 2006; Kavaratzis, 2005). From this point of view, it would not be wrong to say that there is a distinct difference between the two image definitions used for the city. Although the difference between these definitions is obvious, as a result, the strategies affecting the urban space and the people affected by the urban space are at the center of these image concepts. If, in today's conditions, cities need to exist in a global race and provide this with an image, on the other hand, if the ongoing psychological relationship between people and urban space will continue to exist and be effective, where should designers and planners stand? Place is more than a physical entity but it is a space with attached meanings (Relph, 1976). Therefore, in the process of designing the urban space, it should be kept in the foreground how the meanings and images connected to it as a result of the effect or change of the space, and how the inhabitants who have a relationship with their environment and the city they live in by carrying them in their minds will be affected. Therefore, in addition to the concrete components of the space that are the subject of urban branding processes, the abstract components that include identity, image and meaning should be evaluated together. In the results of the research conducted in Ankara, the participants' emphasis on the city's past identity and identity elements, and the evaluation of new urban interventions as incompatible with the identity of the city supports this discourse.

The emphasis on public space, public life and publicness in urban environment is evidently one of the most interesting findings. Of course, this result manifests itself more clearly in Ankara, which continues its branding journey through closed semi-public (or pseudo) spaces. However, it would not be wrong to associate this discussion with shopping malls, which are frequently discussed together with branding strategies in the literature. One of the most important issues discussed in the urban branding literature is the concentration on consumption and the inclusion of consumption-oriented spaces in the cities (Healey, 1997; Hubbard, 1996; Loftman and Newin, 2003). It is a very important criticism that it causes physical segregation in the urban space and confines people to controlled or semi-public spaces by changing the definition of public spaces it produces. The study conducted in Ankara, where branding strategies were developed through shopping malls, clearly revealed how much people put public open spaces such as parks, streets and squares at the center of their lives and that there is a great need in urban life. In the study of 2019, this time in the background of the positive evaluation of shopping centers, their rearrangement or transformation in a way to establish a relationship with urban open spaces and especially the streets support this discourse.

Due to these premises, it is necessary to interpret city branding from the perspective of environmental psychology since city is not just an object to be brand but it is this with people. Without this sensitivity to urban identity and urban culture, and appreciation of the bond between the city and people, it would seem that creating pseudo images for the cities is inevitable. Clearly then, ever increasing place branding efforts which focus on mainly the economic contributions to the city should add environmental psychology perspective caring human-environment relationship, place attachment, sense of place and identity in the following studies.

Conflict of Interests

The Authors declare no conflict of interest.

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