IMT Institute for Advanced Studies, Lucca
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**ANALYSING THE IMPACT OF A MEGA-EVENT ON CITY
IMAGE BY VISUAL METHODOLOGIES:
BRANDING ISTANBUL DURING THE EUROPEAN
CAPITAL OF CULTURE 2010**

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Evinç Doğan
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The dissertation of Evinç Doğan is approved.

Programme Coordinator: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Maria Luisa Catoni, IMT Institute for Advanced Studies

Supervisor(s):

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Stefano Baia Curioni, Università Bocconi
Prof. Dr. Ibrahim Sirkeci, Regent's University London

Tutor(s): Dr. Denise La Monica, Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa

The dissertation of Evinç Doğan has been reviewed by:

Dr. Maktoba Omar, Edinburgh Napier University
Dr. Assia Rolls, Regent's University London

IMT Institute for Advanced Studies, Lucca
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Dedicated to my father,
Prof. Dr. Hasan Zafer Doğan

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List of Abbreviations

A.Ş.: Anonim Şirket
AKM: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi (Ataturk Culture Center)
AKP: Adalet ve Kalkınm Partisi (Justice and Development Party)
AMA: American Marketing Association
CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis
CoC: Cities of Culture
EACA: The European Association of Communications Agencies
EC: European Commission
ECCM: European Cultural Capitals and Months
ECoC: European Capital of Culture
EU: European Union
FIA: Fédération Internationale de l'Automobile
GaWC: Globalization and World Cities
IBB: Istanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality)
IKSV: Istanbul Kültür ve Sanat Vakfı
IMC: Integrated Marketing Communication
IOC: International Olympic Committee
ITU: Istanbul Technical University
MTM: Medya Takip Merkezi
NISI MASA: European Network of Young Cinema
OED: Oxford English Dictionary
PPP: Public Private Partnership
PR: Public Relations
SSM: Sabancı University Sakıp Sabancı Museum
T.C.: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti (Republic of Turkey)
TCC: Transnational Capitalist Class
TMSK: Turkish Music State Conservatory
TOKI: Toplu Konut İdaresi (Housing Development Administration)
TOSFED: Turkish Automobile Sports Federation
WRC: World Rally Championship

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I came to live in Istanbul at the age of eighteen. My perceptions about the city were shaped by my own individual experiences. Istanbul is perceived as somewhere "in between" by many others. However my perception of "in betweenness" is formed upon my personal experiences and way of living. I am caught in the state of being "in between" while traveling between Italy and Istanbul for my studies and for various reasons in my life. It was a though experience, from time to time, to handle continuous mobility and ruptures, to define where my home is, and all the process therein. As a matter of fact, I believe it reflected on my studies in a positive way by providing rich content and context, as I have learned a lot from my experiences in different places and cultures. But it was such a joy to come back home when I seek for tranquility and concentration for my studies. Without the support of my family, this would not be possible. I would like to thank to my mother Sacide Doğan and my two sisters Evren and Evrim for their patience and understanding. I cannot thank enough to Dize Alşan and Ivana Bertić who are like my sisters and part of my family. Their emotional support meant a lot to me to overcome the difficult times in my life. My grandmother is the most eager person in my academic path and her wish was to see me as a Doctor. Hope I have fulfilled my grandmother's dream (and mine…). I must admit that sometimes the hardest question to answer was asked by my close friends: "So tell me Evinç, when will you finish the thesis?" Looking around and seeing most of your friends having a good business career, being better-off and having more free time than you, makes you discouraged. But the life is a combination of our choices. I kept walking in the way I chose and I could not thank enough to those who never let me alone.

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Vita and publications

PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

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E. Doğan & E. Doğan (2012) *Mediatization of Culture: Queuing up for Museums.* Paper presented at the Creative Communications ICOM MPR Conference, 9-12 September 2012, Palermo, Sicily.

E. Doğan (2011) *City As Spectacle: The Festivalization Of Culture In Contemporary Istanbul*, Young Minds Rethinking The Mediterranean, Mensur Akgun & Lenka Peťkova (ed.)Istanbul Kultur University Publication No. 159. ISBN: 978-605-4233-66-3

E. Doğan (2009) A Proposal for Revaluation and Promotion of the Cultural Properties Within The Urban Environments: Case Of Buldan, *TUBA Journal of Cultural Inventory*, TUBA KED/7, pp. 37-48.

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Abstract

Istanbul "took the stage" as one of the three European Capital of Culture (ECoC) cities in 2010. In this spectacle, the urban spaces were projected as the theatre décor while residents and visitors became the spectators.

The aim of the study is to understand the ways in which ECoC 2010 influenced the city image of Istanbul as a core component of the city brand. The research employs qualitative methods in its analysis of the visual data. The analysed research material is provided by a sample of posters released during Istanbul 2010 among 549 events throughout the year. The researcher adapts a hermeneutic approach to the representations, signs and language as the means of symbolic meaning. The symbolic production and visual representation are therefore investigated firstly through the authoritative and historically constituted discourses in the making of Istanbul image and secondly through the orders of cultural consumption and mediatization of culture through spectacular events. The images and the discourses employed in these posters, swings between the 'pillars' of being a global city and native, local and Turkish characteristics of Istanbul. The findings of the analysis demonstrate the image of Istanbul moves between the opposite ends of the contrasting pairs, but could not reach an agreement. This research suggests building a consistent branding strategy and conveying clear messages for the audience.

Few studies concentrate on Istanbul ECoC 2010 as a mega-event and some others focus on Istanbul image. However, there is no study examining the impact of a mega-event, such as Istanbul ECoC 2010, on the city image through a visual critical analysis. Thus, the research intends drawing a model for the understanding of the impact of mega-events on the city image and visual representation of this image. This can be useful in understanding similar cases and further research into the processes of city and place branding and image relationships.

Keywords: Istanbul, ECoC, city branding, city image, visual representation, transnational place branding.

1. INTRODUCTION

> *"We live in a world where there is more and more information and*
> *less and less meaning".*
> *(Baudrillard, 1994: 79)*

1.1 The aim and scope of the research

Culture, defined as making sense of the world (Hall, 1997: 2), is an integral part of branding a place, which involves cultural exchange (Anholt, 2005: 140). This research follows the study methods of visual culture in its attempt to understand the role of cultural events on image making referring to the work of Hall (1997). The mega-events may be used as forms of advertising for city marketing and branding, where the signification is not only about *production of meaning* but also *staging of the meaning*. The cities hosting mega-events can be turned into the protagonists of the spectacle by showcasing their cultural products as well as cultural being. Thus, what staged there are the city, its image as well as the events. The mega-events are helpful to spread the word about the city, but the meaning is created also through imaging the city and positioning this image in the minds of the people – i.e. customers and consumers of the city and the mega-event. Therefore, the researcher tackles the question of how the city and its image are influenced and perhaps modified in the process of a mega-event where the meaning is expressed, disseminated while also being staged.

Debord (1994 [1967]: 153) makes a critique of the image-based industries and "spectacle's mechanisms" in the modern capitalist society. According to this theory, the spectacles make the images consumable objects; as a matter of fact not only images but also the social realities and lived experiences in the spectacles (Jones & Wilks-Heeg, 2004). In this context, the research approaches to Boorstin's (1992) theory of the pseudo-event and signification (i.e. image making) as the "technical manipulation of the medium" (Baudrillard, 1998 [1970]: 125). This approach defines mass media consumption through

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the lens of spectacles and pseudo-culture (Baudrillard, 1998 [1970]: 125). The spectacle (or interchangeably mega-event) constitutes the specific case (Istanbul 2010) to examine its impact on the image-making process for the city. Istanbul "took the stage" as one of the three ECoC cities, where the urban spaces became the theatre décor and Istanbullites and the visitors became the spectators of the event.

The research examines the case of Istanbul 2010, only as an example of a mega-event in order to understand the ways in which it influenced the city image. The political, organizational, and socio-economic impacts of the mega-event are beyond the scope of this study. Image making is part and parcel of the objectives set by Istanbul 2010, European Capital of Culture (ECoC). Thus from a city branding perspective, this study aims to investigate "HOW" Istanbul 2010 influenced the city image of Istanbul, which is a core component of the city brand.

The posters, used to promote specific events took place as part of the Istanbul 2010 ECoC, are chosen as reflective material where one can trace the evidence to unravel the attempts, intentions, or steps – conscious or implicit - that might have influenced the city image. The event posters are chosen as the unit of analysis for an interpretative qualitative analysis of the visual signification and meaning making process. Hence the city imaging is recognized as part of the signification and representation practices, while also being a part of the communication directed at public within a programme of place marketing. The researcher hopes to throw a light on the process of (re)creating and positioning the city image in the minds of the people by deconstructing the images and messages used on posters of Istanbul 2010 events.

1.2 Research Design and Methodology

An exploratory research design is adopted to understand correlational and cross-cultural characteristics of the phenomena. Hence, *qualitative methods* for analyzing the visual data are employed: *Visual Qualitative Analysis* through a mixture of *Semiotics* and *Discourse Analysis*. This

suggests an interpretative research based on critical approach to the collected data rather than being largely concerned with the conceptual domain of theory testing. The novelty in this study is that discourse analysis, which is conceived as a method to tackle the text, is applied to the analysis of images.

The research reviews the mainstream place branding literature and employs a hermeneutic approach in which representations, signs and language are the means of symbolic meaning created that communicate the city image. Posters are examined as the means of communication. In this respect, the methodology captures an interpretative analysis of visual promotional data (i.e. posters) produced for the main event and a list of cultural events in its yearly programme. In doing so, it includes much of the visual meanings that had been missed by using solely linguistic oriented, text based discourse analysis. Moreover the non-verbal aspects of texts have consolidated the semiotic elements through the communicative potential of visuality in discourse rather than linguistic ones (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006).

The reading of the images is carried out through the method developed by Barthes (1977: 36): "three messages" that are linguistic message, coded iconic message and non-coded iconic message. The semiotics is a suitable method due to its concern in how meaning is created (rather than what the meaning is), which coincides with the objective of analysis.

The meaning, which is created by the images, is closely linked to the social and cultural context. Thus, the research adopts Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to explore the causality and determination relationship between "discursive practices, events and texts" (Fairclough 1995: 132). The spectacle (ECoC) and its communication tools (posters) arise out of ideologies and struggles of power. Therefore the processes, actors and discursive practices affecting the ways of meaning making and representing are explained through contextual framework to provide a concrete basis for the findings of the analysis.

1.3 Research Question

The research poses the question of the effect of Istanbul 2010 event on the city image as a component of city brand of Istanbul. The answer sought for this question is not yes/no but to find out "**HOW**" did Istanbul 2010 impact on Istanbul image.

To answer the main question of the research, following sub-questions are formulated:

- How is the city image used in city marketing and branding in the case of Istanbul 2010?

- What was the projected image of Istanbul before Istanbul 2010?

- What are the messages given in the images used by Istanbul 2010 for promotion? How these are linked to the city image/change of the image?

Further sub-questions are asked to understand image-making process in Istanbul 2010 and thus enabling the researcher to encode and decode these messages:

- How is the city brand created?

- How does ECoC relate to branding of Istanbul?

- What are the distinctive image constituents of Istanbul that are used in city branding?

- What are the brand components related to Istanbul image?

- Who are the actors involved at national/local level brand and image making?

1.4 Analysis and Findings

After giving detailed description of the visual qualitative methods, the analytical framework is explained in the context of marketing research. The analysis demonstrates how the multiple methods are utilized towards answering the research question. The analysis of the data is

conducted by applying different qualitative methods in different phases of the analysis. Therefore, firstly it is provided clarification on which method applies to which step of the analysis and how. This is a crucial part because the findings are also classified into two groups according to the analytical steps taken. In this framework, the first part of the findings focuses on explaining the denotative and connotative meanings inferred by analysing the form and content of the posters. The second part of the findings is based on the preliminary findings. In this part the codes are transcribed into thematic clusters. The overall process of doing this is briefly outlined in each part to illustrate how it is done and why it should be done. The thematic clusters follow the same organization of the theoretical and contextual frameworks i.e. "city-spectacle-image", while they are based on the meanings of codes in cultural context at the same time. Moreover, the interpretation is based on certain degree of subjective knowledge of the researcher and shared meanings among the society. The high degree of complexity in this process is reflected on the findings. Clarity and justification around process and practice of method is vital for better understanding and possibility of application of the analytical model for future projects.

1.5 Rationale and Value

The impact of mega events and ECoC, with particular reference to Istanbul 2010, has attracted attention from the researchers and other analysts. However most of these studies focused on economic aspects such as employment (Rappaport and Wilerson, 2001; Whitson & Horne, 2006), visitor numbers (Palmer, 2004; Clark, 2008), investments (Palmer, 2004; Richards and Wilson 2004) and infrastructure (Roche, 1992; Palmer, 2004). The impact of mega-events on city branding and city image, though attracted limited attention. This is an attempt to fill this gap with a focus on the impact of mega-events on the city image with reference to city branding and marketing in the case of Istanbul 2010.

The reasons why Istanbul is selected for the study are stated as follows:

- No such study specific for Istanbul before (Few studies concentrate on Istanbul 2010 itself as a mega-event, few studies

takes Istanbul image as the object of the study but there is no study which takes solely Istanbul 2010 and investigates its impact in the city imaging)

- Istanbul is a rapidly growing metropolis in one of the fastest growing emerging markets in line with the growing importance of Turkey as a regional economic power since the early 2000s. Therefore it is worthwhile to carry on research about the image of Istanbul with reference to place marketing and city branding.

In addition, as a local of Istanbul, the researcher is in an advantageous position to understand and analyse the codes about the local context and relate them to the processes of image making in city branding practice. The researcher was also a witness to the ECoC events which provides the opportunity of analyzing the process as an insider, yet the researcher is aware of the limitations of this position in relation to the issue of reflexivity in qualitative research.

All these factors were effective in the choice of Istanbul and its city image as the object of the research. The choice of Istanbul 2010 ECoC as the case of mega-event can be explained by the reasons below;

- The city branding and city imaging process is intrinsic to the vision of ECoC Programme.[1] "Enhancement of the city image" is set among the objectives of ECoC Programme (Palmer, 2004: 17). Therefore the case of ECoC is chosen specifically for the research with an aim of investigating its impact on the enhancement of Istanbul's image.

- The research has the opportunity to look at ECoC 2010 event at a broader scope by being able to talk about the effects, thus being more tangible. It is also different than the other studies by producing a hybrid method of analysis.

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[1] "Over the years, the ECoC have also become a unique opportunity to regenerate cities, to boost their creativity and to improve their image." (European Commission, 2010: 4)

- This research is valuable as it is able to manifest the whole event through a critical approach to its impact on the city image. The studies about Istanbul 2010 done between the years 2006-2010 were limited in evaluating the impacts as the programme was still going on (Ozan & Ünver, 2012).

The research employs mixed qualitative methods for analyzing visual data. The visual methods in marketing research are accepted as a novelty and innovation in qualitative research methods, which is increasingly evolving to be a widely used and valuable way of analysis (Moisander & Valtonen, 2006). As a researcher, the investigator takes it both as an advantage and disadvantage. Advantage, because of the novelty of the research methods and its value; disadvantage, because there were very few examples to look at and implement compared to the more established types of quantitative and qualitative methods used elsewhere. The researcher had to create her own multimodal analytical framework in order to analyze the data in the most appropriate way. This effort can, hopefully be recognized as a valuable contribution, which can be applied to further studies in this field of study.

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: MARKETING THE CITY & THE CITY IMAGE

In societies where modern conditions of production prevail, all of life presents itself as an immense accumulation of spectacles. Everything that was directly lived has moved away into a representation.
(Debord, 1994 [1967]: para.1)

The research starts with a review of the literature on "the city" as "lived" and "imagined" space and then discusses globalization and transnationality in the framework of production of space. The main body of the literature review is devoted to developing a conceptual framework drawing upon branding, place and city marketing as well as the impact of mega-events in city branding. The researcher begins with identifying how the image of a city is created in city marketing and branding practices. In this respect, the literature on the spectacle and cultural consumption is relevant. The importance of culture and entertainment industries is increasingly parallel to the creative and image-based industries. This reflects on the marketing strategies by blending cultural/entertainment branding with place or destination branding.

The issue of representation is explained through defining the concepts related to city image following the conceptual framework developing from broader to narrower in the sequence of city marketing, city branding and city imaging (see Fig. 1). Later in this chapter, the impact of mega-events is discussed within the framework of these three conceptual areas.

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework
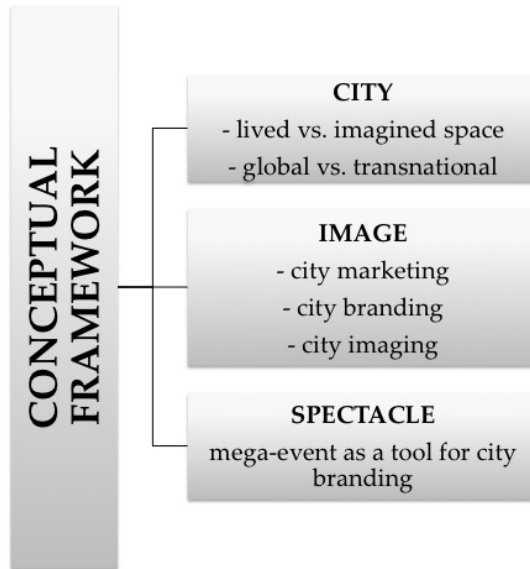
The literature review explores the concept of city in an attempt to draw near to the understanding of the city as *lived space* and *imagined space*. "Since there has been literature, there have been cities in literature" says Pike (1981: 3). The oldest literary texts in the history one can ever think of, such as Gilgamesh or Iliad, could not have been imagined without the cities they are about (Pike, 1981: 3). The "imagined city" as the space of "representation and fantasy" in the literary texts intersects with the "real city" as the lived space. This intersection determines how the city is signified, perceived and experienced (Stevenson, 2003: 113).

Calvino (1997 [1972]) portrays cities as imaginary spaces and forms a playground for cognitive imaging of the city in the "Invisible Cities". Without the narrator's imagination cities cannot exist, so that they are invisible. Pike (1981: 126-127) claims "word-city exists not in space but in narrative time". Whereas, the imagined city, with all its illusions, myths, aspirations and nightmares, becomes real; as real as the city located on the maps, in statistics and in architecture (Raban, 1974: 2).

Abbas (2003: 143) comments about the play between the city and the image:

> "We learn more about the image through the city than about the city through the image. That is why so many images of the city tell us so little about the city itself."

So, why produce all this work of research on the city image? The answer lies in the fact that the city is not our product but the city image is. Is it possible to name the city as a product at all? Yes, the city is product of human existence and lived experience. This is an approach to the city as a lived space. On the other hand, branding approaches to the city as an imagined space and aims to influence people's perceptions of the city image. Therefore, in this research, branding is recognized as a form of communication to convince people to buy images circulating in the market. Yet, people remain free to buy or not to buy, as they remain free to look or not to look at those images. The researcher's concern here is not the end result, but the overall process of communicating the city image.

The city and its image are open to different readings. Therefore it is essential to define the city in different contexts in order to be able to conceptualize the city and to define utterances and meanings in the broader framework of this research.

> "A city is a geographic plexus, an economic organization, an institutional process, a theatre of social action, and an aesthetic symbol of collective unity […] In essence, it is a place of movement and flux, reflecting temporal intangibility while at the same time representing something indefinably sensate [...] The city creates the theater and is the theater." (Mumford, 2007: 87).

> "The city can be defined as a place in which differences know, recognize, test, confirm, or offset one another: space–time distances are replaced by contradictions, contrasts, superimpositions, and juxtapositions of different realities." (Kipfer et al. 2008: 292).

Mumford's (2007: 87) definition recognizes the city as an economic organization and social product as a part of the spectacle. Mumford sees the city as a theatre in this sense. Therefore his definition is

relevant to the research as the mega-events are the spectacles hosted by the cities in the post-modern era. Lefebvre (2003 [1970]: 57) takes this definition further by adding the image and representation dimension linked to production of the space and space of representation. In this context, Kipfer et al. (2008: 292) comment on Lefebvre's understanding of the city, by focusing on differences and contrasts in the city. Istanbul is a city of contrasts; therefore such interpretation of the *urban* is consistent in explaining Istanbul's character and image.

Since this research is interested in the definition of the city with respect to *represented space* in terms of the city as an *imagined* and/or *imaged* object constructed in the "sign value system" (Baudrillard, 1981 [1972]: 87), a more comprehensive definition of the city can be given as:

> "Cities are the spatial articulations of political, demographic, economic, technological and cultural developments which take place on local, regional, national and global scales. A city is continuously being shaped by its context, and its identity, form and function are continuously being redefined. It is a dynamic entity which is unceasingly being crystallized through ruling societal standards and values, dominant economic structures and sectors, and cultural and political ideas and power relations" (Minkjan, 2012).[2]

The research takes visual representations of the city at its core through the promotional images and posters of Istanbul 2010 as the case of a mega-event rather than a sample of literary works. Yet it is crucial to define the image in the urban context in order to structure conceptual framework and connect it to analytical framework. For instance,

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[2] Author's note: "extracted from Sennett, 1992; Fainstein, 2001; Lefebvre, 2002; King, 2007", See below for full references:

Fainstein, S.S. (2001) City Builders: Property Development in New York and London, 1980-2000. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

King, A.D. (2007) Boundaries, Networks and Cities: Playing and Replaying Diaspories and Histories. In: T. Bender and A. Cinar (eds.), Urban Imaginaries, pp. 1-14.

Lefebvre, H. (1978) De l'État IV. Les Contradictions de l'État Moderne. La Dialectique et/de l'État, pp. 259-324. Paris: Union Générale d'Editions.

Sennet, R. (1992) Conscience of the Eye: The Design and Social Life of Cities. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Lefebvre (2003 [1970]: 57) recognizes the image as the social object in contrast to the city itself:

> "The concept of the city no longer corresponds to a social object […] However, the city has a historical existence that is impossible to ignore. Small and midsize cities will be around for some time. An image or representation of the city can perpetuate itself, survive its conditions, inspire an ideology and urbanist projects. In other words, the "real" sociological "object" is an image and an ideology!"

Lefebvre (1991: 121) explains the "raison d'etre" of the spaces by a certain order and also a certain disorder of do's and don'ts associated with the power. As Lefebvre (1991) stated; space is produced and reproduced. Space is a product of the society, which also transforms the society itself. In this *theatre*, so called by Mumford (2007), the roles of actors and spectators are interchangeable. The city is dynamic; it is created and recreated in the ever-changing social, cultural, political and economic conditions as its function, meaning and use change. A city, both in terms of real and imagined urban space, is always an unfinished project much like this study as a site continuously "under construction".

2.1 City of Signs

 "City of Signs"[3] tells about the representation and communication process in recognizing signs as means of mediation. According to Ledrut (1986: 223) "the city is a symbol, and there is symbolization of the city, but it is in the image itself, apprehended through and by discourse ….". Cities are complex systems of representations in which space and time are imagined as well as experienced through signs: written words, painting, photographic images, maps and signals, filmic narratives, choreographic movements, installations and events, buildings and places (Borden et al., 2001: 14-15). These selective representations (re)shape the metaphors and narratives, which are widely used to describe the experience of urban living.

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[3] The title borrowed from Calvino, Italo (1997 [1972] *Invisible Cities*, London: Vintage, however is not used in the same sense of Calvino's.

Calvino (1997 [1972]) underlines the distinction between the city in its real form and its representation. Short (1999: 38) describes different ways of representing cities as the acts of urban representation: "the naming of cities, the mapping of cities and the written and spoken descriptions of cities". These acts intend to communicate selected representations with their intended meanings.

Marketing and advertising, show the positive images of the city in order to make them appealing for the consumers. Maisetti et al. (2012: 3) discuss the effect of urban regeneration and the image of *orderly*, *clean/sanitized* city in the context of urban design and marketing. In this context, there are three main trends stated as functional (related to branding), socio-economic (related to creative cities), and lastly aesthetic. Especially the last one highlights "working out metropolitan façades" with the aim of aestheticizing the city (Maisetti et al. 2012: 3).

Hamilton et al. (2001, cited in Maisetti et al, 2012: 3) stresses the role of cultural instruments and public art in urban revitalization leading to "the collective elaboration of new city images". Zukin (1995: 1) also looks from the same glance of economic perspective of culture and sees regeneration plans as "a source of images and memories". The collective identity and memory create a sense of belonging through the shared images, which is based upon the assumption that the urban landscape acts as "an ordered assemblage of objects and, thereby, can act as a signifying system" (Gospodini, 2004: 229). Thus, perceptions of the city are affected by images, while the urban space serves as a blank canvas for the image production. The symbolic arrangement of the urban imagery is circulating on the global market of cultural industries through means of media such as cinema, television, newspapers and advertising (Haarmann, 2005).

Late capitalism introduced the idea of the *sign value* superseding the *use value* of the commodity. The *exchange value* and *use value* are described in terms of commodity. Exchange value stands for the "abstract universal or singularity" a quantity; although use value represents a "concrete singularity", a quality. A third value is added to the commodity by Baudrillard (1994: 6), which is the *sign value*. Applbaum

(2004: 47) uses the term *sign-value fetishism* to describe the essentiality of sign value and links the term to Marx's *commodity fetishism*. He recognizes branding as "one of the most significant symbolization strategies" (Applbaum, 2004: 52). Commodity is at the core of the culture industry, whereas it is brand for the global culture industry. Simulacrum involves negation of the reality as the reality itself has begun merely to imitate the model, which now precedes and determines the real world and is no longer a question of imitation, nor duplication, "it is a question of substituting the signs of the real for the real"(Baudrillard, 1994 [1981]: 2). Hence we can argue that while use and exchange values work for the commodity, sign value works for the experience through branding of the commodity/product (Lash and Lury, 2007: 4-7). Sign value of the consumption has become central to the postmodern manoeuvre in marketing and consumer research rather than the exchange value concept in the traditional theory. As if the city does not have an image, it would be difficult to communicate the city and its assets to the outside world. That is why the built environment and the city image have become a critical tool for city marketers and those who take role in city branding processes. This necessitates paying a particular attention to the social representations as the shared meanings of the concepts and images, which connects to simulacrum.

Baudrillard and Debord highlighted that signification matters in this area and goods are not merely products but they are images sold and bought on the market (Applbaum, 2004: 47). Accordingly Lash and Urry (1994: 272) states that "what is consumed in tourism are visual signs and sometimes a simulacrum". The touristic gaze is constructed through signs. Tourism involves the collection of those signs created by the spectacles (Urry, 1995: 21) in the process of "creation of aestheticized spaces of entertainment" (Zukin, 1995: 3-11) and making cities attractive (Selby, 2004: 48). Spectacles turn cities into "a landscape of visual consumption" (Zukin, 1991: 230). The relationship between the spectacles and the city will be further discussed later on through the effect of marketing and mega-events on the city image.

2.1.1 City Image

Lynch (1960) introduced the city image to the urban realm from the eyes of a city dweller by conceiving the city as a text to be read and the image as a mental map, in his book "The Image of the City".

> "Older people still experience the need to translate images into observed reality. When they travel they want to see the Eiffel Tower or the Grand Canyon exactly as they saw them first on posters. An American tourist . . . does more than see the Eiffel Tower. He photographs it exactly as he knows it from posters. Better still, he has someone photograph him in front of it. Back home, that photograph reaffirms his identity with that scene" (Carpenter 1972: 6).

Mental structures play a central role in the perception of the images of the city as well as the city itself. According to Espelt & Benito (2005: 777), "knowledge, impressions and values based on a series of perceptions" are influential in the formation of mental structures. Sometimes they are constructed by the physical experience in the city, sometimes through images and narratives. Whatever is the case, whether a personal experience or not, we have a certain image in our minds. Therefore the new image (that is intended to be created) is not totally brand new, but it is built as a new layer on top of the existing image.

Lynch (1960) proposes three components of city image; identity, structure and meaning. Identity and structure addresses physical features of image formation, whereas meaning is related to what we interpret, by looking at these physical structures. *Legibility* and *visibility* are the two elements that identify the *imageability*, which is "quality in a physical object that gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer" (Lynch, 1960: 9). These qualities are led by the compositional elements such as color and spatial organization in the image. Nevertheless, the effect of physical environment as an "independent variable" also impacts on the "social meaning of an area" (Lynch, 1960: 10).

Andreoli (1996: 64) describes the senses that form the image of the city "we first think about its look- the look of its buildings, streets and monuments. Thus the image of the city is shaped by its form (physical aspects such as buildings, streets and monuments), as well as the meanings we attribute to it and our memories, our sense of that particular place.

There are meanings in places hiding as the "invisible landscapes" of the city in its image (Gould & White, 1974: 111). The invisible meanings attached to a place may stem from one's own senses or as Lynch (1960: 11) suggests, "it is possible to strengthen the image either by symbolic devices by retraining of the perceiver or by reshaping one's surroundings". The latter takes the form of urban transformation projects on the political playgrounds. Nevertheless, according to Nasar (1998: 2) the urban change should be a guided one:

> "The city landscape may have a value as a source of delight to people. Thus, the shaping & reshaping of the city 'should be guided by a visual plan'. To devise such a plan we need to know how the public evaluates the cityscape and what meanings they see in it."

The image of the city is produced in a symbol system in which "a host of interests whereby denotative and connotative levels of signification are entwined and new species of urban mythologies, mythographies and place-images emerge" (Lefebvre 1991; Lindner 2007; Shields 1991 cited in Stahl, 2009: 257). Meaning has three levels: firstly *denotative meaning* which lies at the lower level and coincides with object recognition, secondly *connotative meaning* that is middle-level meaning and refers to emotional values associated with the object and thirdly *abstract meaning* which is a higher level meaning that refers less to the object than to broader values (Rapoport, 1990: 221-3). To be able to infer meaning, one has to have a certain degree of relationship with a place; either directly or through mediation such as image (Carr et al., 1992: 233). The identity and the structure are set and intrinsic to the city, but the meanings may vary from one person to another and they usually do so.

The city imaging has been approached and defined from different perspectives (Smith, 2005: 399); as a form of communication (Burgess & Wood, 1988); as a means of social control (Debord, 1994 [1967]); as a type of urban governance (Stoker & Mossberger 1994); as a discourse (Philo and Kearns 1993); and as a mode of marketing (Fretter, 1993). Although this research studies the city image in relation to all of these theories, the particular interest is on the mode of marketing and branding as the image is recognized as a part of city brand.

2.1.2 City Marketing

According to Kavaratzis & Ashworth (2005: 513) *city marketing* or *place marketing* is not so different from product marketing. It is possible to apply the concepts and principles of marketing to places. However a place, an urban setting is much more complicated than a product since cities have their identities, cultures, urban dynamics, so on and so forth. Moreover Kavaratzis & Ashworth (2005: 510) add; "places are not products, governments are not producers and users are not consumers." Also what makes city marketing different and more complicated than product marketing, is the cultural context and the interpretation of the meaning.

Place marketing is also referred to as "selling places" (Burgess 1982; Kearns & Philo 1993) which are consumed and being sold on the market. Although "selling places" mostly means fierce promotional activities, Anholt (2010: 11) claims "countries and cities are not for sale". PR companies and marketing strategies developed by city marketers could have done the most of the work for governments, if it was possible to sell a city solely through a marketing campaign. Yet, *national images* are products of a collective memory that "are not created through communications and they cannot altered by communications" (Anholt, 2010: 5). Kavaratzis (2004: 69), claim "promotion comes only after one has something to promote", otherwise the images and the messages turn into empty signifiers. These messages are directed towards shaping the image and manipulating the perceptions for the image: instead of saying "please

try this product" they say "please change your mind about this country" (Anholt, 2010: 3).

Ashworth and Voogd (1988: 68) define city marketing as "planning actions designed to initiate or stimulate processes that improve the relative market position of cities in regard to particular activities. These activities are described in terms of economic aspects such as attracting commercial investment, or improving the effectiveness of service activities whether in the public or private sectors. While Ashworth and Voogd (1988) explain city marketing in relation to globalization process, Colomb (2012: 26) builds her definition of place marketing on three blocks: public policy, discourse and imagery (visual representations):

> "Place marketing is the intentional, organized process of construction and dissemination of a discourse on, and images of a given place (usually a city) and of its development which involves the mobilization of set of actors around that particular task (with specific goals and agenda)."

Thus, Colomb (2012: 26) focuses more on the spatial practices in place marketing and underlines the role of public with respect to place making by offering a close up on the actors, agenda, political narratives and instruments. Colomb (2012: 26) takes *place marketing* in relation to *place making* through the use of spatial metaphors and specific architectural symbols in mediating and constructing a defined identity for a specific place. Cultural politics interfere with this process through collective identity and memory formation. The framework suggested by Colomb provides a more comprehensive definition for this research as it is interested in discourses created by mega-events as a sign of globalization of culture.

Place marketing has been linked to *geographical marketing* too (Ashworth & Voogd, 1988). "The geographical and administrative span of the operations, strategy and behaviour" is essential in approaching the marketing activity that draws upon multiple territories. Sirkeci (2013a: 14) names this kind of borderless (or across the borders) marketing strategy as *transnational marketing*. In contrast to the

"economics of simplicity" ordering "the same thing, the same way, everywhere" (Levitt, 1983: 93), transnational marketing strategy relies on "flexible and responsive country-level operations" in response to "host country governments' growing demands and customers' rejection of homogenized products" (Bartlett and Beamish, 2011 cited in Sirkeci, 2013a: 15).

Although transnational marketing strategies recognize the importance of local demands, place marketing practices often tend to focus on the international audience to market cities on the global scale. The entrepreneurial turn inevitably shaped place marketing with the influence of heavy advertising, mass media and generally it shows itself in risky urban projects with high profits (Falkheimer, 2006: 1-2). The conflict of interests between public and private actors might cause the process to be top-down instead of encouraging public participation. In this case people are perceived as consumers instead of decision makers.

The cities are lived and experienced but the images of cities are consumed. The sense of pleasure has become part of place marketing through the concept of *fun city* (Spink & Bramham, 1998), in which pleasure is included as a part of consumption habit as cities are perceived as experiences to be consumed (Reid, 2006: 37). The "experience economy" coined by Pine & Gilmore (2011: 91-2) introduces "designing experiences that are compelling, engaging, memorable, and rich" through the act of "THEME-ing" as in the case of staged events. What are marketed to the audience of the cultural events are not only the cultural products and cultural assets of the city but also the "urban experience" (Özkan, 2008: 74). Thus, Pine and Gilmore (1998) came up with the concept of *"experience marketing"* or as Schmitt (1999) calls *"experiential marketing"* as the importance of emotional attachment with places is increasing in marketing. It is believed that the unique and interesting experiences make places and events more memorable. It is also highly correlated with the perceptions of place as it employs six senses – smell, vision, taste, hearing, touch and balance (Kirezli, 2011: 177). Today, place-marketing strategies are directed to create an experience of users of the city, therefore creating a feeling.

The sense of place makes the differentiation between the cities, thus plays a key role in city marketing and promotion policies. According to Kavaratzis & Ashworth (2005: 507) the sense of place is constructed through three processes. The first one is the urban planning and design, the second is the urban use, and the third is through the urban representations. The critical question is "how" more than "who" or "what". The everyday interactions with the urban environment go through some mental processes of cognition. As a result of this cognitive processes mental maps are created, which "allows individuals to navigate through complex reality, because our surroundings are often more complex than the sense we make of them" (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005: 507).

In the most of the cases, city marketers and capital groups, who may be lacking the local experience and perceptions of the local people with the everyday life in urban spaces, are responsible for creating the city image. Thus the logos and slogans reflect more of a distant imaginary created than reflecting the local meanings. Nevertheless the image is strongly related to the sense of place. Massey (2004: 14) argues that the multiplicity of identities, peoples, social relations, and conflicts hosted at a place does not undermine their specificity and unique sense of place.

Place marketing is highly associated with *reimaging strategies* (Roche 1992; Hall 1994) of places (Stevenson, 2003: 94). The construction, communication and management of the city's image are essential for place marketing as the perceptions matter for the actions. That is why place marketing should be a "conscious and planned practice of signification and representation" in order to shape the perceptions to create desired actions (Fırat & Venkatesh 1993: 246).

2.1.3 City Branding

Branding is essential in the whole marketing strategy (Kotler, 2000: 404), which centers on people's perceptions and mental images (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005: 507). In the traditional marketing model,

brand is defined as a part of the features of the product and/or services and what is communicated about them. American Marketing Association (AMA) defines brand as "a name, term, sign, symbol, design or a combination of these, which is used to identify goods and services of one seller or group of sellers and to differentiate them from those competitors" (Kotler, 2000: 404). Clifton and Maughan (2000: vii) puts the emphasis on the value while defining the brand: "a mixture of tangible and intangible attributes symbolized in a trademark, if properly managed, creates influence and generates value". Branding serves "exposing the brand and creating brand image" (Aaker & Joachimsthaler, 2000). Kapferer (1997: 28) recognizes brand as an external factor, as a *sign*, "whose function is to disclose the hidden qualities of the product which are inaccessible to contact".

In the literature, city branding is approached from the place marketing directed towards improving the attractiveness of a place by providing distinctiveness and enhancing the city image. City branding aims to create "impressive images and seductive signs" (Kalergis, 2008: 32).

Ashworth (2008) suggests defining what branding is not as the commonly held belief takes all the concepts of marketing, branding, advertising, promotion under the same umbrella. Ashworth (2008) marks the difference between these terms while offering a special focus on place branding:

> "It is not a synonym for promotion, […] Similarly place branding is not just the deliberate shaping and promotion of a place image by a public authority in pursuit of policy objectives. It is also not (as many local branding policies seem to be suggesting) the same as creating a single catchy slogan, logo, house style design and the like, however much these might embody and reflect the aspirations of the place management authorities."

Ritchie and Ritchie (1998: 103) defined a city brand by addressing the elements and their functions:

> "A name, symbol, logo, word mark or other graphic that both identifies and differentiates the place; furthermore, it conveys the

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promise of a memorable travel experience that is uniquely associated with the place; it also serves to consolidate and reinforce pleasurable memories of the place experience."

Slogans, logos, promotional literature (narratives) have been serving as conventional marketing tools for communicating the city image, whereas "staging events, constructing iconic buildings and implementing sophisticated public relations strategies" emerged as practice-based city branding examples (Smith, 2005: 398). The former group of tools is part of the image itself (displayed on the visual representations such as posters and banners), whereas the second group uses city image as a tool to communicate their messages.

Slogans

Kotler et al. (1993: 151) defined slogan as "a short catch-all that embodies an overall vision of the place". One of the most known is the "Big Apple" for New York, which stands for multiculturalism and the meaning to embrace all the people. Recently there has been a debate to change the slogan as "World's Second Home" giving the city exclusive rights to use it to promote business and tourism in an attempt to push to host the 2012 Olympics. ECoC is also such a mega-event around which cities created slogans. The cities who became ECoCs of 2010 used these slogans: Pécs – "Borderless City", Essen for the Ruhr – "Transformation through culture, culture through transformation", and Istanbul – "Istanbul, the most inspiring city in the world". Pécs positioned itself as a "gateway to Balkans" in its bidding file. Essen followed the track of Glasgow that has been successful through urban transformation and culture-led regeneration as an industrial city. Istanbul has given weight on the brand value, thus the slogan stands as part of the broader strategy to attract tourists to Istanbul rather than to promote the cultural program itself to potential audiences (Rampton et al., 2011: 76).

Logo

A destination logo can be defined as "a graphic design used to identify a destination" (Hem & Iversen, 2008: 88). Logos, as one of the most common elements in the marketing communication mix, are

considered to be "visual repositories of brand associations" (Pittard et al., 2007: 458).

Slogans and logos are essential for the brand awareness and to distinguish the product package with the strongly associated image constituents in the minds of potential visitors (Morgan et al., 2002). The appeal and packaging of the product has become as important as the product itself in positioning.

Visual Symbols

The landmarks such as Eiffel (Paris), Big Ben (London), Red Square (Moscow), the Great Wall (China), stand as symbols for their cities (Kotler et al., 1993: 153). The images of these landmarks are often used for promoting the city. Such symbols are used commonly in tourism, for instance in the national tourism promotion campaigns of countries or cities. The messages seek for shaping the international public perception in accordance with the voice of governments and marketers. Advertising aims to create a simple and easily transportable message, but the important thing is distinguishing the product from the other similar ones. Balibrea (2001: 189) defines this message in terms of image, which is "a coherent representation/meaning of the city, one that is easy and pleasant to consume".

Advertising is usually associated with branding, because advertising communicates the certain qualities of brand to the consumers. Advertising globally requires giving consistent messages and speaking with one voice. The objectives must be balanced when developing a global brand, while local effectiveness of the ads must be maximized (Evans, 2005).

Sklair (2006: 26) exemplifies it from the point of images of places that "persuade people to buy (both in the sense of consume and in the sense of give credence to) the spaces and lifestyles they represent." Heavily influenced by the Situationists, Baudrillard (1996: 181) highlighted the importance of spectacle for the consumption of images through advertisements: "We consume the product through the product itself, but we consume its meaning through advertising."

Baudrillard (1981 [1972]) is critical in his approach to production of meaning in mass media. The meanings are produced in the form of symbolic exchange, which is transformed into the form of processed, produced, profane meaning through semiotic exchange in advertising (Merrin, 2005: 17). Baudrillard (1981 [1972]: 205) argues that the sign-form, the image, stems from economic-exchange, which is precipitated by modern forms of mass communication and the commodification of culture. The term commodification of culture brings us to an intersection point of capitalism and globalization, if our understanding of the culture here is the consumer culture.

In the commodified culture industry, described by Horkheimer and Adorno (1991 [1944]), representation was the mean of mediation (where representation was commodified). In today's "global cultural industry" (Lash & Lury, 2007: 4), everything else is commodified. It is not only representation that matters, communication matters too. In this respect the images of a city are crucial as a communication tool in branding the city.

According to Olins (2005: 167) successful *place branding* depends on few conditions. First, transnational elites (i.e. "representatives of government, industry and popular culture") are influential on the control of capital through investment and funding decisions. Influencing the audience and their perceptions about the image of the city is the second condition, which is communicating the brand image. Third, the opinion leaders are also important for their effect on the communication process. It is essential to communicate the brand image through a logo created by the creative workforce. Lastly, networking is crucial to "influence the influencers" (Falkheimer, 2006: 6). This approach is directed towards visualizing the relationships between the stakeholders and the impact on the communication process. On the other side, understanding the mechanisms of the communication and meaning making process, while paying attention to the cultural codes is essential in order to create successful brands. Although there is not a unique formula to create successful city brands, a number of attributes such as heritage and history, the character of the local people, associations with famous people, capital city status and international

city status are applied by the cities and they have become successful. Culture and heritage are the crucial assets for branding as it is not merely about advertising. Branding a place is about "cultural exchange on a global scale and intelligent dialogue" (Anholt: 2005: 140). Therefore, culture is a way of communication and self-expression of a country and its image (Anholt: 2005). Furthermore, branding is about heterogeneity and identity aspect of the culture can be recognized to have an opposite effect in contrast to globalizing cultures and the homogenizing effect attached to globalization.

Baudrillard (1998 [1970]: 88) describes this phenomenon by "industrial production of differences" referring to brands as representational systems, whereas Askegaard (2006) addresses brands as "hegemonic vehicles" of dissemination of ideas and images in a global scale. Bristow (2010: 153, 158) calls it "competitiveness hegemony" referring to the hegemonic discourse behind competing cities and strategies directed to have competitive advantage. Parkerson and Saunders (2005) argues that:

> "Unlike product and service brands, which are driven by market forces, city branding and place marketing are driven by the need to diversify local economies faced with industrial decline, attract tourism and inward investment, attract hallmark events and conventions and win economic prizes (e.g. European Capital of Culture)".

Anholt (2007: 7) links all these concepts to the notion of *competitive identity*. Despite the globalization and its homogenizing effects for cities, identity remains as a distinctive character, where cities compete with each other. Here Sirkeci's (2013a) argument that consumers remain local, national, and culturally embedded can be extended to claim that identity of cities too remain local and national while also being promoted to a transnational audience. As proposed by Ooi & Strandgard Pedersen (2010: 327) specific to the case of Copenhagen branding strategy, city branding "selectively frames the city, it asserts a unique identity for the place and it provides a set of lenses for people to understand and interpret the city". They underline "mobilising and garnering local support, public-private collaborations and engaging

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with international audiences" in this process (Ooi & Strandgaard Pedersen 2010: 327-8).

Anholt (2006: 20) proposed a model for city-to-city comparisons based on perceptions of cities according to six dimensions:

Figure 2. City Brand Hexagon

(Source: Anholt – GFK, 2010)

> "*Presence* - is based on the city's international status and standing and the global familiarity/knowledge of the city. It also measures the city's global contribution in science, culture and governance.
> *Place* - exploring people's perceptions about the physical aspect of each city in terms of pleasantness of climate, cleanliness of environment and how attractive its buildings and parks are.
> *Pre-requisites* - determines how people perceive the basic qualities of the city; whether they are satisfactory, affordable and accommodating, as well as the standard of public amenities such as schools, hospitals, transportation and sports facilities.
> *People* - reveals whether the inhabitants of the city are perceived as warm and welcoming, whether respondents think it would be easy for them to find and fit into a community that shares their language and culture and whether they would feel safe.

> *Pulse* - measures the perception that there are interesting things to fill free time with and how exciting the city is perceived to be in regard to new things to discover.
>
> *Potential* - measures the perception of economic and educational opportunities within the city, such as how easy it might be to find a job, whether it's a good place to do business or pursue a higher education."

City branding is a project of multiple stakeholders and influencers including local residents, local authorities, businesses and commercial entities, public bodies, and the media (Maheshwari et al., 2008, 120-1). Virgo and de Chernatony (2006: 379) argue that the complexities of city branding arise from the presence of multiple stakeholders. Therefore stakeholder management is recognized as an essential aspect in developing a city brand, and measuring city brand equity.

The functionality and the added value also have a strong influence on the choice of consumers. The urban infrastructure offered by the city (i.e. Employment, housing, transportation, etc.) is functional but on the other hand people ask for a personal benefit, which stems from their personal associations and experience with the city. This is the added value of a brand, which makes the brand distinctive. It is claimed that the important thing is communicating the core values of the brand, which is the key to generating customer loyalty and brand recognition (Hubbard, 2006: 25). International branding strategy is closely correlated with brand awareness and brand loyalty as consistent marketing strategy has a potential effect on changing consumer knowledge regarding the brand (Keller, 2003). One of the greatest effects of branding is believed to be competitive advantage. According to Kohli and Thakor (1997: 208) "creating a strong and distinctive image" positively affects the brand awareness. Kapferer (1997: 25) explains the value added by brand through the "ability to gain an exclusive, positive and prominent meaning in the minds of a large number of consumers". That is why, the distinction is very important. Brand is more than an identifier; it signifies the place of the product in the mind of the consumer (Kapferer, 1997: 23).

Figure 3. Brand equity

```
Brand Awareness
+ Image
+ Perceived quality
+ Evocations
+ Familiarity, liking
─────────────────
= Brand Assets  ───────▶   Brand added value
                           perceived by customers
                           - Costs of branding
                           - Costs of invested capital
                           ──────────────────────────
                           Brand financial value
                           (BRAND EQUITY)
```
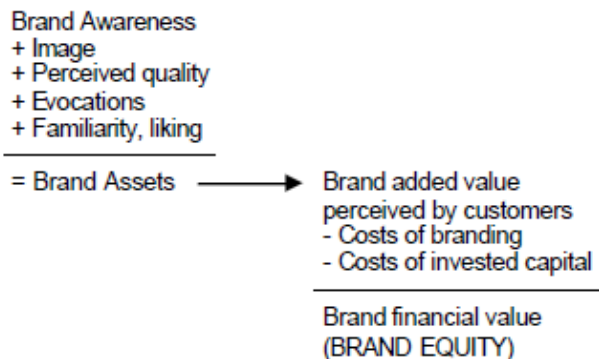
(Source: Kapferer, 1997: 37)

The figure above indicates how brands function through the relationship between brand assets and the brand equity. The core meaning of a brand is created through brand identity, whereas the image provides reputation. The asset value of the reputation of a brand is expressed by brand equity.

Brand Identity and Brand Image

The city brand should not only be strong but also should be positive. The examples of transformed post-industrial cities such as Glasgow are examples where the city is promoted as being vibrant (Ward, 1998: 192). Additionally, branding should target not only creating an attractive and positive image of a place that is appealing to people, but also achieving consistency between the image and experience to build a long-term value and to achieve repeat visits.

> "For a country like Slovenia to enhance its image abroad is a very different matter than for Scotland & China. Slovenia needs to be launched: Consumers around the world first must be taught where it is, what it makes, what it has to offer and what it stands for. This in itself represents a powerful opportunity: the chance to build a modern country brand untainted by centuries of possibly negative associations." (Anholt, 2000 cited in Sirkeci & Cawley, 2012: 259)

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On the other hand, Paddison (1993: 339) argues that the negative image is not replaced; "it is merely pushed to one side, or as the old saying goes; out of sight, out of mind". The impact of the event on improving the image of the city becomes less visible, and the image itself becomes compartmentalised.

The image and reputation of a place are closely connected to the place identity. Identity is perceived as the distinctive "positive" associations with a certain place. However defining the identity of a city is a problematic area. If we discuss it from the branding side, we may come up with cases in which the brand identity is expressed in terms of human traits (Şahin & Baloğlu, 2011: 70-71). This speaks for brand personality. By definition, brand personality is linked to brand identity and brand image although there is an ambiguity in this relationship in terms of city branding. Ekinci & Hosany (2006: 135) applied brand personality concept to destinations and argued "destination personality has a moderating effect between image and behavioural intentions".

The study of Baloğlu and McCleary (1999) differentiates the *perceived image* by the visitors from the *desired image* by destination agents. The brand is formulated through examining the brand image and personality of a destination and by matching it to "a desired and fit-to resources image" (Şahin & Baloğlu, 2011: 69-70). Şahin and Baloğlu (2011: 70) state, "brand image is formed by the perceptions of consumers about a brand or product labelled with that brand". Ashworth and Kavaratzis (2009: 525) say "people 'understand' cities in the same way as brands". The city is shaped in people's minds through perceptions and images of the city. Images are crucial in associating the place and the brand as well as the image and reality itself. Images play an important role in the choice of a destination to visit and generally the visitors are in search of that image to be the reality.

Anholt (2010: 12) mentions communication (message) is the essential tool to influence public opinion. He defines brand image as an external factor, "phenomena which is not under direct control of owner or government". On the other hand, brand equity needs to be managed, measured, protected, leveraged and nurtured over the long term in

order to unite people around a common strategic vision, which is the *brand purpose*. It is also crucial to draw "clear and attractive pattern of development than the rehearsal of past glories" (Anholt, 2010: 12). Thus city branding should be innovative.

Smith (2005: 417) gives the example of Barcelona to illustrate development of a new terminology called *personality branding* often associated with "The Gaudi gambit". There are similar cases mentioned in the literature representing different ways of branding strategies. *Flagship construction* is represented by "The Pompidou ploy" in the case of Paris Beaubourg, while "Events branding" is becoming popular through the festivals and mega-events. These strategies are not only directed towards creating awareness, but also developing "associations between the place and attributes regarded as being beneficial to its economic or social development (thus brand utility)" (Ashworth & Kavaratzis, 2010: 513).

These spectacular buildings are often related to art and culture in their functions whereas in the case of *event city* the cultural event itself is the tool for city marketing to publicize the public spaces, showcase the events image and attract a high number of people despite its temporary nature. The *creative city* on the other hand is directly related to branding strategies with the aim of upgrading the city image through the transformation of outmoded infrastructures into new usage by the creative labor attracted to the city (Teckert, 2009: 49). Teckert (2009: 49) explains the phenomena by borrowing the term "exhibitionary complex" from Bennett (1995: 60) and extending its scope into landmark buildings, event city and creative city. The example to the landmark buildings is the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao by Frank Gehry, which also stands for the commonly used "Bilbao effect" in the literature to describe the influence of urban mega-projects for city marketing. According to Harvey (2013) cities all over the world copy from Bilbao in developing landmark projects:

> "The bubble has already burst in Spain and many of the huge projects remain only half finished. Incidentally major events like the Olympic Games, the soccer World Cup and music festivals serve the same

> purpose. Cities try to secure themselves a prime position on the market - like a rare wine of an exceptionally good vintage."

Not only cities become commodified places to be consumed and their images become the emblems of consumption culture to attract capital from the urban governance aspect, but also corporations have realized potential of urban spaces and city branding as a part of their whole branding strategy. That is why "Nike Towns" exist as a "melange of corporate premises, visitor attractions and branding tools" (Smith, 2005: 400). Similarly globalizing cultural sector and industries spread their brands in different locations through franchising. The case of Bilbao illustrates such kind of "hard branding" (Evans, 2003), which is as "an attempt to capitalize on commodity fetishism and to extend brand life, geographically and symbolically" (Smith, 2005: 400).

As such, Gonzalez (1993: 85) links culture-led regeneration in the example of Bilbao to ephemeral spectacles. The politicians focus on urban regeneration projects to improve the run-down areas of the city as well as improving their images. There are also cases in which urban regeneration is targeted at urban sanitization or beautification as the common practices in Istanbul. Ramo (2007) has formulated "urban shopping list" for cities to be repositioned on the market and to be recognized globally. The list includes: Superstar Architect, Ikea, Low-Cost Airline, High-Speed Train, Big Event, European Capital of Culture, Re-Baptism, New Football Stadium, Information Society and Global Brands. Gehry, as the "superstar architect", proved in the case of Bilbao that "ever more cities need ever more icons to relate to". Big events refer to mega-events with all the infrastructure needs to be created such as new bridges, airport renovations, new train connections, ring roads, stadiums in the case of Olympics, etc. ECoC carry more of a European character with the aim of positioning the cities European Cultural map and/or to change the image of the city. In the end cities become a part of a greater picture. The information society and the flow of knowledge make the cities global brands. On one side, the places that are refashioned as global cities are marketed through the mega-architecture projects of brand architects and on the other it gets more difficult to differentiate those cities from each other.

Although there is not a unique formula for place marketing, similar images of modern architecture are used for global cities (Holcomb, 1994). Jenkins (1999) challenges to this situation by putting the identity of the city forward in the city's product package. Pike (2009: 861) identified three steps in destination branding: "destination brand identity development, destination brand positioning, and destination brand equity measurement and tracking". Brand identity can be defined as "a unique set of associations that the brand strategist aspires to create or maintain" (Aaker, 1996: 68). Therefore, brand identity addresses objectives of the producer whereas brand image is more about the receiver's side, and the "meaning that the consumers associate with the product, based on experiences, impressions and perceptions of the functional, emotional, and symbolic benefits of the brand" (Kaplan et al., 2010: 1291). City image is subjective; therefore it changes from one person to another. It also differs for the people who are born into the culture of a city compared to an outsider view of that city as the collective symbols and memories affect the perception. Whereas a city might offer a strong sense of belonging for some people, the same city could be associated with disorder and crime (Schweitzer et al., 1999).

De Chernatony (1999: 165) argues that brand identity "is about ethos, aims and values that present a sense of individuality differentiating the brand", and therefore vision of the producers and/or brand strategists and culture are the two elements that are critical to brand building process. Figure 4 illustrates this communication process between the producer and receiver flowing from desired perceptions on the producers' side to actual perceptions on the reveivers' side (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005). Nevertheless communication is a two way street. Thus the desired image should match the perceived image.

Figure 4. The relationship between brand identity, brand positioning and brand image

BRAND IDENTITY
How the owners want the brand to be perceived

BRAND POSITIONING
That part of the value proposition communicated to a target group that demonstrates the competitive advantage

BRAND IMAGE
How the brand is perceived

(Source: Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005: 508)

Brand image communicates these strong, favorable, and unique associations to the consumers through "direct experience, brand information, word of mouth, assumptions of the brand itself -name, logo-, or with the brand's identification with a certain company, country, distribution channel, person, place or event" (Keller, 2003: 70). Visitors can be named as *viral agents* as their impressions about a place would influence potential visits either by themselves or other people through *word of mouth* (Anholt, 2010: 89). Visiting and experiencing a place is crucial for personal perceptions. In an ordinary daily conversation, when we are asked about our origin of place ("Where are you from?"), the question is followed by another question: "Have you ever been there?"

The majority of literature on city branding addresses the topics from the tourism perspective with respect to destination branding. Nonetheless, the work of Kavaratzis (2005: 2-3) includes a variety of areas where city branding can be applied such as place of origin branding, culture and entertainment branding, nation branding, as well as destination branding. Although city imaging and city branding is part of the politics of national governments, city image is more about what is in people's minds therefore it does not have to be associated by political aspects. Hence some of cities have more powerful brand

images than the countries they are located in; such as Amsterdam vs. Netherlands (Anholt: 2007: 59).

2.1.4 City Imaging & Re-imaging

The production of images is defined by the process of producing signs, codes and symbols leading to shaping perceptions (Teckert, 2009: 50). Most of the images of the city on the catalogues are panoramic images. Nevertheless a more personal and emotional connection can be made through cultural signifiers and referrals to books, films and paintings by suggesting flashbacks in mind and reinforcing emotional bond with the city (Stevenson & Inskip, 2010). The emotional connection is related to the perceptual side of the imaging, in other words reception of images. According to Smith (2005: 401-2) an alternative to the perceptual approach is the conceptual approach, which is about the "image formation as a process of communication".

Font (1997: 125) identified a public image creation model, "involving the transmission of a destination's identity to the public, with some elements being lost in the noise or reshaped according to personal and external factors". The meanings communicated by the images always go through a 'two-way process' between the observer and the place or the object that is observed (Lynch, 1960: 6). Public image (or overall image) is constituted by "overlapping individual images" (Lynch, 1960: 46). This process takes place at different urban levels; "from street level to levels of a neighbourhood, a city or a metropolitan region"; that form the layers of the image (Lynch, 1960: 85).

Gunn (1988) categorizes image formation process into two groups: *organic* and *induced* image formation. Marketing and promotion creates images though an induced way. Organic production of the images, on the other hand, stem from popular culture, the media, literature and education rather than being a part of any intentional marketing efforts directed at particular target markets. The images represented in the popular culture including films, magazines, and newspapers as well as

literature, art and maps, shape "the way in which we know and imagine the city" (Stevenson: 2003: 10).

Thus, symbolic construction of the city image may be realized in the form of internal processes (perceptions) by the "local actors of the city those identifying their geographical identities with that particular place" or external processes (representation) by/for "people and organizations more or less extraneous to local life and symbols" (Vanolo, 2008: 371). The latter affects the choices made by visitors and/or investors (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005), therefore it is central to city branding in order to attract global flows of tourism and investments to promote local development (Gold and Ward, 1994).

Figure 5 indicates the image components of the place imagery through a distinction between the *designative* and *appraisive* processes of city imaging. Table 1 applies these concepts to the case of Rotterdam as the example of ECoC 2001 and displays the level of agreement among the local people and the visitors.

Table 1. The image attributes among the visitors for Rotterdam 2001 European Capital of Culture

Image attribute of Rotterdam	Rotterdammers	Residents of Zuid Holland	Other Dutch visitors	Foreign visitors	Total	Image dimension
Modern architecture	84.9	78.6	88.0	66.4	80.1	Designative
Water	79.9	83.8	89.1	68.5	79.6	Designative
Multicultural	83.1	81.3	85.3	60.2	77.5	Appraisive
Working city	84.2	79.7	81.3	57.0	76.3	Appraisive
International	74.4	77.5	84.3	61.8	73.7	Appraisive
Dynamic	66.3	70.9	75.4	44.9	63.7	Appraisive
Culture and art	64.0	65.3	71.3	38.1	59.0	Appraisive
Lots to discover	62.1	57.7	71.7	33.2	56.8	Appraisive
Events	65.8	60.4	65.8	26.2	55.7	Designative
Shopping	54.4	66.7	59.7	25.9	50.1	Designative
Nightlife	43.5	46.3	42.3	21.4	38.5	Designative
Cosy (*gezelligheid*)[2]	38.5	41.1	32.2	13.0	31.1	Appraisive
Unsafe	20.5	19.1	21.4	8.4	17.7	Appraisive

(Source: Richards & Wilson, 2004: 1935)

Figure 5. Components of City Image
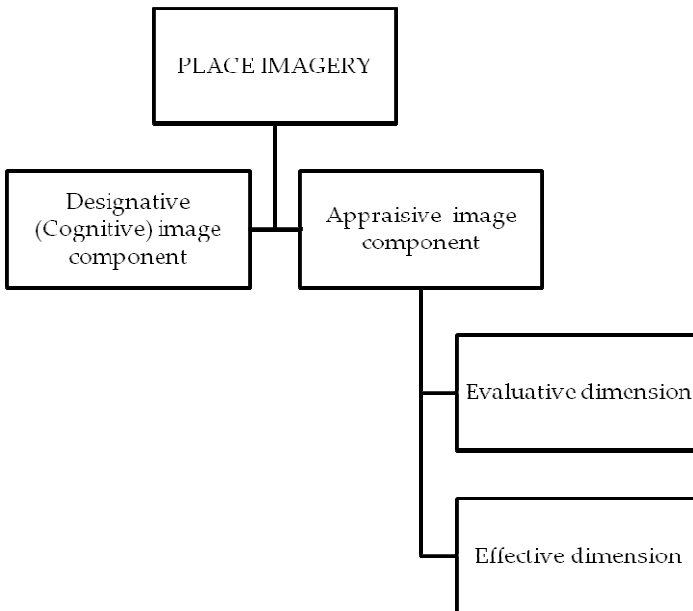
(Source: Richards & Wilson, 2004: 1935)

Smith (2005: 40) believes that images should be simplified representations reducing the urban complexity yet able to epitomize the whole city. He proposes *synecdoche* mechanism "where a part of something is used to stand for the whole or indeed where the whole is used to stand for a part" and cites examples of landmarks such as Eiffel Tower or city silhouettes such as NY skyline. On the other hand, MacCannell (1999: 131) counter-argues with the synecdochical urban features as "tourists may perceive them only as symbols of a destination and therefore unworthy of actual visitation."

Another mechanism described by Smith (2005: 405) is "connotation". Connotations are "wider meanings that are dependent on certain cultural associations" (Stevenson 1995: 41). The connotation employs both abstract and arbitrary meanings and takes cultural influences into consideration. However it is difficult to draw a line between the

synecdoche and the connotation in the case of iconic structures that can connote the whole city (Smith, 2005: 406).

Smith (2005: 398) comments on the post-industrial cities with respect to increasing importance of "promotional activities and urban spectacles" in creating images of the city for touristic consumption. Among a number of terms, including civic-boosterism, place marketing, city branding, destination marketing, selling places, he uses "city re-imaging" to define "deliberate (re)presentation and (re)configuration of a city's image to accrue economic, cultural and political capital" (Smith, 2005: 398). Re-imaging encapsulates re-imagining and re-thinking the meanings attached to city image and refers to a repeated process of re-making the city image, or in general terms re-branding the city (Kavaratzis, 2004; Smith, 2005).

The goal of re-imaging the city for tourism is to boost their tourist trade – as in the case of "proliferation of imported "brand name" architects in cities like Shanghai, or Hong Kong and the obsession with visual logos and sound bites (city of culture, city of vitality)" (Abbas: 2003: 143). Smith (2005: 419) stresses the role of city re-imaging in identifying the mechanisms for place-marketing strategies. Ward (1998) claims that "image production" and "city marketing" is an American invention of the post-modern era, which does not fit to European context properly therefore most of the practices tend to be re-imaging the city through urban regeneration projects. ECoC is one of the most salient examples, which initiated culture-led urban regeneration as the main target of the mega-event (especially case of Glasgow is remarkable). But on the other hand it is increasingly becoming targeted at consumption-oriented branding according to the orders of consumer culture and globalization.

2.2 City in the Framework of "Global" vs. "Transnational"

The notion of representation and sign value vs. use and exchange value draws the research closer to the debate on the global cities and power relationships. The research opens *global city* to discussion by bringing *transnationality* into focus. In this context *the city is* under investigation

from the post-industrial point of view in recognizing the city as the space where production and consumption take place and social agglomerations are formed as existence of a city depends on people and economic activities (Short, 1984: 20). Departing from the post-industrial city, Ashworth (1992: 5) describes the qualities that shape the city within regional and inter-urban networks, in the web of physical, social, cultural, economic and demographic factors and according to their relationships with one another;

> "Cities possess to a greater or lesser degree four main qualities that define them as cities. These are high physical densities of structures, people and functions; a social and cultural heterogeneity; an economic multi-functionalism; and a physical centrality within regional and inter-urban networks."

Globalization process was initially linked to the process of "internationalization and later transnationalization of capital" (Palloix, 1975), whereas today it denotes "the rise of global cultural flows and deteriorating signs, meanings and identities" (Amin & Thrift, 1994: 4). Therefore it does not only refer to the flows of goods and capital but also to the process of creating the sign value and the symbolic meaning through an exchange in the urban networks. These processes are linked to the formation of *transnational class* in the global political economy (Gill, 1990: 94) and the new vocabularies brought by its context. Globalization reshapes the economic activities and organizes the production and consumption mechanisms according to the orders of the capitalist system (Sassen, 2007: 23). Culture is commodified in "globalizing cities and the cities capitalize a globalizing culture" (Short, 2012: 50). Sklair (2006: 24) defines the building blocks of *global system theory* in the sphere of culture-ideology of consumerism, which is shaped by *transnational corporation*, *transnational practices*, and *still-evolving transnational capitalist class*. Thus, globalization is associated with the capitalist system, which gave birth to new social forms such as *transnational class* and *network society* (Robinson, 2009: 5). These two social forms are crucial in the global system theory, which is based on transnational practices across the national boundaries. The city systems

are part of the global system theory. The networks facilitate the communication and economic transactions as they "account for the transactions binding global cities such as New York, London, Tokyo, and the other cities" (Sassen, 1991: 171-2). In this system, while the cities are emerging as global centres for economic financial transactions, their images turn into products shaped by the urban change.

Jacobs (1969, 1984) defines the "livable city" where she highlights mechanisms of production, consumption and distribution through her concept of "city generic processes". She argues that rapid, explosive economic growth is provided by the city network formation. What she has described about economic arrangements and networks in the 1960s, is visible in the processes of today's global city.

Sassen (1991) coined the term, Global City, with respect to the centrality of cities in the global economy. The term "advocates a shift of attention to the advanced servicing of worldwide production," and takes "power" central to the world economy system (Derudder, 2006: 2034). Sassen (1991: 327) tells the story in a triad through New York, London, and Tokyo. In this triad, Tokyo stands for the "the main center for the export of capital; London as the main center for the processing of capital […]; and New York [became] the main receiver of capital" (Robinson, 2009: 17).

Sklair (1995: 87) highlights the spread of the "culture-ideology of consumerism" in the global system. According to Friedman's (1986)[4] "world city hypothesis", cities are identified as "global players" in terms of concentration of international institutions, banks and the headquarters of transnational corporations (Thornley, 1999: 3). As it may be understood from the definitions given, "world city" is used widely in the literature as a synonym to "global city", although world city literature has been characterized by "theoretical sophistication and

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[4] "*There are earlier uses of this term, but Brenner (1998: 5) notes that these uses reflected the territorialization of the urbanization process on the national scale: the cosmopolitan character of world cities was interpreted as an expression of their host states' geopolitical power.*" (Derudder, 2006)

empirical poverty" (Taylor, 2004: 33). Derudder (2006) posits that Friedmann's formulation takes multinational corporations as the key agents of world city system whereas Sassen emphasizes production side in the global economic system. The table below summarizes the distinction between the world city and the global city by comparing the approach of Friedman in opposition to that of Sassen:

Table 2. "Taxonomy of main theoretical approaches"

	World cities	**Global cities**
Key author	Friedmann	Sassen
Function	Power	Advanced servicing
Key agents	Multinational corporations	Producer service firms
Structure of the network	Reproduces tripolar spatial inequality in the capitalist world-system	New geography of centrality and marginality cutting across existing core/periphery patterns
Territorial basis	Metropolitan region	Traditional CBD or a grid of intense business activity *

*"The spatial demarcation depends on the specific form of the territorialisation of the core dynamics behind global city-formation. This implies that both the continuation of traditional CBDs (New York) as a new pattern centred on a grid of intense business activity (Zurich) is possible. However, the proper unit of analysis is clearly smaller than the 'metropolitan region' as a whole."
(Source: Derudder, 2006)

GaWC (Globalization and World Cities) Study Group and Network founded by Loughborough University established research for an "analysis of detailed empirical data in constructing a global urban hierarchy" and produced an inventory known as "GaWC Inventory of World Cities" in terms of their provision of advanced producer or corporate services according to their global capacity or world cityness (Beaverstock et al., 1999). McAdams (2007) notes that that many of these cities are large cities, but not among the mega-cities that count over ten million population (see Table 3).

Table 3. Largest Urban Areas in the World (Megacities)

Rank	Geography	Urban Area	Population	Density	Land (km²)	Density
1	Japan	Tokyo-Yokohama	37,126,000	11,300	8,547	4,300
2	Indonesia	Jakarta	26,063,000	24,200	2,784	9,400
3	South Korea	Seoul-Incheon	22,547,000	27,000	2,163	10,400
4	India	Delhi, DL-HR-UP	22,242,000	29,700	1,943	11,500
5	Philippines	Manila	21,951,000	39,900	1,425	15,400
6	China	Shanghai, SHG	20,860,000	15,500	3,497	6,000
7	United States	New York, NY-NJ-CT	20,464,000	4,600	11,642	1,800
8	Brazil	Sao Paulo	20,186,000	16,500	3,173	6,400
9	Mexico	Mexico City	19,463,000	24,600	2,046	9,500
10	Egypt	Cairo	17,816,000	27,000	1,709	10,400
11	China	Beijing, BJ	17,311,000	12,800	3,497	5,000
12	Japan	Osaka-Kobe-Kyoto	17,011,000	13,700	3,212	5,300
13	India	Mumbai, MAH	16,910,000	80,100	546	30,900
14	China	Guangzhou-Foshan, GD	16,827,000	13,700	3,173	5,300
15	Russia	Moscow	15,512,000	9,100	4,403	3,500
16	Bangladesh	Dhaka	15,414,000	115,000	347	44,400
17	United States	Los Angeles, CA	14,900,000	6,100	6,299	2,400
18	India	Kolkota, WB	14,374,000	30,900	1,204	11,900
19	Pakistan	Karachi	14,198,000	47,300	777	18,300
20	Argentina	Buenos Aires	13,639,000	13,400	2,642	5,200
21	Turkey	Istanbul	13,576,000	25,100	1,399	9,700
22	Brazil	Rio de Janeiro	12,043,000	15,400	2,020	6,000
23	China	Shenzhen, GD	11,885,000	17,600	1,748	6,800
24	Nigeria	Lagos	11,547,000	33,000	907	12,700
25	France	Paris	10,755,000	9,800	2,844	3,800

(Source: Cox, 2012)

When looked at the geographical and demographic features of the mega-cities, there are two issues to be raised. First is the issue regarding the size, and second is the economic development level. The major condition to be identified as a global city is the function of economic coordination of complex activities at a global scale. Moreover to be able to form such global interactions, cities need to establish infrastructure and specialized services in order to "organize production, exchange and consumption in their economies" (Bourdeau-Lepage and Huriot, 2005). However, most of the cities listed in the table are controversial examples that have high population but low development level. The European cities are less in number on the list because their size is small although their global performances are large. Therefore, size is not the only and the major condition. The global functions of the megacities are closely related to the "less measurable human elements", as the city should be able to create "sufficient diversity, skills and information externalities" (Bourdeau-Lepage and Huriot, 2006: 5,8). Istanbul is listed as the 21st on the list according to the population size exceeding thirteen million. On the other hand, according to the cartogram, Istanbul is identified with the third category falling behind the cities in the first two categories. Friedmann (1986) and Sassen (1991) shared a common interest to explore "the new geography of the world economy". They have sought for *nodal points* to connect "geographically dispersed production units" (Friedmann 1986: 71), as well as locations for the governance of cross-border economic activities" (Sassen 1991: 3).

According to Sassen (2007: 3), "global - whether and institution, a process, a discursive practice, or an imaginary - simultaneously transcends the exclusive framing of national states yet partly inhabits national territories and institutions". The discourses of power show itself in the global economic system as a "function of the power of transnational corporations and global communications". The images transmitting the messages and discourses in this global communication system emphasize "hypermobility, global communications, the neutralization of place and distance" (Sassen, 2007: 97). The development of mass media and *digital revolution* affected the

communication systems by marking the shift in the permeation of the symbols and messages. The urban spaces become "decontextualized and deteriorated" (López-Varela, 2009: 11), as the borders are removing; the world is shrinking and becoming a *global village* (McLuhan, 1964). On the other hand, the sameness and the difference of images of the cities come forward to be negotiated over competitiveness. In this framework, while the global interconnectivity becomes inevitable in the pursuit of "global-scale competitive efficiency", the strategies become more responsive to country-level operations (Sirkeci, 2013a: 25)

2.2.1 Transnational Network of Cities

Sassen (2000: 33) defines a *transnational urban system* wherein "cities are crucial nodes in the cross-border network of financial centres". This kind of transnational structure is different than the dominant cities in the world system by definition and by operation means. The global cities in the transnational urban system are not necessarily historical capital cities such as Rome or Cairo and they are not in competition with one another (Robinson, 2009: 18).

According to Sassen (2000: 41-44):

> "The implantation of global processes seems to have contributed to increasing the separation, or disarticulation, between cities and sectors within cities that are articulated with the global economy and those that are not. Some cities become part of transnational networks, whereas others become unhinged from the main centers of economic growth in their regions or nations."

Since the early 1990s, the network of the cities expanded through the growing number of cities "that either are global cities or have global city functions" (Sassen, 1991: 347-8). New "geographies of centrality" emerged and linked major financial centres into an integrated system. This expanded the network of global cities from the North to the South including "New York, London, Tokyo, Sydney, Hong Kong, Sao Paulo, Mexico City, and Johannesburg, among others". Therefore there has been a shift in the definition of the network of cities as well as in the

notion of term coined by Sassen. *Transnational network of cities* and *transnational urban systems* entered into the literature as a result of this shift "characterized by world market orientations and significant concentrations of company headquarters..." (Robinson, 2009: 17). The network of cities is also created through programmes such as ECoC and Twin Towns or Sister Cities. Establishing networks between the cities is crucial for the spread of information and facilitating mobilities. ECoC programme also has a similar role not only between two cities but Europe-wide. In 1991, Network of European Cultural Capitals and Months (ECCM) is created to enable dissemination of information (Varbanova, 2009: 3). The images of cities become inevitably transnational in this network through mega-events such as ECoC. One of the *operational objectives* of the ECoC Programme is stated as "facilitating international exchanges and create international networking structures" through "individuals and organisations on exchanges and transnational activities" (Rampton et al., 2011: 8).

Essen for the Ruhr 2010 is given as an example to "facilitate international exchanges and networking through transnational project activity such as (but by no means limited to) TWINS", which was facilitated through the "creation of an in-house international relations team to support projects in their search for international partners and link to other ECoC, as well as through collaboration with external partners such as Ruhr Tourismus GmbH."(Rampton et al., 2011: 31)

In the report (Rampton et al., 2011: 82); the role ECoC is stressed in establishing collaborations with other cities across Europe:

> "For example, the "41°-29° Istanbul Network" brought together fifteen European cities to create opportunities for intercultural co-operation between young artists; in recognition of its contribution to world peace, mobility of young artists, development of culture, and intercultural dialogue, the Network was awarded the "European Culture Award" by the KulturForum Europa. The agency also provided support for 36 of Istanbul's 39 municipalities to implement transnational cultural projects in collaboration with their sister cities in Europe and elsewhere in the world. For many of these municipalities,

the projects were the first time that they had undertaken such transnational activity of a cultural nature."

There is an interplay between Sassen's (1991) definition of "global city" and Castells' (1989) notion of "informational city" based on the function of dissemination of information. Transnational networks of cities operate on the "global flows of money, information, and people" (Robinson, 2009: 12). These conditions led cities to adjust their images either as the end result of financial accumulation or to attract investment.[5]

Thus, we may conclude that, the cities are taking new forms in an environment ruled by the global and transnational structures. Parnreiter (2010) remarks the transnationality of the cities as the "sites of transnational practices, contexts of transnational network formation, socially structured settings for social interaction, and mediators of the power, meaning, and effects of transnational flows from above as well as from below".[6] European Capital of Culture Programme portrays this process transforming from social cohesion among the member states into cultural development and urban regeneration (Maisetti et al. 2012).

2.2.2 Production of Space: Transnational Space vs. Global City

Harvey (1985) takes a macro-economic approach to the production of space in which he employs capitalism as central to the discussion. Soja (1989), on the other hand, adds individual subject to the structural forces and takes both sides into consideration. The process of production of space is not only limited to the physical interventions, but also includes "making of symbolic dimensions", which attributes

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[5] Since Sassen's **Global City** (1991), we are more attentive to the fact that the global character of metropolitan centers intensifies at the expense of national configurations. Berlin, London, Rotterdam, Istanbul, and other major urban centers project themselves beyond the nation-state within which they are located (Soysal, 2009).

[6] A revised version of this Research Bulletin has been published in S. Krätke, K. Wildner and S. Lanz (eds) (2012) Transnationalism and Urbanism, London: Routledge, pp. 91-111, under the title 'Conceptualizing Transnational Urban Spaces: Multicentered Agency, Placeless Organizational Logics, and the Built Environment'.

meanings to the spaces. Although the meanings are more related to the individual perceptions, ideas and feelings; "social practices are framed by organizational logics that pre-structure what actors (from above as well as from below) do and how they do it"(Parnreiter, 2010). The social practices are *spatiotemporal specific*; therefore they are critical to the cross-border *production of transnational space*.

The city marketing is important because the city is a product and the decision-making for city marketing strategies involve the "transnational elite as defined by Friedman, Sassen and others (Thornley, 1999). According to Brenner (1998: 3), the transnational elite promotes the cities to the world economy as the "nodes for transnational capital investment" through mega-events. On one hand, transnational elites seek to build "tourist sites or sights" (tourist gaze/experiences) over mega-events and mega projects and on the other hand, spectacles become opposing tools to dominant meanings and power relations (Gotham, 2005: 241).

Place marketing is crucial in attracting global flows of capital as well as the information flow; both are part of "spaces of flows" (Castells, 1989). Therefore, knowledge-based industries, cultural events and leisure are becoming more important in place marketing strategies (Short and Kim, 1998 cited in Surborg et al., 2008: 344). According to the theory of "spaces of flow" by Castells (1989: 170); "the more organizations depend upon flows and networks, the less they are influenced by the social contexts associated with the places of their origin." Therefore the organizational logics are "placeless" and "independent from the societal logic" according to his theory (Parnreiter, 2010). Yet the cross-border connections are not only constituted by particular flows in the physical space. The sociology of space should be studied carefully in order to be able to understand the production of (symbolic) markers representing the transnational space.

Similarly Appadurai (1990, 1996) claims that globalization is more complex than being only the transnational capital flows between global financial centres. He adds ethnoscapes (the flow of people), mediascapes (the flow of images and symbols), technoscapes (spread of

technology), and ideoscapes (global spread of political ideas) to the space of flows (Andersson, 2010: 196). Although Appadurai (1996: 2-9) highlights "electronic mediation and migration to produce a global imaginary", mediascapes and ideoscapes are of particular interest for city branding.

Lash & Lury (2007: 7-14) define the media environment as a "forest of extended intensities, of material signified around which subjects find their way, orient themselves via signposts". Apart from mediascapes, cityscapes are central to the global culture industry as "architecture and urbanism become less a question of objects and volumes while urban space becomes a space of urban intensities" (Lash & Lury, 2007: 15). Koolhaas (2002) claims that architecture becomes increasingly surfaces of communication, intensities, and events. Tschumi (1991) expresses these intensities by "event-architecture", which is placed in the contemporary culture. Architecture can be seen as a form of representation with all the meanings created through culture, economy and branding of cities. Mega-projects require mega-budgets, in which the economic capital is transformed into symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1977: 121). Hubbard (1996: 1446) recognizes "urban landscape as a cultural artefact reproducing and legitimizing certain social relations". In this context, the urban hierarchy is highly influenced by the degree of entrepreneurialism defined by Harvey (1989a). Hubbard (1996: 1444) discusses the Harvey's entrepreneurialism model in the place-marketing context. He argues that the proliferation of post-modern and spectacular urban forms meets the demand for increasingly varied and distinctive settings for consumption and investment:

> "The new urban landscape therefore contributes to the regeneration of the city both materially and symbolically, becoming representative of the revitalisation of the decayed urban economy and infrastructure, potentially galvanising public support for the entrepreneurial policies being pursued by the city governors." (Hubbard, 1996: 1444)

Sklair (2005: 498) takes the example of *iconic architecture* "as a prime strategy of urban intervention" by the different fractions of Transnational Capitalist Class (TCC). The examples of iconic architecture resemble to each other by the homogenizing effect of forces

shaping them as "they belong to an international property market" (Presas, 2005: 4). The threat of globalization as a matter of homogenization leads to a paradox in city branding in terms of iconic architecture. In the global city model, the homogenization effect as a result of economic activities that cross borders in the form of international trade and investment is underlined (Sassen, 1991: 347-8).

Sheller & Urry (2004: 165) posits that mobilities represent "new urban forms, cultural synergies and challenges to the social relations of the city... " and therefore reproduce power relations. Maitland (2010: 177) focuses on the effect of globalization and homogenization not only in the physical existence of transnational spaces but also in their urban imaginaries. The "resonant images" offered by undifferentiated global cities serve to "simulate this urban playground that destroys the urban" (Annibal-Iribarne, 2003: 183). The increasing flow of information has facilitated copying from each other. As the cities tend to copy "a successful formula with buildings or events", they are also likely to decrease their competitive advantage by diminishing the uniqueness and diversity (Maitland, 2010: 177). Successful urban planning takes years of strategic implementation, thus Jacobs opposes taking a short-cut of copy-paste projects:

> "Stop the big projects, as they only will lead to urban monotony. And do not strive for instant success. Sometimes it takes years before abandoned urban areas are brought back to life." (cited in Hospers & van Dalm, 2005: 11)

Wilk (1995: 117) formulates this in the form of social re-organization of the diversity, what he calls as "*structures of common difference*" to fit into the web of global cities through a uniform presentation. Grasseni (2011) explains the phenomena by "homogeneous system of communication, which elaborates on the difference", thus globalization. In other words the cultural diversity is only celebrated when it is translated into the uniform language of globalization in order to have a consumable product (Özkan, 2008: 78).

Crampton and Krygier (2006: 17) comment on the contemporary architectures that convey the global mind-set of consumption of culture

and consumption of images leading to the dissipation of the historical context and identity. Thus, spaces without places come to existence presenting a stage of décor yet without meaning through a tourist gaze. Debord's (1994 [1967]) book "The Society of the Spectacle" stresses the devaluation of the urban spaces through representation. In line with Debord's view, Lefebvre's critique of urbanization and capitalist modernity involves alienation and the commodification with respect to the social realm of leisure and entertainment in which the spectacles are associated with the space of capital accumulation. Lefebvre (1991) draws three-dimensional framework for the production of space through "spatial practice", "representations of space", and "spaces of representation" in which the spatial practice is marked by reproduction of everyday life. Spaces are conceived in the form of architecture and design, symbolized in the media and imagined in the mind of urban planners (Lefebvre, 1991 cited in Fahmi, 2001). The iconic architecture is a part of this image and the spectacle. Sklair (2006: 43) proposes that "the choice of what buildings and spaces become iconic is never arbitrary" and "most manufactured "icons" are unsuccessful." Image is central to the production of iconicity as the means of representation.

Surborg et al. (2008) adopted TCC into the context of Olympic Games. Mega-events are recognized as important tools for place marketing for creating iconicity and images of places, thus again play a role in the global economic system controlled by the TCC. The link between the mega-events, global economic system and the TCC is also closely connected to Molotch's (1976) concept of *urban growth machine*. According to Molotch (1976) the actors who have economic interests in the places with growing value in the city make up the local growth machine by organization, lobbying, manipulating and structuring through their social actions including opportunistic dealing. From this perspective mega-events are related to this theory in terms of increasing land values and the economic investments to be made. This can be also understood when we think of mega-events as the catalysts for urban restructuring and regeneration (Surborg et al., 2008: 342,347). Recognizing the mega-event as a core industry itself, the changing patterns in leisure and consumption reflect to the city branding

strategies from being top-down to a more participative approach (Brenner, 1998).

In this research, the concepts of globalization, transnationalism and internationalism are tackled within the urban context referring to the *production of space* with the aim of investigating the mega-event impact on the city image. Mega-events such as ECoC became a strategic tool to make Istanbul's image more visible in the international arena in accordance with Istanbul's aspiration to re-position itself as a global city.

2.2.3 The Effect of Globalization on City Imaging

After defining all these nested concepts, it is useful to discuss the effect of globalization on city imaging. The globalization and the notion of "global city" are discussed through framing the city and its image according to the power structures and network of cities. Therefore it is essential to grasp the meanings and correlations between the concepts and processes.

Globalization is not only about the physical mobilities but also flows of information, which puts the emphasis on communication and branding. Cultural aspects, such as collectivism and cultural symbols, should be considered as the market structure necessitates brand adaptation. Here comes forward the role of culture as well as the vision of the company or political authority. Adaptation to the international or global markets requires brand repositioning, which is "adaptation of the market position of a domestic brand to one that is relevant to the minds of its foreign customers" (Wong and Merrilees, 2007: 386-7).

Bianchini (1993: 19) points out the cultural conflicts created by the exclusiveness of the "flagship schemes". The facilities are designed for *high culture* and wealthy visitors in the form of exclusivity. The conflict arises between the *grassroots culture* and the *high culture* where the latter is supported at the expense of the former with the intention of increasing the competitiveness of the city (Miles, 2005: 899). Cities are dependent on consumer icons such as music labels, consumer products,

or entertainment studios while creating their global city image, which takes shape at the intersection of cultural industries and arts flagship strategies (Evans 2003, 418). According to Short (2012: 48) cultural industries concentrate in world cities. In the process of re-making the city image, cities project themselves as world or global cities instead of the national.

Nevertheless the processes behind the homogenization of cultures and spaces are different from the consumer markets and the global entertainment industry (Sassen, 1991: 347-8). Globalization makes the cities resemble to each other and leads to homogenization of culture both in terms of their images and identities and cultures. National identity is diminishing while the transnationalism is rising and the order of capital asks for commercialization of culture (Canclini, 2001: 90).

Mega-events facilitate the homogenization through the flow of images and application of success stories to any host city in their bidding and marketing strategies. However, as stated in the Summary of the European Commission Conference in Brussels (23-24 March 2010); the strength of cities is the authenticity. Evans (2003: 425) argues that the shift from the creation of common market for EU to a "more localized city based initiative" supports the function of culture "as a conduit for the branding of the European Project" (Evans, 2003: 426). Each city seeks branding itself "more European" than others especially in the bidding phase (Palonen, 2010: 102). This is a branding game played on the culture-led regeneration with the most well-known examples of cities like Glasgow, Barcelona and Bilbao (Garcia, 2004: 312). Evans (2003: 417) explains this by hard branding of the cities that "capitalize on commodity fetishism and extend brand life, geographically and symbolically". He gives the example of Nike Town being "more than just a store" in which the shopping experience and commodification materializes into a new symbolic identity (Evans, 2003: 417). The promotion strategies are criticized for acting as "Trojan horse" for ECoC as a whole and the cultural policies are re-directed at the urban regeneration (Evans, 2003: 426). Touristification is mushroomed from

commodification by the injection of branding and image-constructing activities into the tourism with a concentration on cultural heritage.

The successful cases in city marketing generate lessons to learn but cities should not copy from each other (European Commission, 2010a: 5). The city imaging visualizes homogenized spaces where the message would be banal as they only talk about what is already known. The symbols, the urban representations are the references of perception, but when they resemble to each other, the context is lost. Homogeneity can be explained by the globalization effect as well as the "sharpness of the image", which is described by "vividness and integrated physical setting" of the image (Lynch, 1960: 4). The social role of the sharp images is related to the collective experiences, which also explains shared meanings.

The commodification of culture produces "symbolic meanings and associations increasingly determining economic value of goods" (Short, 2012: 48). The effect of standardization in the culture industry brought by the capitalistic order introduced the terms such as *McDonaldization* (Ritzer, 2000) and *Disneyfication* of urban space (Sorkin, 1992; Bryman, 1999; Eeckhout, 2001), which stand out for the commodification, homogenization and rationalization of time and space (Gotham & Krier, 2008: 172). The flow of ideas, symbols, goods and capital creates homogeny in consumption habits through time and space compression. Zukin (1996: 227) evaluates these practices in the context of consumption culture and comments on the "culturally led redevelopment schemes" for reducing cultural products into visual representations, in other words leading to "visual consumption"(Miles, 2005: 899). However cities cannot be imagined as ghost towns of corporate towers belong to international business and finance firms (Sassen, 2007: 23). Cities do not exist without its people. That is why, in opposition to the homogenization of the urban forms and urban space, big metropolises emphasize the diversity and multiculturalism in their image. The key to branding cities is recognizing the "city's complexity

and heterogeneity" (Kalandides, 2007: 5, 9). According to Harvey (2012)[7] "city has to embrace the others".

MacDougall (2003: 257) suggests that "commodities need not serve exclusively as vehicles for the meanings and values invested in them by Western producers, but may be transformed into representations of indigenous or local identities through a process of *creolization* in which foreign "goods are assigned novel meanings and uses in diverse cultural settings" (Howes, 1996: 5). The images embodied in these goods will be transformed and emulated by the recipient cultures (Tomlinson, 1991).

Stevenson (2003: 112) draws the relationship between the real and the imaginary in the framework of global images:

> "Many of the dominant ideas about city form that are recognized globally and regarded as ideal or as symbols of urban supremacy have developed resonance not through people's actual experiences of these places but through the imagery encountered in marketing campaigns, film, and other forms of popular culture. It is this relationship between the real and the imaginary city – the city and its representation in cultural texts […]"

The global city imaginary is created by combining images of "busy international airports, foreign tourists, inward investment, a cosmopolitan atmosphere, creative industries, cultural economies and an overwhelmingly positive image shared around the world" (Short, 2008: 337). For instance, bidding and hosting the Games is central to communicate this image to the rest of the world. Hosting the Games is "winning the gold medal of global inter city competition for the reimagining as well as remaking" of the representation of the city (Short, 2008: 337).

On the other hand, "abrasion, artificiality and unpleasant personal experiences that may be totally independent from any reality of the city influences" also affect an image to be perceived negatively. The real

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[7] LSE Cities and Department of Geography and Environment public lecture (10.05.2012), lecture notes taken by myself.

situation in the city could be disastrous as well, such as "decaying in industrial cities, peripheral locations, little contribution to national economy, unemployment, ongoing crime and incidents such as racial and ethnic clashes, terrorist attacks, assaults on tourists, epidemics or fatal diseases, and natural disasters" (Avraham, 2004: 472). The negativity leads to prejudgments and stereotypes about the place more easily than the positive ones. The low self-image of cities creates a lack of pride for the residents (Avraham, 2004: 476).

Positive images tend to be *clear* and *favorable* images. Clear images provide signs that make the "structural legibility of the city" more coherent (Lynch, 1960). Favorable images stem from the relationship of the individual with its environment or the feeling that the image communicates, which may include clear images. Attracting flows of people and tourism revenues is a crucial factor for developing a favorable destination image (Gartner, 1993). The need for differentiation caused by the competition, forces destinations to re-invent their images and position themselves (Şahin & Baloğlu, 2011: 69). Molotch (1996: 229) posits "favorable images create entry barriers for products from competing places".

Hypermobility and the competition between the cities demolished the "monopoly of command-and-control functions" (Short, 2006: 206). The competition is described by "place wars" (Kotler et al, 1993) that relies upon "the commodification of particular aspects of place, exploiting, reinventing or creating place images in order to sell the place as a destination product for tourists or investment." (Page and Hall, 2003: 309).

The cities are in competition to have the tallest building in the world or a landmark architecture signed by world-renowned architects. About a year ago, the tallest building in the Western Europe called "The Shard", which is designed by Italian architect Renzo Piano, joined the skyline of London. The Guardian states that The Shard is the investment of Qatar Holdings towering above the British capital:

> "If the opening of Western Europe's tallest building – presided over by Hamad, whose country's sovereign wealth fund owns 95% of the

According to the article of Beaumont in The Guardian this is not the only investment of Hamad who has spent over £13bn in recent years in London on purchasing Chelsea Barracks, Harrods and the Olympic Village through the al-Thanis' investment arm, Qatar Holdings and the Qatar Investment Authority, as the largest shareholder in Barclays Bank. Moreover, Qatar Media Corporation owns al-Jazeera Television. It points out a brand conscious strategy for the "emergence on to the world stage as a considerable diplomatic, cultural and even military player of a tiny state whose huge ambitions to spread influence around the globe […]" (Beaumont, 2012). This example demonstrates the power of transnational elites and corporations in shaping the global cities as well as their images. This kind of urban interventions promoted by transnational capitalist class, have crucial impact on the city image by adding symbolic images in the making of iconic architecture. London could not have been imagined without Big Ben and Tower Bridge. But after the 2000s, London is represented with iconic millennium symbols such as London Eye, Swiss Re Tower and recently added, The Shard.

According to Pearce (2007: 8) "national identity, status and power" are the three main elements of the image of a capital city, which is identified over iconic buildings, cityscapes and monuments. When we think of London as an example, we see that "the most powerful institutions in the nation" such as Big Ben and the Houses of Parliament, Buckingham Palace or the iconic buildings like Swiss Re Tower (Gherkin) has become also internationally recognized. Big Ben and Houses of Parliament give reference to capital's political power, whereas Norman Foster's award winning Gherkin building reflect the global image having no roots with the history and tradition associated with London (Stevenson & Inskip, 2010: 95). According to Maitland (2010: 177);

"Cities create modern icon buildings that have little association with the location where they are built (Sudjic, 2005 cited in Maitland, 2010:

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177), and they brand their architects more effectively than they do the place."

In the study of Stevenson and Inskip (2010: 106), perceptions of London are investigated through the elements defined as *power* (most powerful images reflecting cultural, political and symbolic significance of the city), *gaze* (tourist gaze and panoramic views), *mobility* (idea of movement in and around the city: public transport, immigrates, temporal mobility that reflect on the images on the move, "memories that connected them to home, friends and family or memories of a visit to the City"), *connections* ("images which are symbolic of the photographer's connection with the city"). What is interesting particularly in this study is the *mobility*, as the perceptions of the image are subjected to change over time, duration of the stay and the personal associations made stemming from the personal experiences. According to Maitland (2010: 178):

> "Many visitors are experienced users of cities and want to move beyond traditional tourism precincts. Some are highly mobile and feel a sense of belonging to the place they visit - the cosmopolitan consuming class and transnational elites".

Cities cannot survive without "globally acceptable image as a new testimony of their economical spinoff" (Stupar & Hamamcıoğlu 2006: 27). Accordingly, Rojek and Urry (1997: 31 cited in Reid, 2006: 36) agree that "those cities with either low visibility or a poor image will not even be considered". While cities have a chance to "express their personality, enhance their status and advertise their position on a global stage" (Essex and Chalkley, 1998: 188 cited in Reid, 2006: 36).

The city image has been recognized as a marketing tool long ago. The literature has been evolved parallel to the tourism activities and globalization. However, in Istanbul, the transformation after the 1980s remarked the role of city imaging in city branding and place marketing. Istanbul aspires to take its share from the global market by following an economic strategy to attract foreign investment and transnational corporations having their headquarters based in the city. Istanbul relies on its strategic location and invites world-famous architects to brand

the city through mega-architecture projects such as Hadid's Kartal project. Nevertheless pursuing such a change for Istanbul is a big illusion, which is a break off from Istanbul's identity, collective memory and shared meanings. Globalization puts the city in a package and markets it as if London, Dubai or anywhere in the world, forgetting about its past, its culture and the most significantly its people. The government, urban planners and the image makers should be more careful in branding the city and therefore take the opportunity of mega-events like ECoC as a transnational venture, which takes Istanbul brand to a transnational level.

2.3 City as a Spectacle

The spectacle is used to refer to the mega-events and their impact on changing cultural and leisure patterns in the framework of this study. There are various terms in the literature, evolved in time to address special events and often used interchangeably. Mega-events (i.e. Olympic Games and World Cup), hallmark events (those closely linked with a destination), festivals and other more modest events are all variations of special events, which emerged as "early and encompassing term used in the literature" (Quinn, 2009: 8). Therefore special events range in their themes from sports (Olympics, F1) to trade and business (Expos and Fairs) as well as cultural events (Biennials, ECoC). Hallmark events were distinguished as an instrument for civic boosterism and image making by establishing a close link with a destination (Quinn, 2009: 8). Ritchie (1984: 2) defines a hallmark event as a "major one-time or recurring events of limited duration", by putting the emphasis on "uniqueness, status, or timely significance to create interest and attract attention". Hall (1989), on the other hand, draws relations between *hallmark events* and the *large scale impacts* created by them in terms of economic effects, marketing, physical or social impacts, as well as the level of international attention. Roche (2000) refers to a larger framework of *public events* and defines mega-events in this framework by describing three forms of mega-events: The Olympic Games, the World Fairs (Expos) and the World Football Cup. As it can be understood from this categorization, Roche (2000: 1)

describes mega-events as; "large-scale cultural (including commercial and sporting) events, which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance".

Although the terminology used to describe large-scale events may vary, and even can be used interchangeably, this research employs the term "mega-event" in the case of European Capital of Culture (ECoC) Programme. It is interested in the definitions of mega-events in the literature as well as the motivations to host the event. Ritchie (1984: 2) defines mega-events as a synonym to hall-mark events. On the other hand some other scholars approach to the mega-events and the impacts created by mega-events in different contexts. For instance Law (1993: 167) gives a definition of mega-events in urban context, which is "large events of world importance and high profile which have a major impact on the image of the host city". Since the research is investigating the impact of mega-events on the city image, this definition is applicable to the research.

The postmodern turn introduced consumption habits into framework of spectacles; staging of festivals and mega-events and their meanings attached (Stevenson, 2003: 88, 92). Debord (1994 [1967]) coined the term *spectacle* in this framework of consumption culture and capitalist urbanization, in his intention to define an image-saturated society where advertising, entertainment, television and mass media increasingly define and shape the urban life. Frank (1997) posits the expansion of markets through the term "the conquest of cool" that he uses in his insightful analysis of advertising and fashion industries in the US in the 1960-70s. Debord's (1994 [1967]) "Society of the Spectacle" is an earlier manifestation indicating a similar phenomenon. The contemporary urban cultural consumption is characterized by the spectacle what Harvey (1989a) refers to as "bread and circuses".

The history of urban cultural festivals dates back to Roman Empire; "bread and circus" in the form of entertainment directed towards gaining political power (Eisinger, 2000: 317). World Fairs, as a part of

wider social world, served as "windows on the world", by presenting discourses as sites of representations of the imperial and colonial world. They have also served as justification for colonialism through the messages coded in "material progress, technological triumphalism, national cohesion, white supremacy and noble savagery" as well as decoded; "materialism, belief, reliance on technical progress to solve social ills, mass consumption of imperialism and "rightful" hegemony of capitalism" (Short: 2012: 93).

From the mid 19th century and onwards there has been a shift in the scale and architecture of spectacular city based festivals. The case of Great Exhibition (1851) in London can be given as one of the earliest examples of special events and Marxist theories of commodity fetishism. In this context, the urban spectacles that gained acceleration in the 19th century reflected on the urban landscapes. A temporary massive structure made from iron and glass is built by Joseph Paxton for the Great Exhibition of London, which is also called "Crystal Palace Exhibition" by naming this temporary event together with its temporary structure. In this sense, the Crystal Palace can be perceived as the "precursor of the modern department store or shopping mall" (Thackeray & Findling, 2002: 104). Benjamin's "Arcades Project", tells the story of shopping arcades of Paris in connection with a new and global imagery for consumption as in the case of Crystal Palace (Pickles, 2003). The World exhibitions are remarkable in the conceptual framework of mega-events, as they reflect on the character of display.

Therefore temporal dimension should be added to the spatial definition of the mega-events. The "on-purpose built infrastructures" required by mega-events to host the large crowds serve for a short period time and their function may be discontinuous (unless hosted periodically in the same location or transformed). Therefore by bringing both spatial and temporal dimensions into focus, mega-events can be defined as ''Major one-time or recurring events of limited duration, developed primarily to enhance the awareness, appeal and profitability of a tourism destination'' (Getz, 2005: 16). This "transitory but participatory" nature

of the spectacle leads to an ephemeral display as Harvey (1989b: 91) describes through "architecture of spectacle".

White elephant phenomenon is used to describe the built mega-projects that were not viable over time (Warrack, 1993: 1). Such projects result in misuse of public resources, negative social surplus. Olympic venues can be given as an example to the showcase projects of the local governments that wish to demonstrate projects having visibility instead of utility. These places often turn into ghost towns after the Olympics leave the city. The world historical events are increasingly condemned to disappear (Baudrillard, 1994 [1981]), as Debord ((1994 [1967]: 20) expresses "when the spectacle stops talking about something for three days, it is as if it did not exist". Media fosters a society "obsessed by the desire to forget" (Kundera, 1996, cited in Clarke, 2008: 138). Mega-events such as Olympics are directed towards achieving this though "saturation of media coverage" for a certain period of time (Stevenson, 2003: 98-9).

The spectacle has entered our daily lives following the merger of the culture with the market, in which the consumer culture celebrated the commodity and its spectacle. Culture and spectacle are two pivotal points in city marketing as art and culture play an important role as a creative engine in the new global economy. Mega-events have been an area of practice for cities to exhibit themselves and attract people through the mediated images. This process is described by marketing a city as a staged experience. Cultural strategies are described in connection to the mega-events in the context of consumption culture, therefore "staged experience" refers to "experiences to be consumed, collected, and displayed" (Gotham, 2005: 226-7). The World expositions can be regarded as one of the largest hallmark events. Roche (2000) puts the emphasis on the national aspect, in distinguishing hallmark events from "special events (world-regional in focus) and mega-events". Surborg et al. (2008: 348) assert that the hallmark events and mega-events "have created a dynamic and enduring *spectaculum urbanus* – a constellation of happenings that are impressive to see,

designed on a large scale to attract attention, and fundamentally, inescapably urban". This role is appreciated from the tourism point of view "as an effective enhancer of destination image" (Hall, 1992). Harvey (1989b: 92-3) comments on the situation:

> "Cities and places now, it seems, take much more care to create a positive and high quality image of a place … [that is] blessed with certain qualities, the organization of spectacle and theatricality."

Harvey (1989a: 5) uses the metaphor of a theatre for the city. In this theatre, a series of events are staged, a multiplicity of roles is performed by citizens and governors, and the whole spectacle is watched by the visitors (as well as the inhabitants). Short (2012: 88) exemplifies this framework through the case of Olympics:

> "The games represent a significant regime of international regulation, embody a shared cultural experience and provide an important platform for economy of globalization as transnational corporations advertise in and through the Olympics and lastly they theatricalize the city, making it a media spectacle onto itself".

According to Gotham (2005: 227) spectacle is a "theatrical presentation and controlled visual production". The spectacle presents the city as a theatre stage, in the example of Istanbul "taking the stage" in 2010. The theatricality of urban spaces highlights the equivalence between the society of spectacle and the society of consumption. Departing from ideas of Debord, spectacle refers to a social process "mediated by images" in other words "a process of objectification or thingification of social relations and products that extends to the production and consumption of images" (Debord, 1994 [1967]: 4). Therefore this definition takes spectacle as a synonym to social control and form of power based on commodity fetishism: "The spectacle is capital to such a degree of accumulation that it becomes an image."(Debord, 1994 [1967]: 34)

Zukin (1995) considers cultural capitals as spaces for art production and consumption at the same time. Therefore a city is more than a representational entity, which is "a space not only perceived, but also lived, experienced and practiced" (Hubbard, 2006: 221). Nevertheless

the representations of the city produced for and by the mega-events lead to cultural homogenization through the globalized forms of cultural flows that are "global tourists" (Urry, 1995). In this framework, when mega-events are considered in terms of urban experiences rather than urban representations, their temporality is expressed as "ephemeral vistas" (Greenhalgh 1988). Speaking from the urban point of view, the temporary structures created for mega-events are criticized for being ephemeral vistas, whereas they can become architectural landmarks symbolizing the city. The importance of events to the contemporary city can be related to their "compulsion to become centers of consumption through the organization of spectacle and theatricality" (Harvey, 1989b: 92). Post-industrialization has restructured urban governance aspired to lure "highly mobile and flexible production, financial and consumption" flows (Andersson, 2010: 197). The spectacles strive to do this through the representations.

Harvey (1989a: 16) states:

> "Concentration on spectacle and image rather than on the substance of economic and social problems can also prove deleterious in the long-run, even though political benefits can all too easily be had."

ECoC presents a valuable opportunity to market cities. Intercultural communication is largely based on image transfer through mass media and mass tourism. Besson & Sutherland (2007) claims that "the opportunities may be overlooked and indeed wasted, with a huge expense incurred on the part of the city with little or no long-term benefits for its residents". The question is that; if the projects within the frame of ECoC are the outcomes of a strategic planning process for sustainability or if they are short-term projects to create an alluring theatrical stage.

The festivals, cultural events such as Cities of Culture (CoC) are associated with city branding and re-branding as discussed in the previous chapters. Jamieson (2004: 64) claims festivals as means of access to "cultural production and consumption". Although the idea of collectivism (Durkheim: "collective effervescence") as the main

motivation behind the festivals is rooted in the past, the recent studies recognized the importance of festivals and events parallel to their importance in tourism. Thus, festivals are also turistified and commodified. If we extend this theory to transnationalisation and globalization of culture, we can say that festivals celebrate the difference on stage but exclude actual social differences in the city. Yardımcı's (2004) analysis of Istanbul festivals supports this view by contrasting everyday life versus festival time and/or reality versus representation. Bianchini (1999: 30) explains this transformation in cultural policies in three phases: "as the age of reconstruction (1940s-1960s), the age of participation (1970s and early 1980s) and finally the age of city marketing (from the mid 1980s to present)". Festivals, in the sense of transformation into the marketplace, comply with the third approach of city marketing (Sassatelli, 2011: 26).

The "fetivalisation of the city" refers to the thematic development of urban images and identities mainly through culture, politics, sports, architecture and design, so and so forth (Evans, 2011: 5-6). The "festivalisation of the city" (Harvey, 1991) evolved parallel to the urban spectacles and cultural events. The "festivalisation of the city" (Harvey, 1991) evolved parallel to the urban spectacles and cultural events. The entrepreneurial turn in cities is reflected in the so called phenomena of "festivalization of urban governance" (Häußermann and Siebel, 1993). The development of the arts or cultural economy transformed "urban cultures have become valuable economic commodities for sale in global marketplace" (Stevenson, 2003: 97). The cultural products such as music, art, architecture, and food are global sold on the "cultural supermarket" (Mathews, 2000: 19). The idea of commodification is applied to culture industries and cities through the concept of "festival marketplaces", which is closely correlated to concept of "architecture of the spectacle". The semiotic reading of spaces of spectacle such as malls, festival marketplaces and leisure parks connotes the "illusory places of pleasure, leisure, hyper-reality and simulated elsewhereness" (Hubbard, 2006: 72).

According to Garcia (2005: 841-2) ECoC is perceived as a "catalyst for cultural regeneration, generating enormous expectations in cities". She stresses that the programme "did not originate from clearly structured guidelines as to what would constitute a European City/Capital of Culture" (Garcia, 2005: 841-2). That is why it has emerged as a panacea to improving the image of cities, "which pivots on consumption, entertainment and spectacle (Stevenson, 2003: 141) to the increasingly adopted cultural planning approach, aiming at nurtur[ing] and promot[ing] local cultural activity in the city" based on the idea of making the host city into a "festival marketplace" (Garcia, 2005: 841-2).

Hosting mega-events may lead to both positive and negative results. It is a costly thing to do, which might lead to sunk costs if the opportunities are missed. Majority of the reasons lying behind hosting mega-events are generally the economic reasons, which are closely linked to globalization. Tomlinson and Young (2006: 1) describe the relationship between the spectacles and the globalization on the basis of potential of the spectacles "to realize shared, global modes of identity and interdependence, making real the sense of a global civil society". A successful hosting of a mega-event offers global exposure, prestige and legitimacy to the host city and the entire country, which is especially desired by emerging economies eager to prove that they have become major players on the global stage (Black & van der Westhuizen, 2004).

The global city image, well connected to the world economies, is accessible to millions of viewers around the world (Close et al., 2007: 15). The logo of the Olympic Games is identified as widely as the logos of the mega brands such as Shell or McDonald's (Close et al., 2007: 5). It is true that host cities attract millions of visitors through mega-events. The nations are in competition because they are interested in not only the economic results but also the symbolic meaning of mega-events. This may take the form of creating the image of a world-city, spectacular structures and architectural achievements as well as showcasing their heritage as in the case of ECoC.

The research of Ritchie and Smith (1991) has shown that the image and awareness level of the hosting destination can be substantially improved during and immediately after a mega event. Although this knowledge indicates an image change, it does not denote how specific affective and cognitive characteristics (Baloğlu & McCleary, 1999) of destination images change before and after the completion of the event. The impact of mega-events on the urban change is analyzed by Hiller (2000: 440), through his model in which dependent and independent variables are disaggregated. The analytical assessment of Hiller (2000: 444) draws bold lines between the mega-event as the cause and the urban processes as the effects in order to emphasize that "the mega-event is placed in its full urban context as an urban event rather than something that is parachuted in and then disappears" (Hiller, 1999: 192). This relationship is demonstrated though a longitudinal analysis for both pre-event and post-event phases of the mega-event.

The vast literature on the impact of mega-events concentrates on the economic impacts. Nevertheless, various researches put forward the questions about destination image enhancement, national identity and pride enhancement, and longer-term regeneration outcomes in the form of sporting and commercial infrastructure as well as community building and social legacies. The crucial point from the image-making perspective is to provide a better understanding of how mega events serve as a tool in city marketing in order to improve the image of host cities.

2.4 Conclusion

For Debord (1994 [1967]), the contemporary city is the locus of conflicts and struggles over the spectacle. In line with Debord's view, Lefebvre's critique of urbanization and capitalist modernity involves alienation and the commodification with respect to the social realm of leisure and entertainment in which the spectacles are associated with the space of capital accumulation. Therefore, although the culture seems like the focal point, the economic interests cannot be denied. The mega-events require large public and private investments and the economic interests

in these investments are often global with respect to creation of new leisure and consumption habits (Surborg et al., 2008: 342). The scale of the projects often exceeds the urban areas and became national projects of the governments. The terms such as *urban growth machine*, *city boosterism* and *urban entrepreneurialism* are framed in association to globalizing economies and the process whereby city elites promote the economic competitiveness of the city through attracting investment and spurring economic growth. The political interests directed towards cities employ mega-events to support urban growth. Harvey (1989a) explains this process marked by the shift "from an urban managerialism to an urban entrepreneurialism".

The central idea around hosting mega-events for this research is the motivation and strategic vision in building an international image. According to Nadeau et al. (2011: 237), the significance of international perceptions for the host country reflects to "tourism, revenue generation, export/import issues and investing decisions". As noted previously imaging and re-imaging activities may be applied to the industrial urban centers in the form of urban regeneration in order to erase the negative perceptions of urban decay. However there is a paradox brought by this city re-imaging panacea, which is "recursive" and "serial mass production" of identical city places across space (Boyer, 1990: 96). This is also due to mega media and marketing campaigns accompanied to mega-events and strategies for selling the city. There has been a more detailed and recent work established on the imagery in the selling of the city (Short, 2008: 328).

Mega-events are believed to provide an opportunity to reinforce the city image or re-image it as part of re-branding exercise. Mega-events strengthen the city brand and hence they are likely to increase the brand value (Sirkeci, 2013b). Mega-events, not only create the awareness and increase the interest towards the city hosting the event, but also help to achieve world-city status thus making the global connection. There are global centers that already have a global image, recognition and infrastructure, yet these cities want to keep their superiority in the global economic system, and they want to emphasize their physical and organizational capacity to organize such a big event

(Shoval, 2002). For those cities that are already known, it offers opportunities to re-invent their images and re-position themselves. Communication is the number one step. The *desired image* should be communicated truly, while it has to be reliable at the same time, which means the communication should be consistent to reflect on the city's real features and qualities.

The spectacles are the communication channels conveying the messages of a city to be attractive, dynamic, cosmopolitan etc. for a desirable and favorable image. Local culture and festivals are recognized as instruments in promoting identity of a place together with image constituencies such as architecture, urban design, communication design, logo design, so on and so forth.

Dissemination of information through mass media and advertising facilitated the flow of images that brought the transition from exchange value into the sign value through the signs and images. Baudrillard (1981 [1972]: 132) explains the production of event as a sign through the entire system of media and information. Simulacra, also coined by Baudrillard (1994 [1981]: 2) addresses the imaginary created through the signs: "It is no longer a question of imitation, nor duplication; it is a question of substituting the signs of the real for the real". Baudrillard (1994 [1981]: 12) takes Disneyland as the perfect model of the orders of simulacra. Ley and Olds (1988) point out mega-events as instruments of hegemonic power. Harvey (1989b) and Debord (1994 [1967]) address the hegemonic power in terms of social control and unification for the class-divided society in the context of spectacles. According to Harvey (1989b), they can also be used as a tool for urban regeneration, as they give the host city the opportunity to produce a new and exciting image. Urban spectacles are started to be mass-produced for the sake of profit making and bureaucratic control motives, which force individuals to consume images as passive spectators (Gotham, 2005: 227).

On the other hand, what is more important than making the image, is the eye looking at it. Colomb (2012: 1) says that people have an image of a city in their head through the collection of icons. This may be either

result of a cognitive process of association or "social construction of a particular image and meaning" (Lehrer, 2002: 61). Urry (1990) discusses it from the tourism point of view in his book "The Tourist Gaze". As there is no unique experience of a city, there is no single tourist gaze. Lynch (1960: 1-2) explains the variation of perceptions through the surroundings, memories and past experiences:

> "Nothing is experienced by itself […] At every instant, there is more than the eye can see, more than the ear can hear, a setting or a view waiting to be explored".

Therefore the spectators are not only observers but they are part of the spectacle; "they are on the stage with the other participants" (Lynch, 1960: 1-2). MacCannell (2001: 27) stresses the role of actors operating in the tourism industry and the means of communication such as brochures, guidebooks, and travel writing that shape the tourist gaze. In opposition to the former theories of Debord and Marxist theorists, people are not just passive consumers; "Tourists remain free to look the other way, or to not look at all" (MacCannell, 2001: 24). Nevertheless, we live in a society surrounded by images (Debord, 1994 [1967]). As Debord (1994 [1967]: para.4) notes "spectacle is a social relation among people, mediated by images". The signs are inescapable as they are all over the place.

The image of the city travels through "the present" as imagined, "the games" as reality, and "the future" as utopia during different stages of the event. The reality as the object of representation never materializes, "as the sky is never quite as blue, the grass as green…" (Rice, 2012: 99). Yet, the experience makes the reality richer through the cognitive, haptic and phenomenological processes in the lived space. Therefore the semiotic image and the messages cannot be totally controlled by the producer, as the receivers will add their own meanings and reinterpretations. "The image remains a speculative hybrid of these multiple authors, viewers and users […] But what does remain of the image? Legacy…" (Rice, 2012: 99).

So, this chapter has drawn the conceptual framework for the research by starting with the city as a lived and imagined space. The theoretical model (see Fig. 6) draws upon the wide array of topics that are brought together in their relationship to city imaging process in marketing. The city image is at the center. From the center and above it provides a totality of the whole structure of concepts. This originates from the "Panopticon" model, in which the totality of images is signified through a gaze to the city from afar and above.

Figure 6. Theoretical Model of the Study
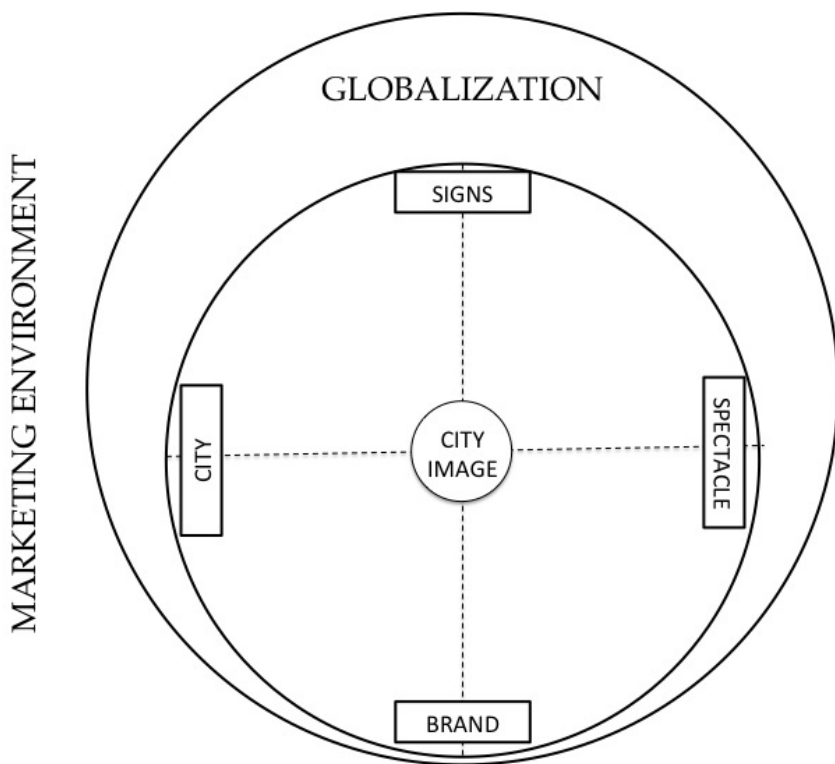
In Figure 7, the concepts covered in this chapter are classified under three main categories (city-spectacle-image) that construct the backbone of the research framework.

Figure 7. Concepts covered in the theoretical framework
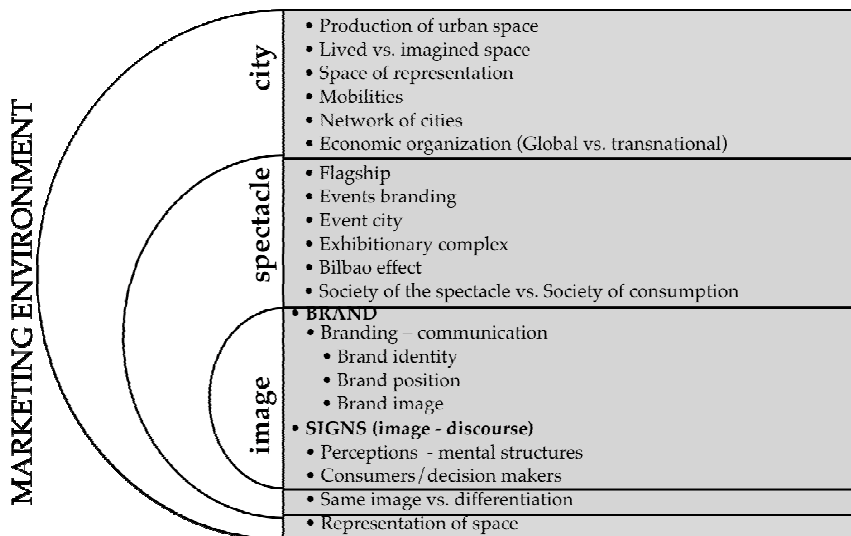
The next chapter draws contextual framework by focusing on the case of Istanbul as European Capital of Culture 2010 and discussing the relationship between the spectacle and the city by portraying Istanbul and its image. This is done firstly through the authoritative and historically constituted discourses in the making of Istanbul image, and secondly through the orders of cultural consumption and mediatization of culture through spectacular events. In this respect, different stages and political conjunctures are identified in positioning Istanbul as a brand before and after becoming ECoC.

3. CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK: ISTANBUL EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE 2010

"Theory is a practice, a practice of concepts.
Practice is a theory, a theory of contexts".

(Tschumi, 2004: 619)

The city of Istanbul and its image constitute the specific case to be investigated thoroughly in this research. In this respect, before jumping into the year of 2010 when ECoC has taken place, a portrait of Istanbul is given by building the layers of history and meaning on top of each other. Geographical and historical facts about Istanbul are outlined that have proven to be dominating the discourses on the urban representations. Accordingly, different stages and political conjunctures are identified in positioning Istanbul as a brand before and after becoming ECoC and the changing meanings associated with the city.
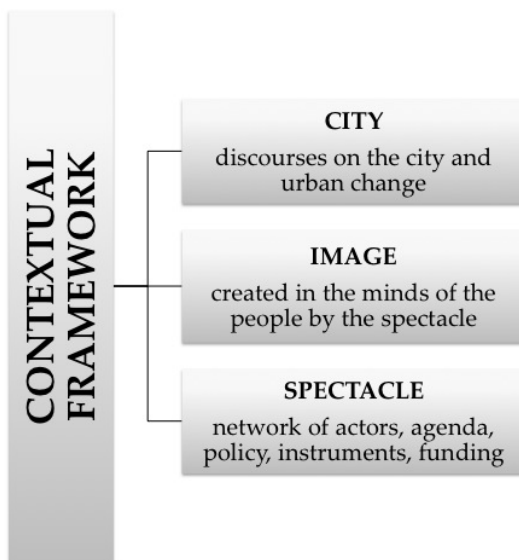
Figure 8. Contextual Framework

3.1 The City of Istanbul

Istanbul sprawls between the two continents of Europe and Asia that marks the most dominant cliché about the city for being a meeting point between the West and the East.

> "Istanbul, the capital of the Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, is the only city in the world which bestrides two continents – a magnificently situated city, as a poet once wrote, 'surrounded by a garland of waters'..." (Freely, 1996: 5).[8]

The strategic geographical location of Istanbul attributed historical significance to the city as the capital of three empires. Istanbul keeps its unique place, not as a national capital city, but through the cultural accumulation.

The water element, which was highlighted as one of the four elements concept in the bidding project for ECoC 2010, is a strong geographical feature in Istanbul's identity. Sudjic & Casiroli (2009) describes Istanbul as "a city as beautiful as Venice or San Francisco", but

> "… once you are away from the water, as brutal and ugly as any metropolis undergoing the trauma of warp speed urbanisation. It is a place in which to sit under the shade of ancient pines and palm trees for a leisurely afternoon watching sun on water, looking out over the Bosphorus. But also, in some parts, to tread very carefully. Istanbul has as many layers of history beneath the foundations of its buildings as any city in Europe."

Istanbul has been a port city throughout the history and the Bosphorus made this city a unique place between the two continents divided by the sea. The Bosphorus adds to the geographical value of the city by making it into a passageway for transnational flows of capital, culture, information and people that occur in the globalizing world. Thus, it can be said that Istanbul owes its importance particularly to its geographic location that creates a natural flow from this passageway. The geographical location of Istanbul plays a key role in terms of enhancing competitive advantage and distinguishing Istanbul (Kurtarır and Cengiz, 2005).

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[8] The mentioned poet is the Byzantine historian Procopios: Procopios of Caesarea, Peri Ktismaton, I, V, 2-13. (The Loeb Classical Library, Procopios VII, Cambridge: London, 1971, pp. 57-61)

The geographical location of the city made Istanbul both desirable and difficult to conquer at the same time. Istanbul has inspired many civilizations in the history and declares itself being inspiring for the cultural spectacle of the postmodern world under the logo of ECoC 2010. The spectacle takes place in the unique scenery having Istanbul silhouette at its background; minarets coupled with high-rise buildings of financial centres. The minarets and the Bosphorus Bridge are symbolic features of Istanbul used in the logos of governmental institutions such as Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Istanbul Governorship (see Appendix C.2 and C.3).

Although its geography is one of the major forces behind the significance of Istanbul brand; history and culture have prominent roles in the construction of brand identity for Istanbul 2010. Kuban (2010a: 29) stresses the universal status of the city and the role of heritage, which is visible through the monuments ornamenting the city as the gems. Rossi (1984: 92) gives importance to monuments for their meaning and value, which he claims to be "stronger than environment and stronger than memory". In this respect, the importance of monuments can be recognized in terms of mental activities constituting concrete images and collective memory characterizing the city. The city image is based deliberately on the monuments aimed towards "remaining in touch with the past" while "determining the scale and composition of the future city" (İBB Kentsel Dönüşüm Müdürlüğü, 2010: 130). Heritage sites and historical landmarks are shown abundantly in the images created for Istanbul 2010 event. In doing so, a certain level of continuity is caught in the images. Therefore Batur (1996: xxi) stresses the role of events and images in creating Istanbul brand as much as its geography.

The contemporary city is built on the roots of this rich history which is presented through layers of history, along with discourses and order of urban and social life, that contribute to build the city image today. According to Uysal (2013: 20) Istanbul's cityscape flourishes on the "architectural synthesis and continuity" shaped by a combination of "Eastern and Western influences". In this context, the researcher

attempts to highlight the continutiy through rendering the change and telling the story in parallel to the discourses used in branding the city. It is not the intention of this research to give a comprehensive chapter on the history of Istanbul, which is neither possible nor fundamental due to the limitations of the research. Therefore the aim is not pointing out an abstract journey from past to present (like most of the tourism promotion materials do). On the contrary, the aim is making this journey more visible by disclosing the continuous change and how the city image is affected. In this respect, the historical past is conveyed by offering a snapshot to the certain time periods that marked different stages in the urbanization process shaping the identity of the city.

The foundations of today's Istanbul started by the Roman and Byzantine eras. The myth of a city between East and West initiated by the split of East and West Roman Empire extended the discourses attached to the East in the sense of *Orient* after the conquest of Istanbul by the Ottomans. The Republican Era on the other hand, marked the nationalization period in which Ankara became the capital against Istanbul. However Istanbul continued its rise from being an ex-capital, emerging into a World city. Therefore the history of the city can be explained through a chronological process:

- The Roman and Byzantine Period

- The Ottoman Period

- The Republican Period

The history of Istanbul is generally approached and told through the chronology of events; however the researcher follows the continuity of events and their impacts on the city image. Accordingly, Istanbul is narrated by following the chronological order (while sometimes going back and forth), at the same time the layers of meaning are laid out through myths and discourses. The myths are exposed through the foundation of the city (Roman). The capital status of the city through the imperial ages (Byzantian-Ottoman) is read through the relationship between the power and discourse, hegemony and ideology. The Republican Period cuts this continuity at some extent and produces

anti-theses in the creation of contemporary city. There are many intersecting areas in this kind of narration parallel to the continuity of events and a continuous change. The layers are constructed on top of each other, while the new layer does not cover the old one; both exist in the same time. We can see this through the urban constructions. The Ottoman regime neither deconstructed the city, nor reconstructed it, but simply added on the existing ones depending on the topography and functionality (Kuban, 2010a: 25), which formed a mosaic. The layers of meanings are formed parallel to the layers of history. Thus according to this description, Istanbul has many interacting and contradicting layers of meaning.

In this context, instead of adopting a chronological set-up, Istanbul is read as "imagined" and "lived" space, as noted in the beginning of the conceptual framework. The focus remains on the transformation of the city image surrounded by the historical events and discourses:

- Myths,

- Ideology and power,

- Politics.

Accordingly, the city of Istanbul is portrayed in a relationship between theoretical knowledge, authority, empirical experience and the spatial practices of knowing city, which is exposed to these three categories or stages defining the urban change.

Myths

The city, in the sense of today's Istanbul, was seeded by a Greek colony of Megarians in the 7th century BC.   However the first city center was on the Asian side, in 'Khalkedon' area, in today's Kadıköy. Khalkedon means "Country of the Blind" which was named by another branch of Megarians who came around 660 BC and settled down in the peninsula are around Sarayburnu on the European side, across Kadıköy. Therefore, the city of Byzantium[9] was founded by the latter that

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[9] Greek: Βυζάντιον, *Byzántion*

followed the advice of the oracle in Delphi Temple to choose the area to establish the city (Eyice: 1980: 90).

The creation of the city is full of symbolic references impacting on the city image. Sennett (1992: 47) explains this relationship and symbolic language with the geometry of Roman astronomy and the application of the grid to the city plan. According to this the sun's movement from East to West is projected as the *Decumanus maximus* while the movement of stars from North to South is projected as *Cardus maximus* as two main axes crossing the city. The intersection point is recognized as the city centre and this point is called *umbelicus* (i.e. umbilicus), which could be thought as the spiritual center. The Romans dig a hole called *mundus* on the umbilicus and put valuable things dedicated to the Gods, and then cover the hole with a square shaped stone and light a fire. This ritual represents the birth of the city. The umbilicus is marked by the Column of Constantine.

Istanbul was called "Konstantinopolis"[10] (city of Constantine, Constantinople), a name given by its founder, the Byzantine Emperor Constantine. Polis refers to the central cities of the ancient civilizations (Hansen, 2006: 56-9). Greek people used to name the city "polis" in the everyday life referring to Istanbul, or a variation of the word "stin polis", which means "in the city" or "to the city" (Freely, 1996: 3). The city retained its Roman name "Konstantinopolis" even after the conquest of the city by the Ottomans in 1453 (Alvarez & Yarcan, 2010: 267). During the Ottoman period the name of the city was marked as "Konstantiniyye" on the coins (Mansel, 1996: 19). In time, the name of the city took several forms as Stimbol, Estanbul and İstambol, lastly changed to "İstanbul" (Çelik, 1998: 20).

Ideology and power

Freely (1996: 4) tells about the transformation of the city from Byzantium into the Christian Constantinople in AD 330. Following the split of the Roman Empire, the official name of the city on the records was "Konstantinoupolis Nea Roma", which indicates the capital status

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[10] Greek: Κωνσταντινούπολις (Krautheimer, 1983: 60)

of the city for the Eastern Roman Empire (Kuban, 2010a: 20-2). Some sources indicate that the city is called "Deutera Rome" meaning second Rome, the second capital of Roman Empire (Eyice, 1980: 94). Followed by the announcement of city as the new Rome, it got bigger and bigger in a short time due to its strategic and secure location at the crossroads of trade routes. The city was not only populated as a rapid pace but also its economy improved as a result of trade and the city became rich. Hagia Sophia was erected during the reign of Justinian as a massive Christian Church. As seen, the transformation of the city was reflected not only to the cultural and economic area but also to the emergence of a centre of Christianity (Krautheimer, 1983: 41). However Kuban (2010b: 33-34) claims that the new configuration of the city was projected on the Hellenistic city and reflects a combination of pagan and Christian elements side by side.

According to Ousterhout (2010: 124), Contantinople of the 4th century A.D. was a fictional urban formation that is imagined through a common heritage and mythologies (connecting Troy-Rome-Jerusalem) under the auspices of the imperial order. Therefore Nea Roma was the outcome of words, images and urban structures bringing this idea into existence around an ethos, which is not so different than the topos for the global cities today.

According to Yerasimos (2000: 158), the effects of Byzantine architecture on the Ottoman architecture are felt in the context of imperial ideologies and impression of Hagia Sophia. The identity of the city gained a new reconstruction approach through the visual and spatial order of the urbanization in the Ottoman realm through the "construction of Ottoman monuments and selective appropriation of Byzantine sites and monuments" (Kafesçioğlu, 2009: 10). Kafesçioğlu (2009: 10-11) states:

> "By portraying, surveying accentuating and at times silencing symbolically significant sites or consequential events, the city's images projected the visions and claims of their makers regarding those particular sites or events and the city at large… A dialogic of representation is particularly pertinent to this subject: products of an era of political and cultural encounters and transformations, these

images escape singular interpretations with clear and distinct meanings… The city's commercial and residential fabric was woven from political and cultural process that gave shape to its monuments and images as much as from the workings of daily life. The formation of that fabric and its relationship with the city's monumental structure and image are integral to an understanding of larger urban process…"

The organization of the city, during the Ottoman period, developed around the mosques and public buildings parallel to the discourse of power and the symbolic language behind. Mansel (1996: 33) calls the city of Istanbul, "City of God" linking it to the imperial connotations. It was believed that the sultan or the emperor is the shadow of the God. The mosques represent such relationship. Therefore the mosques assigned by Sultans have more minarets than the little and ordinary mosques. Süleymaniye Mosque and its complex, built by Architect Sinan in the name of Süleyman the Magnificient, joined the imperial symbols of the city expressing its magnificence (Kuban, 2010b: 300). Süleymaniye Mosque does not compete with Hagia Sophia but proves the excellence of its era in terms of architecture. The houses (most of which were made of mud brick or wood) were scattered into the dense urban fabric like a spider net with narrow streets. Such an urban pattern made the imperial structures more outstanding in the urban landscape, while creating a dichotomy in the Istanbul's image. The same type of dichotomy is prevailing Istanbul today with a difference, which is the dichotomy created by the oligarchy of the Ottoman against the oligarchy of the capital in the network of global cities (Kuban, 1998: 13).

Ottoman Empire adopted Islam as the religion of the state but society was formed through a pluralist structure and cosmopolitan in character, which makes the city multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural centre (Schmitt, 2011: 131). Non-Muslim members of the community (Jews, Greeks, Armenians, Levantines) gained key roles at the state level under the reign of Ottomans (Necipoğlu, 2010: 262).

The late period of the Ottoman Empire has been the scene of changes and reforms in order to keep up with the advancements in the Western

world reflecting on the architecture (Çelik, 1998: 2). 19th century can be cited in terms of changing image of the city following a line from East (impact of Islam) to West (European styles such as baroque)(Çelik, 1998: 26).

At the urban scale the Westernization efforts were directed towards "reviving Istanbul as a modern cosmopolitan similar to its European counterparts" (Aktaş: 2006: 159). While Istanbul's image was portraying a mystic and oriental city in the eyes of Westerners, Beyoğlu and Galata areas emerged as the leisure and entertainment centres in the cultural life of the city with theatres, cinemas, restaurants and cafes similar to the vibrant life of Paris in the 19th century. Istanbul, once being the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, turned its face to the West again following 'accession, decline and rebirth' (Freely, 1996: 173).

Politics

With the fall of Ottoman Empire, Istanbul lost its significance as a capital city and Ankara became the new capital of the Republic in 1923. Turkish Republic was born as a modernist, democratic and secular state from the ashes of Ottoman Empire in the aftermath of the World War I (Aktaş, 2006: 160). The first 20 years followed by the foundation of Republic were spent on the revitalization of the country after the war and social transformation in diverse areas from change of alphabet to change in apparel representing the modern state. The foundation of Republic brought strict reforms to erase the Ottoman past.

In the 1950s Istanbul started to get attention from the government. Adnan Menderes, the prime minister of the era, favoured Istanbul more than Ankara and Istanbul became the pupil of the eye again through "beautification" projects (Kaya, 2010: 97-114). Istanbul was left unattended throughout the years following the foundation of Republic and Ankara's new capital status. The aim of Menderes was putting Istanbul at first place through making the city into an attraction centre.

Kaya (2010: 99) calls Istanbul as the "showcase city" in his claim of the beatification projects directed towards attracting the attention of the world audience and attracting investments. The industrialization

started in the 1950s further developed the city into one of the major finance centres in Turkey. The geographical location played key role in the process of industrialization in terms of accessibility to the goods and services and consequently started migration to the urban areas, mainly to Istanbul. The social structure of Istanbul was shaped the migrants from the rural areas, who were coming to Istanbul in search of jobs. The gateway to the city was Haydarpasa located in the Asian side replacing Sirkeci Train Station and the myth of Orient Express. However this time the newcomers to the city were not wealthy Western visitors, but instead they were coming from rural areas hoping to make their lives in a big city. As a result of industrialization and immigration the population of the city reached almost 1 million in the 1950s and doubled by the 1970s reaching 5 million in the 1980s (Kuban, 2010b: 524). However Istanbul was not prepared to cope with the enormous migration wave and unplanned growth. This era has been the scene for changing the face of the city at an irrecoverable cost.

The Municipality's plan for rebuilding Istanbul through a new network of roads and business districts was a sign of rebuilding a new image for Istanbul. Akpınar (2003: 194-5) tells the story of image-making for Istanbul with respect to the urban change and reconstruction activities that took place in the 1950s:

> "Despite the rhetoric of sudden change and a shift towards Westernisation (with the connotation of Americanisation), the discourse of Turkishness-Ottomanism-Islamism became more and more dominant. And as a result, Ottoman works of arts - mosques, in particular - became of primary importance… To tell the story of the urban reconstruction in the city of Istanbul is, in fact, unveiling its many layers and revealing their contradictory features, and responding to the cultural work of representations of urban space, which offer us specific and visual practices for approaching the spatiality of the city."

Spatial visualization is highlighted in Lefebvre's theory of space and representation. The power structures should be noted as powerful representations of the city are effective on the reordering and reshaping the city according to the production of space. Istanbul's image is raised

among contradictory and complementary layers of meaning which is reflected to the "visual representations and their texts" (Akpınar, 2003: 169). In doing so, the new image created for Istanbul defined a new life-style for its residents by taking culture and art at its forefront to start culture-led regeneration.

Since 1950s the governmental politics for the urbanization of Istanbul has changed tremendously by the emergence of global politics and economics. The interest of the government for attracting tourists and foreign investment to Istanbul turned the city into a marketplace where the mega-events and mega architectural projects have become the tools for city imaging. Harvey (1989b: 271) criticizes this process of transformation for cities and metropolitan areas for creating "market objects and all-encompassing spectacles". The vocabulary of *High-Modernism* has entered into the process of transformation of the city in the 1950s as well. This brought urban demolitions justified as construction works between 1956 and 1960. The heritage at risk was claimed by The Chamber of Architects and Higher Board of Preservation of Monuments (Akpınar, 2003: 154). The history and heritage of the city, which made up Istanbul's image still today was withstanding the new face of Istanbul under construction.

In its challenge to get its share from the capital accumulation, Istanbul erases its historical accumulation and appears as a new cosmopolitan city changing its image with recent urban development and regeneration projects, commemorated by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IBB) to "starchitects". This is the inevitable outcome of homogenization effect of the global order. The strategic features of Istanbul provide the opportunity for transnational elites to benefit from accumulation and competition through the adaptation to global economic order and strategies for city marketing and image creation (Robins & Aksoy, 1995: 223). In the past the city's reconstruction was enabled through a top-down process by the rulers where the real power is the global capital.

The growth in business and industry inescapably affected the urbanization. High-rise buildings of the major national and

multinational headquarters started to emerge one by one in the city skyline contrasting with historical characteristics of the urban fabric. Not only corporations and business plazas, but also the architectural emblem of the consumption culture are added to the city such as shopping malls replacing the covered city bazaars, contemporary architecture designs and utopic landmarks away from understanding and communicating the city culture. Shantytowns were created in the inner city next to the gated communities. For the sake of becoming a global city the spatial transformation takes shape under the rule of capital groups and the slum areas in the city centre are gentrified. The inhabitants are forced to move from their houses to the social housing areas at the edges of the city. Industrial areas turn into non-places.

The urban gentrification projects are not directly addressed as the main area of interest for the research but they are highly associated with the city image in terms of the transformed urban spaces used for cultural events such as festivals, biennials, exhibitions and so on. The heritage landmarks, such as Hagia Sophia, are also in such transformation, as they become museums and exhibition spaces. They become the object of exhibition in which the meanings are re-written and re-read over the spaces of transformation. Thus, the image is created and re-created while the past is re-discovered in a different sense in the modern times. Today, most of the urban transformations are targeted at creating spaces of spectacle through the regeneration of the past.

The government has a key role in the image making strategy for Istanbul and takes urban regeneration and massive architecture projects at its core borrowing from the Western examples. Some of the new transformation projects for Istanbul are planned to be designer products by world-known architects. This is a way of branding the city mostly illustrated by the example of Frank Gehry's Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao. In this way, the urban spaces become consumable as designer products and the "contemporary metropolis" becomes a "spectacle city" by the proliferation of urban spectacles. Sassatelli (2009) counts ECoC as one of the programmes contributing the spectacularization of cities. The metropolis has become a stage for a year-round festival of spectacular events.

3.2 The Spectacle (Istanbul 2010)

Globalization and the increasing inter-dependency between the cities and their economies brought decentralization leading to "transfer of powers and responsibilities to subnational authorities, and increasing competition among cities" (Martins, 2006: 4). The competition reinforced the international strategies parallel to the entrepreneurial activities and institutional change (Harvey, 1989a). ECoC becomes the playground for cities that are fiercely competing to each other to bear the title for the sake of showing off Europe's cultural richness and diversity (Hein, 2010).

Sassatelli (2008: 230) highlights the European Union (EU) configuration of "unity in diversity" within culture. Diversity is celebrated particularly in the programme of "institutional identity building through culture" suggesting "a new way of imagining the relationship of culture, identity and governance" that has merged into the spectacle of ECoC in the case of a mega-event (Sassatelli, 2008: 230). Therefore, ECoC serves both as a mega-event and "pan-European tool for event-led urban renewal" homogenizing the shared experience of European culture (Palonen, 2010). However the meaning of this shared experience is created though the assessment criteria by the "European cultural elite" (Palonen, 2010).

When we look at the narratives of the ECoC and the ideals of Europe, there are similarities. The European city stands for a "normative ideal" –a place of freedom, a place for ideas and coming-together – referring to both unity and diversity. Further discussion can be if "EU really narrates a common European history or creates an image of the European city, or will it create a range of differences and different perceptions of Europe and through that a narrative of its own" (Palonen, 2010: 101). Lähdesmäki (2011: 139) cites;

> "The chosen ECOCs are expected to foster the common cultural history and heritage by linking the city's own cultural heritage to the common European narrative" (The European Parliament and The Council of the European Union, 1999).

The first aim of the program lies in the culture as a key to "unity in diversity" under the European framework, while it has turned out to be "a versatile development tool of cultural policy capable of achieving multiple objectives"(European Commission, 1994). Culture acts as a "glue" between the member states of the EU, which makes the promotion of ''shared European culture" central to EU cultural policies (Richards, 2001). Therefore it is asserted that ECoC is "essentially a political and not a predominantly cultural programme" (Klaic, 2010: 7).

The idea of ECoC dates back to the 1980s in the form of cultural days and cultural months. In 1985, Athens became the first European City of Culture through the initiation of the cultural programme by Melina Mercouri, the Greek minister of culture. Florence followed Athens and "a whole canon of cities have emerged that are networked into the map of cultural capitals" (Palonen, 2010: 91). Table 4 indicates the list of cities selected as ECoC from beginning until 2013.

Table 4. European Capitals of Culture

1985: Athens	1990: Glasgow	1995: Luxembourg
1986: Florence	1991: Dublin	1996: Copenhagen
1987: Amsterdam	1992: Madrid	1997: Thessaloniki
1988: Berlin	1993: Antwerp	1998: Stockholm
1989: Paris	1994: Lisbon	1999: Weimar
2000: Avignon, Bergen, Bologna, Brussels, Helsinki, Krakow, Reykjavik, Prague, Santiago de Compostela. (final report)		
2001: Porto and Rotterdam	2008: Liverpool and Stavanger	
2002: Bruges and Salamanca	2009: Linz and Vilnius	
2003: Graz	**2010:** Essen for the Ruhr, Pécs and **Istanbul**	
2004: Genoa and Lille		
2005: Cork	2011: Turku and Tallinn	
2006: Patras	2012: Guimarães and Maribor	
2007: Luxembourg and Sibiu	2013: Marseilles and Košice	

Source: European Commission (2013).

The initial program has developed further and the name is changed from European City of Culture into European Capital of Culture in

1999 (The European Parliament and The Council of the European Union, 1999). European Commission's (2010b) website tells about the history of the event and the change in the organization. From its initiation in 1985 to 2004, "European Cities of Culture were chosen by EU Culture Ministers (meeting in the Council)". The ECoC framework, therefore, was constructed by the EU policies in an attempt to link economy and culture. The programme is launched with an emphasis on the cultural sector in Europe and its contribution to economic growth and social cohesion defined by Lisbon objectives (Council of the European Union, 2007).

As reported in "The Selection Panel for the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) 2010" (2006: 11); European Parliament and Council of Europe took the decision 1419/1999/EC[11] in 1999 to extend the ECoC Programme non-EU member cities during the period 2005-2019 (Palmer, 2004: 42). This brought Istanbul the chance to be ECoC. The title is awarded to Istanbul on 13th November 2006, for the year 2010 together with Essen for the Ruhr region (Germany) and Pécs (Hungary).

The application dossier for ECoC 2010 was presented to the Council of Europe General Directorate for Education and Culture in Brussels on 13th December 2005. The theme of the project was entitled "Istanbul: The City of Four Elements". The basic elements of the universe - earth, air, water and fire are defined as the themes for the cultural projects to be realized through the four seasons in a year. Istanbul has put forward the city's rich historical and diverse cultural assets for the bidding

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[11] Article 4 of the Decision 1419/1999/EC published in the Official Journal (OJ L 166, 1.7.1999: 4):

"European non-member countries may participate in this action. Any such country may nominate one city as a European Capital of Culture and should notify its nomination to the European Parliament, the Council, the Commission and the Committee of the Regions. The Council, acting unanimously on a recommendation from the Commission, shall officially designate one of these nominated cities as a European Capital of Culture for each year, bearing in mind the desirability of four years' preparation time."

while positioning itself as a Western and European city (Alvarez & Yarcan, 2010: 268).

Focus of the official application for ECoC was apparently the EU candidacy and negotiations for membership of Turkey. In this context, Istanbul 2010 is considered as an opportunity to "demonstrate Istanbul's identity as a European city". Although European dimension is a crucial aspect, a city is not chosen as a European Capital of Culture solely for what it is, but mainly for what it plans to do for a year that has to be exceptional (European Commission, 2011). Thus proposing a unique cultural programme is more significant than the intrinsic historical value of the city, for instance being a UNESCO World Heritage site. The title is more than a label, therefore "the city is asked to draw on its special features and create new cultural events". This means that the cultural events cannot be only the ones that the "city usually stages under the Capital of Culture banner, or merely "highlight" the city's cultural heritage". The cultural programme should meet the criteria for "European dimension" and "City and Citizens".

What is meant by *European dimension*, is defined by The European Parliament and The Council of the European Union (2006) as follows:

> "As regards 'the European Dimension', the programme shall: (a) foster cooperation between cultural operators, artists and cities from the relevant Member States and other Member States in any cultural sector; (b) highlight the richness of cultural diversity in Europe; (c) bring the common aspects of European cultures to the fore." (Article 4 of Decision 1622/2006/EC)[12]

In other words, candidate cities must present the role they have played in European culture, their links with Europe, their European identity. According to the final report on "Ex-Post Evaluation of 2007 and 2008 European Capitals of Culture", the criteria of the "European dimension" are open to different interpretations that allowed "implementing a wide range of activities with a European dimension

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[12] (1622/2006/EC). Decision no 1622/2006/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 October 2006 establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2007 to 2019.

but the nature of that dimension and its effectiveness varied" (ECOTEC, 2009: 124). In most of the cases it was undertaken in the form of a broader international dimension through attracting international talent, "rather than specifically European artists" (ECOTEC, 2009: 116).

The programme's framework is wider in its application and recognition. The internationality and transnationality have been impacting on the city's recognition in terms of *international projection, international image* or *international standing* that is also reflected on the governments' politics. On the other hand, transnational networking in the case of "city twinning" or ECoC gave opportunities for cities to "free themselves from state control" (De Castro, 1999). The integration into such framework, which the local authorities also recognized key roles played by the transnational relations, is created through flows of information, capital and people.

The development of cross-border co-operation between cultural operators and institutions became more visible in the EU's Culture programme defined for 2007-2013. According to the Programme Guide Culture 2007-2013 cities that are interested in developing projects or receiving financial support for their permanent activities within the Culture Programme. Three main objectives are defined under the scheme: to promote *cross-border mobility* of those working in the cultural sector; to encourage the *transnational circulation* of cultural and artistic output; and to foster *intercultural dialogue* (European Commission, 2010c). The cities that are awarded as ECoCs enjoy a lasting impact and civil pride whereas the whole experience and even the application process promises benefits, such as "the mere involvement of stakeholders, discussions on cultural policy and planned partnerships that can give a boost to the city's cultural life" (European Commission 2010d).

Istanbul's bidding process has been initiated through a bottom up approach where "city and citizens" were highlighted as the key areas. The initiative group was comprised of 13 non-governmental organizations and the support of governmental bodies including municipality, the governor's office, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and

the Ministry of Culture (Çolakoğlu, n.d.). The work has started in 2000 and the initiative group was enlarged with the participation of city administrators, artists, employees at the cultural sector, academics, and representatives of some other NGOs. Istanbul 2010 ECOC Agency was founded for coordinating the joint efforts of public bodies and institutions and for the purpose of planning and managing the activities for preparing Istanbul as European Capital of Culture by 2010 according to the law no 5706 passed on 2nd November 2007 (Bilsel & Arıcan, 2010: 216). According to the Activity Report of Istanbul 2010 ECoC Agency (2010a: 73), an amount between 50,000 and 150,000 Euro is provided under the grant scheme for NGOs through Civic Society Dialogue by International Relations Directory of the Agency. Following the start-up of Initiative Group, Advisory Board is formed as well, which later has selected an Executive Committee (Beyazıt & Tosun, 2006: 6).

The executive committee has changed after the resign of the first group. The latter organization structure was formed under the umbrella of Coordination Committee chaired by Minister Hayati Yazıcı that is divided into Advisory Board and Executive Committee.[13] Nonetheless, if looked at the structure of the governance of the latter organizational structure, it is seen that it heavily relies on the presence and control of governmental bodies in a top-down manner (Öner, 2010). Therefore, the initial bottom-up model was not carried successfully and ECoC became the project of the government with speculations, resignations and rumors. The shift in the organizational structure changed the "participative objective" from "participation to transform" into "participation to legitimize" (Öner, 2010). The issues related to transparency and equitable distribution of funds contributed to debate about the shady organization of the event while reconciliation is sought for the contention and conflicting demands through "institutionalizing PPPs and inventing instruments of participatory policy making in arts and culture" (Öner, 2010: 267). In the interview, Korhan Gümüş (Director of Urban Practices at Istanbul 2010 Agency) notes that the

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[13] Oganizational chart: see Istanbul 2010 official programme.

organization structure in the agency has influenced the decision making process negatively by creating a further fragmentation and polarization (Gümüş, 2010).

Thus, the main critical argument raised against the organization of Istanbul 2010 lies in the fact that it has become a project of the government. Therefore, not only Istanbul itself was ruled by the central government in Ankara but also the cultural programme was subjected to centralization in governing structure. The government has taken a key role in the organization of the event by providing a major budget for the projects. Erciyes (2010) comments on the situation in a sarcastic way that the art and culture life of Istanbul was kept exclusive to the economic crisis thanks to the budget provided by 2010. Moreover, the changes in the organizational structure reflected on the inefficiencies in the planning leading to the criticisms that "marketing had not been strategic and had to a large extent been "decoupled" from the cultural programme and its constituent projects, particularly in its international activities" (Rampton et al., 2011: 76-7). Whilst the change of the organizational structure of the Istanbul 2010 Agency and the major involvement of bureaucrats and technocrats rather than civic activists, also changed the nature of the programme from being a creative event into a promotive event through history and culture.

Therefore the spectacle of Istanbul 2010 presents a hybrid affair, in which the spaces of the city become the theatre stage, the politicians become the actors and the images become a tool for promoting and selling it. Inevitably this affair becomes a stage for conflicting interests among the different social, cultural and political actors. In the case of Istanbul 2010, the resignation of the executive committee marked such a process of conflict.

The participation of the public is very crucial. When the people feel a sense of inclusion in the process their perceptions would be affected accordingly in a positive manner. In Istanbul 2010, the public and civic organizations were repressed from the decision making-process but they were not hindered to submit projects. Therefore, the public was still encouraged to be part of the event through the cultural events but

through a less transparent and democratic process in a top-down manner. There are various other negativities associated with Istanbul 2010. According to Palonen (2010), the main concern was presenting the touristic image of Istanbul abroad, rather than the impact on localities. Another issue is the lack of originality of the cultural programme, which includes a number of festivals and series of events. Most of these cultural events are already part of Istanbul's culture life and more importantly Istanbul's image, because they were started before Istanbul 2010 ECoC and they are organized for years on a continuous basis. In the end, ECoC did not really support the active involvement of the citizens as it was initially projected, which led to negativity among the residents.

ECoC is perceived as a tool not only for civic pride or participation but also as a branding-instrument in the national, European and international competition over tourism and investment. While assuring to meet the criteria, cities design their own programs locally in order to showcase their cultural assets and cultural life or just the opposite in which the international program applies in an attempt to catch up with other cities in the cultural global network. That is why there is not a unique formula for cities to form their cultural programs; few cities concentrate on the cultural fabric and historical heritage of the city, whereas others go for add-on projects on top of what the city already offers as a cultural product. In most of the cases cities go for a mix-match of these strategies, not coming up with really interesting and original projects. The originality is only stressed in the cultural identity of the city itself. There is the national pride hidden in winning the competition but the creative process is more related to the initial phase of the project and launching the idea. The Guardian journalist Crace (2002) noted "once the thrill of becoming a centre for cultural excellence evaporates, the residue might be little more than a glut of coffee shops". Thus the cultural programme is not always truly original and creative.

Richards and Wilson (2006: 1210) express the familiarity of the audience and brand awareness of the ECoC but on the other hand warn about the loss of competitive advantage through the serial

reproduction the event without creative thinking. The need "to support local culture" and "sustained local creative production processes in the city" is crucial for the competitiveness in the long term (Sutherland et al., 2006: 7). Nevertheless the study of Palmer-Rae (2004) indicates that the long-term development and competitive advantage are not achieved by many ECoCs. The study puts the emphasis on "citizen participation and partnership building across urban cultural and economic sectors".

Yazıcı (2010: 22) expresses the long-term interests "beyond individuals and institutions" by putting the emphasis on the collective venture through inclusion of the local people. This shows us the importance of mega-events, which are very well recognized in city branding strategies, with a focus on its long-term effects. The goals and policies are directed towards the sustainability and improvement but on the other hand in some cases it is hard to see any visible outcome that have a long-lasting effect and that is why it is believed in the temporary effects more than the sustainable effects.

The new mission proposed by the government put forward Istanbul as an attractive touristic destination through the rich cultural history and heritage. Accordingly, an important part of the budget is spent on the restoration projects and international promotion campaigns instead of investing on the cultural projects and to facilitate culture-led regeneration. The urban regeneration projects gained the top importance by attracting 60% of the total budget whereas the rest of the budget was distributed among culture, art, and tourism projects (Öner, 2010: 272) as the success of the event is usually measured in terms of "hotel nights, press millimetres, and urban renewal" (Palonen, 2010).

The financial interests also influence the state's role in preserving cultural heritage, which has turned into means of a cultural renaissance through the renewal of historic areas. The controversial legal and regulatory changes empowered by the state are exemplified in Law No.

5366[14] for the renewal of historic areas. The urban renewal is targeted at enhancing tourism by improving the urban infrastructure and promoting cultural assets, which is accomplished through well-financed programmes. ECoC can be also recognized as a financing opportunity in this sense, as Aksoy comments on the investment realized by Istanbul 2010 programme being "equivalent to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism's annual budget towards the restoration and regeneration of the city's rich cultural heritage" (Aksoy, 2009).

Although it was stated that two-thirds of the budget was spent on the urban regeneration and restoration projects, the event did not manage to leave a cultural landmark or a "monumental legacy" such as a concert hall or opera house (Boland, 2011), yet the first opera festival in the city took place during 2010. Instead of adding new cultural landmarks to the city, the existence of the Byzantine and Ottoman heritage was approved by stressing the accumulation through the history of the city. The regeneration projects took the form of cleaning the facades of buildings for a better look or change the face of the city to a modern and global one with financial centres, plazas, five star hotels and shopping malls. The budget from the Commission enabled the large restoration projects to be finished in due time. The historical peninsula has been the primary implementation area for restoration and renovation projects. Thus it was claimed that the historical monuments and sites in the tourism centre of the city are benefited from the event (Erciyes, 2010). Prime Minister Erdogan puts the emphasis on the tourism dimension with the aim of attracting 10 million tourists to Istanbul in 2010 (Aksoy, 2010). However ECoC is not only a touristic event and the cultural aspects should have been explained more to the audience to convince them why they should visit Istanbul during the year 2010.

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[14] Law no. 5366: Preservation by Renovation and Utilization by Revitalizing of Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties'. Available from: http://inuraistanbul2009.files.wordpress.com/2009/06/law-5366-1.pdf [Accessed 17/09/2012]

ECoC programme is highly interested in the physical results and recently in the urban change, in other words making the cities as well as their images. Previous ECoC "have created cultural industries (e.g. Glasgow 1990), heritage sites (e.g. Weimar 1999 and Ruhr 2010), modern buildings (e.g. Graz 2003) and renovated whole urban cores (e.g. Sibiu 2007) which follow a more general trend in urban cultural policy, seeking economic and social regeneration" (Bianchini 1993; Sassatelli 2006: 35). Although the programme was described with having "pure cultural aims" (Richards and Wilson, 2004: 1936) in the initial framework, it became a catalyst for the urban regeneration, which is mostly associated as a source of "international publicity and prestige" (Smith, 2007: 5). It is expected to contribute to the international profile of the city and therefore attract visitors while aiming to "enhance the city image" (Palmer, 2004: 17).

The image of Istanbul is changing by the emerging orders of finance and capital with the mushrooming new shopping malls, multinational firms with their headquarters in high-rise buildings, five star hotels and the gated communities replacing the old-historical neighbourhoods. The modern contradicts the old, but Istanbul is remembering its past as a glorious capital hosting three empires. History in the modern times is recognized as a nostalgic element of Istanbul brand, yet the most important element of brand identity and added value through the cultural heritage. Therefore Istanbul is not likely to win this game by demolishing its heritage and adding shopping malls to its central urban area.

3.3 The Image of Istanbul

In an interview, Yazıcı (Minister of State and Chairman of the Istanbul 2010 ECoC Agency Coordination Board) (2010) expressed that 2010 would be the year to "start the change" in Istanbul and he emphasized on raising awareness and communicating the image of Istanbul by showing its modern face through artistic activities, cultural tourism by putting them on the "European agenda" (Yazıcı, 2010). Yazıcı was one of the rare spokespersons that talked about the European dimension of the event and strategic goals. The capital city status of Istanbul in

branding was stressed by Yazıcı (2010: 24) as the "capital of culture of all times":

> "Istanbul is not a European Capital of Culture solely for the year 2010, but rather the capital of all times, a true European capital. It is about time we built Istanbul as a brand and promote that brand."

Istanbul plays hard in branding and the branding efforts are directed to a wider global framework exceeding either the aim or the scale of a European event. Prime Minister Erdogan shares the belief that the effect of bearing the title would exceed one year and "Istanbul will never lose the denotation of being a European centre of culture…" (Istanbul 2010 ECoC Agency, 2010b: 28).

ECoC programme presents the image of a European city vibrating with arts and culture that has a clean and orderly look, which is also a highly touristic image. The most liked oriental representations of Istanbul seem to contradict with this picture as these images stress the mysticism and chaotic structure of the city that raises curiosity, because these features do not belong to many European cities. On one hand the emphasis is on the modern face of the city to prove itself as a prominent European and contemporary city, and on the other hand it is on the heritage to connect to European culture through the past. Thus, Istanbul seems to be struggling to demonstrate the Europeanness first to herself and then to the rest of the world.

> "After so many decades of trying to become Western, Istanbul glories in the rediscovery of a very modern identity. European or not, it is one of the coolest cities in the world." (Newsweek, 2005 [29 August]; qtd. in McAdams, 2007).

According to Özkan (2008: 19-20) the cool image of Istanbul draws a contradictory portrait of the city against the "stereotypical representations of the city of Istanbul" that has centered on the "Orientalist vocabulary and imagery". Istanbul could have been considered as a global city and it does not have to be European to be a cool city (Özkan, 2008: 19-20). Istanbul is certainly beyond the Europeanness drawn by ECoC and EU framework, yet reassuringly compatible to be a European city (Boland, 2011).

Istanbul has a different place among the other example of ECoCs so far, both in terms of being a non-EU city and organizational aspect of the event. Istanbul stands as a polycentric city with more than 13 million people, which is exceeding by far the scale of other cities that have been or are nominated for ECoC, especially in the last decade. Its historical identity and the transformation does not resemble to those transformed from post-fordist city structures. This makes Istanbul distinctive, and it adds to the value at the same time. Newman (2005) suggests that the rich past of Istanbul has provided a large accumulation of cultural capital, therefore "it is a historically dominant city, which makes it less vulnerable to the changing trends in cultural development."

Istanbul has been attributed certain level of representativeness and gained different meanings for different events in its history. Its foundation as a pagan city and the decoration of the city with Hellenistic monuments, then its transformation into the capital of Christian world and transfer of relics, construction of Hagia Sophia followed by the introduction of Islam to the history of the city and gaining the capital city status of the Ottoman Empire and Muslim world are signs of symbolic quality of the city. The foundation of the city and the names given to the city stress the relationship between the power and the urban space. According to this, the discourses in connection with the image of Istanbul are reaffirming the meanings of power hidden in the imperial symbols (capital city status, the imperial built structures of the Byzantine and Ottoman times) or Istanbul as a world city at its present. The old city centre of the Roman ages is called "historical peninsula" today, as it became home to the other civilizations that built their city and left their traces, monuments and heritage.

Istanbul as the capital of Ottoman Empire is most represented visually through the orientalist depictions, in which the city is portrayed through scenic or panoramic way or with its everyday life and the imaginary world of Harem (İnankur, 2010: 328). The iconic elements in such representations were often mosques and their minarets through a rather oriental gaze throughout the years (Boland, 2011; Akpınar, 2003: 152-3). The Orientalist images were intended to portray the city in

response to the image in the minds of the Western audience. Thus, on one hand historic representations of Istanbul are shaped by the Western gaze, and on the other the image of contemporary Istanbul is designated as a "cosmopolitan" and "sanitized" city in order to achieve "international acceptance and recognition" (Robins & Aksoy, 1995: 228). This is highly influenced by the massive architectural projects reducing the entire cities and urban areas to market objects (Harvey, 1989b: 271). A more globalized aim is lying in the wider picture for branding Istanbul. The mayor of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Topbas, states the strategy for city imaging as creating a "fully globalized open city with a different attitude towards the world" (Aksoy, 2010). Although it is vague what Topbas means "with a different attitude", it is readable in these lines that Istanbul's goal is to be a global city by opening itself to the world economy and finance.

The spectacularized image of a city takes shape at the intersection of material production and production of discourse. There have been several attempts by a number of scholars to categorize Istanbul's image according to certain discourse streamlines. According to these categories Istanbul is beautiful but aestheticized and sanitized, it is oriental but modernizing, it is a world city but globalizing. The discourse streamlines will be outlined under four headlines; firstly Istanbul as a "metropolis", and then Istanbul as a "world city" and its aspiration to be branded as a "global city", while lastly the discourses for Istanbul created by Istanbul 2010 event will be explained with respect to the marketing and branding strategy under the slogan of "Istanbul as the most inspiring city in the world". The variety of other discourses for Istanbul is compiled under these discourse categories.

Istanbul: Metropolis

"Istanbul is now a metropolis!" says Soysal (2010: 302). Istanbul has been a metropolis since its foundation rising to the capital city status of the Byzantine Empire (Ortaylı, 1996: 54). But, the term "metropolis" was created by the Industrial Revolution. By that time Istanbul has already emerged as a big city as mentioned above, with a large

population, dispersed to a wide geography between the two continents and largely multicultural.

Kuban (2010b: 389) points out the period between 1950-1960 in defining Istanbul and its urban growth as a metropolis. The 1950s symbolizes the end of singular party regime and the transmission to pluralism. This era is marked by significant changes in urbanization. Its influence was felt mostly in Istanbul as the city started to spectacularize through the Americanization and commodity culture. Menderes and his Democrat Party have foreseen a radical urban change similar to Paris of Haussmann with crucial effects on the city image. Kuban (2010b: 391) posits the parallelism between the modernization of Istanbul and its image rising as a metropolis. Thus, he proposes that the politics of Menderes Government, which were directed towards urban change, should be recognized with their impacts on the city imaging. The image making process for Istanbul in the 1950s was determined by two conditions: firstly modern and high buildings, and secondly transportation by means of the increase in the number of roads, highways and motor vehicles.

Istanbul has developed to be a "megalopolis"; a giant city with more than around 13 million people (Cox, 2012). It is ranked as a mega-city among cities like Tokyo, New York and Mexico City but not ranked on the global city scheme or not ranked as an "international centre of culture" although has gained the official status of being the European one (McAdams, 2007).

Istanbul: World City

Brenner (1998: 4) links the world-city theory with the transnational corporations (TNCs) especially concentrating on the world financial centres. Istanbul is emerging as a world-city with an effort of integrating with the world economies through the rise in the number of TNCs and world economic order (Keyder, 1993). Globalization influenced the economic order and tourism has played an important role in the strategies to integrate with the world economy by providing flow of capital. The touristified image of the city has become crucial to attract visitors where Istanbul presented itself as a *World city*. It has

become more salient through Istanbul ECoC 2010 in which it was included as a part of the vision to promote the city image to the world scene. Not only Istanbul 2010, but also a number of mega-events including NATO summit, World Congress of Architects, Formula 1 contributed positioning Istanbul as a World city.

According to Kuban (1998: 15), the world-city status of Istanbul is built on the roots of its Greek and Roman heritage. The Ottoman period sustained this status by crowning the city as the capital and maintaining the cosmopolitan structure as well as the monuments. The world-city concept is made visible through these historical monuments communicating the multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-religious structure. The imperial status of the city lasted until the fall of Ottoman Empire but Istanbul enjoyed her world city status through its historical significance mainly due to its ancient past of a universal value (Kuban, 1998: 15).

In opposition to Kuban's approach appraising the historical value of the city, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality takes the concept of world city central to its marketing strategy for Istanbul especially through "ambitious urban transformation campaigns" (Karaman, 2008). The main aspects defined by Currid (2006) highlight financial and business services and centers of command and control through establishing international headquarters as well as the creative industries referring to the ability to generate art and cultural output.

Today, a number of images, sounds, global-local icons of the city are merging into the same picture, which makes the urban experience and the images of the city temporary, transitory, transitional and transformational. The city is transforming, so do images. The transformation enables the creation of new scenarios and reinterpretation of the existing meanings. Yürekli and İnceoğlu (2011: 214) mark the characteristics of Istanbul as follows: "continuous change, temporary usage of space, contradictions, incompleteness, ambiguity, heterogeneity, being unpossessed". "Being unpossessed" is linked to the sense of belongingness. This multi-layered city has people with different origins. Istanbul is a city of unexpected encounters; it is a

city of dichotomies between the East and the West. Thus Pamuk (2003) notes that the state of in-betweenness creates alienation and Istanbul remains unpossessed as anyone wants to possess it but no one claims its possession. Şenay (2009: 83) claims the imagined past of the city for the inhabitants of Istanbul that served as a common denominator on the collective memory and sense of pride, "although most of them are not born there or had lived there".

It is no more possible to know who is originally from Istanbul or what does it mean "to be from Istanbul". It is no more possible to know Istanbul (Batur 2010). It is no more possible to define the city with respect to what we call Istanbul today by thinking its past. Its image could be influenced by media, the perceptions of people could be shaped but today's Istanbul cannot be delineated by the old discourses of its 2500 years of past (Kuban, 2010b: 414, 418).

Istanbul: Global City

Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality has been projecting Istanbul as a global city since 1980s initiated ambitiously by Bedrettin Dalan (1984-1989) whose vision of Istanbul as a global city by took the form of catastrophic urban demolitions destroying the identity of the city for the sake of creating a modern metropolis. The destructions were legitimized in the form of urban transformation from "a tired city" of a glorious past resided in the pages of the history into "a metropolis full of promise for the 21st century" (Keyder & Öncü, 1994: 409). The present mayor of Istanbul, Kadir Topbas, perpetuates the vision for Istanbul to become a global city by the support of central government in Ankara. Therefore the scale of urban transformation is larger than before, while the process of opening to global economies has become more solid as "keeping up with globalization is a central mission of the AKP government, and Istanbul is the privileged arena of operation" (Aksoy, 2010).

"Galip Dede and Yüksek Kaldırım Streets Are Being Renovated and Beautified"

"We Renovated Our Streets, Now is Time for Our Buildings"

"We are on Duty for a Graceful, High-Quality, Orderly City Life"

The slogans mentioned above are examples of the municipal propaganda for urban transformation that was put on billboards by the Beyoğlu Municipality. Adanalı (2011) comments on the slogans as "going back and forth between a car advertisement and municipal propaganda" and treats Beyoğlu district as "an urban space that needs radical intervention that is hard to contain and discipline".[15] The beautifying project for Beyoğlu is intended to make district a sanitized place with clean and glittering surfaces of the old buildings like a car-wash. Istanbul 2010, on the other hand, claims to be "getting on with the restoration of these buildings and quarters in line with the international standards" (Çolakoğlu, n.d.).

The post-1980s are characterized by the two polarized groups: generation of secular, middle class and professional workers, what Esen (2011) calls "North-Istanbul elites" and rising commercial elites of Islamic-oriented traditional circles politically represented by AKP (Justice and Development Party) – "innovative group". These two groups shared the same vision of "gentrified Istanbul", which is written under the codes of "Clean City" or "Safe City" (Aksoy, 2009). Keyder (1999: 18) comments that 1980s and early 1990s are marked by the political ambiguity and insatiability as well as the "inability of the country to provide the environment for business confidence". Yet, in contrast to this environment, Istanbul was put forward as a "global city" in the world agenda. Prime Minister Erdogan states:

> "Istanbul is one of the prominent cities in the world and in Turkey in terms of not just its history, tourism and culture but also its economic and commercial profile. I served as mayor in Istanbul for 4.5 years and I had a goal, an ambition in those days to turn Istanbul into a financial capital. Of course, because it was different politics ruling in the central

[15] Another example to the beautification work going on İstiklal Street is the "Beautiful Beyoğlu Project." As part of this project, which was initiated in early 2000s when Kadir Topbaş was elected the Director of İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality, a series of aesthetic interventions were planned. The most striking one was the replacement of all store plates on the street with homogenized gold print on walnut wood plates (Adanalı, 2011).

government we couldn't do it then. But now, we are in power in the central government, and also in Istanbul local government… Private sector financial institutions are already here, we are going to move public finance institutions as well as the regulatory bodies and organizations. Istanbul at this point is entering a new restructuring process." (qtd. in Aksoy, 2010).[16]

As the central and the local government are acting together on a full consensus to realize the project for Istanbul to be a global city, Mayor Topbas and Istanbul Metropolitan Planning Office started to take the necessary steps for urban restructuring with a goal "to promote the city's image for global viability and competitiveness"(Aksoy, 2010).

As the city is transformed, Istanbul urgently needs a metaphor to be replaced according to orders of the "global city" (Güvenç & Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2009). Istanbul is emerging as a hip place for the global consumers and a business center for the transnational corporate elite with "high-rise office buildings, luxury residential compounds and towers, dozens of shopping centres". The conditions for modernizing and globalizing cities determined Istanbul's marketing potential in recreating its image shaped by investment, culture and leisure. Starting from the late 1990s and accelerating in the 2000s under the rule of AKP (Justice and Development Party) the image-making strategies are dominated by "neo-liberal discourses" directed towards showcasing the city at the global stage (Keyder, 2009).

Istanbul, being at the crossroads, is inescapably at the intersection of diverse mobilities. It has been the competitive advantage of Istanbul throughout the history. Sassen comments on this situation as advantageous but Istanbul still requires "handling and enhancing network functions" in order to be compatible to fit into global city chart. She proposes three trends among the requirements. The first one is linked to capital flows in which the importance of enhancing economic relations with Asian countries while recognizing EU as the main trade partner of Turkey. This again portrays a city between the East and West. Secondly she mentions the in and out-flows of people.

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[16] World Bank and IMF Governors' Council meeting, Istanbul in October 2009

Here, "the diversity of people migrating to and through Istanbul" leads us to the idea of a meeting point between Asia and Europe again. The third trend puts the emphasis on human capital and talent (Sassen, 2009).

The urban transformation of Istanbul could not keep the pace and satisfy the expectations to meet the global city model. Therefore the efforts in city marketing are directed towards creating the global city image. However presenting Istanbul through the bridge metaphor between the East and the West had created a projected image and fetishized Istanbul as a consumption object, as a "fantasy city" resting against the historical myths "between the global and the local" as Keyder (1999) claims. The fantasy city hides the negative images and reconstructs the images of the city according to the "Cities of Desire" (Calvino, 1997 [1972]) fetishizing and beautifying cities in the eyes of the people. On the other side 'cities of desire' are withdrawing from the reality and their images are becoming unreal in the world of spectacles. Perhaps the projected images would create "invisible cities" (Calvino, 1997 [1972]) in the future. The homogenizing effect of globalization already gives signals of this projection.

When looked at the greater picture, it will not be overestimating Istanbul as a global city of the imperial world. The imperial order created "international markets and global exchange networks, the movement of people the spread of new technologies, the diffusion of cultures and transmission of religion and scientific practices" (Short, 2012: 9) as in today's globalizing world. Being the capital of two 'transnational empires' (Byzantine and Ottoman), marked Istanbul as a culture and trade centre with a cosmopolitan character. The rich culture and history of Istanbul is evident in "the atmosphere or feeling of a place" but to be counted as a centre of culture, a city should have more than that. Today, the cities of culture are associated with the cultural industries they have and their ability to join the "global cultural network". As Yardımcı (2001: 10) posits Istanbul is a "globalized" and "international" city but not a cultural center, which is influencing the global cultural network. McAdams (2007: 162) suggests, "… the future of Istanbul hinges on its ability to integrate and plug-in to the global

cultural network not just as a participant, but as an influence." Istanbul as ECoC of 2010 stands for such a challenge to be included in this network and to market itself using the culture as a tool.

Istanbul: "The most inspiring city in the world"

The definitions for world city and global city were given initially in a wider framework in the 2nd chapter of this thesis. Therefore Istanbul's aspiration to market itself as a world city or global city is not groundless. The official image-making strategy, as understood from the aforementioned sections for Istanbul's image as a world city or global city, is targeted at changing the face of the city through a modern metropolis and marketing the city in a global arena to better integrate with the world economies.

The promotional campaign for Istanbul 2010 positions Istanbul as "the most inspiring city in the world" with its slogan. However, even before than Istanbul, the "inspiring city" concept was used by Edinburgh branding campaign with the slogan "Inspiring Capital":

> "There is a drama and magical quality to the city for many people and it is a place that stimulates the senses and imagination. It is a city if contrasts, with a special atmosphere as a result. Its natural beauty along with its intellectual tradition has been a springboard for invention and creativity. From the festivals to the telephone and from the Dolly the sheep to Harry Potter – Edinburgh clearly inspires. Therefore it is the inspiration that is at the heart of Edinburgh brand" (Kornberger, 2010: 91).

The inspirations of both Edinburgh and Istanbul are meant to create an atmosphere and unforgettable, unique experience for the visitors. Yet, the difference between the two examples stem from their approach to branding. The imaginary created for Istanbul is rooted in its past as an Oriental city in a play of fantasy, whereas Edinburgh puts forward its intellectual assets for creativity as the main inspiring factor.

Istanbul 2010 is only a strategic instrument and a part of the city branding strategy. Istanbul is projected as "the most inspiring city in the world" by stressing the "inspirational exchanges between cultures", with an aim to "establish its presence in the globalized world as one of

the metropolises that will shape the future" (Çolakoğlu, n.d.). The slogan and projected image for Istanbul 2010 aims to make a place for Istanbul in people's minds, not only for 2010, but also for the city's long-term brand management (Alvarez & Yarcan, 2010: 269).

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter draws contextual framework in an exploratory reading of stages in the development of the city and its image through myths, politics and discourses. The cultural context is essential in understanding the meaning as the "meanings are context-dependent" (Dey, 2005: 40). Therefore this chapter constitutes an essential part of research by providing interpretative ground to be integrated to the analytical framework of this research. In this respect, contextual framework acts as a bridge between the theory and methods for helping the researcher for a deeper understanding of the meaning and constructing meaningful patterns from the data. The historical layers of the city are uncovered to narrate Istanbul through myths, ideologies, power and politics. This should not be only recognized as a historical journey back to the past of the city. On the contrary, it takes a combination of factors into account while drawing a wider framework for the understanding of city image formation. The question, which needs to be asked here, is the change brought by Istanbul 2010 in terms of its impact on the transformation of Istanbul's image.

The marketing campaign for Istanbul 2010 announces that "stage belongs to Istanbul" while inviting the audience to "re-discover"[17] the culture and heritage in an attempt to create "a brand name for the city" (Soysal, 2010: 302, 307). The marketing and branding objectives center around the city image improvement, the multicultural aspects and values come forward "to attract the attention of the world's public opinion" (Bilsel & Arıcan, 2010: 217). This is about branding Istanbul on the international platform and placing Istanbul on the cultural map of Europe. The strategic location of Istanbul is emphasized through

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[17] Extracted from the slogans used for the official promotional campaigns by Istanbul 2010 Agency.

culture and art networks, which is similar to the global networks and mobilities:

> "Istanbul is now a center for culture and arts, not only locally, but also internationally… The city is developing as a crossroad on the world's art and culture circuit."(Çolakoğlu, n.d.)

Istanbul 2010 Agency has organized joint events with the other Ruhr and Pécs as the other ECoCs of 2010 in accordance with the transnational dimension of the event. The international partners are represented on the basis of logos, which are powerful signs and which points out a standardization through requisite measures. On the other hand this puts forward Istanbul as the main subject for branding and introduces the absence of a common vision among the ECoCs to plan and act together. The transnational dimension of ECoC also goes beyond the European network and integrates Istanbul to the international networks through this mega-event. Istanbul is underlined as a cosmopolitan World city, not only a European city.

On the other hand, ECoC is a mega-event that has political and cultural dimensions impacting on this process by imposing criteria such as "European dimension" and "city and citizens". According to the Final Report published by European Commission (Rampton et al., 2011: 79), the communication campaign of Istanbul 2010 "did not make a particular statement about European dimension". The objective of ECoC is promoting the "Europeanness" through culture. The slogan of international promotion campaign of Istanbul 2010 underlines the vision of a World city as we read "Istanbul… The most inspiring city of the World". In this highly pretentious statement, there is no reference to Europe, not even to Capital of Culture. This indicates a broader scope of branding vision crossing across the European vision. Bağış (Minister of EU affairs, Chief Negotiator and Istanbul Deputy) claimed that ECoC meant to make Istanbul a "World city" more than a "European capital" (Bağış, 2010: 29). Accordingly, the arguments raised by the marketing communication strategy of Istanbul 2010 event signify a higher and a more ambitious target, which is connecting Istanbul to the global city networks. This aim is most of the time

subjected to the degradation of its image through homogenization unlike the motivation of EU that puts emphasis on "unity in diversity" dimension.

On one hand messages are directed towards branding Istanbul as a modern Western metropolis and cosmopolitan World city on the surface, on the other hand the sub-meanings signify the glorious past of Istanbul building on the stereotypes and symbolic representations of national heritage and national pride. The marketing strategy has focused on brand values of Istanbul such as "capital for 3000 years, capital of three empires, city of tolerance, cultural diversity, coexistence of 26 ethnicities, mosaic of different religions…etc." (Erten, 2008: 185). In this respect, the history of Istanbul became to represent a symbolic value both for its residents and visitors through the connotations such as "the cradle of civilizations". The history of a city is a strong brand asset. On the other hand, the new and modern is appraised in opposition to the old with the acceleration of consumption culture and increasing globalization. However, the city does not exist in the past. The global audience is not only interested in visiting old palaces, churches, and mosques, but they ask for entertainment and shopping as well. The marketers strive to answer these needs and therefore they show every possible image of the city to catch the eye to raise interest.

According to Yavuz (Deputy Director of Istanbul Provincial Office of Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism), Istanbul has powerful historical roots like Rome, therefore whether the contemporary art is inserted in the marketing strategies, it is not possible to dominate historical representations. For instance, Istanbul could not be imagined as the design capital like Helsinki, it should not be. Her point is to make the people imagine and sense of the cultural accumulation. It is so rooted in the past that these images are not subjected to change in a short period of time. ECoC should be considered as an opportunity to open to door to impact on the perceptions of people. Istanbul 2010 acts as a propaganda tool in shaping mental maps through the images (Akpınar, 2003: 152-3). The Agency has adopted a "historicist approach based on a retelling of Istanbul's past in an Orientalist way" in promoting Istanbul to Europe and to the World (Ertas, 2010).

Nevertheless, city imaging should be seen as a part of the systematic city branding strategy. Branding during Istanbul 2010 is part of a wider and comprehensive city branding strategy, which has to be consistent but also diverse in a way to be able to emphasize distinctive aspects and the importance of city as Istanbul 2010 among other brand features. Accordingly, the communication campaign needed to be "able to brand such a complex programme" (Rampton et al., 2011: 67). In order to achieve this, the cultural and artistic vision developed at the initial phase needs to be retained throughout the entire cultural programme, "notably marketing and communication" (Rampton et al., 2011: 83). The point of origin where Istanbul 2010 started, and the point of destination where it arrived are different in terms of the objectives and achievements. This is because of the changes in the organizational structure and decision-making processes.

The effectiveness of media and promotion campaigns in creating awareness both in the country and abroad cannot be denied. I (as the researcher but even before started my research) heard from my friends, colleagues and different people living abroad that they know Istanbul 2010 and they have seen the posters in the airports and in different parts of the city such as main squares as well as on TV and in other forms of media. Despite the broad use of communication channels and success in creating awareness, it cannot be said the same for communicating the message. People know "there is something called Istanbul 2010 but not sure what it is exactly" (Sevin, 2010). This mainly stems from the lack of focus in branding and communication.

Berger (1972: 9) comments that "we never look at one thing; we are always looking at the relation between things and ourselves". That is why this chapter is organized through a cyclical way of thinking instead of a linear way. The image of Istanbul represents continuity through its dialectics and connections between the mythic past and modernizing city. Reading the cultural codes is not easy when the cultural accumulation and context of Istanbul is taken into account. Familiarization with the cultural codes, signs and discourses prepares the researcher to step into the next level in research: selecting the appropriate tools and analyzing the data.

4. METHODS AND DATA

"We 'look' at a problem. We 'see' the point. We adopt a 'viewpoint'. We 'focus' on an issue. We 'see things in perspective'. The world 'as we see it' (rather than 'as we know it' and certainly not 'as we hear it' or 'as we feel it') has become the measure for what is 'real' and 'true'."

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 163)

The object of this research is the city image. As the research approaches to the concept of city image from the marketing and advertising perspective as a component of city brand, the language of signs is the main instrument to be utilized in understanding the discourses and the image of Istanbul reflected on the posters of Istanbul 2010. Therefore, this research is based on an analysis of the city image making process, as one of the objectives of the cultural programme of the Istanbul 2010 mega-event, through the posters as the communication tools of the event. The research methods are designed to unveil and understand the codes and meanings of the city image of Istanbul in relation to city branding. In this chapter, the research design is described with respect to the purpose of the research and research question.

4.1 Research Question (RQ)

How did ECoC 2010 impact on the city image of Istanbul as a component of the city brand?

To answer the main question of the research, it is essential to use concepts related to the process of city branding and the city image of Istanbul as a component of the city brand. Therefore the research also raises sub-questions:

- How is the city brand created?

- How ECoC relates to the branding of Istanbul?

- What are distinctive features of Istanbul that are used in branding the city?

- What are the branded components correlated with Istanbul image?

- What are the existing images of Istanbul?

Branding and image making are recognized as part of the strategic goals of Istanbul 2010. The question is "How" and the answer sought for this question aims to define the process of city branding and the strategies for effectively communicating the city image. The image of Istanbul is rooted throughout the history. Therefore a year long cultural event, i.e. Istanbul 2010, is discussed in terms of both its temporality and its sustainable effects on the city image. The link between the urban transformation projects, cultural and artistic events and promotional discourses are discussed in this framework.

The research focuses on the urban representations with an aim to identify shared imaginary and the variability in meaning. This is only possible through utilizing multiple perspectives to develop understanding of symbolic meanings created through urban imaginary and branding strategies. Therefore it is needed to strive for "conscious pluralism" in research practice, designed to generate as many different meanings as possible. This suggests an interpretive research based on critical approach to the collected data rather than being largely concerned with the conceptual domain of theory testing.

4.2 Visual Qualitative Methods

This study is about how mega-events influenced city branding and its image based on an analysis of posters used to promote such mega event in Istanbul. Therefore a qualitative in-depth analysis of the meaning expressed in a sample of posters deemed more appropriate than content analysis, a possibly useful quantitative method for theory testing. The process of image-making is critical for research rather than the process of reception where a large set of data can be collected and analyzed for the statistics of the audience. That is why this research refrains from repeating the type of image studies done by place marketing organizations via large surveys of the perceptions of the audience. In addition, the meaning is evaluated according to context in

this research, in which quantitative methods might fail to offer insightful approach (Blaxter et al., 2010: 230). As it has been stressed that a text is open to different possible readings, quantitative methods are unable to reveal the relationship between negotiated and oppositional readings (Şahin & Baloğlu, 2011: 75). Although there is a tendency among the audience to receive messages according to the dominant order, this is not true for each case and context (Lacey, 2009: 158). According to Deacon et al. (2007: 20-1) "various approaches to textual analysis start where content analysis leaves off". Content analysis is quantitative and descriptive in its aim to "manifest content of communication" (Berelson, 1952: 18), whereas visual (textual) analysis is qualitative and usually interpretative in its aim to reveal latent meanings in some cases through questioning "what text really means" and "how meanings are organized" (Jensen, 2002: 119). The deconstruction of the text, allows the researcher to "look for hidden subtexts" and to explore "deeper meaning or multiple meanings" through a good rhetoric (Bernard & Ryan, 2010: 4). Rose (2001: 3) stresses the qualitative methods as the appropriate methodology for the interpretation of visual images since the "questions of cultural meaning and power" suggests qualitative methods in comparison to quantitative methods.

When talking about brands, visual representations have indisputable importance for making the brand more "communicational" through "clear and unique" messages (Begoll, 2006: 4). Research uses posters as the source of meaning, the "text", where the image and word are combined. In doing so, it includes much of the visual meanings that had been missed by using solely linguistic oriented discourse analysis. The visual analysis of the images is increasingly gaining recognition by the researchers, though still rarely used in comparison to other qualitative methods based on solely text. Visual analysis has a number of advantages, depending on the aim of the research, in comparison to the observation or written or spoken speech in deciphering the relationships and interactions between the social actors and the site of the image. Kress & van Leeuwen (2006: 23) draw attention to the

absence of theoretical framework regarding visual forms of representation:

> "[…] in a literate culture the visual means of communication are rational expressions of cultural meanings, amenable to rational accounts and analysis. The problem which we face is that literate cultures have systematically suppressed means of analysis of the visual forms of representation, so that there is not, at the moment, an established theoretical framework within which visual forms of representation can be discussed."

In contemporary cultures, visual means (i.e. Symbols, logos, trademarks, etc.) have become more important than ever due to the "increasing reliance on visual aspects of communicative interactions and the increasing frequency with which visual metaphors are employed…" (Konecki, 2011: 131-2). Mirzoeff (1998: 4) claims the postmodern is ocularcentric due to the visually designed and constructed communicative interactions rather than the knowledge that is articulated visually. The term *visual culture* tells us about how images look and how they are looked at. Yet, our perception of meaning is influenced by the "a hybrid of texts, images, and sounds" used by the media. According to theoreticians such as Eco and Bourdieu, "the visual is contaminated by the non-visual" (Irvine, n.d.).

Visuality is favored by some scholars such as Berger (1972: 7): "Seeing comes before words… the child looks and recognizes before it can speak" as he starts with these words to his book "Ways of Seeing". Jenks (1995: 3) draws the attention to the importance of vision and visuality in Western culture:

> "Looking, seeing and knowing have become perilously intertwined… the modern world is very much a 'seen' phenomenon. We daily experience and perpetuate the conflation of the 'seen' with the 'known' in conversation through the common place linguistic appendage of 'do you see?' or 'see what I mean?' to utterances that seem to require confirmation or when seeking opinion by inquiring after people's views."

Images are powerful as "seeing is believing". That is why media uses images as the most powerful tools to communicate, which also applies

to tourism and marketing practices in attracting people to certain places. Crawshaw and Urry (1997: 189), argues that the images used for marketing purposes tend to be positive in an attempt to show pleasing aspects and/or "amplifying the beauty", while eliminating the undesirable aspects. In most of the cases touristic images are modified to "mystify the mundane" and "amplify the exotic" (Weightman, 1987: 229).

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 163) emphasize the visual representations over the linguistic ones by proposing that seeing is a condition of understanding. Urry and Larsen (2011) makes a distinction between "seeing" and "gazing" by referring to seeing as "what the human eye does" and gazing as "discursive determinations of socially constructed seeing and scopic regimes". The term "scopic regime" is coined by Metz (1981) broadening Lacan's (1977) "scopic field". The split between the *eye* and the *gaze* is expressed by Zizek (1991: 89): "I can never see the picture from the point that it is gazing at me." According to this, Fosters (1988: ix) describes the vision as "how we see" and "how we see this seeing and the unseeing therein". As Benjamin (1979: 89) notes:

> "The unclouded, innocent eye has become a lie, perhaps the whole naive mode of expression sheer incompetence. Today the most real, the mercantile gaze into the heart of things is the advertisement."

He describes the problematics of the view around the panorama as an organizing technology of the eye and gives the example of the airplane passenger:

> "The airplane passenger sees only how the road pushes through the landscape, how it unfolds according to the same laws as the terrain surrounding it. Only he who walks the road on foot learns the power it commands, and of how, from the very scenery that for the flier is only the unfurled plain, it calls forth distances, belvederes, clearings, prospects..." (Benjamin, 1979: 50).

De Certeau (1894: 91-92) proposes to look at the cities from afar and above: "seeing the whole, of looking down on, totalizing the most immoderate of human texts". He offers the vantage from the top of the

World Trade Center in New York by presenting a panoramic text to the viewer/reader. The term *panoptic gaze*, borrowed from Bentham's Panopticon model, does not exactly signify surveillance as Foucault suggested, but stands for a certain degree of power exercised in and communicated to the society through images and representations. It refers to the aerial images or maps that provide a gaze for the totality of the urban space. The gaze is the behaviour created by mechanisms that belong to the social realm of visibility. The images lead to conformity in the society through their messages.

Therefore the panoptic gaze, in relation to the city, could be conceived in the example of looking at map of the city. We look at a map of a city and assume a view from on high (de Certeau, 1984). Hubbard (2006: 97-8) stresses the role of aerial perspectives in city imaging by its effect on the perception and representation of the city "as a totality which can be easily and immediately comprehended (and by implication, ordered)." On the other hand, the *panoptic view* allows the ones, who would seek to order and govern our cities, to ignore "the rubbish that piles up in the city's back alleys, hear the constant noise of traffic and people or smell the fumes that choke the streets below" that disturbs the image of a clean and orderly city […], "crime, deprivation, death, loss, anger and pain all cease to have an existence in a city that is rendered as a visual ensemble rather than a living, breathing entity" (Hubbard, 2006: 97-8).

What interests de Certeau is not the visually constructed "geometrical" or "geographical" space but rather the "ways of operating", the everyday practices, the mobilities that transform the "migrational" or "metaphorical" city into a text of planned and readable city (Schneider, 2008: 25). Istanbul, ECoC 2010 has used a similar approach in the representing the city through a panoramic view: "imaginary totalization produced by the eye", a "theoretical (that is, visual) simulacrum" (de Certeau 1984: 93). Panopticon, also cited by Foucault (1974 [1966]) has become "an emblem of the 'politics' of seeing". Any visual representation should be considered with its purpose to reflect the cultural values, not just being graphical demonstrations (Davis, 2002: 10).

Evans & Hall (1999: 1) assert that much of the cultural and media studies rest upon theoretical works of Barthes, Benjamin, Baudrillard and Foucault and their concerns for the visual varying from "spectacle", "reproduction of the image", "simulacrum", and "politics of representation". The city is represented through "image and text" (Barthes, 1977) in the realms of discourse and practice. The meanings are constructed through "discourses, symbols, metaphors and fantasies" (Hubbard, 2006: 59-60). Studies of meaning evolve from semiotics with an effort to interpret messages through signs and patterns of symbolism. Berger (2004) notes that the arbitrariness of the relationship between signifier and signified lead to variety in meaning. In other words, signs can mean anything we agree that they mean, and they can mean different things to different people.

Although there is a growing interest for the visual in many disciplines, image-based research has been largely overlooked even in some visual intensive fields such as marketing and advertising (Prosser, 1998; Belk, 2006). This may be explained by the lack of systematic approaches to code and categorize visual qualitative data and the high degree of subjectivity in capturing visual meanings. Therefore this research mainly utilizes both theoretical concepts and analytical methods provided by the media and culture studies in its effort to tackle with image-based research. It is also expected from this research to contribute to the domain by providing a qualitative model for understanding the image-making process for places in city branding.

Burn & Parker (2003: 3-5) argues that multimodality is crucial in the visual analysis of images as none of the methods are sufficient alone. Therefore semiotics are largely used to describe the aspects of production of images where discourse analysis ignores the technological aspects and it makes difficult for the researcher "to allow connections to be empirically grounded in social practices" (Rose, 2001: 161). It is necessary to set boundaries of the context when this connection between the discourse and its context is not so clear. Yet, focusing too much on the production of the image may result in ignoring the image itself (Rose, 2001: 161).

The methodological tools provide "a systematic approach" and description of data to be used for analysis. The researcher attempts to create a hybrid methodology as required by the nature of data and select the tools that can answer research question better than a mono-method. The methods employed in this study can be classified as visual qualitative methods. This captures a mix of two qualitative methods; namely semiotics and discourse analysis. The first one, semiotics applies to "the image itself as the most important site of meaning" (Rose, 2001: 72). Discourse analysis is used to supplement the model of analysis in order to have a more rigorous framework. Discourse analysis is helpful in investigating the meaning in Istanbul narratives and in "revealing experiential image patterns in qualitative data" (Şahin & Baloğlu, 2011).

The two methods will be explained in detail in order to grasp the concepts and methodologies suggested by their founders and the users. Firstly the concepts tapped into semiotics will be explained, and secondly it will be continued with the definition of discourse and discourse analysis in a general conceptual framework. The analytical model of the thesis will be structured on these two methods as the pillars of methodological framework.

4.2.1 Semiotics

"Semiology" and "Semiotics" are used interchangeably and addressed as the "science of signs", which offers theoretical and methodological framework to analyze the "complex relationship that exist between everyday texts (such as photographic images, magazines and items of clothing) and power" (Barthes, 1975). Therefore semiotics provides useful tools for the analysis of the production and reception of meaning through texts.

Since semiotics studies the sign, it is the most important element in the semiological box (Deacon et al., 2007: 142). The other elements are the signifier and the signified that construct the sign (Saussure, 1983, 67). The arrows in the diagram show the relationship between the signifier and the signified and refer to the process of "signification".

Figure 9. The process of signification
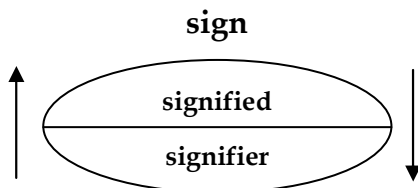
"Signifier and signified" are defined by Saussure as the binary subdivisions of the sign, in which the signifier is the carrier of meaning and signified is the abstract concept referred to by the sign, or the meaning (Wang, 2008). Although Saussure suggests a strong link between the two, Derrida contradicts this idea by advocating the "freeplay of signifiers" which means that they are not fixed to their signifieds (Derrida 1978, 25), and that there is no "transcendent signified" (Derrida 1978, 278-280; Derrida 1976, 20). He coined the term "différance", which means the endless process that the meaning is deferred.

In this framework, the post-modernist theory poses a "never-ending chain of signification", which is not found "realistic" by some scholars (Lovell, 1983: 16). Peirce disagrees with the "unlimited semiosis" as he asserts this endless process is cut due to practical constraints in everyday life (Gallie 1952, 126). Sless (1986: 156) claims that signs or texts are not the only things in the universe. Analysis of the sign is essential, not because "without signs nothing could exist", but "without signs nothing is conceivable" (Sless, 1986: 156).

The Saussurian approach to analysis of the signs is deconstructivistic and not only targeted at individual signs but sign systems or codes to understand how meaning is created (Lacey, 2009: 58). Saussure speaks about the "notion of value" (Saussure, 1983: 112-113), which is determined by the relationship between the sign and the other signs within the system in other words the relationship between the sign and its context (Saussure, 1983: 80).

Lévi-Strauss has originated the term "floating signifier" in the 1950s to denote signifiers without referents, in other words signifiers that do not

have agreed meanings or that do not refer to any actual object (Lechte 1994, 26-7, 64, 73). Roland Barthes (1977: 39) suggests especially non-linguistic signs as such, as they are so open to interpretation leading to "floating chain of signifiers". Therefore, he calls a signifier without definite signified as an "empty signifier" (Barthes 1975; cf. Culler 1975, 19) similar to the linguistic concept of an "empty category" (Lechte 1994, 64).

The nodal point refers to the sign around which a given discourse is organized and when this sign is open to different meanings it takes the name "floating signifier", which become the "object for struggle between discourses for the attribution of meaning" (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985: 113). Barthes (1977: 39) suggests that the polysemous character of the images make them open to interpretation in which the viewers can choose some floating signifiers with a connoted cultural meaning and ignore other (Wetherell et al., 2001: 788-9).

When the floating signifiers refer to a space of representation, the mental construction of the imagined space might be influenced by the myths. The myth can be understood as "a principle of reading of a given situation, which bears no relation of continuity with the dominant structural objectivity" (Laclau, 1990: 61). Therefore, myth is recognized as "a form of ideology", in the second order semiological system (Barthes, 1975: 123) that builds upon denotative signs. Jung (1964) explains it through what he calls as archetypes: "arche" in Greek signifies "beginning, origin, cause, primal source principle"; it also signifies "position of a leader, supreme rule and government" (in other words a kind of "dominant"): "type" means "blow and what is produced by a blow, the imprint of a coin …form, image, prototype, model, order, and norm", or in the figurative, modern sense, "pattern underlying form, primordial form" (Stevens, 2003). In this framework, myths can be interpreted through a "broad understanding of a culture's dynamics" (Rose, 2001: 91). Recognizing the recurring patterns in myths and the way in which the meaning unfolds apply to our understanding of contemporary cultures.

Symbols are contextually significant as they allow the emergence of themes (Whitmont, 1969). The role of symbols is vital to the individual and collective imagery in two ways: "attracting all with whom they come into contact, and awakening them to the heritage of the collective unconscious" (Ryan, 2002: 80). In this context, Lacan's orders of "symbolic" and "imaginary" may be aligned with Jung's archetypal theory. According to Lacanian theory "the symbolic order patterns the contents of the imaginary" (Samuels, 1985: 40). Moreover, Lacan (1997: 87-8) extends this framework by adding linguistic dimension in terms of signification:

> "The imaginary, a realm of surface appearances which are deceptive, is structured by the symbolic order. It also involves a linguistic dimension: whereas the signifier is the foundation of the symbolic, the "signified" and "signification" belong to the imaginary. Thus language has both symbolic and imaginary aspects."

Peircean semiotic tradition establishes links between the sign, the user of the sign and the object referring to the external reality. In this model, as the signifier becomes the "representamen", the signified becomes "interpretant". Interpretant refers to a mental concept related to the "user's cultural experience of the sign" in which the meaning is dependent on the reader, therefore it is not fixed (Crow, 2010: 23). From this point of view, this research is based on the researcher's interpretative skills on analyzing the visual signs through the cultural contexts. As Peirce (1965 [1931]) argues "the socially available semiosis contains all of the available possible worlds at a given moment and in a given society". The case of Istanbul ECoC 2010 constitutes a good basis for the contextual framework of the methods to be tapped "at a given moment and in a given society" as stressed in this argument.

The object of analysis is *text*. Text refers to any object that contains information (Lacey, 2009: 14). It is not solely a written material. It may take the form of an image or a combination of words and images as in the case of posters, chosen for this research. The message is embedded in a social situation, which is called *context* (Lacey, 2009: 27). Context is crucial in "understanding and explaining the impact of the various texts" (Wodak, 2006: 5). *Contact*, on the other hand, refers to the channel

of communication, in other words "the medium used to convey the message". McLuhan (1964) states "the medium is the message", which can be regarded as a simplistic point of view for the communication process. Nevertheless it clearly illustrates the manner in the reception of information affected by the medium in translating the meaning of the message (Lacey, 2009: 28). *Message* is the information sent by the addresser to the addressee, although the message could be interpreted differently by the receiver than the intended meaning by the sender.

Moreover, cultural background makes a difference in the reception of messages and interpretation of the images (Short, 2012: 42). City image is subjective; therefore it changes from one person to another. It also differs for the people who are born into the culture of a city compared to an outsider view of that city as the collective symbols and memories affect the perception (Schweitzer et al., 1999). Barthes (1977: 26-7) suggests the amplification of text to the image that the message given by the text loads the image with culture and imagination or in some cases producing a new signified through imagination. It is the same for media texts or for any kind of text produced no matter what the context is (Deacon et al., 2007: 145-6). Hall (1980: 134) explains this by the transformation of the sign into a multiple "connotative configurations". There is the "dominant cultural order" in a society, which is formed by dominant or preferred meanings shared among the community members. Signs are transferred through codes in the "wider structures of meaning" that takes the form of "dominant codes, ideologies, myths or referent systems" (Rose, 2001: 92, 99).The meaning making process and the way we view the world is influenced by the categorizations, ideologies and myths. Therefore, there is no "unlimited semiosis" because the meanings are tied to the relationship between knowledge and power in the formation of the discourse.

4.2.2 Discourse Analysis

Discourse is defined, in Foucauldian terms, as ""an entity of sequences, of signs, in that they are enouncements (*énoncés*)" (Foucault, 1972). The enouncement in this definition refers to the statement as an abstract construct of linkages between (and among) objects, subjects through

sign language but not only in the sense of a unit of semiotic signs. Therefore the discursive formation describes the communication process to produce discourses highly influenced by power and knowledge.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) comment on the signification, which is influenced by production-reproduction-interpretation processes. There are four strata defined by Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) in an attempt to explain the system of signification. According to their definition *discourse* is "knowledge of reality" in which every single sign in the text is a part of. The discursive context might be different than the context that the text is produced. The "choice of mode" whether the text is written or visual refers to the *design* of the text, while "choice of medium" refers to the *production*. Lastly, they mention *distribution*, which has become hard to distinguish from production and design in the digitalized media world (Burn & Parker, 2003: 7-8).

Fairclough's (1992) concepts of *interdiscursivity* and *intertextuality* appear to be key concepts in understanding the way that meanings are attributed. Intertextuality points the meanings carried by more than a single text (Rose, 2011: 136), while interdiscursivity refers to "how a text is constituted by a combination of other language conventions (genres, discourses and styles)" (Wu, 2011: 97-9). Interdiscursivity is adapted to advertising by pointing out "ever-increasing use of multi-media, explosion of information technology, multi-disciplinary contexts of the world of work, increasingly competitive professional (academic as well as business) environment, and the overwhelmingly compulsive nature of promotional and advertising activities" (Wu, 2011: 102).

Discourse analysis can be explained, in its simplest form, as the analysis of meaning patterns (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 12). Discourse analysis involves an "analysis of the ways in which discourses – which can be read in texts – constitute the social world" (Mason, 2006). Fairclough (2005) suggests that the term "discourse" designates semiotic elements, what he calls as "semiosis" while as a second meaning to discourse. He proposes "a category for designating

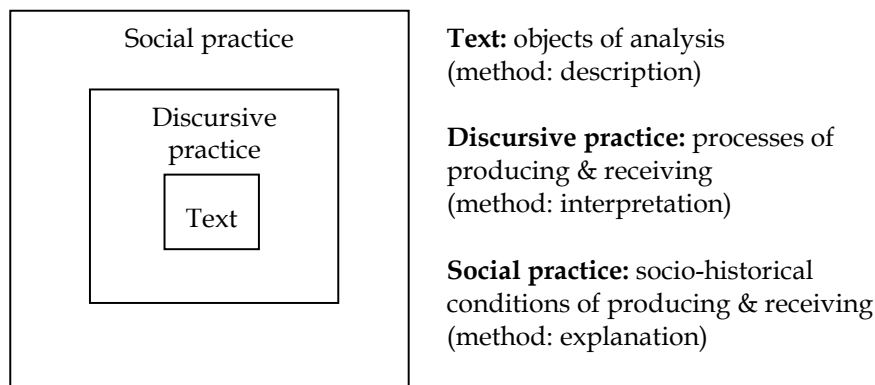particular ways of representing particular aspects of social life" (Fairclough, 2005).

The production of symbols is related to meta-language while interpretation of symbols is linked to social interaction process (Albayrak & Suerdem, 2008). The scope of this research limited to the "text or discourse immanent critique", which implies to "a detailed text analysis on all levels of discourse" (Wodak, 2006: 8-9). The social and political goals and functions of discursive practices or the change of behaviour/action, transformation are beyond the scope of this research and requires audience analysis. Critical social scientists might have concerns directed towards "being too close to the text […]" or "too distant, out of fear of being accused of being 'too subjective' or 'too political" (Wodak 2005). Nevertheless, *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) should go further than a pure deconstruction of meaning in the text and should evaluate the contents more than giving description (Wodak, 2006: 11-2).

The steps involved in a critical research start with the deconstruction of complexity and uncovering the contradictory readings. Following the interpretation of the meanings; alternative meanings, "possibly subversive and innovative meanings" are created (Wodak, 2006: 12). Fairclough (1995: 59) proposes a three dimensional framework for CDA with an aim to investigate "social situations in which texts are produced and consumed and social processes at large (Jensen, 2002: 106). The text is at the core as the object of analysis at the micro level. The analysis of discursive practice develops around the text. Lastly, social practice is investigated through socio-historical conditions and the framework to capture broader meanings as the macro-level analysis (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 258). Although the three dimensional model for analysis (see Fig. 10) introduced by Fairclough (1995) has been influential, it is criticized by Hodge (2012: 6) that "meanings at levels above the text will come only from the prejudices of the analyst", thus higher level meanings require a more extensive model.

The analysis is kept only at the micro-level in this research. The scope of analysis is not extended to meso and macro levels of discursive and

social practice as these two levels are beyond the focus and scope of the research also hindered by time limitation for further analysis.

Figure 10. Three dimensional framework for CDA

<table>
<tr>
<td>
<table>
<tr><td>Social practice</td></tr>
<tr><td>
<table>
<tr><td>Discursive practice</td></tr>
<tr><td>Text</td></tr>
</table>
</td></tr>
</table>
</td>
<td>

Text: objects of analysis (method: description)

Discursive practice: processes of producing & receiving (method: interpretation)

Social practice: socio-historical conditions of producing & receiving (method: explanation)

</td>
</tr>
</table>

(Source: Fairclough, 1995: 59)

Apart from the above mentioned concerns CDA has been mainly used for linguistic analysis of texts. Kress & Van Leeuwen (2001) can be cited among the scholars who introduced the visual analysis to CDA, therefore providing a multi-modal framework (Wetherell et al., 2001: 779-780). Fairclough (1995: 62), whose approaches to CDA from the linguistic side, addresses discourse by mentioning the other forms of semiosis such as visual images but focuses on the language and "dialectical relationships between discourse and other elements of social practices". Fairclough et al. (2004) points out semiosis by including non-linguistic elements in meaning making process. Thus the researcher should adopt the CDA approach according to the dynamics of communication and visual discourse. The criticisms, which the analysis of production and reception would provide a more insightful approach to examine the relationships rather than the views of the analysts (Wu, 2011: 104), seem reasonable but this majorly depends on the nature of the research and its aim.

Yet it is useful to look at this model to understand the relations between different levels of analysis and how they are useful for

different types of analysis. The critical approach requires the description of social processes that influence the production of a text and the context that the meaning is created through (Fairclough and Kress, 1993). The social processes are defined with respect to key concepts such as the power, history, and ideology. Wodak (2001: 1-14) underlines the ideological aspect of the discourses giving no room to the arbitrariness of the signs. Althusser (2004 [1970]: 693) explains the ideology by the conditions of society by making a distinction between the real and the imaginary meanings; as the real is a product of capitalism and imaginary is the product of ideology. The two interferes in the form of advertising, which is recognized as an ideological form of capitalist societies (Williamson, 1978: 13). CDA often uses "us" & "them" approach in order to sort out the ways that a representation is polarized between in-groups and out-groups, which takes the form of "positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation" (van Dijk, 2001).

The people involved in the social practice, meaning production and reception of the text, are called social agents (or interactive participants). Advertising can be seen as the example of "social practice" and the posters refer to the "social event". The French word for poster is "l'affiche", with connotations to public space. It refers to the "public notice that is posted or put up in a public space as an announcement or advertisement" (Timmers, 1998: 7). The communicative function of the poster is essential as it takes place between an "active force" (producer who has a message to sell) and the "re-active force" (audience who is to be persuaded to buy through the message), and this interaction is materialized in the public space (Timmers, 1998). Van Dijk (2009: 80) adds to the theory of meaning of a text shaped by the interaction between the individual and the social environment through his emphasis on the shared social representations such as knowledge and ideologies.[18]

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[18] This text is a new, shorter and partly rewritten version of the author's contribution to Wodak, R. and Meyer, M. (eds), 2001.

The discourses defined under the strategic objectives of ECoC 2010 also denote the power relations and the meanings behind. In other words the image and discourses are the tools of city marketing communication produced and used by global and local actors. The social dimension is taken under consideration only through context defining the production of images and the shared meanings in the society. In the case of ECoC, EU has a cultural agenda functioning for "improving mutual knowledge among Europeans…" (Morley & Robins, 1995: 3). In this context ECoC can be thought of a cultural tool as well as a political and promotional tool. The analytical part of the research is designed in with an aim to find answers to the questions such as "what discourses are present for ECOC 2010" in the selected posters. The answer is sought to the main question in defining the effects of discourses created and used by Istanbul 2010 in the posters.

4.3 Methodological Framework Applied to City Marketing Research

The complexity of city marketing can be clearly seen, when the city and its image are accepted as a text that can be read in different ways. When all the concepts of "discourses, symbols, metaphors and fantasies" are applied to urban contexts, the city is recognized as an interplay between coding and decoding the meanings interactively through a dialogue with urban spaces (Donald, 1992: 422). Barthes (1975: 92) recognizes city as a discourse in which "discourse is truly a language".

The methodological framework for city marketing, which is built on "city-spectacle-image" triad and the related methodologies for each, is schematized in the figure below:

Figure 11. Methodological framework applied to city marketing research
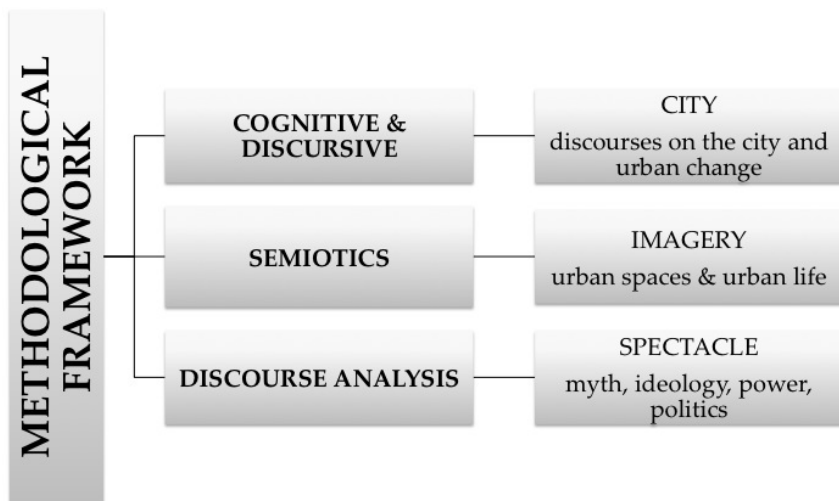
Baudrillard (1994 [1981]) argues that the post-modern era eroded the "basic reality" behind the signs by breaking the link between the signifier and the signified. The mass media, with advertising and propaganda as its most effective tools, has changed the understanding of the reality through illusions, defined as "hyper-reality" in Baudrillard's terms. The signs characterizing this phenomenon, in other words orders of *"simulacra"*, take three forms: counterfeit (imitation), mass production (illusion), and simulation (fake). Boorstin (1961) links the illusion created by the mass media to the staged mega-events by calling them as "pseudo-events". Media plays a key role in shaping the form and content of the messages while presenting the events to the public. Several studies, especially qualitative ones such as Boorstin's (1961), have demonstrated the effect of media in framing messages therefore making mega-events into "media events". Nonetheless, an event is a social construction in which the materiality of sign production cannot be ignored (Galtung & Ruge, 1981) When interpreting the semiotic construction of the social reality, the cultural

codes are important as they are the keys to the production, dissemination and manipulation of the meanings attached.

Cook (2001) describes advertising as a discourse itself in terms of both text (the ad itself) and context (based on the shared knowledge, needs, desires, imaginaries, narratives and discourses that the audience respond to meanings created by the ad). According to Holloway (2004: 265) the aim of an advertisement is "to inform, to persuade and to remind", in accordance with the AIDA principle in marketing, which is "attracting Attention, creating Interest, fostering Desire and inspiring Action". Therefore advertisement is recognized as a form of communication aimed at "convincing people to buy" (Berger, 2004: 71).

Levin shows us in his video work[19] that images create messages aimed at consumption. In this context, the city imaging encourages us to "buy" through positive and attractive images, which is defined in a broad fashion through "city selling" concept (Ashworth & Voogd, 1990). Nevertheless the "consumed" is not the city itself but its image; it is the perception, and eventually it is the experience. Advertisers use subliminal messages in order to affect on the subconscious world of the consumers. The subliminal messages are buried in the message, therefore cannot be perceived right away by the conscious mind.

Cities create symbols, signs, icons through images and discourses in the production of urban representations. City branding involves "urban imaginary" and "urban representation" in which symbolic meaning is created through the symbolic economy of the city, in Zukin's (1991, 1996) terms "the landscapes of power". In the globalizing world, cities are in competition to integrate with world economies and this necessitates making themselves more visible and recognizable through symbolic language of the urban representations. Mega-events are the

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[19] Exhibition: Video Vintage, Centre Pompidou Paris - Survey of video art from 1963 to 1983 in the Centre Pompidou. The selection includes 70 video works by about fifty artists such as Vito Acconci, Sonia Andrade, Samuel Beckett, Les Levine, Bruce Nauman, Nam June Paik (8-02-2012 to 7-05-2012)

*Notes taken by the author 08.02.2012, Paris.

instruments for effectively marketing and communication the city image. Another point to be highlighted is the element of culture. Hall (1997: 2) underlines the role of culture in "production and exchange of meanings… thus culture depends on participants interpreting meaningfully what is around them." There is a certain image of Istanbul in the minds of the people, which is created through shared meaning. In addition, ECoC is a cultural event in which the image of the city is materialized and communicated widely to the different segments of the society.

4.3.1 Communicating the message: Encoding & Decoding

Benjamin (2002) imagines the city as a multi-layered space composed of multilayers of meaning to be uncovered. In this context the meaning is an "interface between personal experiences and memories, and dominant meanings and values" (Savage & Warde, 1993: 123). Thus in the cityscapes, the texts and meanings are dispersed with codes and discourses circulating around them (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). The research intends to read and to interpret these codes and discourses. Everyday meanings and practices are interconnected to the codes created in the texts and messages given by the media, inherent in the branding and imaging strategies. Thus the research intends to reveal how the communication of these messages or signs creates an impact on the people's perceptions or everyday meanings.

Van Leeuwen (2004: 8) coined the term "communicative act" instead of "speech act" by adding the dimension of multimodality of the posters "in which all the signs combine to determine its communicative intent", thus not only referring to the spoken language in ads. As a communicative act, branding is concerned with discursive processes determining the communicative content.

The meaning is communicated though the *code*, which has a generally agreed meaning depending on the level of connotation (Lacey, 2009: 23-4). In some cases, the powerful subjects could impose the codes through dominating the meaning (Buck-Morss, 2004: 24). As the value of signs depends on a wider context, the code cannot be analyzed on its

own as the meaning is dependent on the context and the message (Lacey, 2009: 31). Tschumi (2004: 576) approaches the matter of context from the architectural perspective and recognizes the importance of the cultural context in making sense of the architectural works:

> "Whatever their functions, objects and designs do not operate in a vacuum. Buildings are located not only in New York, Paris and Tokyo but also in a larger cultural context that gives them sense".

He gives reference to the filmmaker Kuleshov to explain how the audience reacts to different backgrounds and settings of the same image. Although the object did not change, which is the motionless face of an actor", the change of scenery through a series of juxtapositions varying from a crowded railway station to a sunny pasture, it has led the audience to interpret different expressions of the same image (Tschumi 2004: 576).

If the text is coded systematically, it is decoded by the reader correspondingly (Hall, 1980). As the signs are constructed through the codes, their reception depends on the cultural convention. Barthes (1977) identifies three levels of messages: "the linguistic (the few recognizable words in the ad), the denoted image (exactly what has been photographed), and the connotative image". The meanings at the denotative level are innocent and factual meanings irrespective of the cultural background of the reader whereas the meanings at the connotative level refer to the culturally assigned meanings (Barthes, 1967). Duncan & Duncan (1992) stress the role of underlying structure of the text in determining function of the text and the plurality of the meaning in cultural texts (Duncan & Duncan, 1992). Hall (1980: 112) describes this situation in advertising practice:

> "Every visual sign in advertising connotes a quality, situation, value or inference, which is present as an implication or implied meaning, depending on the connotational positioning."

Hall (1980: 107) demonstrates the communication as a circular process of production, circulation, distribution/consumption, reproduction, which are connected to each other and each represents a single moment in the whole circle. In the communication process, the product is

defined as the "message". For a message to be meaningful or effective, it needs to be meaningfully decoded. Hall (1980: 109) puts it this way:

> "It is this set of decoded meanings which 'have an effect', influence, entertain, instruct or persuade, with very complex perceptual, cognitive, emotional, ideological or behavioural consequences."

Figure 12. Encoding/Decoding messages
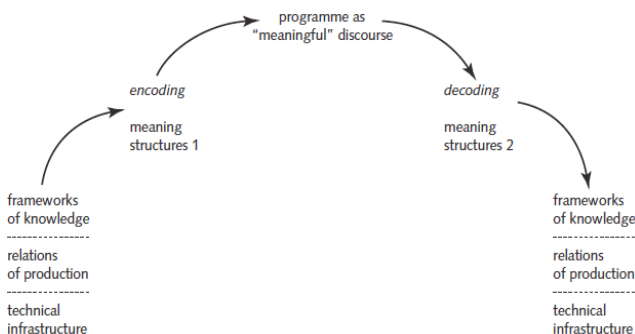
(Source: Hall, 1980)[20]

In this framework, the codes operate as "a set of practices familiar to users" by creating meaningful systems and making discourses intelligible (Hall, 1980: 131). Codes are helpful in "limiting the range of possible meanings" (Turner, 1992: 17) and thus making it easier to interpret the signs by "simplifying the phenomena" (Gombrich, 1982: 35) and familiarization. The familiarity may seem to reduce the level of consciousness for the researcher when interpreting the signs, but the key is pinning down the most appropriate signified for a certain signifier and thus identifying the relevant codes for making the sense of the text as a whole.

Hall (1980) analyzed the image formation process through the communication model of encoding/decoding, which draws beyond information sources and draw links between the possible meanings

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[20] 'Encoding/Decoding' / originally published as 'Encoding and Decoding in Television Discourse' in 1973.

through a semiotic analysis. The semiotic analysis is interested in the communication model not only in terms of transmission of messages between the sender and receiver but in terms of interpretation of the signs and how the meaning is created. Thus it disregards the belief that consumers passively consume places according to the dominant messages. On the contrary they are actively reading the messages and making the meaning, which in the end affect their perceptions, choices and decisions (Lacey, 2009: 14). The consumption takes place when we take the sign for what it signifies. According to critical marketing theory what is consumed is not the product but its image in the sense of meanings of the images and signs based on a code system of consumption (Goldman, 1992). Reading is an interaction between the text and the reader that occurs at different levels and stages through "decoding, responding, comprehending, critiquing and analyzing", and not only in one specific text but within a number of contexts including "the genre and purpose of the text as well as the interest and purpose of the reader", thus both production and reception sites (Walsh, 2004).

Kotler et al. (1993: 48-9) defined four types of variables as the information sources affecting the perceptions. The first one is personal including family, friends, neighbours etc. The second category includes advertising, salespersons and travel agents as the commercial sources. Mass media is the third type of source, which is defined as the public source. The last one, the experiential source derives from one's own experiences with the place. All the sources play a role while experiential sources may be the most important one in the formation of certain beliefs in the person's mind and then the image is created. However one drawback of this theory is that it neglects the cultural context and different interpretations, which may lead to different meanings and images (Falkheimer, 2006: 9-10).

4.3.2 The role of culture

Systems of meaning are analyzed by looking at cultural and communication products and events as signs and then by looking at the relationship among these signs. Therefore it is essential for this research

that the researcher is conscious about cultural messages and language used in the images to be able to interpret the meanings. As a native to Istanbul, my role as a researcher plays a key role in the analysis and contributes to the value of the research. Bernard & Ryan (2010: 257) stress the importance of familiarity with the language and local culture for hermeneutic analysis, which otherwise would result in lack of capability to see the "connections among symbols". The social conditions and cultural practices are recognized as effective factors both shaping and being shaped by social inclusions and exclusions. The cultural meanings produced by those practices and processes need to be addressed by critical approach.

The methodology works beyond the interpretation of compositional elements in the image, therefore it is not simply descriptive. The visual interpretation takes place at two levels: the signs on the surface, such as images, words, fonts, colors create a brand image or brand personality for the product, whereas there are hidden meanings at the underlying level interpreted by the audience (Beasley, 2002). Cobley & Jansz (2010: 24) mention three kinds of interpretants employed by Peirce: the immediate one corresponds to the "correct understanding of the sign", the second one, which is dynamic, is the "direct result of the sign" and the last one, the final interpretant, is given as the rare result of a sign. In this research, the immediate intrepretant corresponds to the signs at the denotative level. The dynamic interpretant reveals the dynamic relationship between the signifier and the signified, while the final interpretant specifies the signified through the given codes in the context. Accordingly, the description of the posters enables the researcher to talk about immediate interpretants leading to more meanings to be produced through dynamic and final interpretants at the connotative level. The signs that are coded in the posters are essential in interpreting the meaning.

The researcher takes the meaning central in an answer to the question of impact, and attempts to figure out how these images are meaningful by interrelating them to the context. The whole idea can be explained through the study of *Rhetoric* in its concern to reconstruct the contextual means by taking in its core that the text is created in a

context by the producer in an attempt to convince the audience (Alasuutari, 1995: 95). According to Wigan (2009: 255) the behaviour can be affected by the visual impression, such as through posters:

> "Items such as posters can combine the creative imagination of the artist with strong ideas and design skills in order to persuade, inform, educate or protest."

Fairclough (2001: 122) underlines the "social means" in production and defines the practices of production with respect to productive activity, means of production social relations, social identities, cultural values, consciousness and semiosis. According to Fairclough (2011), the social structures create shared codes in the form of norms that are dominant in the society and cannot be broken by single individuals but only society and time. Advertising and communication are framed according to these rules for their messages to be understood correctly but also they break away from the norms in an attempt to be more provocative and interesting, therefore more striking (Leach, 2005: 126). According to Rose (2001: 6) "images offer views to the world" as they reflect a position and convey a message, and/or impose a meaning. On the other hand, images are never innocent as "they are never transparent windows on to the world".

The data & sampling methods are explained by giving the reasons why they are specifically chosen for this research and how they represent the city and its image.

4.4 Data & Sampling

Posters are the *unit of analysis* in this study. Posters talk to the audience, they are in the city – on the walls, airports, at the metro stations, at the bus stops, on the façades of the buildings; on-site and off-site, but never out of sight.

While walking on the street, waiting at the bus stop, waiting at the red light or in the traffic the viewers look at your sign and whether they notice it consciously or not, the signs give messages. Posters are on display for everyone, each citizen passing by the road, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week for months, therefore they are subjected to a broad public

visibility. Therefore they are potentially seen by all and likely to influence the perception of the city image; and such these are instruments to rebrand and re-image the city.

Posters are used widely in tourism for giving information about the destination. There are also brochures and flyers used for the same purpose but the core is the image as it presents the "exquisite scenery" (Mori, 2010: 7). According to Roma (1917: 18 qtd. in Mori, 2010) "an advertisement is not meant to be observed up close: it must strike from afar, draw people in closer, or be seen at a great distance", thus posters as means of advertising should attract attention through the use of bright colors and compositional elements.

Apart from being a promotion tool to attract visitors, posters convey social and political messages and meanings, through which one can trace a course of social history, evolution of taste, and ideology. The posters of Istanbul 2010 may seem recent for a longitudinal study for tracing the past, but it should be noted that these posters are part of a larger marketing strategy for the city branding of Istanbul. The projects whether they are designed by different forms of institutions varying from governmental to non-governmental, or by directly Istanbul 2010 Agency itself, they reflect the vision of the Istanbul 2010 Agency in city imaging. Thus, Istanbul 2010 Agency can be recognized as the main actor responsible for planning, organizing and coordinating this process while creating the main discourses and meanings behind the images. Istanbul 2010 Agency used posters as major tools for communicating messages and meanings, and making the city image.

Sabancı University Sakıp Sabancı Museum (SSM) has carried out a comprehensive project for Istanbul 2010, including an exhibition (June 5th – September 26th 2010) and a publication, "Legendary Istanbul - From Byzantion to Istanbul: 8000 Years of A Capital", which was also used as a secondary source in this research. This was not the only project undertaken to reveal the rich history of the city to the audience even before ECoC 2010. Istanbul hosted HABITAT II Conference in 1996. The exhibition entitled "Istanbul-World City" was held during 3-16 June and the catalogue of the exhibition was published by History

Foundation. This exhibition can be recognized as a comprehensive work uncovering the layers of history social and spatial change that the city has gone through. Two exhibitions are similar in their comprehensive approach to Istanbul's history. In addition to these two exhibitions, transforming image of Istanbul from a capital city into a World city can be read through another project of Istanbul 2010, "İstanbul 1910-2010: The City, Built Environment and Architectural Culture Exhibition". The poster of the project will be investigated in the analysis section of this research. Therefore it can be said that the projects of Istanbul 2010 were used as both primary and secondary data for the research. There are also a number of projects realized by Istanbul 2010, which were not included in the analysis due to random sampling therefore they are not the primary data, but due to their content, they are used as the secondary source of data in their relation to research. For instance, the Spanish artist Muntadas analysed myths and clichés of Istanbul by shooting a movie "On Translation: Acik Radio" as part of "Lives and Works in Istanbul" project in Istanbul 2010. Additionally, there are four radio programmes[21] entitled "On Translation: Myths and Stereotypes" and moderated by Yahya Madra, aimed at questioning the representation of Istanbul.

Narrowing down the research is essential process for the researcher. It is done by focusing on the case of Istanbul 2010 as the example of a mega-event to be able to analyze the impact of this particular event on the existing and/or re-created city image. The overall materials used in analysis are classified into two main categories as the official promotion materials for the first group and Istanbul 2010 projects for the second group that is divided into three subgroups defined by Istanbul 2010 Agency (The subgroups will be further explained in the sampling part). The classification of the posters is shown in Table 5:

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[21] The DVDs of these programmes including audio and video recordings are provided by Özge Çelikaslan, who is the coordinator of Koza Visual Culture and Arts Association and took role as the film production coordinator in the project.

Table 5. Categories for materials (i.e. posters) and analysis

1. Istanbul 2010 Agency official promotion campaign		
a) International promotion campaign		b) Domestic promotion campaign
2. Istanbul 2010 projects in the year 2010		
a) Tourism & Promotion	b) Urban transformation	c) Culture & art
promotion & communication	urban projects	visual arts
international relations	cultural heritage & museums	music & opera/ classical Turkish music
	urban culture	film & documentary & animation
		literature
		theatre & performing arts
		traditional arts
		education
		maritime and sports
		parallel events

The first group, which is the official promotion posters by Istanbul 2010 Agency, is the main posters group to understand the strategic image making process. The main international campaign is launched with the slogan "Istanbul, the most inspiring city in the world". The historical peninsula photograph is posterized as the visual icon of Istanbul representing the city abroad through "Istanbul inspirations" campaign. This visual icon targets the World audience for the international campaign. The domestic and international promotional activities differ in their target audience, messages, slogans and visual representations. The poster of "Istanbul Inspirations" representing the famous silhouette of Istanbul is produced by bringing about 30 photographs of

the historical peninsula in Istanbul by the photographer Rainer Strattman. The poster of the silhouette is placed in the main squares and train stations and airports of a number of European cities such as San Marco Square in Venice or Gare du Nord in Paris (Radikal, 2009). The domestic campaign used different posters, which puts the emphasis on the cultural heritage and landmarks of Istanbul, such as Hagia Sophia, Galata Tower and Haydarpasa Train Station, inviting viewers and citizens to re-discover the city and its culture with the slogan "Now is the time to re-discover!" Both the international and the domestic campaigns are coordinated in conjunction with each other (McMillen, 2010: 56). The second group of data focusing on the posters of the Istanbul 2010 projects is also very significant, because the study investigates the role of cultural events in enhancing the city image. Due to the number of projects included in the programme of Istanbul 2010, sampling needed to be done for analysis of the data in the second group.

Rose (2001: 73) mentions that semiologists are concerned in the "analytical integrity and interest of case studies rather than the applicability of statistical representativeness of the selected sample to a large number of data and/or a wide range of material. For the first group of data (posters of the Istanbul 2010 Agency promotional campaign) no sampling is done because there are only 4 posters in this group:

- International promotion: 1 poster ("Istanbul Inspirations")

- Domestic promotion: 3 posters ("Rediscover": Galata, Haydarpasa, Hagia Sophia)

However for the second group (posters of Istanbul 2010 projects), unlike the description of Rose (2001: 73), *stratified random sampling* is employed. The probability of each unit to be chosen is calculated proportionally in order to obtain a statistically representative set of data.

1. Identifying and defining the population:

Istanbul 2010 was a "constantly developing project" since it was named ECoC in 2006. Its presence was started to be felt through small events, big communication campaigns and publications by 2008. A large proportion of the events were prepared and then redesigned also starting from 2008. The events began in 2008, continued in 2009 and in the year 2010, the year for "Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture". Some events that are started in 2008 also continued through 2010.

The number of the events for each year can be traced through the programme books published for each year. Some sources state the number of Istanbul 2010 projects as 281 (Sabah, 2009; Citizensofculture, n.d.; Arkitera, 2009), while according to the main programme book of Istanbul 2010 the total number of projects are 549 for 365 days (Istanbul 2010 ECoC Agency, 2010c). However the former statement as 281 projects refer to an early stage in the overall programme when the project applications are done and 281 projects were accepted in 2009. Furthermore, according to an insert print ad of Istanbul 2010 shown the number of projects is mentioned as "more than 600".[22] The same expression is also used in the monthly calendar of events published with the motto "Spectate, Participate, Listen, Discover". However the monthly programme of events differs in the first and second half of 2010. The number of projects are stated as "more than 500" in the first half of 2010 (January-June) and "more than 600" in the second half (July-December). This may be due to the constantly evolving nature of the programme and add-ons, but on the other hand it might be a bit inflated to impress the public. Yet these are vague expressions not reflecting the correct number of projects.

Due to the ambiguity in information regarding the number of projects, the population for Istanbul 2010 projects (N=549) is defined according to the list of projects provided by the official "Istanbul 2010 European

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[22] "Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency is organizing more than 600 projects and thousands of events" (Translation is mine)
The original text: "Istanbul'da 600'ün üzerinde proje ve binlerce etkinlik düzenleniyor."

Capital of Culture Agency - 2010 Programme" (November 2010)[23]. This publication covers the most up to date list of projects in the final programme. Bozkus (2012: 9) also stated this number as 549 projects while giving some additional statistics:

> "In the final form, the European Cultural Capital Program comprised 549 projects, selected from a pool of more than 2.500 applications. The total budget of the projects approached 300 million Turkish liras of which about 60 percent were spent on urban transformation projects"

2. Determining the sample size

The posters of every single project are defined as the "units of analysis" and each poster has the equal chance of being selected for sampling (Deacon et al., 2007: 44). This is the "sample fraction" and it is determined as 5% of the whole population.

It has been already mentioned that N= 549, which is defined according to the final Programme of Istanbul 2010 Agency and the printed catalogue (November, 2010). 5% is given as the sample fraction in order to determine the sample size.

According to the sampling method the calculations and values are shown below where "n" stands for the number of cases in the sample, in other words the sample size for the projects selected:

n=N*5%

n= 549*5 %= 27,45 = 28

(n is taken as 28 projects)

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[23] I have acquired one hard copy of this programme, which is in Turkish. I have been informed by the Director for International Promotion & Relations - Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency, Ozgul Ozkan Yavuz (2012), in a conversation that English version of the programme is published by İstanbul İl Özel İdaresi (*İstanbul City Private Administration*).

3. Identifying the subgroups (Strata)

The chosen sample is representative of the Istanbul 2010 projects and events that run up during the whole year of ECoC 2010. The list of the projects was provided both alphabetically and thematically in the Istanbul 2010 ECoC Programme.

There are minor differences in the terminology and classification of the projects in the yearly programmes with different publication dates. The 2009 Programme (Istanbul 2010-2 European Capital of Culture) divides projects into four groups according to the main theme of the Programme, which was defined by the four elements "Earth, Air, Water, Fire". The four elements represent the calendar of the projects. This type of calendar and classification was done by Istanbul 2010 Agency when Çolakoğlu was in charge as the chair of the Executive Board. Although the main philosophy of the "four elements" theme was kept through the latter stage of the project, the classification according to the defined project themes in the latest publication for Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Programme (November, 2010) is adopted for the research. This gives the complete list of the projects grouped under 14 themes with a total number of 549 projects. As the projects are cross-checked with different sources of data and the programme book of 2009, it was noticed that some of the project categories are grouped under the "parallel events" category. The other differences in the final form can be mentioned as:

- "Music and Opera/ Classical Turkish Music", as one theme instead of "Music and Opera" and "Classical Turkish Music" as separate themes.

- "Maritime and Sports" instead of "Maritime"

-"Promotion and Communication" instead of "Tourism and Promotion"

- "Parallel events supported by Istanbul 2010 ECoC Agency" as a new category (On the web-page of Istanbul 2010 Agency, this group of projects was called "Projects acquiring logo support").

- "PR and Events" and "Advertising and Marketing" grouped under the "Promotion and Communication", which also includes "Tourism Promotion", "Corporate Relations", "Istanbul University Projects", "Public Relations" and "Fund Raising" projects.

Strategic areas defined by Istanbul 2010 and the objectives of the each of the areas are stated in the Istanbul 2010 printed promotional booklet as follows:

Tourism & Promotion

- Increasing the competitiveness of Istanbul and increasing its share in the world tourism sector

- Improving cultural tourism and attracting a qualified audience

- Increasing the duration of stay for the visitors from abroad

- Contributing to the promotion of Turkey

Culture & Arts (Creative industries and creative labor)

- Fostering art's and artists' reputation

- Increasing productivity in arts

- Improving the infrastructure for culture such as exhibition spaces, libraries, cultural centers, museums and galleries

- Supporting cultural projects with the aim of making Istanbul one of the world contemporary art centers.

Urban transformation (raising awareness for the citizens)

- Increasing the participation of citizens to decision making process

- Improving the awareness of being a citizen of Istanbul

- Improving the sense of belonging and possessiveness

- Enabling cultural and historical assets to become a part of urban life

- Rehabilitating the heritage sites and realizing restoration works

- Encouraging the projects that would contribute to the production and accumulation of urban culture

- Reinforcing the position of Istanbul on the UNESCO world heritage list.

Table 6. Project categories and number of projects in each category

	No. of projects
a) Tourism & Promotion	
promotion & communication	76
international relations	36
Total	112
b) Urban Transformation	
urban projects	47
cultural heritage & museums	29
urban culture	25
Total	101
c) Culture & Arts	
visual arts	41
music & opera/classical Turkish music	48
film & documentary & animation	36
literature	20
theatre & performing arts	15
traditional arts	19
education	12
maritime and sports	14
parallel events	131
Total	336
N	549
n= 5%*N	28

These strategic areas defined by Istanbul 2010 Agency are employed as the "strata" in this research, and therefore the sampling method is called "stratified random sampling" (as shown in Table 6).

Projects targeted at promotion (tourism, promotion, marketing and advertising, international relations, corporate relations) are included in the first group. Urban topics such as restoration-renovation and regeneration are included under the second group including projects under the categories of urban projects, urban culture, urban implementation, cultural heritage and museums. The rest of the projects such as visual arts, and music including parallel events supported by Istanbul 2010 are considered as the third group. In doing so, the impacts of the events in image making are expected to have better visibility in the defined areas. Promotional projects such as promotion & communication, and international projects are crucial in understanding the promotion strategy of the Agency through cultural events. Urban transformation is recognized another significant group due to a variety of reasons. The thesis argues that culture-led urban transformation has been the main objective of ECoCs. The conservation and restoration of cultural heritage along with the urban projects were given weight and 160 million Turkish Liras were devoted to projects accepted for the cultural heritage-urban projects category (Istanbul 2010 ECoC Agency, 2011: 13). Changing the face of the city indirectly affects its image with its past and present images. Istanbul 2010 Agency defines three subgroups under urban topics: urban projects, urban culture and cultural heritage and museums. The last group is the culture and arts that is directly linked to the understanding role of cultural and artistic events in the general framework of Istanbul 2010 cultural programme.

According to the data in Table 6, the percentages of the projects and their distribution are calculated, which are shown in the graph below. The graph displays that the largest group is the "culture and art" category including the largest segment, which is parallel events with 24%. Promotion and communication comes as the second largest group with 14 %, but it should be noted that tourism promotion, corporate relations, projects of University of Istanbul, public relations, marketing

and advertising and fundraising. The other segments are distributed ranging from 3% to 9%, with an exception, as the education is the smallest group with 2%.

Figure 13. Distribution of Istanbul 2010 Projects with respect to strata
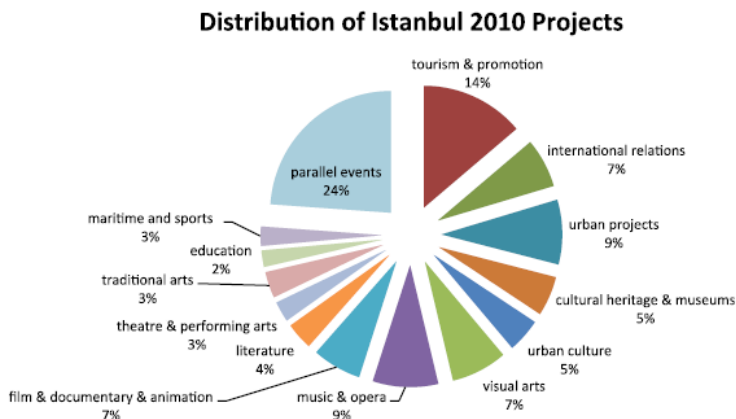
"RANDBETWEEN" function is used in excel for random sampling. The projects are identified with numbers random selection. Random selection is done by taking the range of projects for instance "RANDBETWEEN (1;39)" if the total number of projects are 39 in the defined strata; i.e. Total number of "urban projects" is equal to 48 therefore the range for randomization is chosen "RANDBETWEEN (1; 48)". Since 3 projects (a proportional number of projects are chosen from each strata) are chosen from this category; random selection is repeated for 3 times and 29th, 11th and 47th projects are picked up on the list. At the end of random selection the sample of projects is formed, which is illustrated below:

Table 7. List of selected events

Sub-groups	n	Sample of Istanbul 2010 Projects
a) Tourism & Promotion		
promotion & communication	4	• Golden Routes – in the footsteps of Evliya Çelebi

		• "Beyoğlu is Different with Music" • call4istanbul • Introduction of the Mawlawi Culture and Sema Ceremony
international relations	2	• Human Cities • Istanbul Express - Exploring Multilingualism across Europe
b) Urban Transformation		
urban projects	3	• Palimpsest Istanbul • Project Works for the Land Walls included in the UNESCO World Heritage Area • Armenian Architects of Istanbul in the Era of Westernization
cultural heritage & museums	1	• Istanbul 1910-2010 - City, Built Environment & Architectural Culture Exhibition
urban culture	1	• Istanbul Woman – Woman Istanbul
c) Culture & Art		
visual arts	2	• Diver-city • Bump into each other – Asia/Europe
music & opera	2	• Türküyem • Tales of Future - 1 city 1011 Vibrations
film & documentary & animation	2	• If Istanbul • İstanbul'da Bayram Sabahı
literature	1	• International Istanbul Poetry Festival

theatre & performing arts	1	• Cihangir Insomnia
traditional arts	1	• Heritage –A Collection from Traditional Turkish Calligraphy Foundation Museum
education	1	• Sulukule Children's Art Workshop Project
maritime and sports	1	• Rally of Turkey
parallel events	6	• Istanbul en Drome • Spectres of Trotsky: the Lost Interiors of an Exile • In Between. Austria Contemporary • "Arie Antiche" • "Istanbul – Paris – Berlin" • Forum Fashion Week

Once the sampling is done and the data required for the analysis is known, then comes collecting the data. The data for the first group of posters is acquired from Mrs. Yavuz (2012), Head of Tourism & Promotion Directory of Istanbul 2010 Agency (currently Deputy Director of Istanbul Provincial Office of Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism) in the form of original digital copies in "jpg" format. For the second group of data various sources are used but the main source was the posters catalogue of selected Istanbul 2010 projects, which is published in February 2011 (Istanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Girişim Grubu, 2011). Such a publication marks the importance of posters as Kurt stated in his foreword to the catalogue. There is also another catalogue of the posters of Istanbul 2010, which is published in 2010. I have bought the first one from old-book sellers in Istanbul. The latter is kept in the library of Istanbul Research Institute of Suna & Inan Kirac Foundation and is open to public access. Unfortunately there is no archive and documentation center founded by Istanbul 2010 Agency for the publications and the data to be kept.

After the Istanbul 2010 event, the Agency is closed and the office is emptied. It was proposed to the Prime Minister to keep Istanbul 2010 Agency as a permanent body, however it was not taken into consideration and the Agency was dissolved. There is no one single documentation center left behind to reach the collection of publications. The information kiosks located in different parts of the city are shut down when the event finished. The official internet page, "www.istanbul2010.org", is not accessible anymore. Some of the old links are traced through "Waybackmachine" programme, which is an Internet Archive Search Engine. Nevertheless the archive search did not return satisfactory results; the links were broken or not accessible anymore in most of the cases. The images that could have been reached digitally for download (if there were) could not have been accessed. The posters found in the poster catalogue (hard copy) are scanned for the analysis. No manipulation has been made during scanning process but due to the type and quality of the scanner, the images could have been slightly affected, which can be ignored for the analysis. The only concern for the analysis could have been issues related to color, saturation and so on. To avoid any concern, the analysis is made most efficaciously by looking at the printed poster on the catalogue. The scanned images are used only for representation in reporting of the findings.

4.5 Analysis

This research focuses on the visual signs therefore uses visual analysis methods. The analytical model drawn for this research is mainly borrowed from the *"Critical Visual Methodology"* principles by Rose (2001). According to the methodological framework plotted by Rose, the effects of visual representations are strongly linked to their context but cannot be reducible solely to the context. The meanings inherent in the text itself carry significance alone.

In this framework Rose (2001: 16-21) classifies methodological tools into two groups as "Sites" where meanings of an image are made (production, image itself and audience), and "Modalities" that stands

for the critical understanding of the images (technological, compositional, social).

Table 8. Visual methodological tools

Sites: Where meanings of an image are made	Modalities: Critical understanding of images
- production - image itself - audiencing	- technological - compositional - social

Jensen (2002: 59) draws the systematics of the analysis on the process mediated communication through media organizations, media texts and media audiences, which can be also represented by the three sites (production, image, reception) by Rose (2001). Jensen (2002: 59) adds media contexts (space-culture/ time-history) as the fourth site.

Modality refers to the reliability or "truthfulness" in the terminology of linguistics, which also counts for the credibility of the images in visual discourse analysis (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: 160). Modality, in Rose's (2001) terms, refers to the "critical understanding of images". The technological modality refers to the circumstances of production. The form of production if it is an oil painting, or if it is a photo image, what kind of camera, film etc. is used, if it is digitally manipulated or even digitally produced, all these effect the truthfulness and therefore the effect and meaning of images. An oil painting stands as more real and tangible, whereas a photographic image is thought of a snapshot of a real moment. However the digital production techniques are rather conceived with doubts about the truthfulness due to the belief for creating manipulated images. Although this may be true, a photographic image can be posed and it does not fully reflect the reality in absolute terms. What is meant by "compositional" are the compositional elements such as "content, color, spatial organization of images" (Berger, 1972). The question "how to describe how an image looks" is answered by compositional interpretation which Rose (2001: 33) calls the "good eye". Lastly social dimension is determined by

range of economic, social, political relations, institutions and practices that surround an image (Rose, 2001).

There are different opinions among scholars who appraise different sorts of modality. Some pay attention to the compositional parts whereas others are concerned in the social effects of an image's meaning, thus pay attention to the social modality. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 177) argue that compositional elements such as color, size, perspective as well as cultural factors are effective on the "salience" of the image to attract viewers' attention. According to Scollon and Scollon (2003: 91), socio-cultural context is more effective than the technical features of the image; in fact what is in the image and to what extend it represents the reality depends on the viewers' interpretation affected by context, society and culture. It should be noted that texts offer new texts "by linking different subtexts, images, symbols, icons and pictures to each other." According to Wodak (2006: 3) this leads to a "heteroglossia" in the Bakhtinean sense where a mixture of voices is combined through hypertexts, introduced into the concept of "hyper modality".

4.5.1 Form and content

Benjamin (1999) sees the image as the "enabler of human agency" in motivating the will of the people. In this respect, images do not depict reality, but create reality, thus messages are chosen to have an effect to readers. Therefore image is of central concern for visual studies as a medium for the transmission of material reality. Two conditions; form and content affect this transmission (Buck-Morss, 2004: 9). Therefore, form and content have been paid greater attention in the initial step of analysis in search of the meaning. Firstly, the description of data is given with a reference to form. Accordingly, the first step is taking notes of the visual details observed only on the surface of the image, which is identified as the form. The first gaze is centred on the objects that the producer intends to draw the attention of the viewer. Content comes the next, as the second source of information, which necessitates a more careful approach to the posters and anchoring the text and

image to interpret the meaning at the connotative level. The content of the image tells us about what the image actually means.

Interpretation ideally emerges from descriptive details. The information gathered through description goes further than merely describing the physical patterns related to the design of the posters. Form and content, defined as the conditions in developing visual literacy, are slightly different than its definition in art history. The form of production of images is described by defining the producer, the production technologies and process, and the target audience. It is very important to note one thing here: the images are not only meaningful through their technical and compositional features. All these elements gain meaning in the social and cultural context in which they appear. For instance red might mean passion in one culture whether it might mean holiness in another. Red colour symbolizes a cultural value for bull fights in Spain and it symbolizes the colour of flag for Turkish people thus signalling nationalistic values. Therefore, context is vital for reading images and interpreting the meaning.

Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) draw attention to the disjunction between "context of production" and "context of reception" referring to producer and viewer for being spatiotemporally separated from each other. Hall (1980) explains this phenomenon with encoding and decoding processes. Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) argue that producers aim to create a mental image that the viewers make sense of the text. The shared codes and meanings are effective in the communication and understanding of the messages. The compositional features of the image are shaped by the social values in the perception of intended meanings. The close-ups or long shots have different effects according to the intimacy and social relations. Horizontal or vertical angles affect on the level of the involvement of the audience. The level of involvement corresponds to the "us" and "them" approach in linguistic analysis. The position of the camera and angle represents the relation of power, in which the high angle stands for higher rank. The colour elements such as contrast, hue, saturation, and brightness mark the truthfulness of the images. Advertising often uses bright colours, which reduces the credibility but increases the attractiveness of the images.

These aspects are all coded within the image by the producer, yet it should be noted that the receiver has his/her own individual way of perception and a socio-cultural background and may respond differently to the images than the intended meaning. The compositional elements, such as colour, perspective, framing, and so on, are examined in interpreting the image and its meaning through so called "good eye" in art history.

The focus of the analysis is neither the intended meanings by the producer, nor the perceived meanings by the audience. It is what the image and text signifies and communicates in parallel with the discourses of ECoC and Istanbul with respect to city imaging. This is because the intended meanings are not necessarily perceived in the same way by the audience. To be understood correctly advertisers pay attention to cultural codes and norms in the society. As the producers are not free in coding the images; the viewers are not free readers since they are also tied to cultural codes in interpreting the signs. That is why the research employs semiotics in "the appreciation of the text that reshape accepted ideas and at the same time reacting against the manipulative exploitation of received opinion" (Scholes, 1982: 14). Text is not only recognized as words and linguistic elements but the "text" as defined in media studies: any object (artefact) that contains information (Lacey, 2009: 14). Therefore the analysis identifies the structural components of the text, which are sign, signifier and signified and investigates how they communicate the message. Scholes (1982: 15-16) identifies a text as "open, incomplete and insufficient" that assigns the analyst "to speculate about what went on before the decision to stop writing, and what might have gone afterward…" The analytical model draws the relationship between the design elements and the meaning and on the other hand it looks beyond the visible meanings on the surface and unravels the second meanings with respect to the cultural codes and social means that influence the meaning. Thus, the image itself, as the site where the meaning is made, and the modalities used for critical understanding of the images are crucial for the interpretation of the content and messages.

4.5.2 From Codes to Themes...

There are several approaches to the coding process. When the researcher holds a theory and formulates the indicators of evidence to support this theory, it is called "theory driven coding". Coding can also be done by using the secondary data and knowledge, which are available through the prior researches. However this type of "research driven coding" requires inter-rater reliability due to the direct use of ready made codes. The research might be inductive in its approach towards drawing on the meanings in "data driven coding". Codes are provided through the interpretation of each single unit of data analyzed (Kawulich, 2004: 99).

Coding is described to be a heuristic[24] and an exploratory process leading the researcher "from the data to the idea, and from the idea to all the data pertaining to that idea" (Richards & Morse, 2007: 137). Therefore coding is not just the act of labelling but also linking the ideas. The process of coding data includes looking for patterns and themes. It is important to identify patterns and to group the data accordingly, because this is what gives the theory specificity (Kawulich, 2004: 99). De Santis and Ugarriza (2000: 362) defined a theme as "an abstract entity that brings meaning and identity to a recurrent experience and its variant manifestations". Interpretative analysis of texts is interested in finding out how they are related to one another (Bernard & Ryan, 2010: 4).

Bernard & Ryan (2010: 54) note that analyzing texts involves:

1. Discovering themes and sub-themes

2. Describing the core and peripheral elements of themes

3. Building hierarchies of themes or codebooks

4. Applying themes – attaching them to chunks of actual texts

5. Linking themes into theoretical models

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[24] Greek: "Εὑρίσκω", "find" or "discover"

For the first stage - discovering the themes - a comprehensive technique is applied by looking at both the form and the content of the posters. The patterns related to the form such as color or compositional elements are given through the description of the posters. The sub-themes and deeper meanings are investigated through the content by using an interpretative approach. This can be thought of a familiarization process of the researcher with the data and preparing the raw information for coding, which can be simply called as the transcription of the data. The challenge lies at "drawing the richness of the themes from the raw information without reducing the insights (Boyatzis, 1998: 14). Therefore process of transcribing the form and the content of the data is a crucial step.

The multi-methodological framework is useful in this research as the methods complement each other according to their functions and systemic relationships. The methods used in this research are threefold:

1. Textual analysis (Semiotics)

2. Contextual analysis (Discourse analysis)

3. Structural analysis (Thematic analysis)

Table 9. Classification of analysis methods according to the objectives

Type of analysis	Methods of analysis	Level of analysis	Objectives
Textual analysis	Semiotics	Form	Description of the signs on the denotative level
Contextual analysis	Discourse analysis	Content	Interpretation of meaning at contextual level
Structural analysis	Thematic analysis	Latent (Themes)	Discovery of the meaning units that make up a communication

Table 9 demonstrates the threefold structure of the analysis methods according to the research objectives. It also shows which method is useful at which stage with respect to the level of analysis.

Thus the information and meaning derived through description of the form and interpretation of the content of the posters are explained through Findings I chapter. This is followed by the second task of building codebooks, or simply coding, and the following tasks for theming. The second chapter of findings (Findings II) presents the application of themes to the chunks or actual texts and links them with the conceptual and contextual framework.

5. FINDINGS I

5.1 Introduction

The findings of the initial stage of the analysis rest on a careful reading and description of the posters. The sites, where the meanings made (Rose, 2001), are described to provide information for the later stages of analysis. Production and audience are described in the first part by defining who produced the image and for whom. Rose (2012) has proposed "positioning" in addition to production and audience as another site where the meanings are made. This intends to enhance the meaning by defining the places where the posters are exposed to viewers. In other words positioning refers to the site of advertisement, if it is put on a billboard or published on internet or TV or a magazine so on and so forth. The positioning is important for branding because it defines the physical places where the posters interact with viewers. This is a crucial point when the posters are considered as the communicative tools for branding the city. In this research, we are looking at the posters of Istanbul 2010 that are placed on billboards (See photographs of posters in situ in the appendix).

According to the sites mentioned above, the visual methodologies (Rose, 2001: 113) that apply to the first step can be schematized as follows:

1.   [PRODUCTION]

This recognizes the influence of technologies, genre conventions, social, cultural and economic contexts within which images are produced and biographies of individual producers of images on the meanings of images.

2.   [AUDIENCE]

Defining the target audience is important in order to understand the consumption or (re)construction of meaning. There is no necessary correspondence between intended meanings and those available to the consumers of a visual text.

3. [POSITIONING]

This identifies places where the posters are exposed to the viewers where advertising and branding is understood as the "social practice" and posters refer to the "social event" in the public domain.

Figure 14. The sites for visual methods
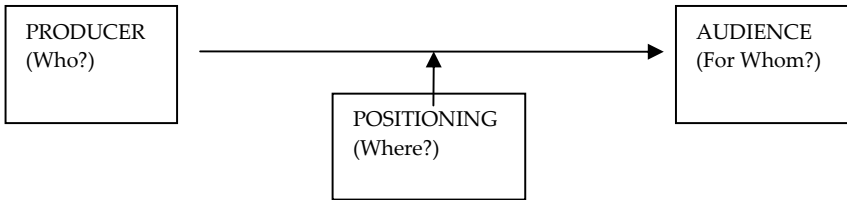
Following the first part of analysis, the meanings and messages are inferred from the text. Production technologies, target audience and places of exposure are identified for better understanding of the data for further interpretation of the content. In doing so, the focus of the abstract system of codes structuring the meaning production is moved to the image itself. Therefore, the image itself becomes the object of analysis at the second part providing the content. The interpretation of the connotative meanings and messages lying in the text is the focus of the second step by bringing the text as the site under investigation.

The data for analysis is also divided into two groups and mixed methods are applied for better interpretation of the data. In the first group (Part A), four posters for promotional campaign of Istanbul 2010 (both international and national) are analyzed. In the second group (Part B) the selected posters (n=28) of the cultural projects in the programme of Istanbul 2010 are analyzed by mixing and matching the appropriate qualitative visual analysis methods. Although the main model and framework for analytical methods are drawn from the visual methods proposed by Rose (2001), the methods applied to the first and the second group of data may slightly vary due to the quantity and quality of the data under investigation.

It should be noted that any design work reflects different types of

meanings, serves different purposes and leads to different interpretations. Poster, as the source of data for research, is this type of a visual source. On the other hand, all these posters under investigation have something in common as a part of Istanbul 2010 event; so all of them are marked by Istanbul 2010 logo. Therefore, both of their visual and contextual analyses were realized with respect to the city branding strategies and messages intended by Istanbul 2010.

5.2 Logo

Before going into detail and analyzing the posters one by one, the analysis starts by the Logo of Istanbul 2010 as a common element of branding in all of the posters. The research recognizes the logo as the overarching image enforcing element (Ibrahim, 2013b), therefore pays special attention to the meaning of the logo.

The logo is a sign, which identifies the brand. Although it is canonical to the posters, it does not have a standard place on the posters. The logo is on the top right of the posters belonging to the first group (official promotion campaign), while it was placed usually on the bottom right corner of the posters belonging to second group. The main reason affecting where the logo should be explained by Kress et al. (1997: 274) is related with the aim of giving new information of the real. It gives a conclusion therefore bottom right corner of the page is usually reserved for information which is intended to leave a mark in the minds of the audience. The logo is an adequate tool to leave such a concluding remark about the brand. Moreover the logo is placed on the corners through the analogy of the word "cornerstone" that defines a fundamental part of the body as the basic part of it on which its existence depends. The logo is not favorably placed in the center although exceptions may apply. The center of the page is reserved for the image that the audience is asked to look at. Because the gaze centers in the middle and this is the focus of the message. The eye perceives the images, shapes and colors before it reads the words and interprets the meanings. This can be exemplified by the psychological test known as the "Stroop" test. When the word "blue" is written in green color the

brain takes more time to respond due to the conflicting information. The person may read the word "green" instead of blue, because the colors are visually perceived faster than the words. That is why visuality is so crucial for interpretation of the meaning.

Moreover, logo is essential for the visual communication of the brand through establishing a strong association with the brand identity in the minds of the people. The brand of Istanbul is connected to the European Capital of Culture. However the emphasis in Istanbul's branding is not on the "European" element but on the culture. Istanbul plays on culture and cultural diversity in connection with the discourses on cosmopolitanism. Cultural diversity is the key element to reframe the Europeanness in this perspective due to the main objectives introduced by the European Commission into the context of European Capital of Culture Programme.

All the posters are marked by the logo of Istanbul 2010. Seven different colour schemes are used for Istanbul 2010 logo. Although the use of colours and what they represent can be interpreted in different ways, multicolour schemes are commonly used in promotional materials in most of the cases of ECoCs. Therefore the multicolour scheme is not only limited to represent cultural diversity highlighted by EU. It is rather linked with European identity and values attached to it. Aeillo (2007) interprets the symbolic production through colours in connection with European identity discourse as a project rather than the actual configuration. She stresses the vitality to examine visual construction and representation of European integration and identity in different phases and mediums of media. The production of symbolic meaning and representation for European identity is achieved through selecting and fixing available modes of representation limited by the 'knowledge' in Foucaldian sense (Aiello, 2007).

1. Form

The logo for Istanbul 2010 is created in different languages as well as in different colours but the main colour was blue/turquoise (See Appendix C.1). The font size is a determinant of where to put the

emphasis, as the font size gets bigger the word becomes more visible and attracts attention. The emphasis is on the Istanbul 2010 because it is included in the body of logo design with three white curves. As the eye reads from left to right and as it is located on the top "Istanbul 2010" is the main point. Actually, the upper part of the logo may stand alone in its visual representation if you cut it into two parts. "European Capital of Culture" verbally translates and reinforces the meaning in different languages in the lower part.

2. Content

What the logo represents through the symbolic language at the denotative and connotative levels may be interpreted by looking at the three white curves on the top. Bıçakçı (2012: 1001) comments on the curves that might represent bridges, or domes of mosques or arches. She debates on the bridge metaphor by taking the number of curves into consideration. Istanbul has two bridges on the Bosphorus, while there are three curves in the logo, which is interpreted as the question of a third bridge that is forecasted to be constructed on the Bosphorus. However such a comment sounds imaginative and speculative at the same time. Although there are discourses that may support this kind of argumentation in the local context and political agenda of Turkey, I would rather interpret this sign by linking the discourses in the local context to the European context and ECoC. Therefore the number three may represent the three ECoCs for the year 2010, Istanbul together with Ruhr-Essen and Pécs. The first curve line is bigger than the other two. This may be stressed as Istanbul and the others representing Essen and Pecs as the two other ECoCs standing hand in hand, while first curve is bridging over the two. Even if it represents bridge, the bridge metaphor can be interpreted as the cultural dialogue and mobility in the European framework. Another interpretation that can be made alternatively is related to the discourses of "capital city" and "heritage". The first and bigger curve represents Istanbul as the European Capital of Culture of 2010, built on the "capital" city status embracing the past two empires; Roman and Ottoman. The word "Capital" is emphasized with respect to such representation.

Although hermeneutic approach suggests multiplicity and infinity of interpretations, this researcher interprets the meaning according to two conditions: text and context. The researcher has a certain pre-understanding of a text, based upon "constructive" biases. Therefore there is certain degree of subjectivity of the researcher. This is because the elimination of one's own "horizon of meaning" and abstraction from the specific cultural context is not possible (Gadamer, 1989). Reflexivity of the researcher is the key for situating oneself in the research context, and self-examination of assumptions and biases.

5.3 Posters

5.3.1 Part A – Istanbul 2010 Official Posters for Promotion

The slogan of the international campaign is "Istanbul… the most inspiring city in the world" and the slogan for the national campaign is "It is time to rediscover". The slogan and the verbal text are the same for all the three posters of the national campaign. Therefore the posters will be analyzed together but they will be treated separately in the semiotic analysis of the visual signs in three different images.

A.1 International Campaign: "Istanbul Inspirations"

1. Form

The poster depicts the Istanbul image through the representation of historical peninsula from the sea. The image is located at the upper half of the poster followed by the slogan and the verbal text. The Istanbul 2010 logo is placed on the bottom left of the poster; the colour is grey & white. Below the logo, Turkish Airlines logo is placed as the sponsor. On the bottom right of the poster it is written "Istanbul Inspirations" in gold colour with the biggest font used in the poster.

Advertisers pay attention to composition and framing, how to place the objects on the posters. As the eye reads the page from left to right, there is a general tendency to place the information about the product on the upper left, the product in the center as the emphasis is made to product and logo on the bottom right to give a lasting impression (Kress & van

Leeuwen, 2006). However the composition is subject to change and does not follow such an order. The poster for "Istanbul Inspirations" starts with the image, which covers half of the page and extends through both sides like a cinemascope. This may be interpreted as a sign reinforcing the historical meaning, as the cinemascope is an old movie format used in the 1950s. One of the intentions in adapting a wide screen format could be interpreted as amplifying the effect of the image.

The slogan and verbal text is placed in the center, on the left side and the logos of Istanbul 2010 and sponsors again left side, at the bottom of the page. The lasting impression is provided by concluding with "Istanbul Inspirations" written in gold colour and bigger font size than the slogan. The size of the font and the organization of the text divided into two lines both stresses "Istanbul Inspirations" by drawing the attention and brings balance to the composition which otherwise would be imbalanced as the right side would be left blank in a greater portion. The "golden ratio rule" which applies to photography and visual arts also applies to ads for placing the object on the one third proportion of the page, where eye tends to focus naturally and creates a balance in the composition (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). The image cuts the poster into two halves and the verbal messages are placed in the lower part therefore it cannot be said that the golden ratio rule is applied to the poster. It may be rather concluded that the aim of the poster is to put the emphasis on the image as it is an iconic image representing the city. The verbal messages are small sized in comparison to the portion of the image and they are used as promotional tools rather than anchoring the meaning through the image.

After giving an outline for what is in the image, we can point out three sites according to our model drawn from visual methodologies. The three sites – production, audience and positioning – describe the factors and conditions how the poster is produced by whom and for whom as well as where it is exhibited for interaction.

1. PRODUCTION

The international campaign was created by RPM/Radar Advertising & Ajans Ultra in which Paul McMillen was the creative director. "Istanbul Silhouette" was produced by the photographer Rainer Stratmann through combining nearly 30 photographs shot in various regions in order to create an "icon visual that will be automatically remembered when Istanbul is mentioned"(Anatolia News Agency, 2009). The choice of angle is purposive in order to capture the landscape of historical peninsula from a wide angle. The photo starts from sea-level – discovering the sea, originating from the sea. This represents a gaze connected with the past when Istanbul was (and still is) a port city and western travellers had their first look at the city from here. According to McMillen (2010: 55), representational photos of London and Manhattan are romantic and gloomy, black & white. Photos of Istanbul by Ara Güler can be thought as such but McMillen (2010: 55) claims they wanted to add colour as "darker tones help to go beyond the ordinary, to re-discover". This goes hand-in-hand with the national campaign and its slogan "It is time to rediscover". McMillen (2010: 56) states: "When we live in a city we know her better but admiration of the city is possible from afar", therefore the image gives a panoramic portrayal of Istanbul.

When we talk about the modality of the image we see that it is highly manipulated through retouch & refinement. The photo was finely retouched as the satellite dishes, several derricks and other details were cleared off, unpleasant elements on the fields became trees, but there were no major relocations. Those types of interventions and manipulations are common in advertising for making images positive and destinations attractive. The international campaign aims to show Istanbul as a confident and dignified city in the same category as the world's other leading metropolises.

2. AUDIENCE

The target audience is the international audience living abroad as "Istanbul Inspirations" was the international marketing campaign for Istanbul 2010.

3. POSITIONING

Hakkı Mısırlıoğlu, who carries out the creative architecture of the campaign alongside McMillen, mentioned that the city would be promoted in 20 countries around the world through printed media, television, advertisements and the internet. The poster was placed in the airports (Istanbul Airports - International and National Terminals, various airports in Europe) and in the public places in the city (squares, streets, on the facades of historical buildings, billboards, etc.) The pictures below show the in-situ examples of posters.

2. Content

The main theme of international campaign is "Istanbul inspirations" in its reflection for the city that has inspired many civilizations throughout the history. The campaign stresses the rich historical and cultural accumulation of the past and connects to the modern city. Therefore the energy of Istanbul stems from its past and continues to inspire through the multi-colours, multi-voices and multi-faces of Istanbul, in other words multi-layers of meaning. Istanbul has a lot to offer to the people. The anchorage between the image and word will be analyzed further, through the examination of what the words say and what the images show and if they give the same messages or if they contradict each other. Firstly the textual meanings are interpreted and secondly the visual meanings are inferred and lastly they are combined to anchor the meaning between the word and the image.

Text:

"Istanbul… The most inspiring city in the world."

"Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture will further inspire you with its contemporary art and urban culture. Be part of this unique experience."

The slogan for the international campaign of Istanbul 2010 is naming Istanbul as the most inspiring city in the world. The superlative structure of the slogan sounds very pretentious and raises doubts about the status of the city. The mega-events have become the global arena

for the competition between the cities. The cities strive for presenting themselves at the most beautiful, most artistic, most creative or most inspiring as in the case of Istanbul, but this does not necessarily mean that "they are" really, than what "they like to be".

When we talk about the manner of communication, we see that interpersonal voice is used, which seeks to turn the public into active citizens and to win their support by inviting them to "be part of this unique experience". This interpersonal voice is supported by a promotional voice, through which public participation is emphasized. "Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture will further inspire you with its contemporary art and urban culture." The purpose of this promotional voice is to put the emphasis on the contemporary art and urban culture as the two inspiring features of the city. However, I would object the linkage between the word and image here. The image of historical peninsula is a mystified object of the past and throws a historical gaze to the city as a powerful representation of its heritage and as a monumental site. The image is stronger than the text in its visual representation of the iconic and the text does not argue with the image. The references for contemporary art and urban culture can be hardly found in the visual representation.

Visual codes:

The angle, perspective and proximity are influential on the perception of the object in focus. For instance close-ups allow a more intimate relationship, while being able to show only a part of it not in full body by re-framing and attracting the attention to some parts if the object is not so small (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). The panoramic photos are taken from a distance to show a wide area the relationship of the object between its surroundings. The panoramic depiction of historical peninsula from the sea-level is parallel to the gaze of de Certeau to Manhattan from the 110th floor of the World Trade Center, which was discussed in the previous chapter. This is the gaze upon the city from afar, the image of urban island in the sea. The city in the image becomes readable like a universal, anonymous subject detached from the reality. The gaze is upon the whole, totalizing the scopic. The

colours foster this feeling through creating a mystic atmosphere, a fantasy world belongs to the past. In this sense, it can be said that the urban and iconic representation of the landscape is similar to the 17th century engravings or Orientalist paintings. Another similarity can be drawn between the vedutismo tradition and the representation of historical peninsula, however there is a difference. Vedutismo is realistic having a high degree of accuracy and detail. Although photographic image is counted to have a high degree of credibility the low modality of historical peninsula image creates an opposite effect.

In "Reading Images", Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) have defined three types *colour schemes*: historic (high saturation, dark value), modernist (Mondrian: purity and high saturation) and postmodern (hybridity and pastel values). The image has a gloomy affect through the use of high saturation and dark colours. Although sea is represented by blue, in this picture it is lead colour, creating a dark atmosphere. The colour scheme applied to the picture fosters the historic meaning. Yet such kind of preference of dark colours is unconventional for advertising and the tendency to use bright colours to make representation of the objects more glamorous. The atmosphere created through dark tones of colours also contradicts with the dynamism and energy stressed in the national campaign "Our energy is from Istanbul". Therefore the link between the meanings inferred from the image and text is weak.

When we look at the signs through a deconstructivistic approach we can understand the relationship between the signifier and the signified in the image (See Appendix D). Minarets, mosques and Topkapı Palace being the signifiers that connote historicism and orientalism as their signifieds, represent the silhouette of Istanbul. In the past the first look to Istanbul was taken from the same angle by the Westerner's arriving to the city by the sea. The ferryboats are important means of public transportation in everyday life. On the other side, the ferries connote the geographic crossing between Asia and Europe or crossing the Bosphorus. The Topkapi Palace, Hagia Sophia and the whole skyline stands for a representation of the past world with connotations to the city's imperial power. It is a still image of the exotic rather than today's dynamic Istanbul in constant transformation.

A.2 Domestic Campaign: "It Is Time to Rediscover"

1. Form

All of the three images used for the national campaigns are arranged in a similar way in their composition. The text is placed on the upper left in three lines, the first and last lines are in white colour and the line in the middle is black colour. The last line does not change but the first two lines changes. The first line refers to the image signified in the poster: Galata Tower, Haydarpasa Station and Hagia Sophia. In the second line only the numerical figures change in order to denote the timeline to emphasize their historical values. Therefore the structure of the phrase, "Galata Tower has been standing in its place for 661 years in Istanbul." is kept while the signifiers change according to the signifieds in the image. The text catches the eye of the viewer together with the image at first glance. It continues with a large text in smaller fonts. It is accompanied by a small logo like figure of Istanbul silhouette whirling inside. The text "Istanbul 2010 Enerjisi" (Energy of Istanbul 2010) is like a shell at the outer part. Actually it looks like the shell of a snail, the sign of loginess, which contradicts the energy and dynamism. Another comparison can be made by proposing the whirlpool figure as the silhouette is swirling inside through a hole. This may be interpreted as a sign of turbulent conditions. These connotations do not seem supporting the idea of dynamism therefore do not anchor with the motto of the campaign "Enerjimiz İstanbul'dan" (Our Energy is from Istanbul). The headline in bigger font, capital letters and white colour, is the slogan of the national campaign, which applies to all of the three posters. The text also remains the same while the colour changes for visibility purposes. The text is black except the Galata Tower poster, in which the whole text is white because the background is a dark colour. Therefore the slogan and the following text for "Rediscover" series remain with the same content and at the same place in all of the posters. On the right of the slogan there is the logo of Istabul 2010 in white colour. The logo of Turkish Airlines, as the main sponsor can be found on a white box at the bottom of the poster indicating the web address of Istanbul 2010 (www.istanbul2010.org) on the right. All the elements are placed on the image directly and no

framing is used, therefore it seems like the word and the image merged into each other in its form.

The sites of production, audience and positioning can be described by referring to the common elements between the posters reflecting on the domestic promotional campaign.

1. PRODUCTION

All these 3 images have something in common. Their signifiers are re-placed in different locations in the city than they actually stand today. For instance Haydarpasa replaces AKM, Galata Tower replaces Maiden's Tower, Hagia Sophia is relocated on the Bosphorus.

Galata Tower, Haydarpasa Station and Hagia Sophia are featured in the campaign due to their recognisability as landmarks. They are the symbols of Istanbul. Hagia Sophia is a hybrid example, a symbol of two religions with minarets. Haydarpasa was selected as an example of relatively recent history (Mısırlıoğlu, 2010: 58). Galata Tower built by Genoese is an example of multicultural heritage. Due to the high degree of intervention, the images have low modality but when the goal of the promotional campaign is taken into consideration this does not affect the truthfulness of the image. These images are not true representations on purpose, because they are not designed to make the audience believe what they see, but to surprise them by showing a different image than what they expect to see.

2. AUDIENCE

As it can be understood from the text, which is in Turkish, the campaign targets the national audience. The slogan "It is time to rediscover" aims raising awareness of the city dwellers and asking them to look at their city from a different perspective. The most famous monuments and landmarks of Istanbul have changed places and they are re-located in different parts of the city in order to surprise the viewers.

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3. POSITIONING

The poster of Istanbul Inspirations was all over the place both in Turkey and abroad since it was the visual icon for Istanbul. On the other hand these three posters were designed for national campaign. Billboards were the main sites that the posters were exposed. The posters have been placed on the billboards in different areas of the city in December 2009 before the event takes on in January 2010 (Dailymotion, 2009).

The production and audience are similar to each of these three images. So they apply to each of them. However, the semiotic analysis of the images would be done separately for each image as signifiers are different, so they should be read separately. Yet, there are common concepts of signifiers such as "sky", "water" and the "buildings". "Water" is an exception to Haydarpasa image only. Haydarpasa has direct contact with water in reality, whereas it replaces AKM in Taksim square in the image. The signifiers "sky" and "water" may be associated with the concept of "4 elements: water, air, earth, fire" which was the main idea in the bidding document of Istanbul 2010. The focus is on the buildings (Galata Tower, Haydarpasa and Hagia Sophia) as the main signifiers in the images and their analysis deserves much more attention, therefore is done separately.

2. *Content*

Istanbul 2010 ECoC Agency invites the audience to rediscover the urban heritage through the landmarks that are most known among the symbolic representations of Istanbul. The aim is surprising the audience and therefore to make them rethink about the city's past and future. The text stresses the energy of the city to transform and recreate.

> **"Istanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti**
> **Şimdi Yeniden Keşfetme Zamanı"**
>
> "Asırlardır Istanbul'a kendini yeniden yaratma tutkusu veren bitmez tükenmez bir enerji var. Şimdi bu enerji İstanbul'un binlerce yıllık tarihsel birikimi ve kültürel zenginliğini geleceğe taşıyor. Istanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansi, kültür değerlerinin restorasyonundan yeni eserler yaratmaya, geleneksel kültürün yaşatılmasından çağdaş yapıtların kente kazandırılmasına kadar yüzlerce projenin hayata geçmesi için çalışıyor. Istanbul'u Istanbul yapan işte bu enerji, hepimizin enerjisi… Şimdi Istanbul'u yeniden keşfetme zamanı."
>
> **(Translation)**
>
> **"Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture**
> **It is time to rediscover"**
>
> "There is a never-ending energy that gives Istanbul the passion to recreate itself for centuries. Now this energy transcends the historical accumulation and cultural richness of Istanbul for thousands of years to the future. Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency is working for realizing hundreds of projects varying from the restoration of cultural assets to creating new artefacts and from cherishing the traditional culture to bringing new contemporary artworks to the city. What makes the city Istanbul is this energy, our energy… It is time to rediscover Istanbul."

The text above is informative in its character. The public is informed about features of Istanbul carried from past to future. The word "energy" is stressed with the connotations to the modern and contemporary rather than the history. Istanbul is modernizing, globalizing and recreating itself by regenerating the past. Istanbul 2010 Agency comes one step forward as the main actor for facilitating the change: "Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency is working for realizing hundreds of projects". The text sounds participative through "us approach". It says "our" energy and invites the audience

to rediscover Istanbul. The text recognizes the audience as active subjects who are willing to participate and take action. They are not passive consumers. Therefore it can be said that the energy level and dynamism of the city is kept at two levels through the text, both for the subject and object.

The message for "rediscover"ing the past is emphasized through linking the object in the image and the verbal text by contradicting what is said in words and what is shown in the image. This is a deliberate action in order to stimulate the audience to rethink. The text puts the emphasis on the historical value of the monuments and conservation of cultural assets through highlighting that they survived from past to present. The voice is neither participative, nor authoritative but informative.

The point of emphasis is the history and heritage. The signifiers are proven as landmarks that are symbolic in representations of Istanbul, however they have been subjected to transformation throughout the history. Galata Tower has been restored many times due to damage because of the fires. Hagia Sophia was constructed as a church and when Istanbul was conquered by Ottomans it was transformed into a mosque and four minarets were added. Today it is a museum. Therefore the transformation does not only point out the change in physical qualities, but also change in the function. For Haydarpasa Train Station a different transformation plan is forecasted. It was built and used as the train station as a gate to Istanbul from Anatolia. Its function did not change in its 101 years of history. A new scenario is created for the future of Haydarpasa to create a complex that contains yacht club with its marina, a convention center, a sports center, a museum, accommodation facilities such as luxury hotels and residences, a commercial and shopping center, a hospital and rehabilitation center and recreational areas. However the message does not communicate the new scenarios while proposing a new look to the cultural heritage. When the people become aware of their cultural heritage, it might be too late that they could have been already gone.

1. Galata Tower:

"GALATA KULESI 661 YILDIR ISTANBUL'DA HER ZAMANKI YERINDE."

Transl.
"Galata Tower has been standing in its place for 661 years in Istanbul."

2. Haydarpasa Train Station:

"HAYDARPASA GARI 101 YILDIR ISTANBUL'DA HER ZAMANKI YERINDE."

Transl.
"Haydarpasa Train Station has been standing in its place for 101 years in Istanbul."

3. "AYASOFYA 1472 YILDIR ISTANBUL'DA HER ZAMANKI YERINDE."

Transl.
"Hagia Sophia has been standing in its place for 1472 years in Istanbul."

When we look at these three images separately, the visual codes can be interpreted as follows:

1. GALATA TOWER

The Galata Tower standing alone in the middle of the sea catches the eye immediately as there is no other object in the foreground of the image and Istanbul skyline is depicted at the background. The viewers may immediately locate Maiden's Tower replaced by Galata Tower in the image. Although Galata Tower functioned as a lighthouse in the history, the image detaches Galata Tower from its historical surroundings by locating it in the middle of the sea. It stands as a divine figure. It is also a phallic figure according to the "architectural genealogy of tower".

The composition of the image applies to the gold ratio principle, placing Galata Tower at the left on the 1/3 line. The horizon is also located at the lower 1/3 line, not cutting the image through the middle line. Although the emphasis is on the Galata Tower as the main figure, the image dominated by sea and sky. These two elements are associated with the "Four Elements" idea of Istanbul 2010 project at the initial programme. Sky refers to the "air" and sea refers to the "water". The blue colour is dominating the picture through the sea and sky, which are cut by the Istanbul skyline and a pinkish colour in the horizon like the sunset. However the tone of blue is dark. Instead of calming effect, it creates a stormy and turbulent effect. The sky is heavy with clouds. It is not a crystal clear sky but is opaque. This is not an attractive image in the sense of advertising. In general terms advertising images use bright colours to catch the eye. Although it is supposed to be promotional and the main intention is to attract people the atmosphere is gloomy and disturbing.

2. HAYDARPASA STATION

The image for Haydarpasa differs from the other two images that have more contact with the sea. Although the real location of Haydarpasa Station is at the Haydarpasa port by the sea, the image represents a city square with no reference to water. This is just the opposite of the other two images, which are normally located in the inner city and represented through contact with water. Haydarpasa represents being the "gateway" to the city both through the sea and railways. It is a transportation hub as a station and as a port. Therefore it reflects strong connotations for mobility. The immigrants coming from Anatolia enter the city through Haydarpasa. It is relocated in Taksim Square replacing Ataturk Cultural Center (AKM). Interestingly the architecture of Haydarpasa fits to be an opera or theatre building in most of the European cities. This is, most probably, due to the architectural style of the building made by a German Architect. When we think of the function of AKM we can infer the meaning of entertainment connected to the concepts of theatricality and spectacle.

In the image Haydarpasa is surrounded by the modern. The Marmara Hotel signifies globalization and tourism introducing standard architecture and homogen cities. The depiction of an old building in a modern area stresses the contrasts. It is represented in a busy and crowded urban area, which highlights the urban qualities of Istanbul. In this picture, we see the public space, a square in the city, public transportation, high buildings, The Marmara Hotel (on the right), and the monument; therefore it is full of references to the metropolitan character of Istanbul. In the other two images however Istanbul is depicted like an island in the middle of the sea. The picture is chaotic, it is full of other elements, distracting the audience but the focus is clearly on Haydarpasa. The chaos also reflects upon the dynamism, the crowds and traffic reflects on the energy of the city. This image is not a still-life representation like the others and it is more successful in linking the verbal and visual message.

3. HAGIA SOPHIA

The composition of the image resembles the first one with Galata Tower. The golden ratio applies to the horizon and where Hagia Sophia stands (1/3 line on the left). The focus is on Hagia Sophia as the background is a landscape through the blue and green, the sea and sky. The red colour of Hagia Sophia is inviting and intriguing, it says "Come in". The function of Hagia Sophia as a religious place, both as a church and a mosque to which is now added the function of museum, represents the multiculturalism and openness, which matches with the signified. Yet it stands alone on the shore just like Galata Tower image as if it has no visitors and it is separated from its context as a sanitized object.

According to the visual codes inferred from the three of the messages, Haydarpasa image reflects on the urban context with respect to the images of Hagia Sophia and Galata Tower that are not reflecting the urban surroundings and they are literally standing alone. However in Haydarpasa image we see an urban public space communicating how the city looks like and how the urban elements communicate with each other. The landmarks buildings become also recognizable with their

surroundings. The campaign shares this idea as it presents a different location and surrounding to surprise. If we did not know that AKM is in Taksim Square then it could have been the very image of the same building standing elsewhere maybe in another part of the world like Abu Dhabi, which has become natural in today's global world. The very images of the buildings are dispersed in different places. The very image of Topkapi Palace is built as a hotel in Antalya. This could have been also in Las Vegas, so on and so forth. Therefore the images may be surprising but the reality has been turned no different than the representation. We may conclude the first part of the analysis towards the way of critical thinking proposed by Baudrillard, that the sign value has exceeded the use value. The heritage sites are not unique representations anymore. Their forms are carbon copied and reconstructed in different places. They do not exist in their surroundings once they were built. The urban spaces are transforming at a great pace, which also reflects on the transformation of meanings.

5.3.2 Part B – Istanbul 2010 Posters of Cultural Events

The second part of the analysis concentrates on the posters of Istanbul 2010 projects. A total number of 28 posters will be analyzed by applying the same structure of analysis based on form and content. Nevertheless, due to the higher number of data in comparison to the first group of data, the analysis for the second group is done through a holistic approach and less crowded in detail in the description step. The three-fold structure for description comprised of production, audience and positioning is not applied for the posters of the cultural events in Part B. Brief description will be given about these sites in reference to the text (poster), which is the main site under investigation.

The posters are classified into three groups:

1. Tourism & promotion

2. Urban transformation

3. Culture & arts

The selected projects under these groups are also classified into subgroups with respect to the strata that they belong to in the programme book of Istanbul 2010 Agency.

B.1 Tourism & Promotion

B.1.1 Promotion & communication

- **Golden Routes – in the footsteps of Evliya Çelebi**

1. *Form*

"In the footsteps of Evliya Çelebi" is one of the themes for Golden Routes projects. Another project is "in the footsteps of Piri Reis". The project is comprised of concerts, dance and conferences in different European (mostly East European) cities from Plovdiv to Oberhausen, including two other cities of ECoC 2010; Pécs and Essen. The list of the cities included in the programme of the event is listed on the lower right side of the poster designed by Fenni Özalp.

When we look at the organization and composition of the elements on the poster, we see the logo of the Golden Routes event on the top left and the logo of Istanbul 2010 on the top right corner. Both of the logos are printed in white. The logo of Golden routes is placed on dark blue/purplish background on a rectangular frame, whereas Istanbul 2010 logo is directly applied on the background of the poster, which is red and has some patterns changing in tone of the same colour. The title of the project is placed under the logos in big fonts and getting bigger from top to bottom line in which "Evliya Çelebi" is written with the biggest font size.

The image is depicted in a frame like a TV screen. The frame line is blue and on the top under "Evliya Çelebi" the date of the project is announced, "20. September – 16 October 2010". The image is a sketch representation on yellow-orange-brown tones, which feels like an old image. Under the image the details of the cultural programme is given under three titles: Concerts, Dance and Conferences. The date, place and the name of the event is listed in small fonts and white colour. At the very bottom line of the poster, the logos of official institutions from

the collaborating cities are displayed, most of them being the logo of Municipality such as Sofia, Prizren, Belgrade or cultural institutions such as Macedonian Opera and Ballet-Skopje or Enjoy Jazz Festival-Mannheim. The cities of Pecs and Essen are represented with their ECoC 2010 logos. The logos of Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Turkish Ministry of Culture are also listed, which stand as an evidence of predominance of governmental agencies.

2. *Content*

When we look at the image it is like we are looking at a TV screen and watching a historical film or documentary. Such representation of a TV screen also connotes the spectacle and spectacularization of culture and history. The main figure is the sketch of Evliya Çelebi (who is a historical figure, a traveller and travel writer) on the horse back. The footsteps of Evliya Çelebi are followed by a bus. Although Evliya Çelebi is depicted as an ink sketch figure without colours, the bus is painted in blue and red in harmony with the logo of Golden Routes and red used in the background of the poster. The bus carries the logo of Golden Routes and the ECoC year 2010 is represented in numbers next to the logo. The representation of the logo and Istanbul 2010 is in harmony with the logos on the top and fosters the symbolic meaning through stressing brand identity and communicating the brand elements in their most recognized forms.

Evliya Çelebi as a historical figure belongs to the past and the way of depiction on the horse back when there were no motor cars fosters this meaning through a realistic depiction. On the contrary, the bus represents today. In other words Evliya Çelebi stands for the history and the bus represents modernity. The bus is depicted in a fast movement, jumping. In its literal terms, motor vehicles are fast means of transportation. In today's world communication and transportation have high speed due to the advancements in technology, which facilitate mobility. The second meaning of the "jump" can be denoted as dynamism. Energy and dynamism were stressed through the motto of the national promotional campaign "Our energy is from Istanbul". Both Evliya Çelebi and the bus are moving from right to left, which is

not usual for the eyes as the eye reads from left to right. When we look at the direction of movement in the films and photographic images the usual way of representation is from left to right if there is not a specific aim or meaning. When we think of the timeline of events the starting point is schematized with the past, older events evolving through present and to the future following a line from left to right. As Evliya Çelebi moves from right to left, it can be interpreted as a journey to the past. Therefore the bus follows the footsteps of Evliya Çelebi through a historical journey. The cities listed under the bus stand as the stops of this journey. When we further look at the image we see birds in the sky. Although the sky is not painted in blue colour, the eye makes the separation through a horizontal line. There is the silhouette of minarets and pinnacles with a cross and birds are flying over. The birds can be interpreted as migrant birds accompanying this journey. They follow the same direction. The representation of mosques with minarets and the crescent on the top and churches with cross points to a multicultural journey through religious representations. The cities visited are homes to different religions and cultures.

- **"Beyoğlu is Different With Music"**

1. *Form*

The poster is not scanned but taken a snapshot from the catalogue by the camera. However, the image is distorted due to light and macro settings of the camera, therefore it does not reflect the true colours and it is not high quality. Yet the analysis will be done through the image on the programme of Istanbul 2010 events.

The title of the project "Beyoğlu is different with music" is written at the headline of the poster in white colour over the red background. It is written in three lines and the initial of Beyoğlu, the "B" letter is transformed into the clef sign therefore the letters are like the notes on the treble clef. "Başkadır" which means "is different" is written bold, thus the emphasis is on difference. The background is fading to white from top to bottom. At the center there is a yellow circle like a big sun. The tram is the famous and nostalgic Beyoğlu tram traveling on the line between Taksim-Tünel, which is written at the head of the tram

(number 2). There are two shadow figures at the back of the tram; one wears a hat and the other at the backside is playing a wind instrument. The notes are flying over the tram. The logos are listed at the bottom of the poster as usual. On the left corner, there is the logo of the Foundation for the Beautification and Protection of Beyoğlu. This stands like a separate logo as the creator of the project. The other logos of the partners and supporters (all are governmental structures composed of Beyoğlu Municipality, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and İETT – Istanbul Electricity Tram and Tunnel General Management) and the logo of Istanbul 2010 is listed on the bottom right of the poster.

2. *Content*

A tram is a means of public transportation, a routine of everyday life in the city. The red tram number 2, traveling from Taksim to Tunnel and back is symbolic to Beyoğlu as the most crowded pedestrian street of Istanbul, Istiklal Street cannot be imagined without the tram going up and down. The tram is still functioning today for transport purposes but the meanings attached to the tram is rather nostalgic as it was the main public transport during the 19th century when Istiklal Street was named as Grand Rue de Pera. IETT, which stands for electricity, tram and tunnel, takes its name from the developments occurred around Beyoğlu during the 19th century; first electricity tram and first underground transport system called tunnel between Karaköy and Pera. Therefore tram is not only important to Istanbulites as a means of public transportation but also symbolically as a means of representation of the urban history and identity of the place. The project suggests another function and meaning to the tram, which is music. The couch at the back of the tram is designed as a stage. The music bands and young professionals or amateurs play on the tram while the tram is moving on its regular track on Istiklal Street. A spectacle is created in the public place, in the streets and on the tram, which has become the part of city life for the city dwellers and users of Beyoğlu. Music has always been an important part of life in Beyoğlu in all times. There is not even a day Beyoğlu is without music, different types of music are heard from the book and music stores, restaurants and cafes and they mix into each other. Beyoğlu has been the main

place for night life and live music as well. Istiklal Street has been the main stage for the street performers. Therefore Beyoğlu has been always existed with music and the music performed on the tram adds a different colour to Istiklal street as the tram goes mobile.

- **Call4istanbul**

1. *Form*

Call4Istanbul is an advertising competition targeting young professionals and the call was opened through the internet as well as Facebook and twitter pages. The front page of its website is designed like the poster itself. The organization of the poster reflects the same manner with minor differences such as the absence of the links on the left side. The logos are placed at the bottom of the page. They are classified as organizers, partners, sponsors and supporters. The logo of the event is at the top left corner of the page. It is placed like a headline, white on black. The slogan is positioned below the logo, which is written as "Istanbul is calling you to take part in 'Call4Istanbul' an interactive advertising competition!" In the centre, we see an image on the white page representing the silhouette of Istanbul rounding up the circular image. The words below the image on the right side mention the awards for the winners of the competition, which are free tickets to U2 360º Concert (also included in the programme of Istanbul 2010), vacation worth of 16,500 Euros. The website is given "www.call4istanbul.com" as the applications are made online through the website.

2. *Content*

Although the importance of the posters has been emphasized by Istanbul 2010 Agency in the published material and also in this thesis, Call4Istanbul can be recognized as a distinctive event that communicates with its target audience and participants through internet. The main reason is that, it is an interactive advertising competition based on web and digital advertising. IT is also communicated through the support of IAB (Internet Advertising Bureau) Europe and Turkey and EACA (The European Association of

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Communications Agencies) in order to involve European media as the competition is open to participants from and abroad Turkey. The aim of the competition is to prepare a website called "Web City" promoting Istanbul to a group of target audience aged between 18 and 25.

The slogan is inviting and participative, calling the audience to participate to the competition. The slogan emphasizes that the competition is interactive. The title of the project anchors the meaning with the slogan as it is a call for creative people who wish to design a web-based advertising campaign for Istanbul. The title is written as "call4Istanbul". The number "4" replaces the word "for" as their pronunciation is the same. This kind of language is commonly used in communication through mobile and web applications especially among youth. Therefore the title gives clues about the target audience and about the project based on web advertising. The verbal text communicating the awards for winners is intended to raise interest to the competition and to encourage participation. The information for free tickets for U2 concert, which is another Istanbul 2010 event, accomplishes cross promotion of the two events of Istanbul 2010 in one poster in which the target customers are thought to have same or similar attributes.

The image is like a tree trunk. As known the rings on the tree trunk show the age of the tree. The older the tree is, the more rings it has. Istanbul has a rooted history. The tree trunk figure is also related to culture in the theoretical framework of Simmel. According to this, the cultivation of a pear tree is "latent in its natural structure or energies", but on the other hand a tree trunk made into a ship's mast is the work of culture because "the form of the mast is given by the shipbuilder, which is not inherent in its nature" (Frisby & Featherstone, 2000: 40). The historical monuments, such as Galata Tower, Sultanahmet Mosque, Bosphorus Bridge and some skyscrapers, are depicted together with the modern buildings on the outer part. The image also looks like a fingerprint, in which the representations of the city are coded in the ridges in graphic design.

Call4Istanbul project is initiated as a call for competition for the design of a webpage for "Web City Istanbul" project. Therefore in the former cultural programmes of Istanbul 2010, it may appear as "Web City Istanbul". The intellectual property rights of the winning interactive advertising campaign are delivered to Istanbul 2010 ECoC Agency and Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Turkey.

- **Introduction of the Mawlawi Culture and Sema Ceremony**

1. *Form*

The poster is designed by Özer Duru. The text is in Turkish. At the background there is the figure of a whirling dervish, the image is black and white. Yellow and White colours are used for the text, where the headlines are yellow and the text is white. On the top right corner, we read "Sema Ayin-i Şerifi" which means Noble Ceremony of Sema, which is written in the biggest size of font, therefore the emphasis is made on Sema ceremony. On the corner above, again right, there is the logo of International Mevlana Fondation that was founded in Istanbul in 1996 for whirling dervishes and mawlawi culture. The text is placed on the right side of the poster and gives information about the type and time of the ceremonies planned as well as the fee for entrance. At the bottom part (right side) the logos of Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Turkey and Istanbul 2010 are placed together. The projects grouped under "tourism & promotion" title carry the logos of both Ministry of Culture and Tourism and Istanbul 2010, which apply to all of the posters. Under the figure of whirling dervish (bottom left corner) the contact address of Mevlevihane of Yenikapı is given where the ceremonies are taking places.

2. *Content*

The poster is simplistic in its composition and arrangement. There is only one figure, which is powerful and effective in representing "semazen" and the way of ceremony; whirling around. The background is wooden ground. The light falls on the wooden ground from the top like the reflection of the moon on the water. Since we do not see the source of light it is like a divine light that contributes the

meaning of a religious ceremony. The image is a bit out of focus reflecting the movement of whirling dervish. The photo is exposed in a longer time deliberately to capture a sequence of movements and continuity rather than capturing a single pose. We are looking at the image from a higher point, which means the photo is taken from the top. The dervish is facing bottom right corner through a diagonal line. The viewer is not face to face with the dervish who seems like he is not paying attention to outer world, he is inert. The practice of whirling has a meditative meaning therefore the act is a journey into oneself and to the God. Sema is a religious ceremony that has deep meanings in the cultural context. Nevertheless, the poster is successful in conveying the messages through a simple and effective design. The connection between the image and text is well established; both are informative about the act that is taking place in the event and the programme of the event(s). Therefore the anchorage between the image and text is strong. There is not much of connotative meaning; the signifiers and their signifieds are kept at denotative level through giving simple messages.

B.1.2 International Relations

- **Human Cities**

1. *Form*

The poster is a collaborative work of two designers; one from Brussels, Guillaume Bokiau, and the other from Istanbul, Ahmet Sefer. The collaboration is also represented through the flags of European Union and Turkey on the top left corner of the poster. The verbal message "This project is funded by the European Union" secures the symbolic meaning inferred from the EU flag. The title of the project "Human Cities" is positioned at the top left corner, in capital letters and red colour. The title ends with a slash and after the slash the venues of the event are mentioned, which are Eski Galata Köprüsü (Old Galata Bridge) and Santralistanbul. The verbal text is in Turkish and it spreads over the image in small caps. Thus the letters are overlaid on the image, yet the letters let the eye to see the background though increased transparency and white colour helps to increase legibility. The verbal text "kamusal alan tasarlamak" can be translated as "designing public

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space", which is written in four lines and the last word tasarlamak is hyphenated. Under the text there is the year 2010 in red colour. 2010 denotes ECoC 2010, not only the year of the project. The dates of the project are given as 29/09 and 03/10 on the left side. "Brüksel" (Brussels) and "Istanbul" are mentioned to stress the collaboration and Istanbul Design Week concludes the verbal text, which stands like a full point at the end. The projects web address (www.humancities.eu) is mentioned at the bottom right corner and there is a wheel like figure entering in the frame. This figure seems like a logo but when the webpage is checked, it has been observed that the logo of the project is Human Cities ending with a slash at the left corner. The logos of the supporters are listed at the bottom line, where the logo of Istanbul 2010 is the first one. The background of the poster is an image of the waterfront of Karaköy and Galata Tower is in the focal of the picture. There is a hexagon in the middle of the poster, red and transparent to a certain degree. The hexagon frames the object at the background and draws the attention to Galata Tower, rising on the block of buildings.

2. *Content*

The image has multi-layers of meaning built on layers of words and image. The image itself at the background is also layered through bottom-up; the sea is the first layer, and then comes the land and then the sky. Therefore the image is like a collage rather than a mono-block image. The image has low modality due to pink colour. The sea is pink, the sky is pink and it feels like we are in a dream, fantasy world. The act of "designing", which is the main idea of the project, mingles into dreaming and imagination. The gaze of the viewer is affected in two ways. First, it feels as if we are looking at a real landscape through a filter behind the camera turning the image into an illusion. Second, the hexagon is like a viewfinder of the camera. It frames the object and directs the gaze of the viewer to the focal point, to Galata Tower. Another comment can be that, the hexagon not only frames the image but also it might represent the boundaries that frame the public space. The public space is at the focal point of the project as the key concept is "designing public space". The latter interpretation secures the meaning through the anchorage of image and text.

- **Istanbul Express - Exploring Multilingualism across Europe**

1. *Form*

The poster is designed by Maartje Alders. The Turkish and European Union flags stand on the top left corner of the poster as "this project is co-founded by the European Union and the Republic of Turkey" written under the flags. The flags and the text are used by all of the posters grouped under "international relations" title, so this is a compulsory element for this group. On the bottom left corner the logos of other supporters are listed, where Istanbul 2010 logo takes the second order this time. The logo at the end belongs to NISI MASA (European Network of Young Cinema) of which web address can be found in capital letters at the bottom right corner. The image is depicted on a white background. Since the project is about the film we see a film ribbon stretching from left to right as it enlarges to the corners through the right and projects a perspective. Inside the film ribbon, the Bosphorus Bridge is depicted extending from left side to the upper right corner of the poster, overreaching the film ribbon. A star is shining under the bridge. As the film ribbon stretched the dark blue tone gets lighter and turns into green. The film ribbon has only two frames the first one is smaller as it is cut. In the first frame we see the bridge pier. The second frame is larger and we see the full frame like a window. The date and title of the project;

"20/09 to 16/10 2010": first line

"Istanbul Express": second and third line

"Exploring Multilingualism Across Europe": fourth line

The verbal text is in English and emphasis on "Istanbul Express" in bold and capital letters also bigger size.

There are four kids depicted, sitting in a cinema hall, looking at the screen. The three boys in the front row are exposed with the full body although we can only see the half of the face of the girl sitting at the back row.

2. *Content*

The most powerful reference for Istanbul is the Bosphorus Bridge, which can be interpreted as a cultural dialogue bridging between European Union and Turkey through cinema. That is why the bridge overlaps with the film ribbon and stretches together. The same thing can be said for the film ribbon through the other way around. The film ribbon is stretching like a bridge as the cinema connects two different cultures to each other. The film ribbon is like a window frame, which can be interpreted as window onto the world. As cinema is a spectacle itself, the enlarged frame of film ribbon also stands like the screen, which the children are looking at.

When we look at the children, we see that they have different expressions on their faces. One seems surprised, the other is bored, and another child seems interested. Only half of the face of the girl sitting at the back row is displayed, so it is not really possible to comment her expression but she looks at the screen like the other children as we can follow her gaze through her eyes. The clothing style of the children tells us that they are school children, but it is a bit old-fashioned. A nostalgic atmosphere is created through the old clothing style. It is also a black & white image, which reinforces the feeling of nostalgia.

The change of colour from blue to green, show that there is a flow, as the film is playing on the screen, or the spectators are experiencing an inner journey through the imaginary created by the cinema. As the key concept of the project is "multilingualism" the contextual interpretation is the journey across Europe though different cultures connected to each other. Crossing the bridge signifies "exploring multilingualism across Europe". There is a shining star under the bridge, but the meaning is not clear. It can be understood as the guide star showing north direction, but it stands alone and interferes neither with the image nor with the text.

B.2 Urban Transformation

B.2.1 Urban projects

- **Palimpsest Istanbul**

1. *Form*

The poster has a white background. On the upper part, the name of the project "Palimpsest İstanbul" is printed in the biggest font size. The name of the artist "Laleper Aytek" is written below in a smaller font. All the words are printed in black letters. The logos are placed at the bottom of the poster. On the bottom right corner, there is the Istanbul 2010 Logo, also in black colour. The logo of Institut Français d'Istanbul is in the middle next to Istanbul 2010 logo and on the bottom left corner there is the contact information of Institut Français d'Istanbul. The photographic image is placed in the centre of the poster. There is no reference to the image in verbal text. The text is just informative about the event.

In the image we see a female mannequin in the foreground. It stands as a sculpture, the shoulders and the nose is damaged. The head is cut therefore the half of the face, the right eye and ear is missing starting from the forehead. It wears a red vest. The background is out of focus but still we can read "T.C. İSTANBUL BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYE BAŞKANLIĞI" (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality) "İSTANBUL METROSU" (İstanbul Underground) and "YENİKAPI İSTASYONU" (Yenikapı Station) on the board behind.

2. *Content*

The image is a depiction of the urban area but the way of representation is not conventional, actually rather unusual. We cannot know if the mannequin was there when the photo was taken or if it is placed there by the artist, therefore the modality of the image is low because it is like a fiction. On the other hand the image has a high modality if we concentrate on the background, which is usual for everyday life depicting the construction area in the urban space.

The image is taken at the archaeological site of Port of Theodosius in Yenikapı, where the excavation works are undertaken for the underground system construction. Since the archaeological excavation gives us clues about the history of the area we can establish connections between the signifier and signified in a wider context. The image has

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multi-layers of meaning like the archaeological layers in the excavation area. The excavation uncovers the layers of history and the visual analysis uncovers the layers of meaning. The title of the exhibition, "Palimpsest Istanbul", is also full of references to the layers of the city. Palimpsest means "something having usually diverse layers or aspects apparent beneath the surface" (Merriam-Webster's online dictionary, n.d.) in the urban context. The literal definition of the palimpsest according to OED (Oxford English Dictionary, 2008a) is "a parchment or other surface in which later writing has been superimposed on effaced earlier writing." The modern is constructed on the ancient layers. Therefore the "new" is superimposed on what has been there earlier.

The site where the image is taken, Port of Theodosius, belongs to Early Byzantine Era. The mannequin figure in the front can be compared to the roman sculptures as if it is one of the unearthed objects during the excavations. Although the mannequin is female, the red vest is similar to the vest that the Roman warriors used to wear. Therefore the mannequin can be interpreted an iconic representation of the past. The mannequin is represented like a portrait sculpture. Her head is slightly turned to sideward (right to the viewer). Although the viewer is not in direct eye contact with object, the gaze is kept at the eye level. The expression on her face is frosty. The focus is on the mannequin, while the background is blurred and it does not contact with the figure in the front.

When the mannequin figure is interpreted at the denotative level, it refers to the modernity. It represents shopping, fashion and exhibition as the signifieds denoted in the post-modern consumption culture. The mannequin belongs to the window of a shop, where consumption takes place. It is the communication tool to show, to exhibit the goods. The viewer is encouraged to "buy" or "consume". Therefore the mannequin connotes consumption culture and therefore linked to "spectacle" as a secondary meaning. The images are directed at consumption in the society of spectacle. The modern is a floating signifier, it does not communicate with the past. The lack of communication between the past and present is reflected on the lack of communication between the

archaeological site and its surroundings. The face of the mannequin is half in the light and half in the shade.

The image pays an effort to connect the past of the area with the political interventions made today by the government. The image shows how the binary oppositions such as past and present as well as the ideologies on public and public space communicate, in other words "cannot communicate", with each other. The signs of "Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality" and "Istanbul Underground" position government as the subject of power for the urban order. This is the interpretation at the connotative level that is closely related with the context.

- **Ghost Buildings**

1. *Form*

The poster is bilingual, in Turkish and English. On the top left corner of the poster there is the logo and the title of the project "Ghost Buildings" and also the web site address "www.hayal-et.org". The logo of Istanbul 2010 is on the top right corner, which is accompanied by "Energy of Istanbul 2010" logo, as the supporter of the project. Below, there is the logo of PATTU Architecture Research Design Company as the creator of the project. The other logos are listed at the bottom of the poster. In the image, in the centre, we see a pile of monumental buildings on top of each other. They look like they are dumped like trash. They are separated from each other by red dots, through which one thinks they are out of paper to be cut, in order to separate them. The stand together but they are separate. We understand that they are old representations of the old buildings from the depiction of human figures dressed in old style, most like Ottoman. The text above, in red colour, poses the question; "These buildings once stood in Istanbul, what if they still existed?" The verbal text is strongly anchored to the image and gives a description about the buildings. From the verbal expression, we confer that these buildings are not standing today; they are the historical representations of the old buildings. The question in the second part of the sentence is proposing a scenario directed at the present the time.

The question is participative and it invites the audience to re-think the past and present and to imagine possible urban scenarios.

2. *Content*

"Ghost Buildings", which refers to "Hayal-Et Yapılar" Turkish. "Hayalet" means "ghost" if it is translated on denotative level. But it has also a secondary meaning if we take it in the form of imperative "Hayal et", which stands for "Imagine". Therefore the project is about creating urban imaginaries for the historical buildings they could not have survived today. On the connotative level the title provokes the urban imaginaries for destructions as well as the fictitious urban scenarios for reconstructions. The term 'urban imaginary' refers to "the interpretive grids through which we think about, experience, evaluate and decide to act in the places, spaces and communities in which we live" (Soja, 2000: 324).

The monumental structures represented in the image are depicted with public figures. Therefore we understand that these buildings were public places and had important functions in the city as a church or religious buildings in general terms, military barracks, palaces and so on. It is possible to infer functions of the buildings from the signs such as cross or structural elements such as dome, towers or from their architectural styles. The public and the details how they are dresses also give clues, for instance some of them are depicted in military uniforms which points out a military buildings or they are depicted in the army organization for formal ceremony in front of the palace. Some figures as dressed in Western style with hats instead of tarbush, which represents the late Ottoman or Republican period therefore a later period. It can be also conferred that the buildings belong to different eras. They are depicted as if in the process of demolishing, falling on top of each other, making a huge pile of stones. On the other hand they look like paper dolls to be cut of the paper and to be dressed-up. Dressing-up the building would signify the reconstruction. This is the fiction part in which the urban scenarios are produced for today by looking at the past and the urban narratives.

The project can be perceived as a documentation of the history as it provides an archival presentation of the demolished buildings, which are invisible today. The new layers and new buildings, new structures are added on the earlier layers. The city is constantly reconstructed; it is like a living organism. That is why deconstruction is not always associated with negative connotations. It is a condition for the existence of the city recreating itself. However, sometimes, the deconstruction took place can be unrepairable mistakes. One of the examples included in the project and also one of the hot debates today is Taksim Artillery Barracks, which were demolished for the organization of the area as a park according to Proust plan in the 1950s. In the minds of the young generation, there has been always a park. Today the government presented an urban project to re-organize the whole area and to re-construct the barracks through a project of regenerating the past. This brings the "Rediscover" campaign of Istanbul 2010 Agency into minds, in which the signifiers were the monumental buildings but still standing today, and the signifier was rediscovering the past. Although it looks like these two have something in common their aims and methods are different from each other. "Ghost Buildings" project suggests a critical look to the political power shaping urban environments. Reconstructing the deconstructed monuments that break off from the urban context and meanings is solely the representation of the past, yet unable to communicate with today. That is why although the project takes the deconstruction essential for the existence of the city, erasing the past from the memory of the city is equal to killing the city. Thus the binary oppositions are revealed through the process of deconstruction and reconstruction. Therefore, one of the main distinctions of "Ghost Buildings" from "Rediscover" is the idea of bringing the deconstruction forward. The main objective of "Rediscover" campaign is raising the awareness by inviting the audience to re-look and re-think of the history. "Ghost Buildings" project aims reconstructing an urban memory through a critical approach to the ideology and power behind the deconstructions, in its critique for the narrow minded urban practices taking old buildings as urban trash, and simulating the history as restoration.

- **Armenian Architects of Istanbul in the Era of Westernization**

1. *Form*

The poster is designed by Erkal Yavi. The image shows Dolmabahçe Palace built by Balyan architects of Armenian origin. The picture is cut into two parts through colour separation. The upper side of the image is blue like sky and lower side is brown like earth. It is cut just above the arc of the gate, separating the columns from their heads. The architectural elements show a great variation in style, pointing out the eclectic style of the palace. Greek columns give reference to neoclassical style whereas the pediment reflects a synthesis of baroque and rococo. The royal monogram on the pediment shows that this is the "Gate of Sultan".

The verbal text is written in three languages. On the upper side (blue section) the title of the exhibition, "Armenian Architects of Istanbul in the Era of Westernization" is written in Turkish, and it is repeated in English and in Armenian consecutively (in brown section). The date and place of the exhibition is also given in these three languages in smaller fonts below the titles. The logos of the sponsors are listed at the bottom of the poster on white background separated from the image. The logo of Istanbul 2010 is the first logo on the left followed by the logo of Istanbul Modern where the exhibition took place.

2. *Content*

The poster invites the viewers to meet the Armenian architects of Istanbul who have put their signatures to the renowned buildings and palaces of Istanbul. In the picture we see the "Gate of Sultan" of Dolmabahçe Palace. The gate figure invites viewers inside. Although the doors are closed, gate represents entering and exiting, into and from, in and out. Passing the threshold means passing to another level, another world. The viewers enter the world of Armenian Architects through this gate. The architects of Dolmabahçe Palace are Garabet Balyan and his son Nigoğos Balyan who are the members of Balyan Family, Ottoman Imperial architects of Armenian origin.

The "Gate of Sultan" has imperial connotations, meanings of power, authority and hierarchy. Eclectic architecture of the Palace reflects on the cosmopolitan structure of Ottoman Empire and its capital Istanbul. The verbal text, which is written in three different languages, is a sign. The text stresses "Westernization". Word and image is highly linked to each other. Dolmabahçe Palace was built in the late Ottoman Period, when the Westernization effects were started to be felt both is the political arena through the reforms called "Tanzimat" as well as in the area of art and architecture through the increasing influence of Western and European styles. Dolmabahçe Palace is a synthesis of Western styles such as Baroque, Rococo and Neoclassical blended with elements of Ottoman and Imperial architecture and arabesque. Therefore it is a good example reflecting the cosmopolitan structure of Istanbul in the Ottoman era and projects the effects of the synthesis on architecture, which is one of the most important elements in visualizing the city.

The exhibition place, Museum of Modern and Contemporary Arts of Istanbul gives clues about the transformation of Istanbul and it gives the chance to the audience to follow the traces of Ottoman past in Westernization period in a modern and industrial building. Neither is controversial, nor opposing to one another but they exist together through a synthesis in harmony.

B.2.2 Cultural heritage & museums

- **Istanbul 1910-2010 - City, Built Environment & Architectural Culture Exhibition**

1. *Form*

The exhibition is organized and designed by Bilgi University, Department of Visual Communication, also the designer of the poster. The poster is divided into two parts, where the image of Istanbul is on the top and the verbal text on the lower part on a black ground. The words are printed white and yellow on black for the ease of reading. It is printed in two languages, Turkish and English. The eye first reads "Istanbul 1910-2010" from left to right in big fonts. "Istanbul" is yellow, and "1910-2010" is white, which highlights Istanbul in the text. It is

continued below in very small fonts even hard to read: "City, Built Environment and Architectural Culture Exhibition". The information about the exhibition; dates, place and curators are given on the right. Logos are listed at the bottom of the poster as usual. The logos of Istanbul Bilgi University and SantralIstanbul are on the left corner on the bottom as the organizers of the exhibition. The logo of Istanbul 2010 stands alone and it concludes the text at the bottom left corner as the main logo of the event. The photograph is by Cemal Emden, which is noted on the bottom right corner of the image, but it is so small that almost invisible.

2. *Content*

As it can be understood from the title, the exhibition covers a century from 1910 to 2010 and documents the change of Istanbul by looking at the change in built environment and architecture taking place in different periods. In the image, 2010's Istanbul is depicted with high-rise buildings, crowds of buildings and traffic, as a city under the cranes. Actually Istanbul is not recognizable through this image as the image can be anywhere in the world. It is a representation of an industrial place, a post-modern city under the attack of globalization through homogenizing cities. It can be Shanghai, London, New York, Chicago… There is no direct reference to the qualities of Istanbul that are symbolic to the city. The only connection that the viewer may confer that this is the image of Istanbul is through the anchorage between the word and image. The text below says "Istanbul", so the viewer believes it is Istanbul.

Although the vast majority of the representations focus on cliché images of Istanbul like Galata Tower and the silhouette through historical connotations, this image represents Istanbul as a modern city. It is dynamic; the energy is flowing on the streets, which is depicted with the cars and their lights. The city is overcrowded and the land is not enough, as the buildings are rising on top of each other. The image is chaotic. The eye cannot focus on one point on the image but keeps gazing through it. The image clearly portrays the urban sprawl and disorder of the city. The crane on the right side signifies the never-

ending construction in the city. The city has been a construction site for mega-projects of star-architects. The skyscrapers on the left are mushrooming and the height of the crane is a sign of another high-rise building that is going to join to the others soon.

The image presents a panoramic view to the city from a high angle, which could be the rooftop of one of the skyscrapers, even the tallest one which is being constructed as the crane is very close where the shot is taken. The height connotes power and authority. The gaze is like a CEO's gaze to the city from his office on the top of the tall plaza. The time of the day is sunset, the rush-hour. Although it is time of sunset, it is not a romantic image. It feels like an industrial place and business district. The horizon seems like extending to infinity. The city seems endless.

B.2.3 Urban culture

- **Istanbul Woman – Woman Istanbul**

1. *Form*

The poster is designed by Sibel Erbayat. The poster has a black background. The title of the project is centred in the top with white letters. There is an open book in the centre of the image. The letters are flying from the book and they form shapes, shape of a woman with the hat, the silhouette of Istanbul with minarets and Bosphorus Bridge. We cannot really know if the words are flying over or if they are falling onto the book. The latter seems more logical because we read the words from left to right and we continue reading the sentence falling on the page. The sentence ends with a triple dot. Although not all the words can be read, the eye picks "Istanbul" and "kadın" (woman) easily as their size is bigger. We read "Istanbul" falling on the page of the book, under the pier of the bridge, on the hat of the woman; we can read "kadın" on the pier of the bridge and under the shoe of the woman.

The logos are on the corners of the poster at the bottom; "Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı" (Women Works Library and Information Center Foundation) logo on the left, the address of the organization in the middle and the logo of Istanbul 2010 on the right.

2. *Content*

The project is created by the library on women works and a book has been published as an outcome of the project. That is why we see a book in the centre. Otherwise, it could have been interpreted as a literature project, which is also not so wrong to say because the project was about organizing talks with the theme of woman and women in history. The speakers invited to the talks are among the woman writers; therefore the book connotes literature, together with its meaning in denotative level as the printed material. As the focus of the project is "Istanbul" and "Woman", repeated in the title of the project, the representation through letters flying over the book signify Istanbul through its symbols and a woman also through a symbolic sign. The woman is depicted with a hat, although hat is a masculine representation. If we think of the public toilettes in the restaurants and hotels the gents is represented with a hat and the ladies is represented with a shoe. The shoe figure with hills is on the right of the image pointed upwards. It is not connected to the image. It is discontinuous and stands as a dependent figure. As a secondary meaning to hat, it can be interpreted as a symbol of modernism and urban women. Hat is imported from the West. The immigrant from Anatolia cover their heads, therefore hat connotes the western woman living in the city. Yet the woman figure in the picture stands like a ghost figure. It is floating in the air like spirit. The Istanbul silhouette is like the smoke of cigarette. In doing so Istanbul is mystified and the woman is depicted in an enigmatic character. However the representations of Istanbul are very ordinary and do not communicate with the woman and the meaning of the woman.

B.3 Culture and Art

B.3.1 Visual arts

- **Divercity**

1. *Form*

It is a black white image with a male figure posing to the camera in the center. We see the full posture from toe to head as he is standing. His

hands are open to the sides, the right palm facing the ground and the left palm is towards the audience. His body is half turned to the left of the viewer. His left food is one step further than the right one in the front, pointed towards audience. But the upper part of his body is leaning backward. He gives a full posture opening to the audience.

The photo is taken at Studio Osep Beyoğlu as the poster is stamped by the cachet of the photography studio, which is seen commonly on the photographs of that period. It is though that the photograph belongs to the 1970s. The credentials for the image are mentioned in the Poster Catalogue as follows: "Designer: Krzysztof Bielecki, Photograph: Tayfun Serttaş, Studyo Osep". The photograph taken by Studio Osep is included in the documentary project created by Tayfun Serttaş that is why the credentials are given to both of them. We see the logo of Centrum Sztuki Wspolczesnej Zamek Ujazdowski (Centre for Contemporary Art Ujazdowski Castle) in Warsaw on the top left corner. Divercity Project was realized in the frame of the Warsaw City preparations to the title of European Capital of Culture 2016, therefore CSW is the co-partner of project from Warsaw. On the right corner there is the date for exhibition. The text is dispersed throughout the poster at right and left sides, giving information about the curators, exhibition design companies, opening hours of the exhibition. The title of the exhibition "di-ver-city" is written in big fonts, but small caps, in light pink colour. The title is centred in the poster overlaid on the male figure. Below the knees of the male figure the text continues with different font type and characters of letters. "Learning from Istanbul" which is the sub-title is also in pink but in capital letters. The names of the artists are listed below. The names of the artists and "Learning from Istanbul" are separated from each other through the line which the floor and the background is separated from each other like the horizon line. At the bottom line of the posters the logos of the organizers, partners and sponsors are listed as usual.

We learn about the story of production from the Activity Report of Istanbul 2010, the second book of the series about the symposia, panels, promotions and exhibitions entitled "Anla! Anlat!" (Understand! Tell!). It is noted that "Divercity" addresses İstanbul recreating itself as the

city of desires, imaginaries, narratives and fiction (Istanbul 2010 ECoC Agency, 2010a: 76-77). The project draws attention to the polyphony and fragmentation in the city through the personal observations of the artists. The city image is shaped by the imaginaries of artists conjuring[25] the city.

2. *Content*

There is no direct visual reference to Istanbul in the image although the text mentions "Learning from Istanbul". Therefore we know that the project is about Istanbul but there is no visual clue of it in the sense that we are used to see that reminds and represents Istanbul at the denotative level. That is why the analyst should look beyond, what is behind the scene rather than what is shown, to be able to interpret the codes in the image visually. In other words, we should be looking at what is "not" in the image rather than what is in the image in order to be able to read between the lines.

The male figure in the center, establishes a good level of communication with the audience through body language. His gestures are raising interest and attract the audience. His face and his gaze is directed towards the audience, establishing an eye contact. The eye contact can be said to have hypnotizing effect, it is such a direct gaze. He seems like a public figure in show business; an artist or rather an illusionist. We confer that he is an illusionist because of the positions of her hands, the gesture. The way of clothing also resembles to the clothing style of illusionists, formal suit but no jacket, vest instead. No tie but neck cloth instead. He also resembles to the figure of joker on a playing card, not in clothing style but due to the style of written words in front of him. "di-ver-çity" is hyphened into three lines and it is divided into two parts diagonally like the joker figure is divided

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[25] I have used the verb "conjuring" on purpose here to stress the link between the image of the illusionist and the mean of production. Although different meanings can be produced from the illusionist figure central to the message derived from the poster, I have been informed by the artist Tayfun Serttaş (interview on 27 Nov. 2012) that the image is put on the purpose arbitrarily, which denotes the arbitrary relationship between the signifier and signified.

diagonally from his belly and below the figure is upside down again showing the same image of joker like a reflection on the water. In this image the male figure is posing in full and complete posture, the figure is not cut but just the words are cut. He raises curiosity and expectation among the audience, as the role of the illusionist is to surprise and amaze the audience.

The sign of illusion or show connotes the spectacle, that the urban space has become the theatre decor and the scene of spectacle where the inhabitants have become the spectators. The light pink colour of the word "divercity" is picked for the fantasies, dreams and desires in the world of illusion. If we carry the analysis one step further to become closer to the ideologies and social and political context in the urban realm, we can say that the figure represents a politician figure that is hypnotizing the city dwellers not to react against top-down political decisions for the urban change. On the contrary the desired reaction is a loud applause for the mega-projects realized by star-chitects and brand names such as Zaha Hadid, Frank Gehry, Norman Foster, Renzo Piano and so forth. Therefore the poster raises the question of spectacle and urban change taking place in a top-down fashion in Istanbul.

When we focus on the technical and physical features as well as the compositional elements on the surface we see that the black & white image is a true representation. It is an old photograph taken in "Studio Osep" in Beyoğlu, which is one of the oldest photography studio of Istanbul. We know it because the image is marked with the cachet "Studyo Osep Beyoğlu". Although the figure is posing to the photographer, which may be interpreted in fictive way decreasing the truthfulness of the image, the image has a high modality. We can comment on the image as a true representation, a document of the past because we know the producer. The black white images have documentary and archival value as they refer to the times when the colour photo was not invented. If we did not have the information of the producer, we could not have idea if the photo is produced digitally and grey scale is applied and it is fiction. Therefore describing the production, one of the three sites described by Rose (2001) is essential for defining the modality of the image.

"Di-ver-city" was a project realized through the framework of preparations for Warsaw ECoC 2016 bridging over two ECoCs Istanbul 2010 and Warsaw 2016. That is why the image is full of references to the visual culture in Warsaw in the 1970s. Since the project brings artists and curators from Istanbul and Warsaw, the context of the both cities and countries are important. The question why this image is chosen for representing all the works in Divercity project can be explained by the shred images, and meanings inherent in both of the urban visual cultures. The context in Warsaw should be understood through the period of transformation from Soviet Regime to modernism. The connotations for modernism draw similarities between the transformation processes that most of the countries (especially Eastern European) passed through in that era. If we take the context into consideration and note that the project is between Istanbul and Warsaw, we may conclude that the poster communicates with the international and local audience at a very good level in transferring the codes and in representing the project through this image.

- **Bump into each other – Asia/Europe**

1. *Form*

The poster uses the map of Istanbul laid as the background image. The blue represents the sea (Bosphorus and Golden Horn) and white represents the continents of Asia and Europe. The title of the project is written in quotation marks "Bump into each other – Asia / Europe", in bold black letters. The quotation marks are facing different directions. Above the title we read "Assocreation", which gives reference to the designer of the project. This is the first time we see direct reference to the designer on the poster. The dates are given below the title line. The text is giving very detailed information about the content of the exhibition. The text is in two languages, Turkish and English, divided into two columns, which is positioned on the European continent at the upper part of the poster. Two points are marked on the map, one on the Asian side, Uskudar IDO (Uskudar port for seabusses) and Eminonu IDO (Eminonu port for seabusses). The text in red is in Turkish "Bulunduğunuz yer burası..." indicating Eminonu and "... ve burası!"

indicating Uskudar and the text in yellow is in English "You are standing here...", "... and here" consolidate the meaning of the sign. The yellow dot is surrounded by the red circle, the same colours with the text anchoring the elements to each other. The texts are communicating to each other as the second sentence is continued from the first and they are crossing over. The English and Turkish words have changed the places, while the text in English says "You are standing here..." the Turkish text for the same point of reference can be translated as "... and here". So it may be concluded that the sentence in one language continues in another language and they complement each other.

The logos of the sponsors and partners are listed at the bottom of the poster. They are depicted in white colour on the blue of the sea. On the bottom right corner we see two logos in blue placed on white background on the Asian side. The logos are in blue colour, which is distinguishing them from the rest of the logos. Actually it is only one logo, that is the Istanbul 2010's logo and next to it, there is the logo of national campaign "The Energy of Istanbul 2010" highlighting Istanbul 2010 ECoC Agency as the supporter of the project.

2. *Content*

The signs of text and image are anchored to each other like the bridges connecting the two continents. Asia and Europe are linked with strong ties. The project aims to foster the sense of connectedness through sensors placed on the sidewalks in the public place. The impulses are transferred digitally to the other city therefore enabling the agents to communicate to each other in different places. The city is like a living organism stimulated by the steps of people and gives a response.

The map of Istanbul on the poster is one of those city maps that you can find on the informative boards at certain places throughout the city. However the map does not give any information about the city. Basically, it is blank. On a blank map, one cannot figure out the meaning of bumping into each other, as there is no reference to the population density, traffic and crowds. The map shows only two points, hear and here, Uskudar and Eminonu. It can be said that there

is a unity in time and space. While you are here, you are also there and vice versa. The expression "Bump into each other" connotes coincidences and encounters. The project communicates the encounters taking place in different cities as if it happens at the same place.

B.3.2 Music and opera

- **Türküyem**

1. *Form*

The designer of the poster is Fikribir. The colour of the background is red changing tone and fading from the top to the bottom. Istanbul 2010 logo is placed on the top right corner this time. On the top left there is the logo of the State Opera and Ballet of Antalya and there are only two logos. This indicates the project do not have international partners or any other supporters.

There is no much of verbal text. The focus is on the title of the project "Türküyem". T and R letters are in capital. T is the initial letter, therefore it is not surprising but R is also represented in a circle. This is a universal symbol of the logo for "Registered Trademark". Under the title it gives information about the performance, explaining that it is a play with music and dance, "Müzikli Danslı Oyun". Casting is displayed below, but it is so small that almost unreadable. The date and place of the show is mentioned at the bottom right corner.

The gaze of the viewer is centred on the dancers saluting the audience. The word "Türküyem" is like a stage and the dancers are standing on this stage. There are curving leaves overshooting from Türküyem and we see the same pattern, though faded, at the background behind dancers. The posters stands a like theatre décor.

2. *Content*

The poster give reference to Turkey, the references are not specific to Istanbul. The main references are made to folkloric dance, the multiculturalism across Turkey. Although the clothing style is the show dress, the male clothes can be associated with the traditional dress type in Black Sea region.

The title "Türküyem" is a play on words; "türkü" meaning folk song and "Türkiyem" meaning my country referring to Turkey. "Türküyem" is written with white letters on a red background. Turkish flag is red and the crescent and the star is white. Therefore the use of red and white colours in the poster gives reference to Turkish flag in a link with the word "Türküyem" in its allusion for "Türkiyem" denoting one's possession of his/her country and connotes patriotic feelings.

The dancers (actors and actresses) are saluting the audience on the stage. The stage is a metaphor for spectacle. Istanbul took the stage in 2010 to showcase its rich history and culture. Culture acted as an engine for branding the city. Istanbul is a microcosm of Turkey and its diversity. Yet the poster is simplistic in the messages given. Basically, it is a poster to promote the show itself rather than branding the city. What makes this poster recognizable as an Istanbul 2010 event is the logo of Istanbul 2010 on the corner. Otherwise it is not different from any other poster designed for the seasonal plays of the State Opera and Ballet. Some people criticize Istanbul 2010 for not doing something new for the city but just raising money for the ongoing events in the city. It is true that some of the events like IKSV festivals, which are not invented and created specially for Istanbul 2010 programme but they have joined the programme as they are marked by Istanbul 2010 logo for the year 2010. This poster is a verification of such incident.

- **Tales of Future - 1 city 1011 Vibrations**

1. *Form*

"1 city 1001 vibrations" is a sound installation project by Sinan Bökesoy, realized through "Tales of Future" project in Istanbul 2010 programme. The poster designed by Ichiro Kojima. The image is placed on a background fading from black from top to white to bottom changing colours and tones. The background is like a frame and the image stands like a framed art piece. The verbal text is placed at the bottom under the image. "1 city 1001 vibrations" is written by giving a vibration effect. The verbal text is in English and cites Sinan Bökesoy as the creator of the project and the title of the project. At the fourth line,

the date and place of the event is mentioned. Therefore we understand that it takes place at a public place, Taksim Metro Exhibition Room, one of the busiest hubs of public transportation. On the left, there is the logo of Istanbul 2010 in blue colour. At the bottom line other logos are listed.

The project introduces technology to the art. The acoustic sounds of the city are recorded through the microphones installed at Maiden's Tower on the Bosphorus and Sepetciler Kiosk at Sarayburnu (TimeOut Istanbul, 2011). Therefore we see Maiden's tower as the main figure in the silhouette of Istanbul. The silhouette depicts historical peninsula together with its minarets to the right. The silhouette is grey and misty. The silhouette is depicted on the waterfront, the water is blue. It is a calm blue and the light is reflecting on the water. On the top of the silhouette and Maiden's Tower, there are lines cutting the image horizontally. The lines are not straight, but they are wavy. They represent the sound-waves recorded through the mics. Three small pictures are placed on the waves, displaying robots and some technological devices.

2. *Content*

At first glance the image has a calming effect, due to the blue colour and misty silhouette of Istanbul. The silhouette is the symbolic representation of Istanbul, which is cited as "1 city" in the verbal text. The sound waves are flying over the sky. They are above the city, although they represent the sounds of the city but the sound is represented not in the city but above the city. The images on the waves stand like the stops of the music. They show robots and technological devices because the recorded sounds are transformed into beats through electronic, even robotic devices in the studio. Therefore the three small images on the waves refer to the production process in the studio. Therefore there are two processes of music production. The first stage is acoustic (sounds in the city) and the second stage is electronic (sounds in the studio). "1001 vibrations" connotes the variety of sounds of Istanbul's everyday life: ferries, seagulls, call to prayer and other melodies and beats. Although one should expect the representation of

the city vibrating with sounds and rhythms, the city stands dormant at the background. It is just a silhouette of the city not even real face of the city. Thus, the emphasis is not on the city but on the musical process. The technology gives reference to the future due to high speed of innovation. That is why the project is called "Tales of the Future" as the technology and innovation belongs to tomorrow's world in its aim to enhance the present and inventing the new.

B.3.3 Film & documentary & animation

- **IfIstanbul**

1. *Form*

IfIstanbul is the International Independent Film Festival of Istanbul, which is organized each year and it was organized for the 9th time in 2010. Therefore the event is an example of continuous events in the annual cultural agenda of Istanbul and it is not specific to Istanbul 2010 programme as one time event. It is the same for International festivals of Istanbul organized by Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts (IKSV) since the 1970s. The posters of IKSV festivals varying from music to film, from theatre to jazz have been designed around a concept each year and for 2010, the logo of Istanbul 2010 was added to the posters. Since IfIstanbul is a continuous festival as one of the most renowned film festivals of Istanbul together with October Film Festival (Film Ekimi) and International Istanbul Film Festival, the posters have a standard through the series of concepts created in each year. The designers of the poster are Koray Ekremoğlu and Medina Turgul DDB. The logo has been changed through the time as the festival extended first to Ankara and then to Izmir but in 2010 the festival was only in Istanbul and Ankara, therefore we see these two cities on the logo, on top left corner. On the top right corner, the festival dates for Ankara are given with a notice that the festival is taking place for the 9th time. The name of the festival has changed to AFM International Independent Film Festival due to extension to other cities and AFM refers to the sponsoring movie theatre for the festival. Therefore below the text AFM logo is placed on the right side followed by mybilet logo as the bow office and lastly Istanbul 2010 logo (as if it is copied and pasted when it

joined the Istanbul 2010 programme) one under the other. Although the name of the festival is changed, the website address could not be changed so easily. "www.ifistanbul.com" is written on the left side of the poster vertically, in very small fonts, almost invisible. On the bottom left part of the image there is a special note written on a red background for promotion tickets for GencTurkcell (Young users of Turkcell, which is a mobile operator in Turkey). It says "buy one and get one free" and the promotion applies only to the screenings on the weekdays before 19.00. The full list of sponsors and partners are given at the bottom of the poster on white background. The background of the poster is blue separated by the horizon line. The sea below is a very dark blue, almost like a night blue and the sky on the upper part is has a lighter tome but still a dark tone of blue a little bit greenish. The slogan of the festival is "Yeni Perspektif" (New Perspective) which is written in 3-D effect and giving a perspective. On the horizon, we see the ship "Titanic" sinking into the sea. Below we see the top of an iceberg and in front of the iceberg there is a rescue boat and the boat is rescuing the iceberg not the sinking ship.

2. *Content*

Since this a poster for an international festival the signs are intended to signify the concept created for that year of the festival. That is why the theme of Titanic (which is a powerful theme in cinema) is offered through a new perspective in accordance with the verbal text. Thus, the image is strongly linked to the verbal text. The poster invites to give a new look to the image from a different perspective. The meaning signified is unusual because the rescue boat is expected to help the sinking ship but instead it is rescuing the iceberg, which is the cause of the accident. The iceberg has a huge metaphor behind. The top of the iceberg metaphorically signifies that the root is bigger than the part on the surface. The iceberg is at the centre of the image, therefore the focus is on the iceberg. The theme also has references to Independent film genre. Independent films are unconventional and they have different languages than other genres. Therefore we cannot have the same look and approach towards independent films and to Hollywood films.

"Titanic" represents Hollywood cinema. Therefore Hollywood cinema is criticized by breaking the codes and offering a new perspective.

The image has no direct reference to Istanbul. The main reason is that this is a continuous film festival and each year is a new concept is raised for the festival. The poster is designed to communicate the festival concept rather than an effort to adapt to Istanbul 2010 agenda. Thus the festival is also independent from the Istanbul 2010 agenda and its discourses, parallel to the genre of independent films. A second reason is that the festival has extended to other cities and it is not specific to Istanbul. In addition it should be noted that, the international festivals are not specific to the cities where they take place. They bring the world cinema to the local audience therefore they have an important role in the cultural life of the city. The references can be given to the cities if there is a special programme attributed to the city itself or reference for cinema in a wider context rather than simply promoting the city to an international audience, which would be the aim of Istanbul 2010 in this case.

In sum, the poster should be evaluated independently from the discourses of Istanbul 2010 to be able to understand the codes in the image in a wider context through an approach to cinema and film genres. Yet, I believe the poster establishes a strong link between the word and image in communicating the message. Hollywood cinema is identified with mass culture. Therefore "Titanic" is known to a large number of people. Since the audience is familiar with the story in the image, they message is decoded more easily. Yet it is not a completely direct message. The image encourages the audience to rethink the existing codes in the story and to reinterpret these codes through a new angle. The Titanic image surprises, questions and criticizes.

- **"İstanbul'da Bayram Sabahı"**

1. *Form*

"İstanbul'da Bayram Sabahı" is the title of the film written and directed by Mehmet Eryılmaz. The title is kept in Turkish, which means the fest morning in Istanbul. The rest of the text is both in Turkish and in

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English. The title of film is the focus of attention (big font size and gold colour) in the centre together with the image describing the sunrise over the minarets. The mosque in the picture is Sultanahmet Mosque or known as Blue Mosque because it has 6 minarets distinguishing it from the other mosques as a unique feature. If we did not read the text, which says morning, we could have interpreted as the sunset. Under the title, there is a description in English: "LIVING AND FEELING 'THE BAYRAM' IN AN ISTANBUL MORNING". It is written in capital letters as it is written here and it is the second biggest font used after the title. It denotes what the film is about. Right above the title, there is a small text in Turkish, which targets the audience as "for those who misses the tolerance and brotherhood feelings and their continuity in fests. Probably the text is only in Turkish because it targets the audience who already know how "Bayram" feels and who have experienced those feelings. For the rest of the text, Turkish and English words are separated from each other through different colours. On the top of the poster, in the sky over the image Mehmet Eryılmaz is mentioned as the scriptwriter and the director. Below the title on black background the information is given about the "premiere and first screening"; date, place and the begin time. However some of the information is lost in translation. For instance the date in Turkish is "14 Aralık Salı", which is translated into English only as December 14, 2010". "Salı" which is "Tuesday" is forgotten and the full date with the year is given although Turkish text does not mention the year. Therefore there are gaps in translation, through that their readers are different. This brings into minds the museum entrances where the entrance fee is written in words in Turkish and in numbers in English and different fees apply. Yet this problem is worked out in the poster as it is mentioned at the last line of the text at the bottom: "Entrance is free for media members. For the other audiences, invitation card is requested." However one thing is again forgotten: if it is for all the screenings? It does not make sense because this statement only applies to the premier screening, which is mentioned in the Turkish text, but it goes without question in the English text. It is also noted that the project is realized by "ISTANBUL 2010 / EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF

CULTURE AGENCY". The statement is concluded with the Istanbul 2010 logo on the right (bottom corner).

2. *Content*

The famous Istanbul silhouette with minarets is frequently used in the posters of Istanbul 2010 as we have seen many examples starting with the visual icon by McMillen for "Istanbul Inspirations" campaign. In this film poster we are again face to face with Istanbul silhouette with six minarets but we cannot see the full historical peninsula skyline. It is a close up image of Sultanahmet Mosque, so the image positions the viewer closer to the site where the photography is taken. The representation of mosque is closely associated with the theme of the film. Perhaps even it is a frame shot from the film. The film denotes increasing feelings for tolerance and brotherhood during the fest time. Mosque connotes the community feeling for Muslims where they gather and pray together in the early fest morning, at sunrise time. However this is practiced by men not women therefore there is gender discrimination in such cultures. Moreover the mosque denotes Islam and we understand that it is a religious fest time such as Ramadan. The text highlights "tolerance and brotherhood" but there is no other reference to other cultures or religions, although Istanbul is a cosmopolitan city. We only see the close up of a mosque and other parts of the city. A bird (silhouette of a bird) is flying over the dome of the mosque, which is also very common in symbolic representations of Istanbul. If it was the image of the Hagia Sophia the bird could have represented the messenger or dove figure that connotes Holy Spirit according to Christianity. Hagia Sophia was built as a church and then it was transformed into a mosque. Today it serves as a museum. Whereas Sultanahmet Mosque was built as a mosque in the Ottoman period and still serves as a mosque today. Therefore the bird figure does not have secondary meanings associated with Christianity but it just entered the snapshot. It can be commented that the messages are direct and simple in this poster but they cannot go beyond being just a cliché. The word and image support each other, whereas the context is described as a Muslim country. If it is not known that the silhouette belongs to Sultanahmet Mosque, it could have been another place

instead of Istanbul and any ordinary morning instead of fest morning. The missing elements in the image are supported by the text; therefore there is a strong link between the two.

B.3.4 Literature

- **International Istanbul Poetry Festival**

1. *Form*

The poster is designed by Eray Kula. On the top right corner the event is identified as "INTERNATIONAL ISTANBUL POETRY FESTIVAL" in capital letters both in Turkish (above) and in English (below). "POETRY" is emphasized in bold character. The English text is abbreviated: "INT." for international and "FEST." for festival, which is not a common practice for titles.

We see an upside-down image of Galata Tower like a pen. The tower is made of letters. The words are written in Turkish but they do not make sense as they are not complete in a sentence structure. They function as the stones building the tower rather than building the sentence. The pin point draws a way or a river on as the ink is blue. The background colour of the poster is white and the text is blue. Istanbul 2010 logo is at the bottom right side of the poster. Below the logo, the date of the event is written in a box and the theme is stated as "Ireland". Below the box, on the bottom of the poster all the other logos are listed such as Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Beyoğlu Municipality. The logo of Beyoğlu Municipality is also represented by Galata Tower. The web address of the festival ("istanbulsiirfestivali.org) is given at the bottom right corner next to the logos. There is no "www" (worldwideweb) in the beginning of the web address line and the address is in Turkish

2. *Content*

The poster has direct references to Istanbul and poetry. Galata Tower has a symbolic meaning for Istanbul as a landmark. By depicting it upside-down the signifier has changed into a pen. There are no historical or cultural connotations between Galata Tower and poetry.

The reason for such a representation of the tower as a pen is due to its shape. The tower is represented through words as the building blocks in an effort to establish a metaphoric meaning between the poetry and the tower symbolized as pen. The ink flows like a river when the words are thought as they are flowing in a poem metaphorically. Therefore the image and text are linked to each other through metaphoric and symbolic meanings in conveying the message. The poetry and Istanbul are the signs that can be easily conferred from the image but there is no direct reference to the theme of the festival, which is "Ireland". If the theme was "Genoa" the representation of Galata Tower would have made perfect sense as it is built by Genoese. But Galata Tower is there only because of its similarity to the pen and most probably due to Beyoğlu Municipality and Galata Tower in its logo. There is no visual reference to Ireland either at the denotative or connotative level. If we force our imaginations the only reference could have been the river drawn by the pen (Galata Tower) representing River Shannon as the longest river in Ireland or River Foyle as the border between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. Obviously, the only reference to Ireland is made verbally in the text and the context of Ireland is left out of focus in this poster while Istanbul is certainly in focus and Istanbul is signified more than poetry and more than Ireland.

B.3.5 Theatre & performing arts

- **Cihangir Insomnia**

1. *Form*

The poster designed by Markus Göbl, shows a wide-open eye with a big pupil and red veins. The eyelashes are depicted as arrows in different directions and there are hundreds of them. On the top right of the eye, in the corner of the poster, there is red big circle like a sun. Inside the circle it is written "/LOVE /PAIN /MUSIC" one under the other and each word starting with a slash. The eye is in the center of the poster on the yellow background. The background is like wall. There are cracks on the wall one big crack on the left corner above the eye. The colour of the wall is not a pure tone, is a dirty yellow. There is a small moth perching on the wall, below the eye. The two stripes below

the moth looks like scotch tape drawing a line on the wall. Below the line, on the left corner "CIHANGIR INSOMNIA" is written in capital bold letters, in black. This is the title of the project. On the bottom right corner, there is the logo of Istanbul 2010. Between the two, there are three lines separating the text from each other. The upper line gives information about the date and place of the performance and contact information. At the line below, there is the web-site address of the project and the small logos of other supporters and/or partners.

2. *Content*

The verbal and visual text is closely linked in creating the meaning. The "eye" wide-open is like a sleepless eye in other words a "redeye" signalling "insomnia". The arrows representing the eyelashes are like thorns giving pain. Although the heads of the arrows are pointed out, it is disturbing. Since the arrows pointed out, they could be also associated as a sign of communication or contact with outer world, with exterior or "looking out". The look of the eye is tense and anxious; the pupil is big as if there is a threat or danger. At the denotative level the eye is tense because of insomnia. Therefore, the meaning of "insomnia" in the title is associated with the image through the depiction of the eye. The redeye is a symptom of sleeplessness, alcohol consumption or even drug use, often associated with night life.

"Cihangir" signifies several meanings but I would focus on the district of Istanbul in the city centre (Taksim area), know for night life and bohemian way of living. Cihangir has been one of the intense cosmopolitan districts of Istanbul in its history and had been the subject of urban interventions many times. First, the Greek and Armenian populations were cleaned. Then it became home to immigrants from Anatolia and transvestites who took over the emptied houses from the former residents. That time the neighbourhood had a run-down look neglected by the urban planners and government. Then the regeneration started to rehabilitate the area from the marginal groups of people such as the "transvestites" mainly settled down on Purtelas Street. The neighbourhood attracted intellectuals and artists due to its centrality and proximity to Taksim and the main pedestrian street of

Istanbul, Beyoğlu, which is the symbolic to intellectual life of the city. The newcomers of the neighbourhood gave a bohemian spirit to Cihangir and the rents of houses were increased. Yet there are many places in Istanbul and in different metropolitan cities in the world that have similar stories of gentrification and transformation. The dirty yellow colour of the wall and the cracks on the wall signifies a dilapidated environment. As known, moths are attracted to light in the dark. The moth perching on the wall turned itself up where the big red-point stands like the source of light. The text "love, pain, music" tells the audience what the performance is about.

B.3.6 Traditional arts

- **Heritage –A Collection from Traditional Turkish Calligraphy Foundation Museum**

1. *Form*

The poster designed by Cüneyt Özkan. The text is written both in Turkish and in English. On the top, the title of the project "Miras" is written in golden letters and in big font size. Under "Miras", the tittle in English "Heritage" is given in grey italic letters in a smaller size. In the centre of the poster, we see an example of calligraphy, most probably written in Arabic, or maybe in Ottoman language. Below the image we read the text: "A Collection from Traditional Turkish Calligraphy Foundation Museum", which is linked to the image above and anchors the meaning that the exhibition is about calligraphy. The English text is written in italics again. Below, there is the logo of Istanbul 2010 and there is no any other logo. All the elements either visual or verbal on the poster are centred.

2. *Content*

The design of the poster is simple as the signs are kept at a very simple level yet they are effective to communicate the main theme. It does not harass the eye of the viewer and does not confuse with redundant details. The message is simple and the design is aesthetical as it reflects a beautiful example of calligraphy art. Therefore it lets the audience to look and enjoy the art piece on the poster, while giving information

only at the fundamental level. The famous painter Andre Lothe comments on the abstractness and beauty of calligraphy as follows:

"I cannot read these writings. It is better that way. So I can enjoy the pure symphony of lines…" (in Eroğlu, 2010: 94).

The image on this poster, which is a calligraphy example, is designed in the shape of an eye drop. It also resembles to fingerprint. A fingerprint is a way of identification and it is unique for each person. Not any two or more people on earth have the same fingerprint. When interpreted through this perspective, the letters signify the ridges on a fingertip.

Most interestingly, the image on the poster is composed in the form of verbal text. As the text is in Arabic Alphabet, the poster is not only in two languages as it has been mentioned initially but it is in three languages.

Calligraphy in Arabic alphabet is often connoted with the Islamic culture and art. The image does not give any reference to the context. It is not depicted on a wall or ceiling of a mosque, etc. The image is depicted on a black background like an art piece. But when the image and text are considered in a link to each other then the viewer would think of Ottoman Turkish Calligraphy as the text connects the meaning of the image with heritage, which is selected from a collection of Traditional Turkish Calligraphy. During the Ottoman period, calligraphy was among the most venerated art forms because the Islamic art denies the representation of God through images (Lewis & Churchill, 2009). Therefore Islamic art tradition has a strong level of abstraction in meaning. One of the most known examples of such tradition of representation can be seen in Hagia Sophia as a heritage site. As known Hagia Sophia was constructed as a Byzantine church and after the conquest of Istanbul by the Ottomans it was transformed into a mosque and the interior has been changed according to the Islamic traditions. The most extensive restoration of Hagia Sophia was commissioned by Abdülmecid II to Fossati brothers in the 19th century. The mosaics in the upper gallery were cleaned. The iconographic mosaics of the Christianity were not destroyed but they were covered with examples of calligraphy art with Koranic inscriptions and the

names of the God and the Prophet. After the foundation of Republic and secularization some of the calligraphy works were kept, while many of them were taken to Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts. Therefore this brief information on the history of Hagia Sophia gives an idea for the historical context of calligraphy and its importance as heritage.

B.3.7 Education

- **Sulukule Children's Art Workshop Project**

1. *Form*

The poster designed by Tuncay Köksal/ Lowe Tanıtım for Sulukule Children's Art Workshop Project is very colourful and playful as the target audience is children. Although the verbal text tells "art workshop" in blue colour, we see music notes flying everywhere, they are blowing out from the volcano like figure painted in rainbow colours. Thus it can be understood that the project is mainly about music. Sulukule is differentiated from the rest of the text, which is in purple. Different colours are used to draw attention to Sulukule, which is a historical neighbourhood in Istanbul. The text printed on white background is cutting the volcano into two parts horizontally and the rainbow seems discontinuous. The top of the rainbow volcano is framed and painted on purple-pink background, which stands like another image. Actually this is the logo of the workshop project, which has become part of the image on the poster. The notes are spilling over the frame and flying over the top of the poster. They also get bigger when they spill over the frame to the white background. The logos are listed at the bottom of the poster below the horizontal line where the volcano ends. In the beginning we see Istanbul 2010 logo, and then several art and culture foundations follow consecutively Sulukule Foundation for Culture, which is a local initiative, Istanbul Technical University, Contemporary Drama Foundation for acting and ITU Turkish Music State Conservatory (TMSK) for music education.

2. *Content*

The meaning of music is strong when we read the image on a contextual basis as well. Sulukule is the neighbourhood in the historical centre of Istanbul, renowned for the Romani people living there and the music industry and culture as a part of their living and traditions. The children learn to play instruments at a very early age, as they are born into a family culture of music. However, apparently this is not a formal education. It is a form of tradition transferred from generation to generation. At the bottom of the poster we see the logo of Istanbul Technical University (ITU) and ITU Turkish Music State Conservatory (TMSK). This signifies the aim of the workshop is to give formal music education to children of Sulukule.

Music is a common language, which is represented with notes flying over the air. The notes are blown out to the air by the volcano representing the creativity. Children are creative they have an imaginative world. This is represented by painting the volcano in rainbow colours. The colourful images are attractive for children. The rainbow is a dream-like figure that appears as a result of diffraction of light in the sky. But this is an extraordinary happening for children as it is visible when there is sun and rain together. The multi-colours of the rainbow represent the polyphony of an orchestra where the music notes are signs of a common language. The children are perceived as the change makers for the future and the importance of the education is highlighted to make the change.

Sulukule is a cosmopolitan district with many voices and colours. The Romani inhabitants of the neighbourhood are the main contributors to its cultural life and development of music industry also in the form of a job. However as the city transforms, the locality is crushed by the global forces. Sulukule has been recently chosen as the first renewal site. Accordingly, the project implemented by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality proposes the forceful evictions of the Romani people and creates social exclusion in the area. The art workshop supported by local initiatives, educational bodies and Istanbul 2010 Agency, takes

place completely at the opposite side to the urban renewal, in an effort to support culture and education.

B.3.8 Maritime and sports

- **Rally of Turkey**

1. *Form*

There are different posters prepared for the Rally of Turkey both in Turkish and in English as it is a mega sports event under the support of Istanbul 2010 event. I have taken the poster in Turkish, printed on the Posters Catalogue by Istanbul 2010 Agency, under investigation.

From top to bottom, the poster changes colours, tones, composition and meanings layer by layer. It starts with a dusty image of symbolic landmarks of Istanbul: Maiden's Tower, Süleymaniye Mosque, Sultan Gate of Dolmabahçe Palace, Rumeli Castle and Galata Tower consecutively. The order of these historical and monumental buildings do not represent a geographically order, nor they are on the route of the rally. At the background we see the Bosphorus Bridge, which seems like hung on Maiden's Tower and Galata Tower as its piers. The landscape of Bosphorus at the back is misty and nostalgic. The sun is depicted as either rising or setting just above the Bosphorus Bridge in the middle of the sky. The colour of the image is composed of dusty brown, yellow and orange, which makes the image, look like an old representation even nostalgic. Above the Bosphorus Bridge, the slogan is written in big, white, bold capital letters: "The Greatest Rally is in the City of Legends." The slogan is linked firstly to the legendary image of the city and below the symbolic representations of Istanbul, two race cars are depicted side by side. The light from above falls on the cars as if they are not racing cars but they are show cars presented to the audience on the stage. At the bottom of the poster, in the middle, there is the logo of "Rally of Turkey", above (in the logo) Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Turkey is represented and below the logo the web address is given; "www.rallyofturkey.org". The logo is greater than the other logos listed on the bottom line of the poster. On the right corner there is the logo of Istanbul 2010 Agency, on the left side the logos of

WRC (World Rally Championship), FIA (Fédération Internationale de l'Automobile) and TOSFED (Türkiye Otomobil Sporları Federasyonu) are displayed consecutively.

2. *Content*

At first glance the poster seems bringing the representations of past and modern together through representations of old monuments in the city and the brand new race cars. This seems like a clash and there is something, which does not fit into this picture. The atmosphere created by the colours of brown, yellow, and orange is mystical and nostalgic. It belongs to the old. The cars belong to modern; they are the signs of technology. Therefore they do not fit into the background image of Istanbul behind. Actually the background image of Istanbul likes a theatre decor, it is not real, the colours are in the tones of watercolour, the sky is dusty brown and it is turbulent it is not blue and calm. The cars at the front stand like they are standing on the stage. The light falling on the cars is like the spotlight. The ground is dusty but the car on the right looks like it does not move at all. They face different directions as if they will start moving in different direction, the car on the right to the right and the car on the left to the left. The car on the left also looks like it does not move but when we look at the tires we see dust is coming out as it is moving on a sandy area.

The verbal text, the slogan, connects the images and layers of meaning to each other. It highlights Istanbul as the "City of legends". That is why Istanbul is depicted like a mystified, historical city through its legendary monuments. The rally is represented through the race cars in the front. The visual opposition between the two is neglected and they are connected through the meaning in the verbal text. Yet the leading actor in this representation is not the city of Istanbul but they are the cars that represent the rally as the sports event, as the spectacle in which Istanbul turns into the stage for the spectacle. The mega sports event sometimes may target greater and different segments of audience than the main event itself. This is linked to the culture and popularity of the event in that country. Therefore the emphasis is given to the rally and Istanbul is presented as the decor of the event. It is also true that

mega-events, especially popular sports events are wonderful opportunities to promote the city. Especially sport events that take in the inner city such as marathons, bicycle races etc. offer images for the audience about how the city looks, giving high-angle snapshots of the city. Rally however takes place at a special route outside of the city. Imagine the dust in the historical city of the area and the level of damage to the historical monuments represented on the image if it would take place in the city centre. In that case the city would look like as turbulent as doomsday. Therefore the representation of Istanbul remains like a layer on the surface.

B.3.9 Parallel events

- **Istanbul en Drome**

1. *Form*

The poster designed by Burcu Işık gives a portrayal of Istanbul skyline. But the skyline we see on the top of the poster on a white background (which covers only 1/5th of the whole poster) different than the usual Istanbul silhouette depictions. It does not only represent the look through the historical peninsula, the modern face of the city has entered into the skyline with few skyscrapers in the middle, although they are depicted at a lower height than the historical monuments and minarets. The skyline starts with Bosphorus Bridge on the left and then the three towers of Istanbul, which have become symbolic to the urban representations are depicted, Galata Tower, Beyazıt Tower and Maiden's Tower respectively. Then comes the modern face of the city with modern skyscrapers which are not symbolic for Istanbul (yet) but they can be anywhere in the other modern metropolises of the world. Yet if I am not wrong they are the twin towers of Sabanci Holding (which is one of the biggest capital groups of Turkey) and İş Bankası Building, which was the tallest building of Istanbul till 2010 when the Anthill Residences were built and then "Sapphire of Istanbul" became the tallest building of Istanbul in 2011. Although there is a competition of building the tallest building the representations of these skyscrapers do not look like they are competing to each other. They are depicted at the same level with Haydarpasa Train Station on their right side. On

the right end of the skyline Sultanahmet Mosque is depicted with its six minarets. The shade of the skyline falls like a curtain to the rest of the poster forming a black background. The rest is composed of verbal text printed in white on black colour. Below the skyline, "ISTANBUL EN DROME" is printed in bold capital letters as the title of the exhibition. The small text under the title mentions "ANNEE DE LA TURQUIE EN FRANCE" and "ISTANBUL 2010 CAPITALE EUROPEENE DE LA CULTURE" together. The text is in French as the year 2010 refers to the year of Turkey in France and Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture". The rest of the text is also written in French as the exhibition takes place in France in Mairie de Bourg-les-Valence Lyon-France. Then the names of organizers are presented which is followed by the names of Turkish and French artists. Below the date of the exhibition is given. We see the logo of Meke Sanat as the Turkish co-organizer of the event. The other logos are listed at the bottom line of the poster below the logo of Meke Sanat. The logo of Istanbul 2010 is at the end, at the right corner.

2. *Content*

As 2010 was the Turkish year in France, the exhibition was organized in an attempt to reinforce the cultural relationships between Turkey and France. In this context the event is not only of international but transnational nature. Yet the image represented on the top of the poster, the Istanbul skyline does give any reference neither to France, nor to the content of the exhibition. The only represented city is Istanbul, although it is not possible to understand the context of this representation from the image. It resembles to the representation of London skyline with rising towers like Tower Bridge, St. Paul, and various modern skyscrapers in any type of promotional poster. Therefore, such representation of Istanbul brings minds the globalization effects leading to marketing cities resembling to each other, which are out of place and out of context. The audience cannot understand if the exhibition is about architecture, or contemporary art or etc. The verbal text is in French because the exhibition was organized in France but it does not also give any reference to the content of the exhibition. The design of the poster is kept at a simple level, so is the

text. Nevertheless the poster is not informative and representative enough to attract the audience to the exhibition as the audience does not have a clue about what to expect from the exhibition.

- **Spectres of Trotsky: the Lost Interiors of an Exile**

1. *Form*

The poster is designed on a black background in which we see the image captured by the Irish photographer James Hughes in the middle stretching from left to right. The title of the exhibition "Spectres of Trotsky: the Lost Interiors of an Exile" is printed vertically from top to bottom extending on image. "Spectres of Trotsky" is printed in white and the rest of the title "The Lost Interiors of an Exile" is printed in red colour. The text is in Turkish. On the top left corner of the poster the text starts with "Leon Trotsky" giving reference to the Soviet Communist leader and it follows with "The interior spaces of exile in Büyükada" which gives more information about the exhibition in which Hughes has photographed the interiors of Trotsky house in Büyükada in Istanbul. Below the image, the address of the Istanbul Hatırası Fotograf Merkezi, where the exhibition took place, is given and the logos of the partners and sponsors are listed below. Istanbul 2010 logo is placed on the bottom right of the poster which is reserved like separate place as it is separated by the vertical text dividing the poster. A small and a very interesting detail is the key on the left, below the image, next to the address line. The key is not represented fully, we cannot see where the key leads us, and we cannot see the lock. Only the top of the key is represented which is made of iron and which looks like an old key.

2. *Content*

If we talk about the context before going into interpretation, it could be appropriate to mention the signs at the denotative level and then relate them to the context. The Soviet Communist leader Leon Trotsky lived in a house in Büyükada (Prinkipo), during his exile years in Istanbul (1929-1933). Therefore the image shows the picture of the interior of Trotsky House. The room is totally run down and thorn apart, the

papers are peeling off from the walls, the room is full of debris on the ground, the room is filled with light from the window (there is no window anymore) on the left. There are holes on the walls and the whole structure is severely damaged. There is a coach on the left side facing towards the audience and it is empty. The whole room is filled with the sense of emptiness as it is an abandoned place. However it is filled with light and memories. It is filled with spectres as we are witnessing the past through the lens of James Hughes. Therefore Hughes composes the image as well as the narratives by offering a rich story to the audience.

When we look at the image at a deeper level and dig into layers at the connotative level, the photograph gives the feeling of a fictious place one side and a powerful sense of place and time as a witness on the other. Although it is a lived place and the photographer is documenting the reality, the fiction, fantasy and unreality is mixed into reality in a poetic way. The image reflects powerfully on the identity of place, the time is frozen. In a way, it resembles to the "Ghost Building" project as it demonstrates a run-down building, which is at risk although it still exists as a witness. The similarity is that both invite the audience to imagine; one, to imagine the future scenarios, and the other, the memories of the past.

Hughes offers many layers opening to different worlds. The key at the denotative level is the tool to open the door. There is no visible representation of the door but the key is inviting the audience to enter. It invites to enter the house, to discover the interior spaces. The key is an invitation, which otherwise would be breaking into the house. The interior represents the private life and we are not called to view an ordinary place where ordinary people lived once. We are invited to look at a special place where different people have passed from Ottoman pashas to a Soviet leader. The photo pays a revisit to the past lives through the remnants of a private space. It invites the audience to imagine Trotsky through the surfaces of meaning: the colours, the texture the materials, those have remained and those have perished. Despite the shambles all over the place, there is a grace in the decoration of the room, which offers clues to imagine the past.

Therefore the image shows fragments of past lives through a fragmented space.

- **In Between. Austria Contemporary**

1. *Form*

The poster is designed on a white paper. The Austrian traditional dress for men known as "lederhosen" is depicted in green colour, and more than the shorts it looks like a dress for girls. It is not worn it stands like a dress for paper doll. Inside the dress there is a black t-shirt with the words printed on the t-shirt "how, can dance, when, the world…" There is a daisy like a button between the suspenders. Although the dress is exhibited like the costume for a paper doll, the image is like a 3-D image as the shade of the dress falls on the background as if it is exhibited in a shop or a gallery, the light falls from the top left, so the shadow is on the right. The title of the exhibition, "In Between. Austria Contemporary", is written below the image in a font like Edwardian script. The text below the title is written in a very small font and the font type is like Times New Roman. The text gives information about the exhibition; the address and the dates of the exhibition. Interestingly unlike the other posters not only the dates are printed with numbers on the poster but a full sentence is given: "The exhibition can be visited everyday from 4 June to 30 June, between 09.00-18.00". Below, the names of the young Austrian artists are listed and at the bottom line of the poster the logos are given. Everything on the poster is centred.

2. *Content*

Although the costume in the image looks like "lederhosen", it is neither leather, nor a pair of shorts. It is a green costume made of fabric and the lower part is a skirt, yet it can be associated with lederhosen due to the suspenders. The lederhosen is thought as the traditional costume for men in Austria, however the text below says "Austria Contemporary" which seems like an opposition to the image but it is not. "Contemporary" signifies the contemporary art and the title of the exhibition is "In Between". It can be interpreted as being in between the traditional and contemporary but this is only at the surface. The

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costume is not really traditional, it is an art object or a subject rather than a traditional costume, which offers connotations to the Austrian identity and history as well as the contemporary meanings rooted in the Austrian traditions and Austrian way of living. The exhibition is commissioned and organised by the Austrian Federal Ministry for Education, Arts and Culture, which denotes the Austrian state's promotive role in the arts and culture.

- **"Arie Antiche"**

1. *Form*

If we read the poster from top to bottom, first we read the title of the project in Turkish, which means Antique Arias Contest. The title in Turkish is in white, capital letters and below there is the Italian phrase for Antique Arias in quotation marks: "Arie Antiche". If we continue to read through the bottom we see the date of the contest March 2010 and the logo of Istanbul 2010 below the date. The logo is blue and standing alone in the centre of the page. The image is laid on the background of the poster. We see four females, the two playing the lute (one at the right one at the left, in the front) and the two singing (in the middle at the back). The singing figure is holding a booklet or note sheet in her hands. Below the image, there is the logo of Antik A.Ş., which is one of the leading art auctioneers in Turkey and the organizer of the event. At the bottom line of the poster, below the logo the contact information of Antik A.Ş. is given.

2. *Content*

As it can be read from the title of the project, it is an opera contest, with a specific concept of "antique arias". Antique arias is mentioned also in Italian, "Arie Antiche" on the poster, however there is no any other reference to Italian partnership in the project although some members of the juries of the contest came from Italy, from renowned institutions.

The word "opera" originates from Italian word for work[26] and defined as "a dramatic work in one or more acts that is set to music for singers

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[26] origin C17: from Ital., from L., lit. 'labour, work'.

and instrumentalists" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2008b). The word "aria" also has its origins in the Italian word for "air"[27], which is defined today as "music a long accompanied song for a solo voice in an opera or oratorio" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2008c). Therefore as their etymological origins, the music form has references to the Western Culture. The Western art is appreciated by the Republic, as a synonym to modernization. Yet opera, as a western art form, is not very well adopted by the Turkish culture, which stems from the lack of art education effecting on the art appreciation.

If we look at the image to search for anchored meanings between the word and image, we see that the main theme in the image is music. The composition of the image lays out many layers of meanings that are open to contextual interpretation. The image depicts four female figures. Two of them in the front, playing the lute, look western and the one at the back singing looks eastern as she is depicted with turban on her head. Turban signifies the eastern culture and highly represented in the orientalist paintings by Western painters. The lute as an instrument is also attributed to western culture but sometimes it is used interchangeably with "ud" which is presumed as an instrument with eastern origin. Playing ud and singing has been a part of the culture at the Ottoman seraglio, which was represented in the orientalist paintings. If we take the reference for turban and eastern culture, it could be said that the image has references to eastern culture. On the other hand, if we take off western connotations for the lute and opera, it could be said that the image has references to the western culture as playing lute and opera has been part of entertainment life in the west and it was represented in the paintings of the western artists. If we focus on details in the composition, we see that the two females playing the lute are facing to the audience. They are posed with their torsos facing each other and their heads are turned to audience. They look like western figures with their dressing and hairstyles. If we look at the two females at the back we see the differences in their representation. We can only see the face of the female figure partially so the female holding

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[27] origin C18: from Ital., from L. aer 'air'.

the book is representative. Their eyes are closed or either they are looking down at the booklet and they are singing or reading. Although we see the facial expression, they are not looking at the audience; they seem they are concentrated in their inner worlds as if they are praying.

The codes in the image can be interpreted differently in different contexts. The image has many references addressing binary oppositions between the East and West. Yet the main theme is the music as the common denominator between the two cultures as well as between the text and the image.

- **"Istanbul – Paris – Berlin"**

1. *Form*

On the poster we see three different towers in three different cities. First is the Galata Tower in Istanbul, second is the Eiffel Tower in Paris and third is the TV Tower in Berlin. The towers as iconic structures have become symbolic to the cities. Above the image, over each tower representation we read the names of the cities respectively "İSTANBUL – PARİS – BERLİN" in white capital letters. The text on the poster is in Turkish and below the image it is pointed out that the event is a literature meeting and it tales place at French Cultural Centre in Istanbul. The date is written in black and participants are mentioned together with contributors. The text changes between black and red colour. The bottom of the poster is divided with dashes like a coupon or a ticket, which can be torn down or cut. Below the dashes, it is mentioned that there would be a cocktail at the end of the meeting and RSVP is required for participation. That is why this part is separated like a flyer, which could be presented as a ticket. At the bottom line of the poster the logos of Insititut Français d'Istanbul, Goethe-Institut and Istanbul 2010 are listed representing the three cultural institutions of the three countries. The address of Insititut Français d'Istanbul is given on the bottom left corner as the host of the event. On the top of the poster it has been mentioned that the event is organized "under the auspices of Consulate General of Germany and Consulate General of France". The three institutions taking role in the event are mentioned: Insititut Français d'Istanbul on the occasion of Elysée Treaty, Goethe

Institut-Istanbul and Istanbul 2010 ECoC Agency as the proposing parties. Therefore the event is organized through the contribution of three countries on the theme of three cities: Istanbul, Paris, Berlin in literature.

2. *Content*

The images of the cities look like sketches on a straw coloured paper due to the background. The straw paper is used for sketching or writing that is why such colour might be chosen for the background. But the images are not sketches; they are old black and white images. We understand they are old due to the fast transformation of cities and the change in their urban texture. New buildings have emerged around Galata Tower, so it does not look like this representation anymore. Giving an old-look to the images might be on purpose as the colour of the background turn them into sepia colour, which feels old and nostalgic. Such representation is a reference to the history.

Tower as a symbol is iconic in the urban representations. It is also metaphoric in its meanings in the literature. Galata Tower is one of the most common symbolic representations of Istanbul. We have seen the use of symbolism for Istanbul through Galata Tower on a poster in a literature event, which was the International Poetry Festival stemming from the metaphoric resemblance between the tower and the pencil. In this poster all three cities are represented through towers as their most powerful symbols. They also represent power in literature, and in history. The rich and royal families competed with each other to build the tallest tower in the city as a means of showing their power, especially in the feudal regimes of the middle ages. Today, the form of the competition has changed, which can be interpreted as the competition between the cities to have the tallest building in the global world. Maybe these towers represented on the poster, were the tallest structures of their times, yet they still remained as monumental structures and symbols of the city through their recognition worldwide. That is why the meaning of the towers is anchored between the text and the image through their representativeness of the cities.

The rest of the text is informative about the event. The event is organized at a high level of bureaucrats under the auspices of French Consulate General. Elysée Treaty[28] represents the reconciliation and friendship between France and Germany, which was signed by The Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, and the President of the French Republic, General de Gaulle in 1963 (Benitez, 2013). Istanbul 2010 Agency took the cultural side with two other cultural institutions representing France and Germany. In this context the text is very formal as it is a call to a diplomatic reception and it is informative about the details of the event such date and place, and the participants. However it does not tell about the three cities. They remain only at the surface, as a representation. They are represented though the images, through the literature ambassadors (novelists), the cultural ambassadors (cultural institutions) and diplomats. It raises the expectation that these three cities are the subject of the talk and they will be talked over the literature works. The novelists Orhan Pamuk, J.-M.G. Le Clézio and Herta Müller are cited, who have won the Nobel Prize for literature. Ahmet Kot, who is the head of Directory of Literature of Istanbul 2010 Agency is mentioned as a participant among Harold David and Timour Muhidine.

One last thing to comment on could be the status of the cities. Since the organization of the event has diplomatic references, It should be paid attention that Paris and Berlin share the national capital city status. Istanbul is involved as the European Capital of Culture of 2010 as the whole event is designed in the framework of ECoC 2010.

- **Forum Fashion Week**

1. *Form*

When we look at the poster, we see a high-heeled woman shoe made of symbolic buildings brought together from different parts of the world. The high hill is made of Eiffel Tower standing upside down. At the

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[28] Source of original German text: *Bundesgesetzblatt* [*Federal Law Gazette*] 1963, II, pp. 705-10.

bottom right corner of the poster just under the heel of the shoe, there is the logo of Forum Istanbul, which is presenting itself as the largest shopping mall in Europe. On the bottom left corner there is the logo of Istanbul 2010 together with Elle and Flash Model, the latter two representing the fashion side. The website of the event (www.forumfashionweek.com) is mentioned above the logo of Istanbul 2010. The image is separated into few parts with dashed line and little scissors to be cut into pieces like a coupon in a newspaper or a piece of cloth to be sewed. On the top of the posters "Forum Fashion Week" is written in pink colour. This is the only colour used in the poster as the rest is toned in grey. All the words are separated from each other with dashed lines. The text is placed on a diagonal axis from top left to bottom right corner. The word "week" stands in vertical position next to the words "Forum" and "Fashion" which are written one under the other. The title of the event is followed by some informative text about the event, which is in Turkish: the date, the participants and the parallel events.

2. *Content*

The high-heeled shoe has a strong denotation for femininity. The ladies room is represented with high heels in public places such as restaurants. The shoe is a fashionable object even it can be at a fetishist level for women. This is closely linked with the commodity fetishism in Marxist terminology. Women tend to buy objects even they will not wear or use them. That is why fashion objects have greater sign value than their use value. Just the idea of possession of that object signifies the power and status. When the incentive behind buying and/or possessing is the desire then it becomes a fetish object. This is the basic idea behind the advertisements to motivate the desires of people. The desire is provoked by the devil in the metaphoric sense (although in the middle ages it was taken literally). The image offers similarities with the poster of the film "The Devil Wears Prada", where we see a red, heeled shoe and the heel is the fork of the devil. Red is the colour of desire and fork represents the devil.

In the poster of the fashion week the codes are not so salient. There is no red colour, and no fork of the devil. The shoe is rather connoted as a design object. The design can be interpreted as fashion design, while the urban texture embedded onto the shoe in which the buildings have become the elements building the show leads to the interpretation as architectural and urban design. The monumental buildings are laid on top of each other ranging from Sultanahmet Mosque to Big Ben, from Ritz Carlton Istanbul to La Sagrada Familia, from Galata Tower to Eiffel Tower, no matter what they are old or modern. They are merged into the urban fabric in the shape of a woman shoe. When we look at carefully to this urban fabric, we see that the monumental structures and tall buildings are placed on the surface on top of the macro urban fabric, which gives the feeling of the city rather than focusing on symbolic structures one by one. This type of formation also underlines the meaning of a palimpsest city as the layers are formed on top of each other. Towers and tall buildings are on the surface as the denotative meanings refer to meanings on the surface. Another comment may be they are on the surface because they are rising to the sky. The towers are visible from multi-perspectives in the city. The tall buildings carry a secondary meaning of the desire to reach God in the gothic sense, through the towers and pinnacles. It is reflected to different architectural forms in different periods, for instance it takes the form of minarets in mosques. The modern skyscrapers are tall because there is no space left in the city and the city grows vertically. But it can be also interpreted according to the orders of capitalism in which the competition for the tallest building signifies the financial power of a city. Yet, it is depicted all these structures are supported by the macro structures in the urban fabric, without the city beneath they cannot rise alone. They have meanings attributed to the cities, without New York there would not be Empire State, without Istanbul there would not be Galata Tower, without Paris there would not be Eiffel Tower and vice versa, because these structures became symbolic to the cities that they are located in.

Both the shoe and the city are represented as feminine in linguistics terms. The shoe is a woman shoe, which reinforces the meaning of

female. We refer to the cities using "she" pronoun. Therefore there are cross-references between the representation of fashion, city and the female character. The target audience of the poster are not only women or fashion lowers but also those who have interest in the city and culture. Laying the city on a woman shoe reflects an aesthetical design, but creates a chaotic urban structure at the same time. It is not a flat city. There are ups and downs. This corresponds to the description of Istanbul, it is a city of desires; it is beautiful and unique, and it is crowded and chaotic.

The qualities of Istanbul have made Istanbul attractive for visitors, therefore ranked among the fashionable places in the world, even taking its place as a "style city" in the contemporary world through fashion, design, art and architecture. Yet we see that the heel of the show is depicted with Eiffel tower alone, different than the other structures forming the shoe figure. The first is reason is the form of Eiffel Tower, which fits into the form of the heel, referring to the rule of resemblance. Another reason is more on the contextual level, as Eiffel is accepted to be the capital city of fashion it is placed as the main supporting element and it stands alone.

A last comment, which could be made, is related to the symbolic buildings representing different cities in the urban fabric presented on the shoe figure. There is the multiplicity of cities and the coexistence in this figure, therefore a cosmopolitan urban fabric is created through the multiple meanings and multi-cultural structures. While symbolic structures catch the eye of the viewer whereas they do not leave each other in the shade, they are in harmony. We can see the parallel line stretching diagonally between the minarets of Sultanahmet Mosque and the towers of Sagrada Familia. It points out a harmonious hybrid structure. As a matter of fact, Istanbul has been formed through this hybrid and multi-cultural structure though the historical accumulation of different eras ranging from Byzantian churches to Jewish synagogues and Ottoman mosques.

In sum the symbolic language of the poster offers meanings related to fashion and consumption on the surface anchoring the text, but when

looked deeply underneath and to the meaning layers, it offers a rich text composed of urban and cultural signs with references to Istanbul, underlining the meaning of Istanbul as a "world city".

5.4 Conclusion

The conceptual tools are useful in classifying and comparing the essential features of the phenomena under investigation (Dey, 2005: 100). The qualitative information provided by the examination of form and content of the posters has been useful for familiarizing with the data and generating initial codes. Yet, explicit codes are necessary in order to organize our data to identify and develop themes. This may be a list of themes that follow a "pattern found in the information that at minimum describes and organizes the possible observations and at maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon" (Boyatzis, 1998: 4). The interpretation of the data adheres to the "hermeneutical procedures of context definition, the construction of patterned similarities and differences, and the use of relevant social and material culture theory" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998: 127). If we follow the method of Panofsky, we can start with identifying pure forms on the first layer of the image. The "conventional stratum consisted of symbolic or 'coded' meanings" lays at the second layer (Howells, 2009: 123).

Thus, in the next chapter findings will be outlined according the results of the coded meanings and patterned themes. The methods for coding and the most frequent codes that appear in the posters will be revealed in the beginning of the chapter and then the findings will be discussed according to three main themes driven from the data as well as from the theoretical part of the research. The discussion will be extended by linking the themes to the topics covered in contextual framework.

6. FINDINGS II

"There is no vantage outside the actuality of relationships between cultures, between unequal imperial and nonimperial powers, between different others, a vantage that might allow one the epistemological privilege of somehow judging, evaluating, and interpreting free of the encumbering interests, emotions, and engagements of the ongoing relationships themselves."

(Said, 1989)

6.1 Introduction

Coding is a crucial step in qualitative analysis, followed by developing themes within the raw data, which may include taking frequencies, identifying co-occurrence and displaying relationships within and between the groups of codes. The codes are listed on an Excel sheet in order to search for a pattern between them by counting the frequency of each code. This is done by "COUNTIF" function in Excel and not by "FREQUENCY", because the data is not coded as numbers but words (such as culture, history, heritage, city, mosque, bridge, etc.).

Table 10. Frequency of codes

Keywords	Frequency (f)
Istanbul	25
Culture	18
History	16
Monument	15
City	15
Modern	8
Heritage	7
Spectacle	7
Nostalgia	5
Bridge	4

As shown in Table 10, the name "Istanbul" appeared very frequently in the posters. It is either coded as a word in the verbal text or represented through iconic symbols, synecdoche images and/or panoramic views. The total number of posters selected is 32. Thus, 25 stands for a high frequency value, which means that a large share of the posters speak about Istanbul. The second most frequent code appearing in the posters is "culture", which is identified in more than half of the posters. Since the ECoC event has a focus on culture, cities showcase their cultural assets and they brand themselves through cultural events.

Calculating the frequency of occurrence helps the researcher to spot repeating ideas. However the codes with the highest frequency rates should not be understood as a sign of prevalence. It is important to pay attention how codes combine to form over-reaching themes in the data with an aim of focusing on broader patterns and integrating coded data with proposed themes.

Dey (2005: 45-47) approaches to categorization as a "method of funnelling the data" through "breaking up data & bringing it together again" and "laying down the conceptual foundations for analysis". Classifying the codes into the thematic groups provides "practical reasoning" and a reasonable "basis for comparison. Redefining categories allows a more rigorous conceptualization, which should be "guided by research objectives" (Dey, 2005: 47).

The analysis results are summarized according to the themes, which are found to be following meaningful patterns. The themes appear into 3 categories by drawing parallelism with the triad of spectacle-city-image, which has been used in the structure of conceptual and contextual framework of this research. The spectacle is linked to cultural consumption where the city-scapes become the theatre decor. The urban transformation can be read through the historical monuments symbolizing the city. This is the second category, which is exemplified through the slogan of rediscover. If paid attention, it can be seen that slogans are also captured in the definition of themes. The city image is explained through the contrasts portraying Istanbul as a city

in-between (East-West, old-contemporary, etc.). The sub-themes and deeper meanings are also discussed under these categories:

1. The spectacularization of culture: "The stage is yours Istanbul"

2. Transformation of the city from past to present: "Now is the time to Rediscover!"

3. The dialectics of city imaging: Istanbul in between...

Table 11. Thematic categories and subthemes

Theoretical concepts	Brand & Image	The Spectacle	The City
Strata	Tourism & promotion	Culture and Arts	Urban Transformation
Themes	The dialectics of city imaging: Istanbul in between...	The spectacularization of culture: "The stage is yours Istanbul"	Transformation of the city from past to present: "Now is the time to Rediscover!"
Subthemes	Patterns: silhouette, domes & minarets, dynamism, continuity, change, collective memory	Patterns: commodity fetish, theatricality, authenticity, standardization, art, culture, mobility	Patterns: bridge, diversity, cosmopolitan, tolerant globalization, self-orientalism, monument, heritage
	Contrasts: Orient/ Occident new/ old past/ contemporary continuous/ discontinuous destruction/ reconstruction	Utterances: "Inspiring city" "A city of four elements"	Utterances: "Diver-city" "Palimpsest city" "Meeting point between East & West" "Mosaic of cultures" "Cradle of civilizations"

	Symbols: synecdoche (silhouette, Galata, water/waterfront) totalizing (panorama, bird- eye) metaphor	Denomination: projected city cool city creative city contemporary metropolis	Denomination: Capital city European city World city global city

Table 11 indicates which stratum has a direct link with which thematic category in accordance with the theoretical concepts. These categories also comply with the strata, which were defined before for the classification of the second data set of the posters. As presented earlier, Istanbul 2010 put the emphasis on three areas: "tourism and promotion", "urban transformation" and lastly "culture and arts" (Istanbul 2010 ECoC Agency, 2011: 13). If we evaluate the images on a thematic basis with respect to these sub-groups (strata), each stratum can be assigned to one of the thematic categories inferred from the analysis. Accordingly art and culture apply to the theme of spectacle, urban transformation applies to the theme of rediscovering the discourses on the city from past to present, and lastly tourism and promotion apply to the theme of marketing the city image through a dialectic discussion of unity and fragmentation.

When the posters are analyzed in terms of given messages it is observed that the posters in three different groups reflect different types of language and therefore they are different in their content of messages for the separate categories. For instance the posters in the tourism and promotion group may give different messages than the posters of other groups because they are directed towards touristic images of Istanbul and promoting Istanbul with positive sides. They contain messages parallel to the promotional messages of Istanbul 2010 marketing strategy, even in some cases the verbal text is directly linked with Istanbul 2010 and its discourses, such as energy, dynamism, dialogue, multiculturalism, and heritage. Whereas, the posters in the category of urban transformation are focusing on the urban culture, cultural heritage and urban transformation practices in Istanbul and

building a bridge between the past and present. One of the best examples is the poster of "Istanbul 1910-2010" showing the face of a modernizing city. The heritage lies at the bottom where the modern is built layer by layer. Therefore the posters under the urban transformation title focus on transformation of the city and its image. On the other hand, the posters belonging to the art & culture category are diverse both in their contents and meanings. The main reason is that, they do not focus on Istanbul image and promoting this image like the posters in the tourism and promotion category. The main objective is to promote the cultural event itself, although the posters have either direct or indirect effects on the city image through their symbolic language. Some of the other posters in the art & culture group are distinguished in their design depending on the designer and artistic apprehension. Such posters put forward symbols and signs through metaphoric and contextual meanings rather than placing visible signs in a straightforward way.

Moreover, no matter which category they belong to, some posters of the events were different from the rest in their design and in their intended meanings. The posters of continuous events such as festivals can be given as example. IfIstanbul, for instance, has been held since 2002 and it is expanding with the participation of other cities (Ankara and Izmir). Therefore IfIstanbul has a different cultural agenda and concept than Istanbul 2010. These kinds of posters were intended to promote the event rather than focusing on the image of Istanbul and promoting the city. On the other hand, if we think they are not one-time events and they are continuous, their aggregated impact could be greater in making the image of Istanbul. Also it should be taken into consideration that they are international events, promoting the city to a wide audience, plus they have a certain target audience who has become frequenter of the event.

In this framework, the posters in each group have diverse characteristics. Their meanings are shaped according to the patterns drawing upon the common and different meanings within and between the groups. Therefore defining the strata for data and

adopting the thematic groups for analysis adhered to the programme catalogue of Istanbul 2010 projects is found to be appropriate and consistent in order to infer meanings based on the group characteristics.

On the other hand, sometimes the lines separating the categories and meanings as the lines separating past and present becomes blurred since the links cannot be separated from each other with sharp lines. That is why the themes should form clear patterns to avoid a significant amount of overlap. The important point in answering the research question is to identify how the themes fit together and convey a story about data set. The research takes data-driven inductive approach of Boyatzis (1998) by drawing upon the recurring themes in the posters. The themes are incorporated through deductive approach into its structure with the information available from conceptual and contextual framework. Now, we will look closely at the themes identified into three categories.

6.2 Thematic Categories

6.2.1 The spectacularization of culture: "The stage is yours Istanbul"

This category is about the spectacle, in other words it concentrates on the meanings created by ECoC as an example of mega-event. The spectacularization of the culture connotes the critical theory on consumer culture, in which the culture becomes the commodified object. The contemporary culture industry and creative sector were thought to be underdeveloped compared to the possession of rich cultural heritage. Therefore the images concentrating on the heritage sites are coupled with the images of "cool city" vibrating with arts and culture. The image of "Cool Istanbul" is the projection of a cliché but it is not totally meaningless. We can speak of a certain level of cultural production today, but what should be questioned is the organization of the culture industry. On the other hand, this image is exposed to the international arena to put Istanbul on the showcase. Istanbul is not cool

for its locals, who suffer the everyday life, traffic, economic crisis, unemployment, high rents and etc. The image of cool Istanbul is an example of the materialization of the discourses directed towards the cultural production, which turns commodity fetish into romanticized images and/or phantasmagorias. The lived space transforms itself into imagined space as the urban cultural assets and the cityscapes are transforming into a theatre decor marketed to spectators.

Culture and arts are recognized as the engines for culture-led urban transformation. The main motivation is "generating the transformative energy to build the capacity" (Rampton et al., 2011: 77, 81), whereas how Istanbul 2010 used this energy is questionable. It can be argued that this energy did not flow bottom up due to organizational change. But it can be said that the projects and the promotional messages intended to increase the participation and enrich the number of participants by making art and culture accessible to a wider audience. The projects such as "Portable Art" can be given as an example.

On the other hand, the initial idea of participative and democratic structure anticipating the bottom-up transformation of the city and its image is left behind. The participative voice is kept behind the images, but even this "participative"ness proposes banal images through a top-down mechanism of decision-making. Although the state power would be reflected on city imaging as a tool of political propaganda through a centralized approach, the consequences are away from this end in terms of creating a powerful image of Istanbul. The public policies heavily rely on urban mega-projects to re-create the city image, where the top-down mechanisms become more visible. Therefore it creates a contradiction to the image of the vibrant and cool city transforming with arts and culture.

Culture and arts as one of the strategic areas of Istanbul 2010 concentrate on creative industries and creative labour. This objective is directed towards making the image of Istanbul into a creative city. The borders are removing, and the networks connecting the cities to each other are expanding through international projects. ECoC is an

example of a European network based on culture. Therefore some of the projects are joint organizations by other European cities and ECoCs either the same year 2010 (Essen and Pécs) or past/future ECoCs (Warsaw 2016). These projects, such as "In Between. Austria Contemporary", "Divercity. Learning from Istanbul", and/or "Golden Routes", facilitate the mobility of artists.

Intercity networks do not only facilitate flows of people but also flows of images. Istanbul 2010 programme is intended for a resignification of Istanbul. Most of the symbolic images and visual representations concentrate on Istanbul (f=25), which tell us Istanbul is the main actor. Istanbul is not positioned in association with the marketing strategies of other European cities through a common vision of ECoC. Yet, the partnerships are based on cultural and artistic networking that reflects positively on the international communication of the event.

The international projects should be evaluated by taking the visual and cultural codes and their meanings in the cultural context of the partner cities. Defining the target audience is important for contextual meanings. National and international projects are different than each other in their use of symbols and language due to the different meanings created in different contexts. When analyzing these posters the meanings should be interpreted in a wider context. An example can be given by the poster of "Divercity. Learning from Istanbul" in which the illusionist leitmotiv does not only include connotations to the spectacle in Turkey but also in Poland and the visual culture in the 1970s. In this sense the symbolic representations gain new meanings in different contexts or their meanings are strengthened through the shared meanings. Due to the intercontextual meanings, it is important to pay attention to the local context and visual culture of the international project partners in order to interpret the codes according to what they represent in different cultures and how they relate to Istanbul.

Some of the posters, although they do not give direct references to Istanbul image at the denotative level, they offer a rich text through its

own systematic of signification. The poster of "If Istanbul 2010" is a good example of this kind. The rescued object is not the ship but the iceberg in this picture. While the rich culture and history represent the lower part of the iceberg; the visible part on the surface is composed of the signs and structures developed by the cities resembling to each other in the globalizing world. Therefore the heritage and historical roots are the sources of a powerful image rather than what is copied and inserted into the city image from the Western world. Such representation is a result of the intention to offer a different perspective to the conventional perceptions. Maybe it is the right approach to the preservation of the heritage, not only to preserve its past meanings but also to attribute new meanings to make it more understandable and empathizable by the new generations. Although the set of signifiers could be the same, their signifieds have gained new meanings in the new global cultural and political order. The next step is to "rediscover" different meanings attributed to Istanbul in its transformation from past to present.

6.2.2 Transformation of the city from past to present: "Now is the time to rediscover!"

The posters are inviting the viewers to rethink the past and "rediscover" the meaning of heritage by heavily relying on the representations of heritage sites. The intention is to offer a new perspective to the centuries old monumental structures (by showing them in different places rather than their original places in Istanbul) and to surprise the viewers, which is a common trick in marketing. Nevertheless, this creates a touristic impact in which the audience is invited to visit these sites as tourists. It remains questionable if they are really encouraged to rethink the past of these structures. Moreover, the theme "Now is the time to rediscover" and how it is represented through images of Galata Tower, Haydarpasa and Hagia Sophia remain controversial to the meaning of heritage. Ataturk Culture Center (AKM) in Taksim Square (replaced by the image of Haydarpasa in one of the posters) is face to face with demolition, while these posters

signify the importance of heritage. Haydarpasa shares the destiny of AKM through a mega urban regeneration project.

Culture and heritage appear as a common theme in the posters. Even one of the posters that belongs to the exhibition is entitled "Heritage". On the other hand, due to the risk of demolitions, heritage can be interpreted as heritage in danger. It is so, not only in terms of imagined space but also in terms of lived space. The heritage is at risk according to UNESCO report for Istanbul's historical peninsula. But Istanbul is presented to the world with its historical landmarks as a symbol of the rich culture and history. The restoration projects are paid a greater attention under the programme of Istanbul 2010 in an urge to revitalize the image of Istanbul through the monuments of the glorious past of the imperial capital. The imperial identity is still visible in its monuments that have reached today. However the preservation of the past and the imaging strategies accompanying these practices only led to creation of floating chain of signifiers. What does heritage represent for the inhabitants of Istanbul, what does it represent for the Europeans? How much did the posters tell us about our own heritage, how much did they tell to the Europeans about the common heritage? Whose heritage is this and to whom it is signified, through which signs? What is the meaning of all this as a matter of imagined and lived space?

If we extend the meaning of heritage, we can find similar patterns throughout the representations of Istanbul. One of the themes is "mosaic of cultures". The ancestors of the city have left their marks in the built environment, which is still full of signifiers rendering the history to the contemporary everyday life, maybe in the most interactive way. Istanbul has been the capital of three empires hosting different nationalities, different ethnicities, and different religions which contributed making Istanbul a "cosmopolitan" city. The image of Istanbul as a cosmopolitan city is represented through churches, mosques and synagogues side by side. This refers to what Istanbul once was, perhaps until the end of the Ottoman Empire, but today's Istanbul is predominantly Muslim and Turkish along with Kurds and

smaller numbers of refugees and immigrants mostly from the Middle East. The Kurds, refugees, and undocumented migrants of course do not find their way onto the marketing plans. They are better kept out of sight. Nevertheless, it is clear that the lived space and the imagined one, the one imposed by the campaign contradicts in this regard.

On the other hand, multi-cultural urban structure of Sulukule has attracted the attention of Istanbul 2010 Agency as a part of Istanbul image. The cultural accumulation and Romani traditional music are represented by a colorful rainbow erupting from a volcano on the poster. The eruption is also a sign of energy diffusing into different colors in the light spectrum. However the colorful elements of Istanbul images transform into monochrome and standard images under the effect of globalization and governmental politics. In this respect, Istanbul becomes a battlefield of the clash between the differences and homogenizing urban development processes through "over-imposed visions". The colourful image of Sulukule is trapped in colorless TOKI (housing estates) in the real urban life through urban evacuation. There is a constant and rapid urban transformation. However this transformation takes place according to the ideological frameworks of the ruling government, yet with a lack of planning. The urbanization has been criticized for massive destructions and erasing the traces of the past and memory of the city. This increases the contradiction between the lived space and imagined space.

Since the colors of Istanbul are fading into the monochrome image of the city, Istanbul image is transforming into a monophonic symphony of the city. These kinds of images are generally used in the posters telling about the urban transformation. On the other hand, the posters about the heritage represent Istanbul with the qualities that do not exist today or they have lost their meaning. They represent nostalgia, thus the signs of heritage are signified by fading colors and sepia tones. According to Soysal (2010) the exhibitions about cultural heritage are natural extensions of the urban gentrification and beautification projects. They stand as empty signifiers of the heritage directed at place marketing purposes. The new values gained over the commodification

of culture transform into marketing tools blessed with bright and vivid colors in contrast to the pastel colors and sepia tones representing the historical landmarks.

On the other hand, in the new globalizing image of Istanbul, it is not possible to see the colors as they are stuck between the high-rise buildings gazing the city above. Istanbul is depicted as a modern city with skyscrapers like New York and Hong Kong in the poster of Istanbul 1910-2010. Istanbul strives for a Western look like most of the European and World Cities by adding skyscrapers, tall business plazas and shopping centers in contrast to the silhouette with domes and minarets.

The landscape of Istanbul in the globalization process is changing parallel to the standardization of its image of any global city that can be found elsewhere in the world. This is highly related to the discourses about the gentrification and Istanbul as a "projected city" by governors. According to Esen (2011: 456) the modern city shaped by the urban planners and governors is waiting its time to show itself, but for now it is still in the shadow of Orientalist paradigms. Istanbul cannot get rid of the Orientalist gaze of the Westerners to the city, or maybe it does not want to get rid of it... It desires to get advantage of the mystified image. It can be said that Istanbul depicts itself from a Western eye[29], reorienting itself through the Westernization myth. Representations of the historical sites and monuments are heavily used throughout the posters, reflecting the historicist approach and mystifying Istanbul's oriental images through the Western gaze.

When we look at the posters, we see that Istanbul is on the way of Ottomanization rather than Westernization through historicizing the city and celebrating the glorious past through the representations of monumental structures. However imaging and building projects differ

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[29] Paul MacMillen has been the creative director of international promotion campaign of Istanbul 2010, who is Irish but leaving in Istanbul for more than 30 years therefore claims himself to be a local of Istanbul.

from each other in that sense. Istanbul in the Ottoman era can be characterized by the image of an imperial capital and the building projects by the ruling elite to show this image through monuments. This was done through the creation of a network of significant buildings in the programme of a collective enterprise of the ruling elite proposing "a range of meanings to a diverse set of users and audiences" as a synonym to "resignification" of Constantinople in Tafuri's terms referring to the set of signifiers of the new cultural and political order (Kafesçioğlu, 2009: 130).

The poster of the exhibition of "Armenian Architects of Istanbul in the Era of Westernization" is an example of such resignification. It is a powerful image that belongs to the past, to the Ottoman era, but it also gives reference to the Westernization period. The Greek and Armenian architects of the Ottoman period are remembered and revisited through the historical buildings such as Dolmabahçe Palace. Although Dolmabahçe reflects a distinct Western influence in its architectural style, it would be more accurate to express it as a masterly interpretation of Western impressions in a synthesis with the Ottoman style (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2005). The Western values are imported in the late Ottoman period in order to integrate with Europe. Westernization in the Republican era was directed towards the same goal but the meaning of Western was underlined as a contrast to Eastern. Therefore it was addressed to break off with the Ottoman period and Oriental representations in the programme of nation building. Therefore, this poster offers rich codes to the city in transformation. As the city is transformed, its population, its buildings, the sites and the meanings are transformed as well. Istanbul was cleared from its multi-ethnic communities to a larger extent after the population exchange took place. The religious buildings such as churches and synagogues have lost their communities to a large extent and these representations have become empty signifiers of today.

The messages communicated by the posters are parallel to the discourse streamlines such as "meeting of civilizations", "cultural

bridge-cultural dialogue", "cultural richness" through the representations of historic, cosmopolitan and palimpsest city. Some of the posters such as "Palimpsest Istanbul" or "Ghost Buildings" were intended to draw the attention to the lost meanings that are not allowed to pass through the layers of history. The urban transformation, as a materialistic production of the space of representation in contrary to the represented urban space, is depicted in the posters of the urban projects such as "Ghost Buildings", "Istanbul 1910-2010", as well as "Palimpsest Istanbul". The transformation is a continuous process, as the society transforms, cities transform and they become spaces of representations through the change in meanings and representations of space. The transformation in the representation of Istanbul is made visible through the effort of connecting the past with the future. The history and modern coexist together in Istanbul. The discourses of urban transformation found in the posters of "Istanbul 1910-2010", "Ghost Buildings" and "Palimpsest Istanbul" supports these meanings by showing Istanbul is a multi-layered city in which the modern is established on the remnants of the past. Istanbul is a dynamic city transforming itself at a rapid pace. This energy was claimed as the key element of transformation in the promotion campaigns.

One of the dominant discourses for Istanbul is "the meeting point between East and West" symbolized though the Bosphorus Bridge connecting Asia and Europe. The pervasive use of the image of the Bosphorus Bridge in Istanbul representations supports this discourse. On the other hand, according to Yüksek (2011: 57) any bridge built on the Bosphorus separates the two shores from each other and alienates to each other instead of bringing them closer. Simmel (1994) proposes that the objects need to be separated in order to come together and create an interaction through the concepts "bridge and door". Bridge has a representational value not only because of its function connecting the two different sides that are separate from each other but also because of making this relationship visible. The meaning of bridging is extended into global networking; therefore it does not have only two ends.

Today, what describe Istanbul have become these controversies and chaotic structure built on multiple layers of the palimpsest city. Talocci (n.d.) claims "the high speed, through which these clashes and the consequent urban transformations happen, makes semiotic reading particularly significant". Aydınlı (2001: 22) takes the contrasting pairs such as "continuity and change" by means of "both opposing but complementary concepts in a world where global issues and local values are put on the agenda". Such understanding connotes urban environments surrounded by contradictions through the interplay between the global and the local.

6.2.3 The dialectics of city imaging: Istanbul in between...

Batur (1996: xxi) comments, "narrating Istanbul is like weaving a tangled web", which indicates a high degree of complexity. In this study, the image of Istanbul is explored as "a narrative through its dialectics" that can be experienced in its social and cultural context (Aydınlı, 2001: 23). The emphasis is on the integrity of meaning, since the meaning exists in the web of polarities in everyday life. Dondis (1973) posits understanding of meaning through contrasting pairs; "if there would be an understanding of hot without cold, high without low, sweet without sour". The importance of contrasting pairs has been recognized not only as a way of "clarifying the content of visual communication" but also in "creating a coherent whole" (Aydınlı, 2001: 23). In addition contrast adds dynamism to the composition of an image or work of art in general sense through "tensions and resolutions, balance and unbalance, rhythmic coherence making it not a precarious yet continuous unity" (Langer, 1957). In this description the meaning of contrast is understood not only in terms of dichotomies and/or dualisms but rather in the sense of contrasting elements complementing each other in the unified whole. Istanbul is a continuous city when it is read through its history; however the continuity is cut through destructions and re-constructions. The continuous urban change brings discontinuity to the images to be read on the same axis of meanings. It needs constant re-interpretation of the

signs at the contextual level. Therefore, Istanbul is portrayed through the images of contrasts by moving back and forth through the dynamic interplay between the continuity of historical events and discontinuity of collective memory and shared meanings.

The poster of Palimpsest Istanbul portrays the city under construction through this kind of interplay. Its signifiers (construction site, the transportation hub, the old port, the mannequin) and its signifieds (urban change, everyday life, consumption, commodity fetishism, heritage) tell us the tide between the past and present and its meanings. The exhibition of Ghost Buildings and its poster tells this story through the animated images of the historical buildings, which are not existing anymore, and asking the questions "what if?..". Today, how many people asks "What is this building used to be?" when passing by and in most of the cases, most of the people find it difficult to remember what was there before. Those who are not native to Istanbul do not know about its past although they have a blurred image of it. Another reason is that the city is changing at a great pace and the urban spaces become alike. While the urban collective memory of the city is being erased, the references of the city image are disappearing both physically and in the minds of the people. It refers to ephemerality of the spectacle and the city image in the urban memory.

Yıldırım (2008) studied the engravings of Istanbul as the visual texts by mapping the layers of meanings in search of the collective memory of the city of a certain time-period. A similar method of reading the city is applied to this research, not through engravings but through posters. Nevertheless, there are similarities that can be drawn easily between both. As mentioned before, the research relies on subjective methods in its interpretation of the meaning. However it should be noted here that the city image is a product of collective memory and therefore it can be told and understood through shared meanings, which shows us the importance of the cultural context in making sense of the images.

The representations of historical landmarks (i.e. Eiffel Tower, Tower Bridge, etc.) are shared through collective imagination. The urban space

is full of images, which provide meanings and internalization of the information to the viewer. According to Tanyeli (1997: 83), neither demographic information nor economic data could have been useful as the image of Eiffel Tower in internalizing Paris. The architectural images are easy to perceive, that is why they are the most common elements in the image of the city. However, the images do not exist by themselves in the form of single floating signifiers. Urban spaces are complex systems and therefore their images are part of this system shared among the community members (Tanyeli, 1997: 83).

Istanbul cannot claim its national capital status but leans on being cultural capital or financial capital of Turkey especially in the aftermath of the neo-liberalist politics of the 1980s. Istanbul sets off as a global city due to its strategic location as the finance center and being the largest city of Turkey. One of the crucial aspects shared by global cities is the attractiveness and being the hub for mobilities. Istanbul became the hub for the Anatolian migrants because of the industry and employment opportunities after the 1950s, and now it continues to be the hub for expats and foreign employees of the multinational companies. However the newcomers to the city push the old inhabitants out. The migration in the end creates a loss of urban memory and discontinuity of the city image. The newcomers do not recognize and appreciate the existing urban culture and the worse is that they do not claim it as their culture. They do not claim Istanbul as their city of origin, and therefore the city becomes unpossessed. The discontinuity of the image is not related to the encoding but to the decoding. The codes are continuous maybe, but the people reading them are far from interpreting the meanings.

Dutton & Dukerich (1991: 547) argue that identity is dependent on image. Moreover, the identity of a city and its brand is substantially embedded in its context (Kornberger, 2010: 93). As a matter of fact all these binary oppositions and multiplicities are reduced into one single message in the international promotion campaign: "Istanbul, the most inspiring city"... On the other hand, the initial concept of "A city of four elements" reflects on a philosophy putting forward the cultural roots of

Ancient Anatolia. Istanbul Inspirations carried the project away from this point, turning the ancient past and history of Istanbul into an empty signifier represented though the touristic images of the historical monuments. Istanbul Inspirations has adopted an over pretentious strategy. Whereas "four elements" theme is well connected with the heritage and myth of the foundation of the city through the discourses of Ancient Greek philosophy. This link is a very important asset for the brand value and to form a strong brand identity. That is why the city branding strategies should be consistent in the use of brand image in order to create a coherent message in the minds of the audience and to provide the match between the intended and the perceived meanings. Otherwise the message would not be conveyed truly and the city image would be somewhat different than the one designed by the image-makers.

Obviously Istanbul has a strong identity rooted in its past, but the meanings inferred from the messages reflect on the city Istanbul is at the crossroads where the past meets the future, East meets West, and the mystic meets the modern. That is why the analysis takes a holistic approach through reading the codes as a narrative directed towards the interpretation of the fragmented components of a whole (Aydınlı, 2001: 23). However when the messages are evaluated at the strategic level to city branding, the fragmented components does not lead to uniformed whole and a coherent message. The multi-layers of meanings diffuse into multi-messages standing on top of each other in a chaotic structure. Therefore the outcome of the analysis shows that each poster is consistent in the intended messages for their specific cases but when they are taken as a whole the only element integrating them together is the logo of Istanbul 2010. Different messages are produced through different representations of Istanbul concentrating on different eras, different values and communicating through different code systems. In this framework the polysemious structure of images and their subjective interpretation may lead to a variety of meanings in which the receivers get confused.

6.3 Conclusion

Although the emphasis is on the image in the posters in order to attract the attention of the viewer and to convey the message visually, the main objective of the posters is giving information about the event or product, which is the goal of advertising. When we look at the analysis results, we see that the posters fulfil the main function of informing the public and at the same time they focus on the Istanbul images and symbolic representations to a large extent. Yet the symbolic representation cannot go beyond being only a cliché in most of the cases. Istanbul silhouette, Galata Tower, Maiden's Tower, Bosphorus Bridge, mosques and minarets, churches and cross have become cliché symbols for the Istanbul representations. Birds, water and waterfront, sky, sunset and sunrise are also usual depictions.

The silhouette is one of the most frequently used images when we evaluate the posters on the basis of the selected sample and/or perhaps even throughout the population of posters used in Istanbul 2010. The silhouette of Istanbul has become a cliché image, but on the other hand has gained brand value by being the visual icon of the city through the promotional campaign of Istanbul 2010. The silhouette of Istanbul has been represented with the gaze towards the historical peninsula, the mosques, minarets and the towers of Topkapı Palace. This represents a historical gaze to the city. The silhouette image either takes the form of a photographic image, generally depicted in the sunset, or a graphic and iconic image. No matter what the situation is, both of the cases offer symbolic meanings as the emblem of Istanbul. The silhouette has been a powerful representation from the Western gaze since 19th century. Istanbul has inspired many Western travellers, writers and poets since then.

Galata Tower is another example to the most frequently used images together with the silhouette, as a part of the silhouette or alone itself. Galata Tower, which is one of the leading symbols for multicultural heritage of Istanbul, has become a synonym to Eiffel Tower symbolically. Towers are prone to be symbols of the cities in the form

of synecdoche representations (representativeness of the whole through focusing on the parts). Towers are also visible structures through different perspectives "in" the city. Therefore, they offer a powerful urban imagery. They are not only effective signifiers through their physical features but also they propose different meanings based on metaphors. If we remember of the poster of International Poetry Festival, Galata Tower is represented as a pen composed of letters. This kind of representation is based on resemblance in the form of appearance (Langer, 1951: 67). Moreover phallic meanings are associated with towers on connotational level. Towers have become symbols of power in the feudal system of the middle ages, when the rich and powerful families competed to erect the tallest tower in the city as a sign of power. In today's globalized world, cities are competing with each other to have the tallest building as a sign of capitalist power. The new high-rise buildings are added to the city skyline day by day coupling with the historical tall buildings. Another reason why towers are symbolic is because they are tall. Towers are the places to look at the cities from above, to have the panoramic view of the city. In a similar vein, most of the posters give a panoramic portrait of the city either offering a silhouette from afar or a bird's-eye shot from above. This is one of the most usual types in touristic representations with an aim of imaging the city as a whole rather than focusing on one single frame. Viewing the city from afar and above represents the depictions of Istanbul and its silhouette like the engravings of the 19th century on one side, and tautological images commonly used in place branding on the other. The city dumps, non-places, poverty and crime are neglected, while the city is presented by its positive images to attract people.

In sum, the symbolic language of the posters includes extensive signs directed towards representing Istanbul and its image. Therefore, when Istanbul 2010 is evaluated by the posters' symbolic/semiotic meanings, it can be said that the event had an impact on Istanbul image. On the other hand, it cannot be said that the impact was created through an effective branding strategy, because the place branding activities for Istanbul 2010 are found to be lacking a common language.

7. CONCLUSION

> *According to Derrida we cannot be the Whole,*
> *according to Baudrillard we cannot be the Real,*
> *according to Virilio we cannot be There.*
> *(Koolhaas, 2000: 327, original emphases)*

7.1 Introduction

This research is about the impact of mega-events on city branding, which concentrates particularly on the case of Istanbul 2010 ECoC and its strategic objective for enhancing the city image. Thus, the research focuses on the communication strategy of the cultural programme (ECoC), which is recognized as a crucial step in the planning by European Commission (2010e)[30]. In this respect, the image-making is analyzed as part of the marketing communication strategy. Therefore the question under investigation is the meaning making process whether it has political, cultural or economic connotations.

As the research centers on "How" question, the visual meanings and messages behind this image-making process are excavated by analyzing the posters as the marketing communication tools. In this context, advertisements and posters are not simply visual displays to be looked at. They generate discourses aimed at communicating the brand (Oswald, 2012: 35). The sample of posters are analysed by evaluating their messages in comparison to the strategic communication objectives of Istanbul 2010 in order to arrive a point of integrity in the meaning making.

Place marketing is about the particular meanings attached to a place (what it is and what it should be) through signs. The object of semiotics

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[30] "Communication Strategy: The application should draw attention to where the city is planning on regarding communication. Bigger cities are frequently trying to become international news, while smaller cities are aspiring to get the advantages of connections with partner cities."

is the sign, not the phenomenal real, as Magritte[31] suggests (Torczyner, 1977: 71). While analysing the posters visually, the intention of the researcher is not judging the quality of the images according to aesthetic criteria. The objective is to figure out what the images tell about the city, based on what type of discourses and sign systems. That is why semiotics is an essential tool in understanding how the signs transfer meanings within the image or through complex systems of urban, social, cultural, political and ideological contexts (Rose, 2001; Vanolo, 2008). In the methodological framework of this research, semiotics is blended with discourse analysis. Semiotics is a useful tool in providing the "abstract systems of codes structuring the meaning production" while the critical part of the research is the interpretation of codes. Therefore the researcher employs discourse analysis in order to structure propositions, judgements and claims (Oswald, 2012: 100) originating from the codes and messages. The use of language and symbols is essential in creating a code system for the brand to be associated within the minds of the audience. This is the marketing function, which aims to create a standard brand language that "speaks for the brand" (Oswald, 2012: 46). Nonetheless there is one crucial element, which is highly significant in the interpretation of brand language, in other words signs. That is the culture. The reason why the sign systems have two levels of meaning as denotation and connotation can be explained by the function of these sign systems in that specific cultural context.

When the qualitative and subjective nature of analysis is taken into consideration, it can be said that the images are subjected to multiple readings. The interpretation of symbols forming the image can be highly personal (Oswald, 2012: 54), in which the personal views are shaped by the culture as a lived experience. The different levels of meanings could have been only interpreted through the analysis at contextual level. Therefore, the researcher (de)/(re)-constructs the possible meanings by paying attention to the cultural context.

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[31] *"Ceci n'est pas une pipe":* French for "This is not a pipe"

Accordingly the researcher firstly explores the coded signs in the text through semiotic analysis. Then, the initial reading of the text is extended through shared meanings in the cultural context. Finally, the researcher evaluates the meaning based on her subjective knowledge that relates empirical observations of phenomena to each other.

Branding Istanbul through ECoC 2010 is a unique opportunity for international visibility. The benefits of the brand do not, however, flow automatically. This means; "the opportunity is there and it is up to the city to make the best use of it"(European Commission, 2010a). The key to the success for city imaging lies in stressing the unique features of the city, although globalization works in the opposite way through homogenization. A city, which has a lot to offer something for everyone, is different from a city where everyone can find similar things to other cities. Istanbul has a lot to offer to visitors. The diversity makes Istanbul attractive as its biggest competitive advantage in branding strategy. Istanbul positions itself by putting forward the diversity and cultural pluralism through Istanbul 2010.

The symbolic language in the posters includes signs for city of Istanbul and image of Istanbul, but these symbols do not construct a common language of signs. The messages are produced at different levels through different chain of signifiers. There is a difference in the international and domestic advertising campaign of Istanbul 2010. The international campaign shows the mystified image of the Ottoman Palace (Topkapi) and minarets in the silhouette image. This image represents Western gaze through Orientalist images. It does not offer something new but asks the Westerns to "remember" of this beautified and turistified image. The domestic campaign, on the other hand, asks not only "remember" but also to "rediscover". The images invite us to look from afar to the city of Istanbul, whereas the messages encourage "being part of this unique experience"[32]. We cannot see what the city really is, if we only look at it from a distance. On the other hand, we could be part of the change as Istanbul 2010 tells us to look and to "rediscover". That is why the verbal message is so important, however

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[32] Slogan of Istanbul Inspirations promotion campaign.

it does not anchor well with the image therefore does not lead to a powerful message for the audience.

The images of Istanbul pile up in videos and posters to show the city in every aspect in which everything becomes mishmash and the message gets lost in the chaos. It becomes hard for the audience to read the images especially if they are not familiar with the cultural codes. Moreover adding everything into a single image ends up in loosing the uniqueness and makes the place somewhere you can find everything. But this feels not special, not original and even ordinary as the cities started to resemble each other more and more. Therefore instead of focusing on the unique elements and stressing the competitive advantage; it creates generic images that are hard to remember and distinguish from each other.

When one thinks of the historical ties of Istanbul and the layers of city image built on thousands of years, it would be unfavourable to expect that the city image could be solely affected by a contemporary mega-event. For this reason, it could be claimed that the main discourse of Istanbul 2010 and the major strategies for city imaging is adding the "new" without cutting its roots with the "old". While Istanbul is depicted as a mystified city through Orientalist representations, this image is coupled with the high-rise buildings promising a financially powerful city, no different from the leading global cities today. In this context, Istanbul seems like a city between the past and contemporary, in which the heritage is represented as a commodifiable object. The heritage has become a mean of "public consumption as nostalgia" (Soysal, 2010: 302) through the restoration and renovation projects supported by Istanbul 2010 programme. The urban transformation of run-down areas and heritage sites into archaeological parks and conversion of old buildings into cultural venues and museums are such examples. This has become the point of issue that has started with decisions taken by local authorities imposed into urban and cultural politics and continued with Istanbul 2010 rather than being a process that started with Istanbul 2010.

Nevertheless, one of the main critical aspects about image-making strategy of Istanbul stems from the cliché statements of old-new and East-West as the examples of binary oppositions. Istanbul has been perceived as a meeting point between East and West. If we put it another way, this perception is intensified, overemphasized and imposed to consumers – buyers of the city image. The skyscrapers, added to the silhouette of Istanbul with minarets, increased the tension between the binary oppositions such as East-West, old-new, Islam-Modern. This "dialectical image" is converted into a marketing tool by annexing other adjectives such as "diversity", "cosmopolitan", "tolerant", etc. The discourses of a city are highly related to its representations and vice versa. The bridge metaphor can also be understood as a link between the past and the present in cliché terms. The geographical location of Istanbul stands out both as a unique feature of its image and as a significant factor to attract the attention of world economy and to join the list of global cities.

Thus, when the image making process is considered through the analysis results appearing in three themes presented in the previous chapter, recommendations can be provided as follows in line with the themes:

1. *Authenticity*

There is a matter of theatricality and authenticity. Istanbul is presented as a stage for various cultural events to take place during the year of 2010. The main decor is depicted as the heritage sites with an aim to signify the importance of heritage. On the other hand, the radical urban transformation and mega architecture projects in pursuit of having a global city image leads to complexities and controversies in this process. The spectacle is created and communicated through the images of monumental sites exposed to viewers, which are unlikely to exist in the near future as they are face to face with demolition according to the new political and economic order. The link between the representation and meaning of heritage is problematic due to the use of empty signifiers and connection with the context. Heritage is represented in accordance with the symbols and meanings in the

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context of self-orientalism through the discourse of "remembering the past", however creating touristified images in the end.

2. *Organization of the event*

The matter of authenticity can be also linked to the organization of the event and the failure in bottom up approach. The project should be inclusive and participative. Nevertheless, this is not possible without effective communication and transparency. This increases the tension between the decision makers as the authoritative figures and the stakeholders.

3. *Communication of the messages*

Communicating the messages effectively and consistently can be raised as the last comment and recommendation, as the whole branding process is recognized as a matter of communication process through encoding and decoding the messages. The anchorage between encoding and decoding is essential for the continuity of codes in order to grasp the meanings through dialectics of the images. The image of a contemporary city pleading to be European is coupled with exotic images offering a Western gaze to the city, in an effort to turn this image into marketable object. However, such a practice is based on the assumption for unconditional acceptance of brand propositions by the viewers. This study suggests taking a more careful approach to brand identity and brand authenticity for creating the brand image in a response to match expectations and perceptions of the audience.

This study has focused on the communication process aimed at influencing the perceptions of the people about Istanbul's image, rather than concentrating on the end results of the mega-event itself. Therefore the findings of the research can be recognized as a noteworthy contribution to the literature in city marketing research. The researcher attempts to draw a model for analysis by using visual qualitative methods, which is not only innovative, but also applicable to the other studies and other contexts. Istanbul 2010 is only an example; nevertheless the city branding is a continuous and strategic process. When we conclude from the visually critical perspective, one

should respect the fact that Istanbul could not be represented with a single image, but only through a collection of images. This collection should be consistent at least in its cognate and opposite meanings. This necessitates good curatorial or orchestrating skills in bringing this collage into life. Otherwise the result could not be more than a chaotic image appealing to a perplexed audience. Identifying an image through binary oppositions is a powerful way of generating meaning; as "the meaning of dark is relative to the meaning of light; form is inconceivable except in relation to content" (Chandler, 2007: 91). Yet, the image of Istanbul moves between the opposite ends, but could not reach an agreement. Brand identity is the backbone of a strong brand value; therefore Istanbul should get over this identity crisis and have a clear vision for a consistent branding strategy.

7.2 Limitations of the study

The time is one of the biggest limitations of the PhD research. Therefore the limited period of the research does not allow the researcher to go through a longitudinal study in order to observe the impact of the event over a long span of time.

The research methods focus on the image itself as the site to be investigated. Nevertheless, once the sampling is done for the posters, the researcher became face to face with another limitation: access to the sources to acquire selected posters. Although there were two publications for poster catalogues by Istanbul ECoC Agency, the catalogues did not include all of the posters in the sample. The web page of the event was suspended when Istanbul 2010 ended. The publications are limited. Besides, there is no archive center where the publications are kept. The office of the Istanbul 2010 Agency is closed down and overtaken by Istanbul Culture and Tourism Administration. Some of the publications of Istanbul 2010 Agency are kept by Istanbul Culture and Tourism Administration, but their number is very low and is only accessible by permission.

Lastly, visual methods in marketing research are accepted as a novelty and innovation in qualitative research methods (Moisander & Valtonen, 2006). Although visual qualitative methods are increasingly

evolving to be a widely used, the number of scholarly examples or literature was limited to look and learn about the methodologies. In addition, the subjective nature of the analysis necessitates clear explanations regarding the data and how it is interpreted, based on what kind of criteria. As the researcher is native of Istanbul, her knowledge of the local and cultural context provided her advantageous position for the interpretation of cultural meanings. Yet the researcher is aware of the limitations of this position in relation to the issue of reflexivity in qualitative research.

7.3 Avenues for further research

City branding, by its very nature, is a multidisciplinary field of study. Although the main domain of the study falls into the marketing area, it attracts the interests of the scholars not only from marketing discipline but also from urban studies, architecture, design, anthropology, sociology, art history, cultural studies, and people who have interests in the city. The multiplicity of the backgrounds allows the theoretical and methodological frameworks to be established through different perspectives and approaches towards city branding. Yet, no study could be totally comprehensive; neither it is aimed to be. The researcher, in this study, brings her knowledge in tourism and history of architecture together as well as her individual experiences and subjective interpretation in order to make this study as rich as possible. Looking at all the factors and events influencing the city image is not possible. Rather, the intention is drawing a model of visual analysis for further research to be applied to different contexts, urban areas and settings.

The novelty of visual qualitative methods applied to marketing research and the researcher's effort to analyze visual materials through the use of multimodality can be recognized as a contribution to the area, which at the same time paves the way for further research. The visual data chosen for this research is composed of the posters as significant sources of signs. However as the technology advances and new forms of communication mediums become available to a wider audience. Film and video can be given as examples. The same visual

methods can be applied to video analysis but it should be noted that this requires a slightly different mode or working and span of time, which was not suitable for this research. Alternatively, periodicals and journals can be scanned through their content related to the object of analysis. In the last decades the content on the internet has also become favourable by many researchers and the number of studies focusing on the social media analysis has increased. The report by Palmer-RAE (2004) also gives information about the communication and promotion tools. According to the report, the most important tool is the print media (posters, brochures, catalogues etc.) in the most cases of ECoC. Print media is followed by broadcasting (television and/or radio), and the internet. There were also special events organized as promotional events but they are counted as having the least impact on ECoC as a whole. The report (Palmer, 2004: 80) includes an analysis of "Visitor Perspectives" for the impact of promotion on the visitor side (under the titles of "print and broadcasting", "new technology and new media", "merchandise", "special events", and "other initiatives"). The prevalence of the print media and broadcasting can be explained by their early use before the internet. However internet enabled more accessibility no matter on the geographies. That is why potentially the future ECoCs will rely on internet and new technologies. Today, each ECoC designs an official website which stands as an indicator of this scenario.

Cognitive mapping can be mentioned as another method suggesting graphical iconic signs (Lacey, 2009: 66). Cognitive maps have become a broadly used research tool upon Kevin Lynch's (1960) work on the city image in exploring the identity structure and meaning. The hand drawn maps are useful in capturing denotative meanings (Nasar, 1998: 13-15) despite not the city image itself but the mental processes of coding and decoding in the identification of spatial image in the minds of the viewers and users of the city. This leads us to the semiotic aspect of cognitive maps: "the inhabitant's rhetoric" (Lynch, 1960: 47-48). The inhabitant's reading of the urban space is based on his/her experience, which is similar to the audience analysis. Few scholars like Bal and Bryson (1991: 184) favour audiencing in their concern for reception.

Moreover, what is crucial for better understanding of the effects seems to be enhanced through incorporating the production and reception sites, especially audience analysis in examining how the viewers interpret the city image reflected on the posters and how it affects their existing perceptions of the city image. Nevertheless, this research is only concerned in the meaning created by the image itself rather than how it is received by the audience. The audiencing research necessitates a comprehensive study and analysis, which is beyond the limits of this research in terms of time and scope.

Time is given as one of the limitations of the study. Nevertheless, it is recommended for further research to carry out longitudinal study to be able to see the effects over time. A similar type of study was done for Liverpool '08 by employing media content analysis covering the years 1996-2010. This enables the researcher(s) to observe pre and post-event stages of 2008. The study was carried out by mapping over time using a series of clusters of indicators, in-depth interviews with key stakeholders from public and private sectors. The area of research was not only media and city image but the analysis was extensive including local area studies investigating the experiences of the local people. Yet, when we look at the model of analysis of "Liverpool Impact 08", we see that "image, identity and sense of place" come forward as an example of notable cultural indicators.

The contextual part has been essential for this study in order to read the cultural codes. The researchers should pay ultimate care to analyze the meaning through linking the findings with the contextual framework. Additionally, the researcher has adopted a hermeneutic approach, which adds to importance of the level of researcher's familiarity with the context and her ability to convey it to the readers. Pierre (2005: 447) comments on comparative studies as "common and rewarding research strategy of controlling for contextual variables and for uncovering casual patterns of explanation". This research concentrates on Istanbul to investigate the question of impact of a mega-event on the image in an urban setting. Nevertheless, one of the common ways to undertake a similar study is taking a comparative approach between cities. In this respect, it should be noted that this research has benefited from the

comparative study between Ruhr, Pécs and Istanbul as the three cities selected as European Cultural Capitals of the year 2010 (Rampton et al., 2011) for more insightful approach and better evaluation of variables on the contextual level.

Istanbul is chosen for this research, particularly because there is no such study that solely investigates the impact of Istanbul 2010 as a mega-event on the city image through visual qualitative methods. There are few studies produced on Istanbul 2010 discussing the different dimensions of the event, as well as some other studies investigating Istanbul brand through different concepts, contexts and events. As Istanbul is an example of a dynamic urban environment as a rapidly growing metropolis, it is recommend for further research to perceive this change as a part of cyclical process rather than being a linear one. The rapid urbanization leads to changes in governing cities as well as their images. Therefore the researchers should be well aware of the complexities and dynamics in urban environments. It is recommended for further research to investigate and link Istanbul 2010 with the future image building strategies and the role of other mega-events that would be hosted by Istanbul in order to see consistency and controversy in this process.

Appendices

Appendix A: Istanbul 2010 Official Posters for Promotion

A.1 International Campaign: "Istanbul Inspirations"

"Istanbul Inspirations"
(İstanbul İl Turizm Müdürlüğü, Digital Archive of Özgül Özkan Yavuz)

A.2 Domestic Campaign: "It Is Time To Rediscover"

"Galata Kulesi 661 Yıldır Istanbul'da Her Zamanki Yerinde."
(İstanbul İl Turizm Müdürlüğü, Digital Archive of Özgül Özkan Yavuz)

"Haydarpasa Garı 101 Yıldır Istanbul'da Her Zamanki Yerinde"
(İstanbul İl Turizm Müdürlüğü, Digital Archive of Özgül Özkan Yavuz)

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"Ayasofya 1472 Yildir Istanbul'da Her Zamanki Yerinde."
(İstanbul İl Turizm Müdürlüğü, Digital Archive of Özgül Özkan Yavuz)

Appendix B: Istanbul 2010 Posters of Cultural Events

B.1 Tourism & Promotion

B.1.1 Promotion & communication

Golden Routes – in the footsteps of Evliya Celebi, Designer: Fenni Ozalp

Beyoğlu is Different with Music   269
(Beyoğlu Güzelleştirme ve Koruma Derneği, http://www.beyoglu.org.tr/)

CALL4ISTANBUL
(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti'nin İlham Veren İlkleri - CD İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı)

Introduction of the Mawlawi Culture and Sema Ceremony,
Designer: Ozer Duru
(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı projeleri afiş seçkisi,
İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı. 2011)

B.1.2 International Relations
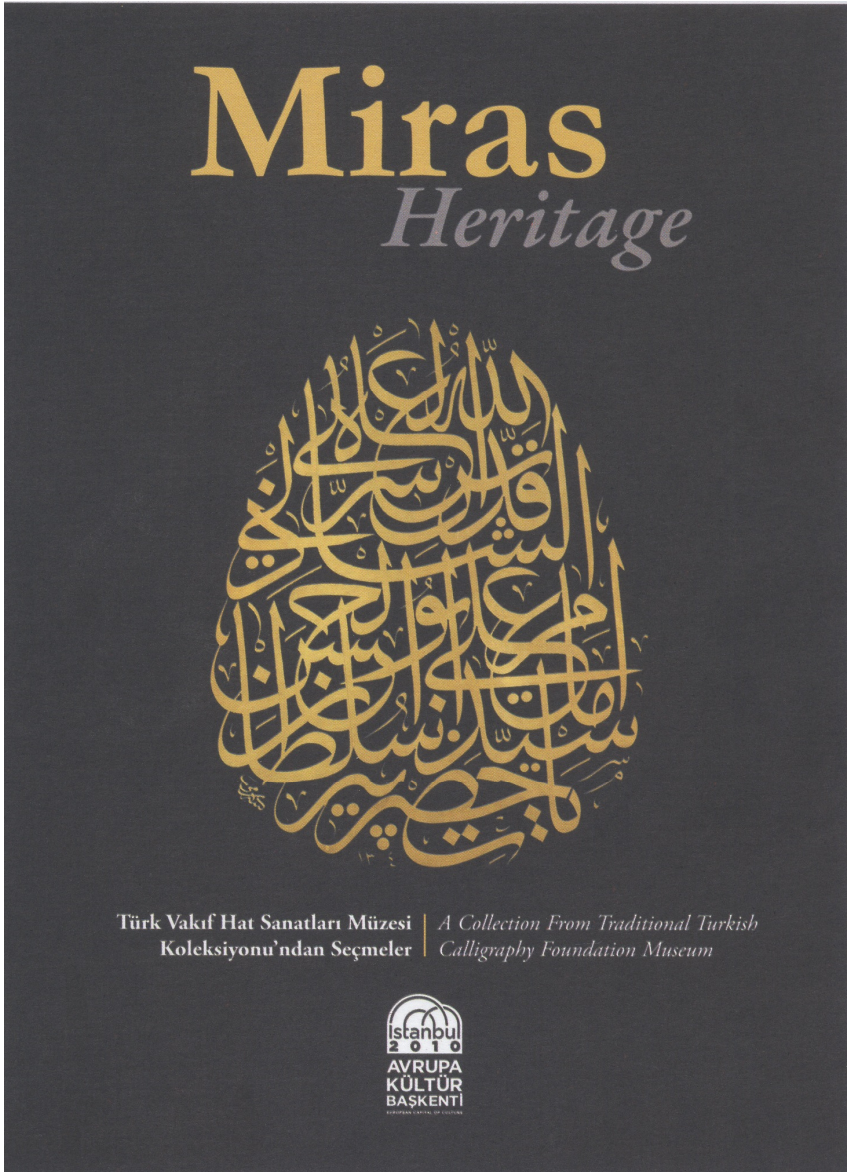

Human Cities
Designers: Guillaume Bokiau, Ahmet Sefer
(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı projeleri afiş seçkisi,
İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı. 2011)

Istanbul Express: Exploring Multilingualism across Europe
Designer: Maartje Alders

(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı projeleri afiş seçkisi,
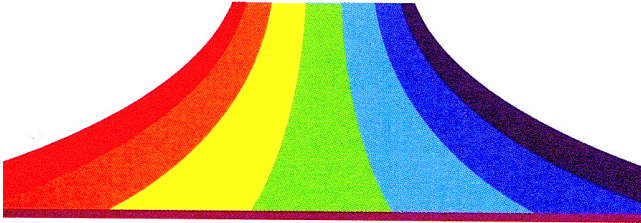İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı. 2011)

B.2 Urban

B.2.1 Urban projects

Palimpsest Istanbul
(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı projeleri afiş seçkisi,
İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı. 2011)

Ghost Buildings
Designer: Pattu Arhictecture
(www.hayal-et.org)

Armenian Architects of Istanbul in the Era of Westernization
Designer: Erkal Yavi
(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti'nin İlham Veren İlkleri - CD
İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı)

B.2.2 Cultural heritage & museums

Istanbul 1910-2010 - City, Built Environment & Architectural Culture
Exhibition. Designer: Bilgi Universitesi Görsel İletişim Bölümü
(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı projeleri afiş seçkisi,
İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı, 2011)

B.2.3 Urban culture
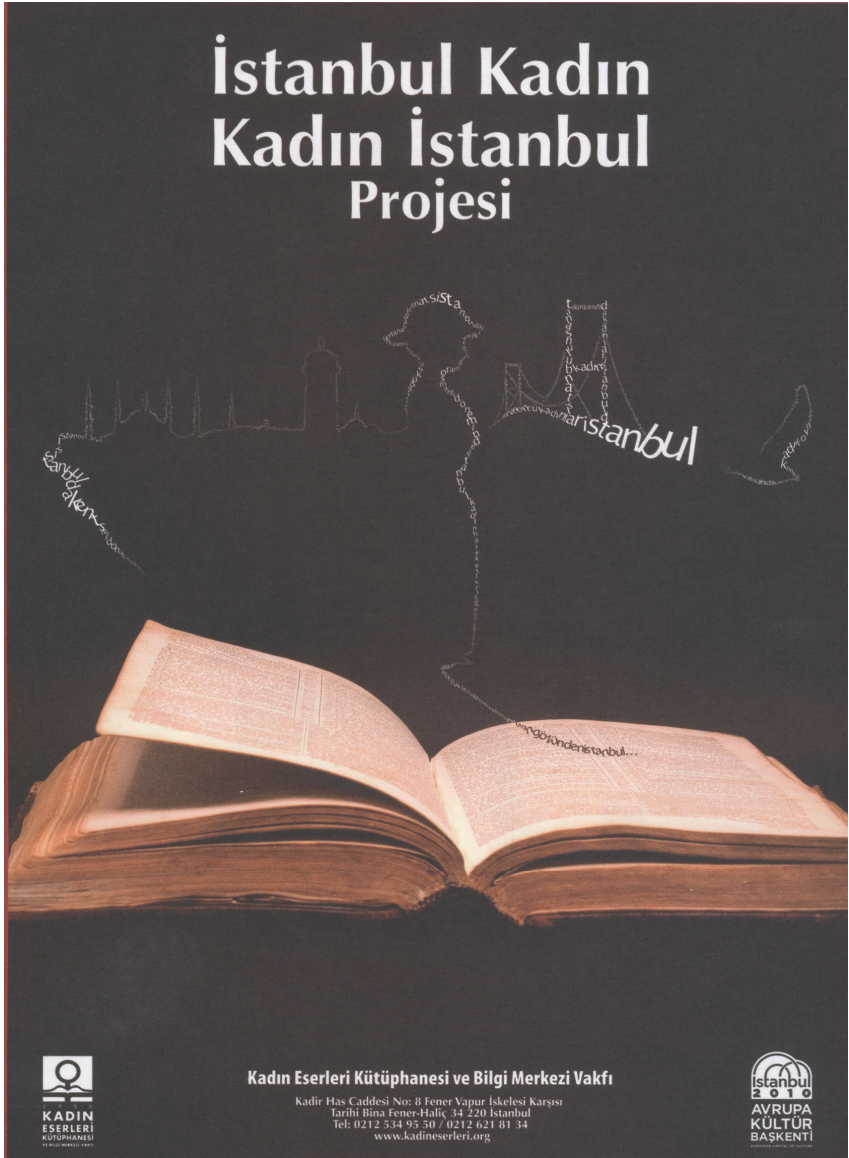
Istanbul Woman – Woman Istanbul
Designer: Sibel Erbayat
(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı projeleri afiş seçkisi,
İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı. 2011)

B.3 Culture and Art

B.3.1 Visual arts

Di-ver-city

Designer: Krzysztof Bielecki, Photograph: Studio Osep, Tayfun Serttaş
(http://tayfunserttas.blogspot.com/2010/09/divercity-learning-from-
istanbul.html)

Bump into each other – Asia/Europe
Designer: Assocreation   282
(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı projeleri afiş seçkisi,
İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı. 2011)

B.3.2 Music and opera

Türküyem
Designer: Fikribir
283
(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı projeleri afiş seçkisi,
İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı. 2011)
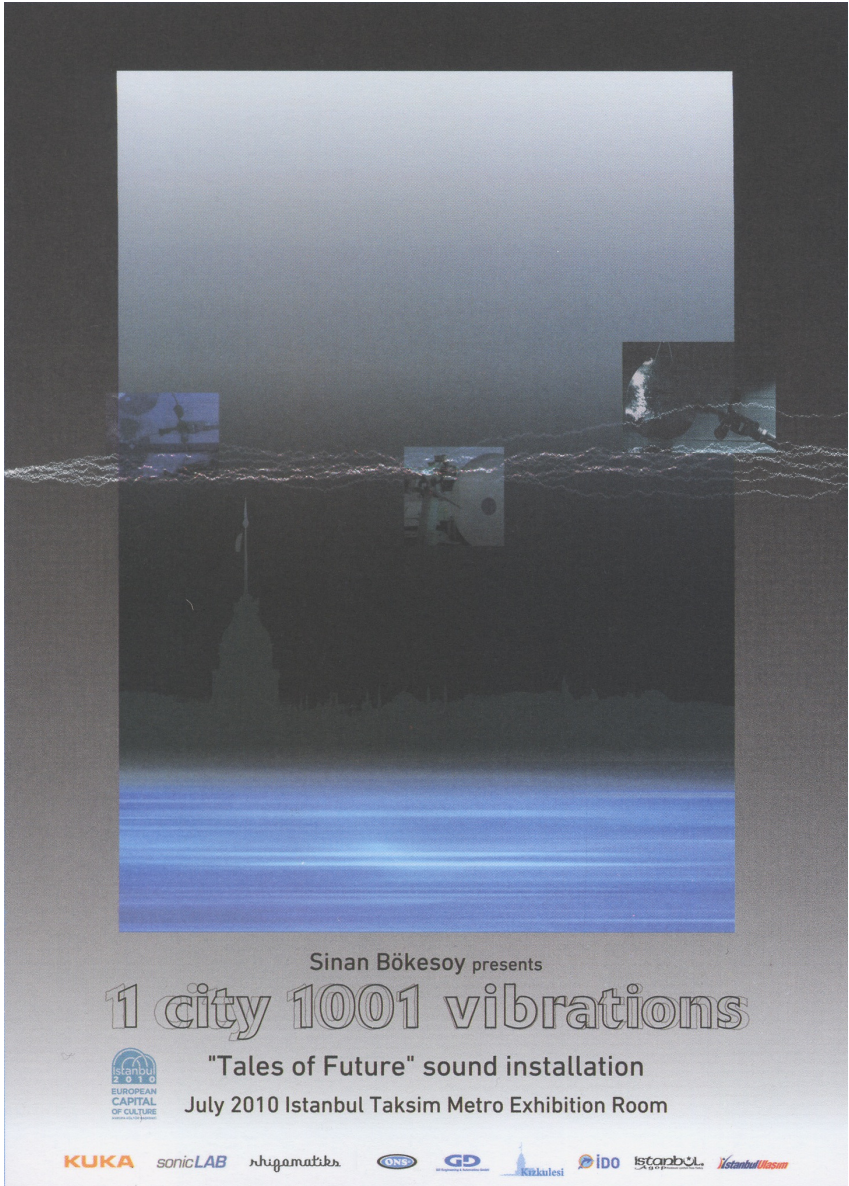
Tales of Future - 1 city 1011 Vibrations
Designer: Ichiro Kojima

284

(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı projeleri afiş seçkisi,
İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı. 2011)

B.3.3 Film & documentary & animation

IfIstanbul

Designer: Koray Ekremoglu, Medina Turgul - DDB
(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı projeleri afiş seçkisi,
İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı. 2011)

İstanbul'da Bayram Sabahı
(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı projeleri afiş seçkisi,
İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı. 2011)

B.3.4 Literature

International Istanbul Poetry Festival
Designer: Eray Kula
287
(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı projeleri afiş seçkisi,
İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı. 2011)

B.3.5 Theatre & performing arts
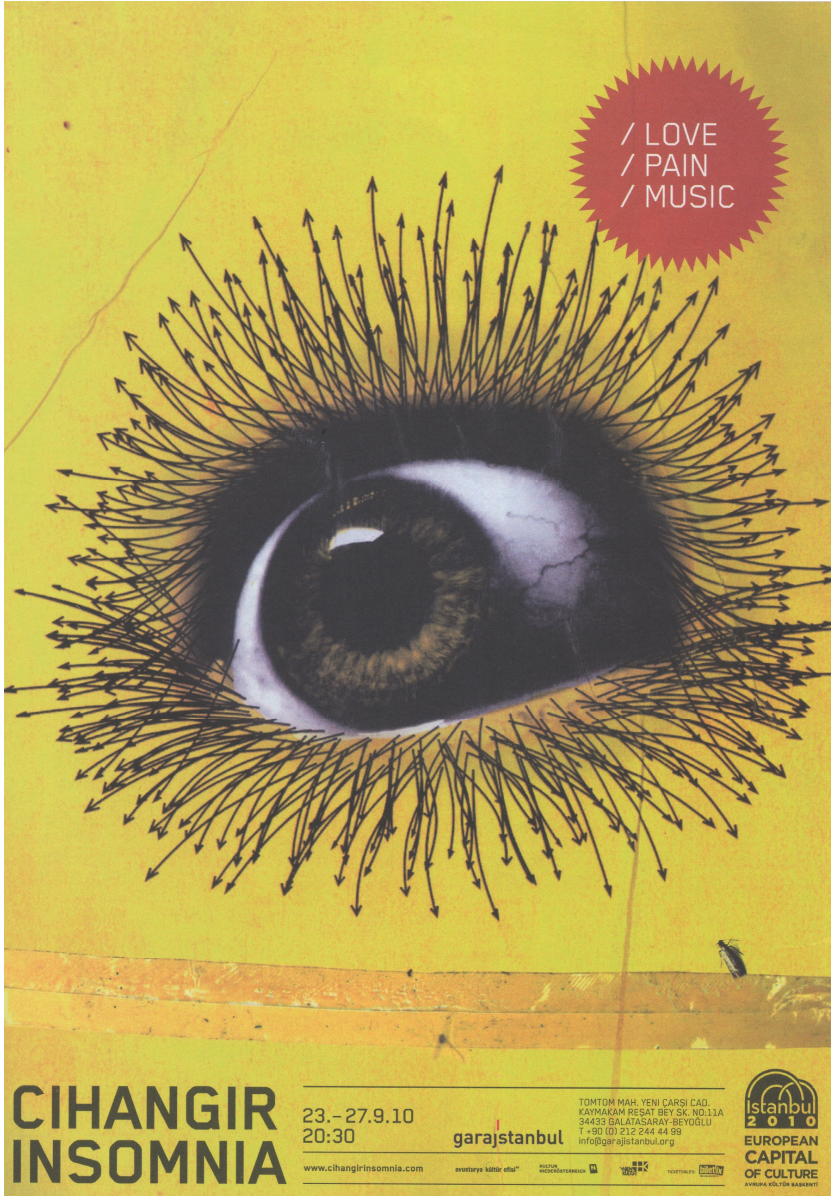
Cihangir Insomnia
Designer: Markus Gobi

(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı projeleri afiş seçkisi,
İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı. 2011)

B.3.6 Traditional arts

Heritage –A Collection from Traditional Turkish Caligraphy Foundation Museum, Designer: Cüneyt Özkan
289
(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı projeleri afiş seçkisi, İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı. 2011)

B.3.7 Education

SULUKULE
çocuk
sanat
atölyesi

Sulukule Children's Art Workshop Project
Designer: Tuncay Köksal, Lowe Tanıtım
(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı projeleri afiş seçkisi,
İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı. 2011)

B.3.8 Maritime and sports

Rally of Turkey
(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı projeleri afiş seçkisi,
İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı. 2011)

B.3.9 Parallel events

Istanbul en Drome
Designer: Burcu Işık
293
(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı projeleri afiş seçkisi,
İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı. 2011)

Spectres of Trotsky: the Lost Interiors of an Exile
(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı projeleri afiş seçkisi,
İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı. 2011)

In Between. Austria Contemporary
(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı projeleri afiş seçkisi,
İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı. 2011)

Arie Antiche
(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı projeleri afiş seçkisi,
İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı. 2011)

Istanbul – Paris – Berlin   297
(İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı projeleri afiş seçkisi,
İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı. 2011)

Forum Fashion Week
298
 (İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı projeleri afiş seçkisi,
İstanbul : İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Ajansı. 2011)

Appendix C: Logos

C.1 Logo of Istanbul 2010 (in blue and white colors & in different languages).

(Source: İstanbul İl Turizm Müdürlüğü, Digital Archive of Özgül Özkan Yavuz)

C.2 IBB Logo

(Source: http://www.ibb.gov.tr/tr-
TR/kurumsal/BasinMateryalleri/Pages/BasinMateryal.aspx)

C.3 Istanbul Governorship logo

(http://www.istanbulkulturturizm.gov.tr/ana-sayfa/1-
33676/20120824.html)

Appendix D: Semiotic Analysis of Istanbul 2010 official promotional posters and initial codes

D.1 Semiotic Analysis of "Istanbul Inspirations"

	Sign	
	Signifier	**Signified**
Sign	minarets, mosques, Topkapı Palace	historicism/ orientalism, monumentality, multiculturalism
	skyline	past-future
	ferryboats	crossing the Bosphorus/ crossing between Europe & Asia
	Istanbul skyline - colors and texture	• mysticism/ exotic • same range of colors (creamy), too still

D.2 Semiotic Analysis of "It is time to Rediscover"

1. GALATA TOWER

	Sign	
Description	Galata tower replaces Maiden's tower in the middle of the sea.	
	Signifier	**Signified**
Sign	Galata Tower	• Phallic ("tall and glinting" towers.[33]) • Religion: divine, sublime • Maritime: lighthouse • Old-historical
	sky	Air – assoc.s with 4 elements
	sea	Water - assoc.s with 4 elements

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[33] Douglas, George H. (2004). Skyscrapers: A Social History Of The Very Tall Building In America. McFarland. p. 107. ISBN 978-0-7864-2030-8. Retrieved 17 September 2012.

Harris, Scott Jordan (15 August 2011). *World Film Locations: New York*. Intellect Books. p. 32. ISBN 978-1-84150-482-7. Retrieved 17 September 2012.

Stein, Herbert (1 October 2001). *Double Feature*. E-reads/E-rights. p. 51. ISBN 978-0-7592-3192-4. Retrieved 17 September 2012.

2. HAYDARPASA STATION

	Sign	
Description	Haydarpasa replaces AKM in Taksim Square	
	Signifier	**Signified**

Sign	Haydarpasa	• Transportation/Hub
		
		• Gate to the city
		
		• Migration
		
		• Entertainment/theatre
		
		  1. entertainment function and use of the building
		
		  2. theatricality, spectacle
		
		• Tradition-Old-historical

	Taksim square	Urban Everyday life City-Center
	The Marmara	Modern Skyscraper Globalization Touristic (Accommodation)

3. HAGIA SOPHIA

	Sign	
Description	Hagia Sophia is depicted in a different place than the historical peninsula. The monument is surrounded by blue and green on the Bosphorus.	
	Signifier	**Signified**
Sign	Hagia Sophia	• Ritual/religion (sense of obligation) • entertainment function and use of the building - MUSEUM • loneliness (it stands alone)

Appendix E: Thematic Analysis: from codes to themes

Thematic Categories	1. The spectacularization of culture: "The stage is yours Istanbul"	2. Transformation of the city from past to present: "Now is the time to Rediscover!"	3. The dialectics of city imaging: Istanbul in between...
Theoretical constructs linking themes into theoretical models	Spectacle	City	City Image
Strategic areas of Istanbul 2010 applying themes to chunks of actual texts	Culture and Arts	Urban Transformation	Tourism and promotion
Codebook building hierarchies of themes	**Istanbul ECoC 2010** - mega-event - spectacle - theatricality - entertainment - screen/stage	**Contemporary city** - heritage (heritage at risk) - history (rethinking past/nostalgia) - modern (transformation)	**Contrasts** - East/West - past/present - old/ contemporary - continuity/ discontinuity - ephemeral/ perpetual - destruction/ construction
	Culture-led urban transformation - consumer culture	**Cosmopolitan city** - mosaic - colors - coexistence	**Symbols** - synecdoche silhouette bridge

	- contemporary city - cool city - creative industry - creative labor - participation	- multi-culti - pluralism - meeting of civilizations - cultural dialogue - diversity	Galata Tower Bosphorus water/waterfront domes-minarets - totalizing panorama bird-eye - metaphoric - cliché
	Bridge - networking - partnership - transnational - mobility - international vs. local	**Palimpsest city** - layers of meaning - layers of history - capital of three empires - collective memory - continuity	**Brand image** - "A city of four elements" - "Istanbul Inspirations" - Istanbul at the crossroads - Istanbul in between
		Projected city - representation of space/ space of representation - Orientalism - Western gaze - myth/mystified image - historicism - silhouette - inspiring city - World city - European city - Capital city	
		Global city - homogenization - standardization - monochrome - skyscrapers	

Appendix F: Media Statistics, Numbers and Figures in 2010

The press coverage for the cultural events and projects of ECoC 2010 is demonstrated by figures in the "2010 Annual Activity Report" of Istanbul 2010 Agency. According to the activity report, the total number of news about Istanbul 2010 media coverage is counted as 30,744. The table below shows the media statistics only in the year 2010.

Table F.1 Istanbul 2010 in the media (Haligua et al., 2010: 107)

İstanbul 2010 in the media (in the year 2010)
• Print Media: 14,947 • TV: 5,232 • Radio: 287 • Internet: 10,278 • Total: 30,744

Some other media events organized by the PR Directory of the Istanbul 2010 ECoC Agency (2010a: 107) can be cited as:

- official opening press meeting and press report,

- the local press members meetings and city trips (Historical Peninsula Tour, 16. 07.2010),

- international press visits (visit to European Parliament in Brussels, opening of Rome Museum of Contemporary Art, Ottoman Treasures in Kremlin Exhibition, Golden Routes project, Promethiade project in Athens)

The communication of the event was carried by Excel Iletisim since 2009. The media analysis report prepared by Excel Iletisim demonstrates the figures for the official opening of Istanbul 2010 event as follows (Istanbul 2010 ECoC Agency, 2010a: 97):

> "275 news in print media, which is equivalent to $5,570,977 advertising value. The news appeared in the visual media are recorded as 489 and has $1,573,193,226 advertising value equivalency (AVE)".

It was claimed to be an improvement in numbers and figures in 2010 when compared to 2009. There has been 115% increase in the visual media coverage and 276% increase in the print media coverage for Istanbul 2010 while the negative content in the media coverage has decreased by 3% in 2010.[34]

The Corporate Relations Directory of the Istanbul 2010 Agency was responsible for increasing the visibility and recognition of Istanbul 2010 Agency as well as maintaining coordination between the joined partners of the projects. The directory organized regular members' meetings of the agency and provided internal communication. Some of the examples of events organized by the Corporate Relations Directory are trips, sport events, receptions, galas and openings, press meetings, award ceremonies, conferences and seminars, theatre and performances, concerts, exhibitions, festivals, workshops, film and video screenings, contests, publications (CD, book, catalogue, papers, guides, etc.). The Annual Activity Report (Istanbul 2010 ECoC Agency, 2010a: 131) notes the number of events and their percentages in the total number of events.

According to research done by MTM (Medya Takip Merkezi), there was 46 % increase in the number of culture and art newsreaders (İşbir, 2011).

Some examples of the communication activities can be listed as follows:

> - Organising a non-media channels system of civic organisations, chambers of commerce & trade, related associations, university campus and community leaders

> - Compiling a list of media contacts and figures which includes radio, television, web, and local publications

> - Promoting partnerships with industry

> -Designing and developing printed materials such as brochures and posters

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[34] The data is provided by the media analysis report prepared by Ajans Press.

- Creating a series of news releases and distributing the releases to media channels

- Visiting local radio channels and TV stations to create opportunities for the promotion of the ECoC concept

- Preparing the press releases and on-air announcements

- Organizing periodic news conferences

- Carrying out the publication of a weekly electronic ECoC 2010 Istanbul newsletter

- Developing and periodically updating the ECoC 2010 Istanbul multilingual web site

The communications strategy for Istanbul 2010 focused on creative and alternative media channels and tools such as;

- SMS, cell phone, GPRS technology

- ATM machines

- Public areas (WCs, mosques, stadiums, supermarkets ...)

- Licensed merchandising

- Limited and specially designed POPs

- Special events (Çalışlar, 2005: 3)

Beside the activities and large-scaled projects, a promotional and informative booklet is prepared by the organization team including a communication plan through "comprehensive and far-reaching communications and marketing operation with two aims":

- "To involve as many people and organizations as possible and

- To use this opportunity to redefine relations between the people of Istanbul and the city administration in order to create a new mechanism for decision making."

Therefore the communications plan is supported by PR activities as an integral part of strategic planning (Beyazıt & Tosun, 2006: 8).

Appendix G: Map of Istanbul with administrative divisions
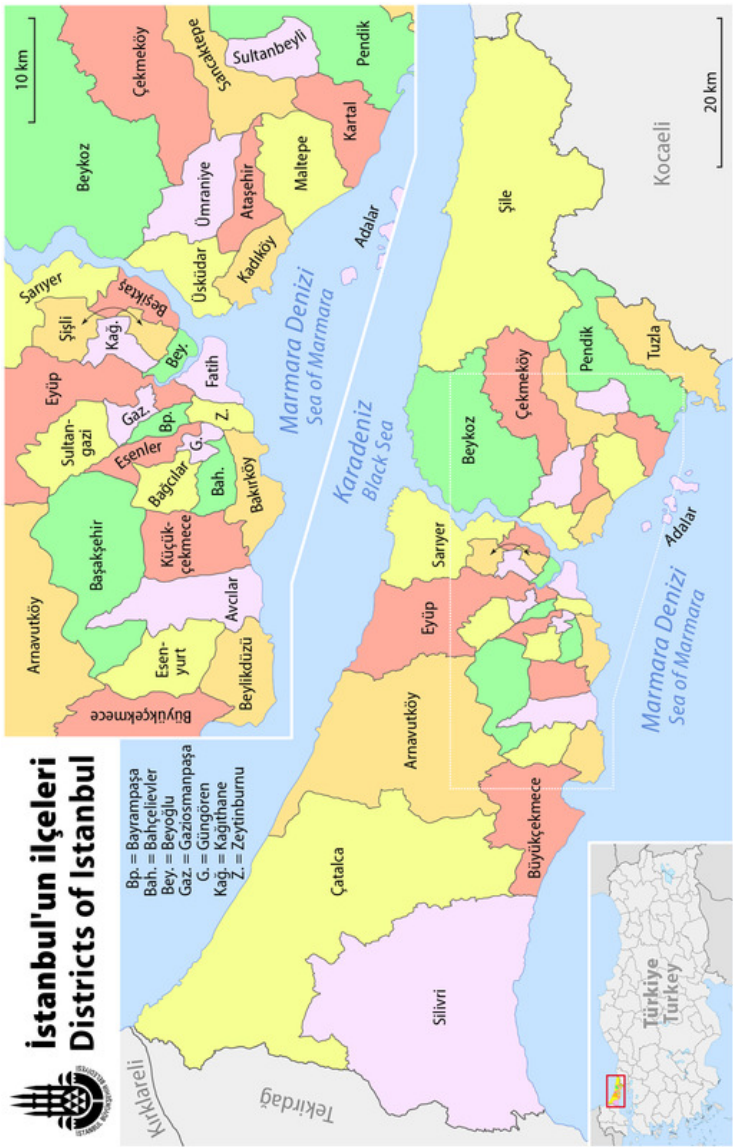
(Source:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_the_Districts_of_Istanbul.png)

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