

THE PROBLEMS OF VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF CITIES IN
PRESENT DAY TURKEY

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF
GRAPHIC DESIGN
AND THE INSTITUTE OF FINE ARTS
OF BILKENT UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF FINE ARTS

BY
N. EDEN ÖNLUĞATA
December, 1997

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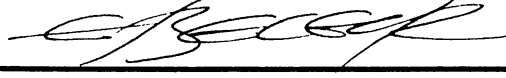
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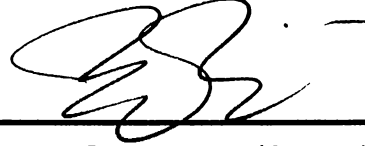
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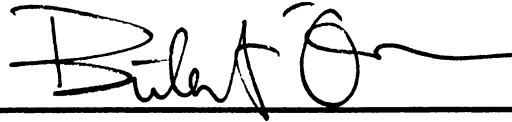
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ABSTRACT

THE PROBLEMS OF VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF CITIES IN
PRESENT DAY TURKEY

N. Eden Ünlüata

M.F.A. in Graphic Design

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Emre Becer

December, 1997

The intention of this study is to examine the visual representational structure of the present day Turkish cities and their relation to the social and cultural condition. The intention is to define the problematic of the power relations and hegemony created over the city-dwellers through public space.

Key Words: Visual Representation, Symbol, Public Space, Power, Turkey.

ÖZET

GÜNÜMÜZ TÜRKİYE'SİNDE KENTLERİN GÖRSEL TEMSİLİYET
SORUNSALI

N. Eden Ünlüata

Grafik Tasarımı Bölümü

Yüksek Lisans

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Emre Becer

Aralık, 1997

Bu çalışma günümüz Türkiye kentlerinin görsel temsiliyet kurgularını sosyal ve kültürel bağlamda incelemektir. Amaç kamusal alan düzeneği ve grafik semboller üzerinden kentliler üzerideki politik güç ve egemenlik sorunsalını tanımlamaktır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Görsel Temsiliyet, Sembol, Kamusal Alan, Politik Güç, Türkiye.

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1. INTRODUCTION

It can be said that one of the important problems that the cities of present-day Turkey face is the issue of 'representation'. The extremely fragmented structure of the Public Sphere and political institutions prevents any continuity in visual presentation of 'public space' because of constant shifts in the balance of political power. The desire to dominate the public space with images that refer to the political group/party that holds power is one of the sources of this problem.

A city/urban structure creates its identity through sources as diverse as culture, structure (economic, infrastructural, etc.), geography, etc. The cultural structure of the city is one of the most dominant factors that make up its identity, Rapoport even asserts that this factor is more important than the other aspects (1977:1). The cultural structure can refer to history, memory, present day condition, form of the city, ethnic/racial structure, etc. It can be said that out of the inter-relation of these components comes the cultural structure which is directly reflected in the visual structure of the city.

To be able to create a distinctive visual appearance and representation of its 'self', each city tends to develop a symbol that represents the identity of that city. The main priority within creating this symbol is the identity of that city. But this approach brings serious problems of representation. One of the most important problems is the issue of creating a stereo-type image of that city which is unable to adapt when the 'context' of the city changes in time, a problem which tends to affect the rapidly-developing of Turkey today.

Another problem is the question of what happens to the representation (visual and political) rights of the 'others'. The 'other' is referred as those who tend to stand outside the 'self' described by the nation-state. The approach of creating a symbol for a city is based on the idea of the 'self' of the city. But the most important problem in Turkey is the question of 'who is actually the 'self'?' within such a socially and politically fragmented structure. It is doubtful that such a unifying 'self' even exists within the diverse urban landscape of Turkey. As Lozano says, the present condition indicates a structure that does not indicate a unified social condition (1990:295).

Moreover, this point brings another important question: do 'others' have rights? The right to vote, the right to 'win' an election, the right to be represented, and if necessary the right to be inserted into the structure of the 'self' (Göle,1996).

If one accepts that the problem is one of the representation of 'others', through which structure is this to be done? Should this be done by creating a new 'self' which accommodates excluded societal groups - possibly at the expense of others. Or should we ask whether a 'self' is actually necessary?'. If borders of the 'self' are to be widened what type of a design approach is to be followed to solve this problem?

Even if one is capable of finding the correct starting point what is the institution that will wield this power and bear the responsibility for creating a symbol for representation? Is it the public or the municipality? Can an institution such as the municipality be capable of creating an image or corporate city identity structure that will be able to represent the 'actual' identity of a city? Or should the corporate identity of a municipality be separated from the issue of visual representation of a city? Moreover, should institutions such as the

municipal take a neutral position or should they be able to have the flexibility change 'colors' according to changes in the political and cultural 'context' of the city?

An intelligent approach to the problems of city identity must make a choice between two mutually exclusive positions. One, the modernist approach, argues that the problem should be solved through the issue of the 'self' and the 'other'. The second proposes that the concept of creating a corporate city identity be displaced or rather deconstructed and replaced by an approach that gives city-dwellers the opportunity to create a non-unification of the visual appearance of the public space. The main question to be asked at this point is what are the structural changes that will allow this non-unified approach to come about within the process of services provided by institutions such as the municipalities.

2.CITY, CULTURE AND INSTITUTIONS

2.1 City And Culture

It can be said that cities are dynamic complex organisms in which many factors influence one other. According to K. Lynch, a city can be described as "... a multi purpose, shifting organization, a tent for many functions, raised by many hands and with relative speed." (1960:91). On the other hand, Caulfield refers to Mumford (1961) for a description of the existence of a city, which indicates "that city-dwellers come together 'not by instinct or [merely] for a common benefit ... but on the basis of reason' to create a more civilized society through processes of shared culture and politics." (1994:109).

According to the Collins Dictionary, culture stands for: "the total of the inherited ideas, beliefs, values, and knowledge, which constitute the shared bases of social action" (1990:307)

The concept of 'shared bases', as used by the Collins dictionary, is the key issue. In cities the expression of these 'shared bases' are constructed in public space. As Carr, Rivlin, Francis and Stone point out, public space is where culture evolves (1992:xi).

Nevertheless, as Rapoport points out, there is a direct relation between man and environment in which man creates environment and the created environment influences man (1977:66). On the other hand, M. C. Buendicho states that this 'man-environment' relation brings the result of a "non-verbal system of symbols that influence our life." She also points to the fact that these symbols indicate cultural values and produce a sense of unity and security(1983:1).

However, environment in this context can be related to public space. In this respect the dynamics of public space and control, or rather the power to shape it, indicate the source of those who can shape contemporary culture.

One of the contemporary issues in the debate about public space is the question of control and perception. Both the issues of plurality and power over public space, and visual perception of public space are in a state of flux.

According to Celeste Olalquiaga psychasthenia is one of the key concepts of perception of contemporary space. She writes that "Urban culture resembles this mimetic condition when it enables a ubiquitous feeling of being in all places while not really being anywhere."

"Casting a hologram-like aesthetic, contemporary architecture displays an urban continuum where buildings are seen to disappear behind reflections of the sky or merge into one another" (1991:2).

Moreover, she orients contemporary culture in the field of visual language by saying that "verbal language is being gradually displaced by the visual." (1991:4) By this she also refers to the fact the images are important in the establishment of identity. She points out the fact that these images construct a mirror so that identity can "resort to an image to acquire a sense of wholeness."(1991:4)

The issue of control and the change in power sources, as Boyer points out, relate to the post-modern condition in which she describes the contemporary city as 'City of Spectacle' (1994:46).

2.2 Postmodern Condition

Referring to the forces that have created the post-modern condition, Jameson describes the present condition as "the cultural logic of late capitalism."(1984b) The term post-modern relates to the condition starting from the late 1970s onward. It can be said that, within design

terminology, the term indicates a reaction to the predominant discourse of 20th century modernism.

Caulfield, clarifies the differences between the modernist and the post-modern approaches by referring to Bakhtin. According to Bakhtin the modern sees the city as a utopia that can be described as "voiceless object of ... deduction" (1984:83) while the post-modern is an approach that indicates: "a plurality of fully valid voices" (1984:34). Moreover, Bakhtin describes the present condition of the city as 'polyphony' (1984). Caulfield interprets that term thus: "This word implies not cacophony but multi-part harmony in which each individual and subcultural city voice seeks a dialogic position in an open-ended heterotext whose seeming disorder is actually a complex form of 'intricate and unique' order" (1994:109).

However, in her book 'The City of Collective Memory', M.C. Boyer refers to the modernist city as the 'City of Panorama', stating that one of the basic characteristics of the modernist city is that the creation takes its inspiration from the bird's-eye view. (1994:40). It can be said that the Modernist city aspires towards 'unify'ing or rather creating a unified structure, not only as the form of the city but also culturally. Boyer says "the concept of 'society' was a newly forged idea in

the nineteenth century, and architectural embellishments were utilized to strengthen the fragile and synthetic links that gathered people together in collective unity."(1994:34) This approach used the state apparatus to create a collective form of the city and aimed to increase the "well being of its citizenry" (1994:43).

Boyer attacks the work of modernists such as Le Corbusier who, "by imposing their ideal model of scenic unity in which solids dematerialized into transparent and interpenetrating forms and structures filled in or hollowed out space, decomposed the city into a random array of homogeneous sites, emptied of historical reference and ignorant of building types and city places specific to each location." (1994:46)

In contrast to the modernist city, Boyer describes the contemporary city as "The City of Spectacle" (1994:46). "By the 1980s, the transformation of the material world by the invisible bands of electronic communication encircling the globe, by computer-simulated visual environments, and by the theatricalized image spectacles seemed by extension to have decomposed the bits and pieces of the city into an ephemeral form." (1994:46) From this starting point she explains the change in the representational structure, whereby the perception of the city has transformed into a structure similar to those of

cinema and television, in which the "contemporary city is pure spectacle, culling a programmed and a projected look" (1994:47). Moreover Boyer refers to this as a reaction against the dominating unity of the Modernist city (the City of Panorama).

Caulfield refers to Jameson to list the basic debates on the problematic of the modernist approach: "'the bankruptcy of the monumental', 'the failure of [its] protopolitical or utopian program', 'its elitism', and its virtual destruction of the older city fabric' (1988a:55)" (1994:106). But on the other hand Caulfield also states that the problem may not only be read through the the failure of the program but rather a failure of 'execution' of the modernist project (1994:106). This approach can be understood in Boyer's description of the "totalizing models of argumentation" which she says can "determine what can be said, who has the right to speak, and what will be the logical development of thought" (1988:51). These questions can be described as criticism of the 'unifying' structure which Caulfield calls a 'monologic' system. It is a system that indicates, in Bakhtin's words, a single 'unified accent' (1984:82, 293) which Caulfield describes as "not only totalitarian thinking in the most literal sense of the word but also bad social theory, because it seeks to reduce the

complexity of urban reality to the logic of a unitary syllogism." (1994:108)

"Clearly," writes Cauflield, " one central principle of postmodernist urbanism is to allow, or to consciously create, spaces for difference and possibility to engender fundamental urban entrepreneurial and political possibilities." (1994:108)

But Boyer is also critical of the present condition, in which control and power has been taken away from central authority and given into the hands of the corporations. Taking into account the fact that the postmodern condition does not allow artist or designer (in their 'creation' acts) any possible role in transforming the world - in contrast to the modernist approach - Boyer points out that, "By celebrating the commodity's successful invasion into all spheres of cultural expression, it completely ignores the modernists' opposition to conservative market-based values. Because global satellite communication and computerized information processing systems under private market control have become all-pervasive in the 1970s and 1980s, they have produced a nexus of information and cultural expressions dominated by corporate values and marketing dictates." (1994:65)

On the other hand, in his cyberpunk manifesto, Gareth Branwyn points out to the fact that "The megacorps are the new governments." (Mondo 2000, 1992:64)

In the face of increasing corporate control over all acts of cultural life, sponsorship of the arts, the media, and architectural spaces, Boyer asks, "who raises a voice in the opposition to this corporate organization of culture?" (1994:65)

However, Boyer points out fact that "If modernism once kept a lively critique of the commodity, of the increasing commercialization of culture, holding the entanglements of government and monopoly capital to be the enemy, then postmodernity has eradicated this stance and accepts the corporate-cultural enterprise as a new totalizing system." (1994:65)

Moreover, it can be said that, with Boyer's description, there tends to be no difference in the concept of 'totalizing' between the modernist approach and the postmodern one. In this sense, the actual problematic of the existence of all fragments and their rights to be represented is crushed under the new source of power. The corporations tend not to recognize the 'others' but rather create hegemony over them for the sake of profit.

In Boyer words, one of the problematic aspects of postmodernity lies in the fact that "It does not allow for critical perspectives grounded in values formed outside of the marketplace, beyond the grip of the image, in opposition to the aestheticization of everyday life." (1994:65).

A natural consequence of social plurality is a corresponding plurality in social structures and media of artistic expression. It not only indicates the emergence of sub-cultures, but changes in the form of the city and changing perception of the city and its symbols. One of the key concepts that contributes to the essence of the present-day cities is Simulation - "the third order of simulacra". (Baudrillard, 1983:83) Boyer refers to this as "the City of Spectacle" (1994:46).

2.3 Municipality

Although the city and the municipality and their images indicate two different structures, they cannot be thought of separately. Their influence on each other cannot be distinguished.

Although most of the references used in this thesis tend to be 'city form' oriented, the point here is that all the relations between memory and the form of the city are

elements directly guiding the visual representation/graphic design (emblem and logotypes-city identity) studies, that are done for the municipal institutions. In this context municipalities can be considered as political institutions that represent the city.

The issue of designing representation of a city is structured according to policies developed by the municipality. According to W. Baum (1982), the development of a project in an institution depends on the four phases. These phases can be described as Policy, Program, Plan, and Project. This indicates that the existence of a project is due to policy. The Policy draws the guidelines for development of the project. The Programming and Planning phases help to specify the paths the project is due to follow. Any service that is provided by the municipalities is a result of the basic policies developed by the institution. This approach aims to establish a continuum and consistency of services. (1982:10)

3.PUBLIC SPACE AND VISUAL STRUCTURE

3.1 Public Space

According to Carr, Rivlin, Francis, and Stone, public space is "the stage upon which the drama of communal life unfolds. The streets, squares and parks of a city give form to the ebb and flow of human exchange." (1992:3) By the term exchange they make reference to concepts such as communication, movement, play and relaxation. All of these aspects are "pressing needs that public space can help people to satisfy significant human rights that it can be shaped to define and protect, and special cultural meanings that it can best convey." (1992:3)

Moreover, to be able satisfy these needs the structure of public space needs to be well defined. In his text concerning the changes in public space in the post-war condition (1994), S. Önür describes ten fundamental facts that are essential for the creation of public space. These are;

1-A Public space should be accessible (ulaşılabilirlik),
be shared openly (functionally and conceptually)

2-A public space should accommodate people who are not acquainted with each other;

- 3-A public space should be lasting (kalıcılık);
- 4-A public space should guide social human behaviour;
- 5-A public space should transcend individual control;
- 6-A public space should have an important part in defining the surrounding environment;
- 7-It should be the source and setting of adventure/excitement/novelty (macera kaynağı);
- 8-It should be perceived in relation to private-personal spaces;
- 9-A public space should be diverse with respect to usage typology;
- 10-A public space should be formed collectively and preserve collective memories. (1994:455, 456)

Önür's description tends to indicate a 'unified' approach towards the structure of public space. Moreover it can be said that this description also has a Western oriented approach. His ten-point list can be seen as being derived from the development of public space in the history of Western cities, where the public space is differentiated from private space. Under Roman law, public space is 'untouchable' by the individual and control over this space is handed to state apparatus. But the historical development of the city in the area in which Turkey is situated is very different from the Western experience.

The basic law which refers to the development of the cities is the law of Islam (Shariah). According to Stephanos Yerasimos, in 'the Islamic city', the concept of 'public space' does not exist. He gives the example of the street, where, "According to the Islamic law the street, the street that is open on both sides, belongs to all the Muslims and a dead end street only belongs to those who live on it."(1991:71)

However, Carr, Rivlin, Francis, and Stone point that, contrary to the Western approach, in Muslim cultures the concept of public space is limited to certain specific areas which they describe as markets and shopping streets (1992:3). To be able to point out to the importance of the private over the public they compare the Latin\European with the Muslim approach; the former places the emphasis on public space whereas the latter stresses the private when it comes to the quality of detailing and ornamentation (1992:3).

In view of this traditional Islamic emphasis on the private, it can be said that the usage of 'public space' is open to the individual. Yerasimos writes that, "As there is no concept of public space anyone can construct over the street ... even can open a sewage canal or a well." (1991:71) The principle that guides this approach is not to damage the interests of others. Until someone

complains to the *Kadı* (the religious judge). So this brings a different approach from the Roman law concept of public space.

Yerasimos explains the difference clearly: "In a city that is built on Roman law principals, there is the concept of public property (*kamusal mülkiyet*) and each component is equal to the other. Only at one point, one passes through an entrance and enters private space or a private public space. In a Islamic city each step you take brings you into another space in which property rights are different. Because those who live on that street, that square, that road have more rights on that space than others."

"This is the first difference. The second difference is: in Roman law there is something called limit; this is a line, a border, it is an abstract thing. Because this is a line that does not have a thickness. This concept, this principal, does not exist in Islamic law. Instead there is space which is called land (*arsa*) which is a transitional space. This transition space, the private property side, can be used as wished so long as it does not disturb general, public interest. All these differences are the same in all Islamic laws and this is what creates the city space." (1991: 71)

The introduction of public space in the Western manner starts with the Westernisation project of the Ottomans. As Yerasimos explains, these approaches by the Ottoman elite tended to be imposed approaches rather than reflections of changes in the Ottoman social. Yerasimos refers to letters written by Mustafa Reşit Paşa inspired by London, on how the streets should be constructed. He claims that Turkey's modern planning approaches are copied from the West. (1991:72)

However, this understanding of planning was to be followed by the Republicans in their Modernism Project. As Uğur Tanyeli describes it, the new capital of the new Republic was the first attempt to create a city in the modernist sense with depth, not only in form but also culturally (1997:82). It can be said that in the Republican period most of the cities were re-planned in terms of a program to create a Western or rather 'contemporary' (modernist) look (form) and lifestyle for the cities. (Tanyeli, 1997:83) As Cana Birsnel points out Urbanism was a tool "for the young Republic of Turkey for the creation of a physical urban frame, the setting of a network, equipment and symbols, and an urban image that would support the modern society that the Republic aimed to achieve." Although the Ottomans tried to do similar work, their attempts never went further than Istanbul.

On the other hand, Tanyeli writes that "even including Beyoğlu, the most "Europeanized" (Avrupai) section of Istanbul, should be considered as being a traditional city that has met the benefits of modernity" (1997:81).

Although the historical development of the notion of public space in Turkey does not present a picture parallel to the western approach, it can be considered a rare coincidence that the present day condition is parallel to that of contemporary western condition.

However, the Post-Modern condition indicates a contradictory approach to the Modernist approach. Although Boyer points out that the understanding of control or rather hegemony over public space has not changed there has been a power shift from the central authority to incorporations (Boyer, 1994; Branwyn, 1992). On the other hand the unity of the public space has changed. Within the post modern condition it is very hard for one to claim any unity of public space.

Taking its inspirations from the perception described by Yerasimos, the current situation indicates a point in between the traditional and a modernist approach. Although through law the control of public space is given to the municipalities, the practice does not always work that way. From the city scale to lower scales

('graphic', 'street furniture', etc.) the control is willingly or unwillingly shared. The tendency to see public space in the 'traditional' form can be observed all over the cities. Within Turkey's context the power is shared by private and the official institution.

3.2 Public Space Visual Structure

Although in most of the texts related to form and city the priority is the forms of the three dimensional elements such as architectural figures another important element is the graphic elements of the city. As this thesis concentrates on symbols (emblems and logotypes) the main discussion will be on the emblems and logotypes that are developed to represent the city.

It can be said that since the Westernisation project of the Ottomans, the law codes that are used for the management of the cities are based on the Roman law system. However, these codes give the control of the public space to the hands of the municipalities, and contradictory to the Islamic city approach the private and the public are separated with borders.

This approach gives the control and the responsibility of the services to the Municipalities. In other words the municipality makes the decisions of the need and how this

need is to be satisfied. The individual or the community is only an input of policies. In this respect the visual structure of the public space is determined by the municipal institution. The form of the city, the section of the street, the colors chosen for the transportation system, the type of bench, the form of the garbage bins are results of the policies developed by the 'central authority' of the city.

It can be said that the city symbols that hold representative values, taking their inspiration from the identity of the city, dominate the visual structure of public space. Moreover, graphic products (emblems, logotypes, corporate identity systems) tend to create a more clear and unified look to the public space. In other words the 'self' of the city is reflected in the visual structure.

Although emblems or logotypes on their own do not dominate the visual appearance of public space, they are the essence of the study of 'city identity'. The whole structure of the study refers to the symbol, so even if there is any reason to create variety in the design, it still refers to the same basic principals of order, form, color, typography, etc. One such example is the color orange and its distinctive typeface being the figures of the 'city identity' of Ankara.

Although the municipality is to be the institution that controls the visual structure of the public space, in Turkey's context, this issue tends to be more sophisticated. Although taking into account street furniture and other municipal activities, the legal right to develop policy and enact it is given to the municipal institutions, the practice tends to be different. In a multitude of ways the 'contribution' of private enterprise to public space is evident.

Moreover, the installation of objects that carry the corporate/city identity of the city are guided by the policies developed by the municipalities. On the other hand the important question is: do the municipalities in Turkey have policies?

One of the most 'complicated' studies done in Turkey to renovate the appearance of public space was carried out by the former SHP (now CHP) when they got took power (1989-1994) in the Greater Municipality of Ankara. As the former Head of the Planning Department, Raci Bademli explains (1996), during the restructuring process (of the municipality) the idea of creating a 'better look' for the city was one of the policies the municipal authorities developed. With reference to this policy, the graphic appearance of the municipality is all aspects

was to be re-considered. The Yeni Dünya (New World) graphic consultancy company was commissioned to create a new 'city identity'.

The emblem that was used was a Hittite symbol with Anatolian folk dancers placed around it. The designers of Yeni Dünya preferred not to make a sudden change and come up with a new symbol, but rather re-design the existing symbol. On the other hand, in addition to this re-design, at the request of the municipality, they also designed a further symbol, the goat, referring to the Ankara Goat (Tiftik Keçisi). These two symbols were to be used together. Not only were the symbols (re)designed, a completed corporate identity study was also carried out. [fig.1 and fig.2] Shortly after these designs were put into practice in public space, from posters to transportation vehicles, from street furniture to municipal constructions.

However, the results of the next municipal elections were to be a victory for the Welfare Party (Refah Partisi) which, in which N. Göle analysis, is an Islamist party. One of the important pledges in the election campaign of Welfare would-be mayor Melih Gökçek was to change the emblem of Ankara from the Hittite symbol and the Goat to a more Islamic symbol.



Fig.1 Re-design of the emblem of Ankara



Fig.2 The emblem with the goat

Welfare opened a competition to re-design yet again the city's identity. One of the important aspects highlighted in the competition brochure was the Turco-Islamic heritage of the city. The winning design carried a shield background with a silhouette of Atakule (a tower which can be identified as a dominant landmark in Ankara), the Ankara castle, and two minarets. The dome of the Atakule tower and the two minarets were brought together to establish an abstracted figure that referred to a stereotype mosque image, which was said to indicate the Kocatepe Mosque, another dominant landmark. [fig.3] The way these elements are composed in the new emblem owes much to the heraldic traditions of medieval Europe, rather than to any Turco-Islamic synthesis. The shield, and the figurative representations do not indicate a Turco-Islamic approach but rather a Western attitude. Only the meanings 'behind' these elements represent any thing that can be called Turco-Islamic.

Knowing the fact that this new symbol could be changed later, it was said that the contract between the Municipality and the designer was set for fifty years and the later coming political parties would not be able to change it.

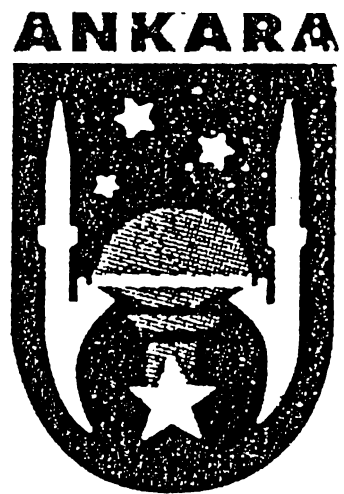


Fig.3 The new emblem

However, through this event the symbol became very politicized. Many civil organisations and political parties protested against the new emblem, held demonstrations, collected signatures and even went to court. After a short while the new emblem appeared in the public space of Ankara. Although the Governor of Ankara claimed that this change was illegal and asked the municipality to avoid the usage of the new emblem, it first appeared as posters, announcements, later as printed materials, and finally as product graphics.

4.REPRESENTATION, IDENTITY AND SYMBOL

4.1 Representation

According to the Collins Concise Dictionary, the term 'representation' indicates: "1.the act or an instance of representing or the state of being represented; ... 3. anything that is represented, such as an image brought clearly to mind" (1990: 1096). It can be said that within the city context the term refers to two main points: the first is political representation and the second visual representation. Moreover these two points tend to overlap when the focus is put on visual representation of the identity of a city.

In graphic design terminology the process of creating an emblem or logotype and 'corporate identity' for a city is categorized as 'city identity'. Although the term might indicate a different -- mainly social and city form oriented -- meaning for urban/city studies and planning, within this context it refers to two-dimensional (graphic) products that aim to represent the identity of the city.

However, the institution that commissions these studies is the municipality. Although the images of the municipality and the city itself tend to be understood as

two different structures, it can be said that, within the present condition, these two structures cannot be thought of separately. A symbol that aims to represent the municipality cannot extract itself from the elements of the city. Moreover, in Turkey, as there are no symbols (emblems/logotypes) of cities that come down from history, the symbols that the municipalities use are considered to be the symbols of those cities.

There is a overlap between political and visual representation. This overlap indicates the importance of power within the term. M. Christine Boyer describes the facts of the establishment of the representational forms referring to the present condition thus: "Through a process of inversion, these figures of a static order, a totalizing gaze, and a decomposed image become an accepted way of seeing, knowing and representing the city"

"In this synthesizing act, however, we must never lose sight of the fact that these representational models are imposition upon a flow of events..., the production of urban space is always battlefield of contending forces, ... Shifts in the political economy, technological procedures, legal maneuvers, community oppositions or client preferences, spectators' attitudes and aspirations, and the desire for a planned order or the

need for release from its rational control simultaneously configure both the discourses and the representational forms of the city." (1994:33).

On the other hand, she also addresses the new structure of representation reference to the City of Spectacle, with computer-simulated visual environment oriented approach: "An art and architecture based on the recomposition and recombination of borrowed imagery appear to make reality and representation equivalent references in infinitely mirrored reflections." (1994:46).

The problematic of representation is a part of most of the major conflicts in Turkey. Facts that come through history and various reasons that create the contemporary condition are not reflected in the systematic of representation. However, the symbols that take the task of representation do not indicate the heterogeneous structure, but rather acts as if the structure were unified. Most of the visual codes referring to the different fragments are suppressed and only those which indicate the 'self' are allowed.

Moreover, this situation refers to the relation between power and symbols. To be able to exercise its power, the 'self' allows symbols that points out its own existence

and suppress those which do not refer to it. By this approach the 'self' establishes its supposed existence.

It can be said that there is a very strong relation between symbol-meaning and power. Smith gives the example of the relation between architecture, symbolism and power in reference to England: "civic leaders preferred to be associated with the idealized Christianity of the middle ages. So monumental neo-gothic structures like Manchester Town hall inform all citizens that their Councilors are always motivated by pure Christian principles, and consumed by the desire to bring to reality the New Jerusalem." (1974:53)

On the other hand, this example indicates a situation where the ties between symbols and power have an 'idea' base and a tradition. This tradition dates from the urge of the Middle Ages which Frutiger describes as the "need for a kind of graphic personification..." (1989:315) to state the differences between sources of power and their orientation due to families or kings.

In Turkey, however, this situation indicates an instinctual approach rather than one based on an idea or tradition. This stems from a history in which the only 'person' was the Sultan himself. Although the power of a symbol is not deeply perceived by the power sources, it

can be said that the analogy between the flag or symbol and the meaning of a symbol of a city lies in the 'collective' unconscious.

4.2 Image of the City

In his book 'The Image of the City' Kevin Lynch makes use of the term "public images"(1960:7). Through this term he indicates "the common mental pictures carried out by large numbers of a city's inhabitants: areas of agreement which might be expected to appear in the interaction of a single physical reality, a common culture, and a basic physiological nature."(1960:7).

Against the public image, Lynch also writes about the 'environmental image' which he divides into three main components: identity, structure and meaning (1960:8). "A workable image requires first the identification of an object, which implies its distinction from other things, its recognition as a separable entity. This is called identity, not in the sense of equality with something else, but with the meaning of individuality or oneness. Second, the image must include the spatial or pattern relation of the object to the observer and to the other objects. Finally, this object must have some meaning for the observer, whether practical or emotional. Meaning is also a relation, but quite different one from spatial or

pattern relation." (1960:8) Although Lynch tends to use both these terms in relation to the form of the city, it can be said that these explanations can indicate the graphic structure that tends to represent the city.

On the other hand Lynch also puts forward the term 'the city image', with which he explains the structure of the city through aspects such as path, landmark, edge, node and district. He adds that the term refers to the physical form of the city (1960:46). Very briefly, in Lynch's words these terms relate to:

"1. Paths. Paths are channels along which the observer customarily, occasionally, or potentially move ... For many people, these are the predominant elements in their images.

2. Edges. Edges are linear elements not used or considered as paths by the observer. They are the boundaries between two phases, linear breaks in continuity...

3. Districts. Districts are the medium-to-large sections of the city, conceived of having two-dimensional extent, which the observer mentally enters "inside of", and which are recognizable as having some common, identifying character.

4. Nodes. Nodes are points, the strategic spots in a city into which an observer can enter, and which are the intensive foci to and from which he is traveling. They must be primary junctions, ... moments of shift from one

structure to another ... In any event, some nodal points are to be found in almost every image, and in certain cases they may be the dominant feature.

5. Landmarks. Landmarks are another type of point-reference, but in this case the observer does not enter within them, they are external. They are usually a rather simply defined physical object: building, sign, store, or mountain. Their use involves the singling out of one of one element from a host of possibilities. Some landmarks are distant ones, typically seen from many angles and distances ... and used as radial references. ... such are isolated towers Other landmarks are primarily local ... signs, store fronts, trees, doorknobs, and other urban detail, which fill in the image of most observers." (1960:47-48).

These aspects defined by Lynch indicate images that are established in city-dwellers' minds, that in total refer to the distinctive elements that create identity.

4.3 Identity

It can be said that identity indicates that which separates one identified 'self' from (an)other. In a Lacanian sense, the 'self' is created through the 'other', that which is not the 'self'. However, taking these two arguments into consideration, one can say that

there are three factors which make up the dominant aspects of the 'self': that which the 'self' is, reference to what it isn't, and those forms which are distinctive to the 'self'.

According to Boyer, one of the consistent elements of the city is its name. But the city's physical structure, Boyer says, "evolves, being deformed or forgotten, adapted to other purposes or eradicated by different needs." (1994:31) She also states the fact that the representational forms change too (1994:32). Moreover she discusses the fact that the public is an important fact in the representational order of the city. "Composed city scenes are designed to be looked at and the spectator's amazement and memory evoked by their figural images." (1994:32)

It can be said that, in the postmodern condition and beyond (as it is considered, post-postmodern (Rucker, Sirius, Mu:177)) as Lozano(1990) and Caulfield (1994) indicate, the key issue is, the fragmentation of the cultural structure and the 'unified' 'self' of the identity of the city. The demand of the 'others' to be able to establish their existence and identity within public space brings a problematic of representation and how this is to be established.

However, Jencks points to the fact that the marginalized and sub-cultures demand respect "equal to that of the dominant group" in order to establish "self-worth and personal identity." (1993:10)

The disintegration of the 'self' of the City of Panorama and the creation of City of Spectacle (Boyer:1994) reveals this problem. Beyond Boyer's explanation of the City of Panorama, it can be said that the 'panorama' concept also indicates a metaphor of being far above, seeing details and handing the power over to the 'self' who is watching the panorama of the city.

Although the City of Spectacle enables one to perceive details, the reality of these details are constructed, their level of reality can be questioned.

Even the approach of considering sub-cultures refers to a 'main culture'. Thus, one can come to the conclusion that there is still an established 'self', though its existence is questioned. The actual problematic of existence and representation rights of 'others' still remain. As Boyer points out, the only thing that has changed is the sources of power.(1994)

It can be said that the fragmented structure of the contemporary city, as a result of social fragmentation, is carried out into the city space. Moreover, according to Boyer, " The contemporary arts of city building are self-consciously aware of combinatorial forms that they decoratively disperse across its broken surface. There appears to be no center to this city, no subject responsible for its arrangement, no motive force behind its accepted fragmentation." (1994:51) This fragmented form of the city can be read as a representation of the social condition in 'The City of Spectacle'. (Boyer, 1994)

Moreover, Lozano, referring to the cities in the U.S. in the issue of representation and the symbols, asks whether it is possible to find a symbol system that would be sufficient. He questions: "How does one design with urban symbols in mind when the U.S. city is composed of a wide range of people, from members of wealthy old Anglo families to descendants of European immigrants to poor newcomers from the south, Puerto Rico, Central America, and Mexico?" (1990:294).

Frutiger, however, points out to the fact that "The division of peoples into groups holding common opinions does not necessarily follow national frontiers but rather the traditions of political, religious and ethnic

forces." (1989:323) When he concludes the argument in his descriptive text with the assertion that "to consider these world wide problems of the present day would not come within the scope of our graphic subject matter" (1989:323) he also points to the fact that the graphic design approach has not arrived at any solution to the problematic of representation of the fragmented structure of the present condition.

According to Ernesto Laclau, the present social condition indicates plurality and points to a radical break with the modernist myth of the "universal class." (1988:77-78) On the other hand, Caulfield states that within the American and Canadian cities social fragmentation is mostly oriented on gender and race issues.(1994:111) Meanwhile, Hal Foster describes the structure of the postmodern urban to have a "fragmentary nature of late-capitalist" (1985:127).

It can be said that the present day Turkish cities indicate a fragmented structure due to culture. With migratory and political aspects, the cities are developing into heteropolis structures such as those Jencks (1993) describes.

According to Jencks, with the mass migration aspect Los Angeles is developing into a city that can be described as a heteropolis. (1993:7) Jencks points out the fact that this is the driving force behind L.A.'s transformation into a "global megalopolis of the future." (1993:7) This condition, contrasting to the unifying approach of modernists, in Jencks words indicates an approach that brings together "different voices and opposite styles." (1993:8).

It can be said that the present condition due to representation of identity in public space in Turkey, indicates a feigned unity. Although through the fact of migration it is known that social structure tend to hold a heterogeneous structure, this cannot be experienced to its full scale in public space. The appearance of the public space tends to give the impression of being unified. It can be said that the real identities are concealed. Those that appear to the naked eye are simulations of the 'self'.

It can be said that, within Turkey's context, the 'self' is created and identified by the state apparatus. Göle describes this approach with reference to modernization in Muslim countries thus: "The project of modernization in a Muslim country takes a very different turn from western modernity in that it imposes a political will to

"westernize" the cultural code, modes of life and gender identities. The Turkish history of modernization can be considered a radical example of such a cultural shift, one that actualizes a civilizational conversion. The Kemalist reforms extended far beyond the modernization of the state apparatus and transition from a multiethnic Ottoman Empire to a secular republican nation-state in their attempts to penetrate into lifestyle, manners, behavior and daily customs of the people, and to change the self-conception of Turks." (1996:21)

Moreover, with his saying "ne mutlu türküm diyene" (What happiness for he who says 'I am a Turk'), Atatürk pointed out the main orientation of the nation of the new republic: being a 'Turk'. Although in Kemalist rhetoric the 'Nationalism' principal is considered to be a higher identity and does not refer to any ethnic identity, as Oktay Ekşi points out (1997:26), it has caused the suppression of the expression of any other identity. The Turkish modernists followed the ideology of western enlightenment, which considers all 'others' as Göle points out, by calling them non-western, not capable of making history (1996:21).

As Göle has pointed out (1996:21), the official ideology of the state refers to Kemalism, the principals of Atatürk. On the other hand, the six principals of the

Kemalist ideology create the keystones of the constitution.

Moreover the State Department of Religious Affairs (Diyanet) has come under criticism for being Sunni dominated. The department does not provide services for other Islamic or non-Islamic religious groups.

In this respect, it can be said that the created 'self' of the Turkish Republic (T.C.) is 'Turk', 'Sunni', 'Kemalist'.

Moreover, those who do not orient their selves according to the constructed 'self' of the Turkish state can be considered 'others'. This issue can be read through ethnicity, religion, politics and gender.

However, the present condition indicates that the shift of power (like that in the Greater Municipality of Ankara) from one 'self' to another/other 'self', does not solve the problem, but rather reveals the fact there is a serious issue to be analyzed. It can be said that the positions the 'others' take, with respect to power, are no different from the supposed 'self'.

Moreover, an obvious example is the power shift that happened in the Greater Municipality of Ankara in 1994.

One of the biggest political debates after Welfare took power in Ankara was over one of the statues in the Altınpark recreational center. According to Göle, this was a problematic of the Turkish political agenda and its structure, which is the battleground for conflict between "the boundaries of the public and the private, majority and minority rights, and global versus parochialism" (1996:40). The existence of such struggles indicates the fact that these are issues that have not been solved. Moreover, she says Welfare's aim to dominate the public sphere indicates "control over woman's sexuality, limitation of public encounters between the sexes, prohibition of alcohol consumption, and censorship of the arts" (1996:40), an authoritarian approach which can be read as a similar to the approach of the Turkish State during the early Republican period.

On the other hand, as Göle writes, Welfare members claimed that "just as the preceding mayor exercised his political right in choosing this statue, they were also exercising their political right in moving the statue from public space. Deciding that the statue hurt moral feelings of the "majority" of the people." (1996:40). Unfortunately the suppression of an identity does not indicate the fact that the suppressed will not use the same patterns of suppression when they take power.

4.4 Symbol

The Collins Concise Dictionary describes the term symbol as: "1. something that represents or stands for something else, usually by convention or association, .. 3. a letter, figure, or sign used .. to represent a quality, phenomenon, operation, function, etc." (1990:1318).

It can be said that one of the most important elements of the structure of society is communication. According to Frutiger, "One of the most important aspects of human life and a basic condition for survival has always been the means of expression for mutual understanding between members of a ... social group. This need for communication and its constant improvement and development can be seen as a major factor in the growth of human civilization." (1989:221)

Moreover, symbols are one of the mediums of communication. According Frutiger, like pictures, signs and signals, symbols were media to enable the fixing and communication of thoughts that held significance for "means of comprehension, bearing witness or authentication" (1989:222).

Nevertheless, Sait Maden defines the symbol as everything that surrounds us in our environment. He points to the fact that we perceive things not with their own material existence but with symbols. He points out the fact that symbols are one of the most important media we use to communicate. (1994:3)

Frutiger writes that the important aspect of the term 'symbolic' stems from the questions "what does it mean?" and "what is hidden in this thing?" (1989:235) which he describes as "extending from the consciously understandable into the field of the unconscious." (1989:236)

Symbols necessarily indicate the institutionalization or creation of a system. P. F. Smith says that "Symbolism implies system, even when that symbolism points to revolution." (1974:51) On the other hand, Norberg-Schultz describes the issue of symbolism in the following terms: "Symbolization means a representation of a state of affairs in another medium by means of structural similarity." (1963:57)

Moreover, to explain the structure of symbols, Smith refers to Larger for whom symbols "are not proxy for their objects, but are vehicles for the conception of objects". Larger also points to the fact that "there can

never be a point to point correspondence between a symbol and its object, though there may be a degree of configurative similarity.(1951:60)" (1974:51)

However, according to Smith "a symbol of real significance has a poetic quality" (1974:51) by this he points out to the fact that "by economy and compression it draws the mind to a level of perception concealed behind the normal presentations of environment." (1974:51)

On the other hand, in Turkey the intention of creating symbols to represent a system can be described as feigned in J. Baudrillard words (1983:5). They are not simulating the approach of creating a symbol in order to represent a system but rather pretending (feign), in order to signify institutionalization.

Emblems or logotypes can be considered as symbols that represent the existence and priorities of institutions. According to Pam Williams, "A great logo is the visual expression of the essence of an organization, reduced to its simplest form." (1994:9) On the other hand, referring to the term 'organization' as to a firm she says that, "from the representational to the conceptual, the logo can be a firm's single most visible identifier. It can

define what a company is and what it might become" (1991:9).

As they contain the basic message of an organization, emblems and logotypes are considered to be the keystones of corporate identity structures. According to Wally Olins the term 'corporate identity', referring to Walter Margulies as the first person to use this term, indicates "creating complex and coherent design programmes based on detailed investigation and analysis for some of America's largest companies, from what he regarded as the more superficial one-off graphic design work produced by some of his contemporaries and competitors at the time." (1995:7). Although Margulies' intention in coining the term was to differentiate his work from what the other studies made, as Olins points out, it became "standard and everyone was using it, regardless of whether their work involved the reorganization and re-presentation of a major multinational company attempting to manage change and create a new idea of itself for all of its audiences, or whether it was a letterhead for a tiny software house." (1995:7).

According to Smith, there are four basic types of symbolism, they are: "1. Associational symbolism, 2. Acculturated symbolism, 3. Symbolism of the familiar, 4. Archetypal symbolism." (1974:52) 'Acculturated

symbolism' and 'symbolism of the familiar' are the types that refer to the symbols that are discussed within this text.

Moreover, Smith says that 'acculturated symbolism', through its relation with "cultural influences, is also associational." (1974:53) He also refers to the fact that "such symbolism relies upon a common understanding within a culture. It is able to communicate because people understand its imagery. They have learnt the message by acculturation" (1974:53) It can be said that this description also underlines the fact that the concept of a symbol refers to a modernist approach, where there is a assumed common ground for communication, which does not tend to represent the present condition of cities in the World and in Turkey.

Smith also describes the 'symbolism of the familiar': "This may be subdivided into that which is routine: the every-day environment which forms a background to the day to day tasks. It is environment which falls squarely into the schema. Because it presents no problems or surprises, it symbolizes security and continuity."

"The other subdivision concerns historic buildings; namely, those buildings which authentically represent ... a different age. It will be an age sufficiently remote to

have been reduced to a symbolic myth." (1974:53) Smith also points out the fact that these myths are created through 'psychological filters' and idealization of an era (1974:53) This condition indicates the process of the new emblem of Ankara, which is based on the idea of the supposed Turco-Islamic background of the city.

It can be said that the symbol is the core element of visual representation. However, a symbol with its physical existence, creates the hardware of representation. The meaning that underlies the symbol indicates the distinctive facts of an identity.

Lozano describes the relation between identity and symbol with reference to the distinctiveness aspect of identity: "some visual symbols are obscure, even hermetic, recognizable only to members of a culture or to initiated ones, defying outsiders and forming an invisible wall of defense." (1990:288) He does refer to symbols that can be considered as 'universal', these he identifies as referring to "common experience of human kind" (1990:288).

On the other hand, according to Lozano, symbol of cities, reference to architecture, starts at the point of order. He says that "Order leads to orientation, and orientation leads to symbolism, in an aesthetic unity of function and

spirituality." (1990:288) Although he refers to symbolism with the terms 'order' and 'unity', describing the present condition of cities as a "new system .. still unshaped" (1990:294), he questions the approach of creating a symbol.

A graphic symbol and the city identity study made for city directly impacts on public space. The municipalities, with the intention of presenting the services they have been providing, tend to apply, the study on all elements it inserts into public space, from announcements, posters to street furniture. The visual appearance of buses, street furniture, and all the other paraphernalia of the modern urban environment change according to this new system of visual identity. The products of the municipal services become easily identified within public space.

On the other hand, as in the example of Turkey, the symbol is printed anywhere possible. The symbol becomes a 'eye' gazing at one from at every point of the city. The former and the present municipalities, each with their own emblems, dominated the public space hardware (especially with street furniture). Since the city identity study of the SHP period it has been hard for the observer and the city dweller to escape these visual images. They not only 'unify' the public space, but they

also remind of who is in power. As Göle points out, this indicates "the conflict and competition over the control and definition of public space in contemporary Turkey." (1996:40)

However, this situation can be easily followed in Ankara, where not only the transportation system, garbage cans, and municipal vehicles, but all possible elements, including walkways, are dominated by the supposed symbol of the city. [fig.4], [fig.5], [fig.6], [fig.7], [fig.8], [fig.9]

Although many cities around the world, especially those in the West, tend to have symbols that hold representative value, in spite of the present condition, these symbols don't tend to be capable of representing the identity (or the 'self') of the city. Moreover, the fragmented and heterogeneous social structure of the cities does not indicate an identity that can be represented through one and unifying symbol. Although it can be said that certain cities might have this potential, within the context of this study the focus is on urban structures and metropolitan zones which indicate diverse social and cultural conditions.

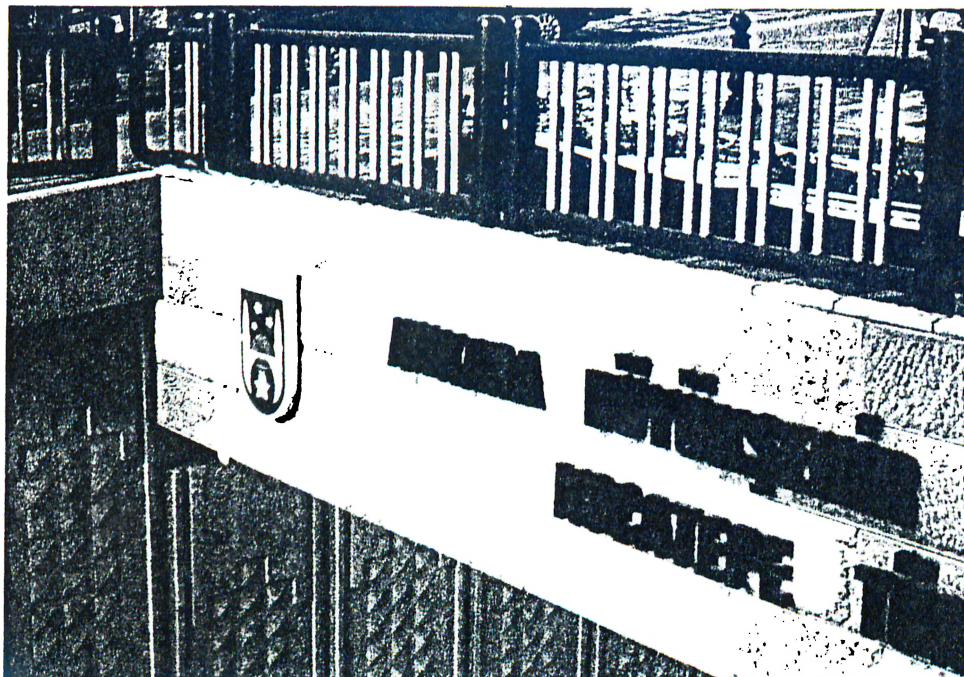


Fig.4 Application of the
New Emblem

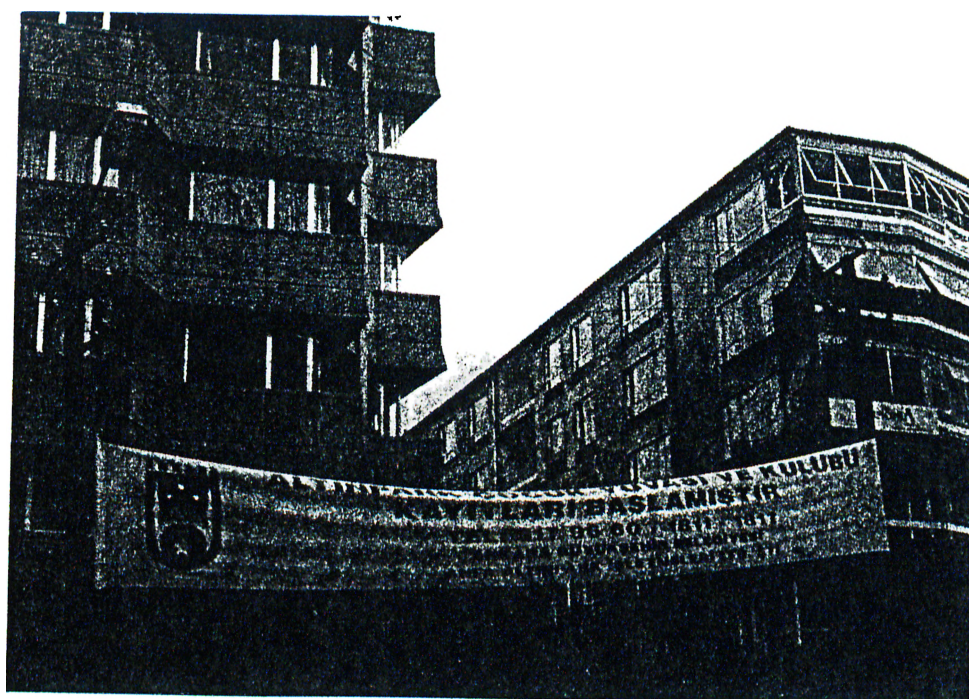


Fig.5 Application of the
New Emblem



Fig.6 Application of the
New Emblem



Fig.7 Application of the
New Emblem



Fig.8 Application of the
New Emblem



Fig.9 Power Struggle in
Public Space in Ankara with
the image of Atatürk placed
on top of the emblem Ankara

It can be said that a representation system that seeks for a common ground inevitably ends up with the result of excluding the rights of representation of the 'others'.

There have been many studies carried out to define corporate city identity in Turkey. Most of these studies are done for the big cities, mostly described as 'Greater Municipalities. Within this study Ankara, Istanbul, and the cities in the Çukurova region have been examined.

The Ankara case is the most striking and politicized example. It can be said that the corporate/city identity study conducted Ankara was the most complicated and detailed ever done in Turkey. Although this approach was a part of the reorganization of the Greater Municipality of Ankara, the studies do not indicate a strong relation between that reorganization and the graphic studies, rather they indicate a 'face lift'.

Described as the city on the seven hills and best known for its silhouette of the mosques, Istanbul has an emblem that is based on the concept of these facts. Because of its clear historical strength, its ties with the landscape and its ability to be read through many discourses, the emblem has never been a part of political debate. Nevertheless, the design approach tends to very

problematic in the issue of representing a city which H. B. Alptekin calls a 'heteropolis' (1993:112).

On the other hand, the Greater Municipality of Istanbul tends not to have a clear policy on this issue. Although the main city emblem [fig.10] was not changed as it was in Ankara when the Welfare Party won the elections in Istanbul in 1994, because the emblem could be considered to be adequate for Welfare's discourse, the emblem of the transportation company (İETT) was changed to a more 'historical' and 'Islamic' look.

The inconsistent approach of the municipality to the visual appearance of the public space does not indicate the results of a policy based on the idea of 'heteropolis', but rather a total lack of policy. On the other hand, Welfare's attempt to build a 'symbol' (a mosque) in Taksim square indicates the fact that their aim is a 'modernist' approach, in which they aim to dominate the public space with their own symbols. Their discourse is built on the concept of 'conquering' a zone which is historically referred to as the core of the Westernisation, secularization and to a certain extent Modernity, a point made by Uğur Tanyeli (1997:81).

However, the cities in the Çukurova region indicate a more confused situation. The confusion is not only in

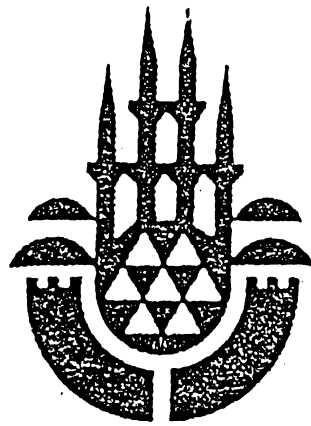


Fig.10 Emblem of Istanbul

the subject of representation and the rights of representation, but also in the issue of which institution has the right to and responsibility for representing the city. Moreover, there is uncertainty over which institution can create a symbol for the city. The greater Municipality of Adana and the Governorship (Valilik) have their own emblems that are said to represent the city of Adana. In the Turkish system of local government the municipality's right to exercise power comes from the votes of the public, but the Governors of the cities are appointed by the Ministry of the Interior. It can be said that, in the Turkish system, Governors are the representatives of the State and the members of the city council (municipalities) are the representatives of the public. In this respect which institution actually represents the city of Adana?

However, it is important to state the difference or rather the similarities between the symbols of these two levels of authority. They tend to follow the same discourse as the design approach. Both emblems are based on the same 'symbolic' languages. They both tend to use the stereo-type images that are said to represent the 'self' of Adana: Cotton, the orange, the Seyhan river, its bridge.

The fact that Adana's economy is not only based on agriculture but also on industry raises the question of whether the stereo-type of Adana as a cotton producing city is actually an accurate one. Even though this is a minor question, it indicates the fact that stereo-types can be limiting and non-representative since the context of the city has changed. On the other hand, it also points out a selective and eclectic approach which creates even deeper problems when it comes to the representation issue of the 'others'.

It can be said that these symbols are created with reference to a supposedly unified 'self' of these cities. They mostly refer to landmarks, mental pictures, and stereo-typical images, and folk culture. All of these symbols are chosen to refer to the ideology of those who are in power, and all possible 'others' are extracted from the system of representation.

The statement made by Lozano (1990: 294) for the cities in the U.S. can be re-read through the cities in Turkey. Moreover, the existence of fragmentation within the present day cities brings the question of 'whom' does the symbol represent? As Hüseyin B. Alptekin points out, the actual term to use is 'heteropolis', instead of 'metropolis' or 'metropolitan' (1993:112).

In Turkey the practice of creating symbols for cities indicates that it is generally the municipalities that take on the task and responsibility for establishing them. Although there are examples of the Governors taking on this task and responsibility (such as in Adana) the main trend is for the municipalities to do it. Moreover the dominant figure that appears in public space is the symbol established by the municipalities, even in the Adana example.

It can be said that in Turkey the main mode of creating symbols for cities is the competition. These competitions are mainly organised to attract designers from all over the country. The priority of these competitions is to create a graphic symbol and usually fails to focus on any wider system of representation, ignoring other printed material (such as business cards, envelopes and bills), product graphics (buses, street furniture, etc.), and any unity of visual structure. The emblem of Mersin [fig.11] and the new emblem of Ankara can be shown as examples of this blinkered approach.

On the other hand, another approach is commissioning, whether this is a local advertisement company (tabelacı) or a graphic design consultant to design a symbol. The priorities are usually given to figurative elements that



Fig.11 Emblem of Mersin

the city or town is known for, such as local agricultural products, sports, historical landmarks or sites, and folk figures. These elements are then brought together in a rather eclectic manner that lacks all fundamental aspects of visual language, with syntactic errors and printing problems. One example of this second approach is the emblem of Adana, Silifke [fig.12]. Although, process wise, the former emblem of Ankara was commissioned in a similar way, the result turned out to be distinctive in its graphic qualities.

Other than the former emblem and city identity of Ankara, there are few examples in Turkey that indicates an uniform visual system applied to public space. Inconsistency of visual language tends to be the trend. The examples of Mersin and Silifke clearly show this situation.

However, in Silifke there is no consistency of even the application of the emblem. The emblem tends to be different at all points. Not only does the color change, the proportions, the background, typography, are different in all applications [fig.13, fig.14 and fig.15]. They even don't tend to follow the concept of variation.

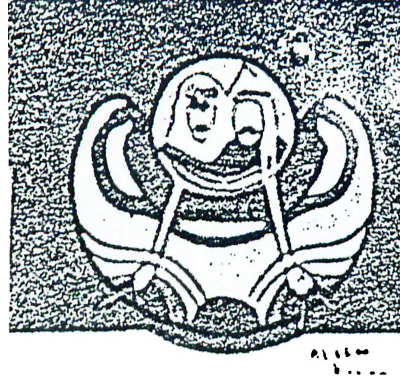


Fig.12 Emblem of Silifke



Fig.13 Application of the
Emblem in Silifke



Fig.14 Application of the
Emblem in Silifke

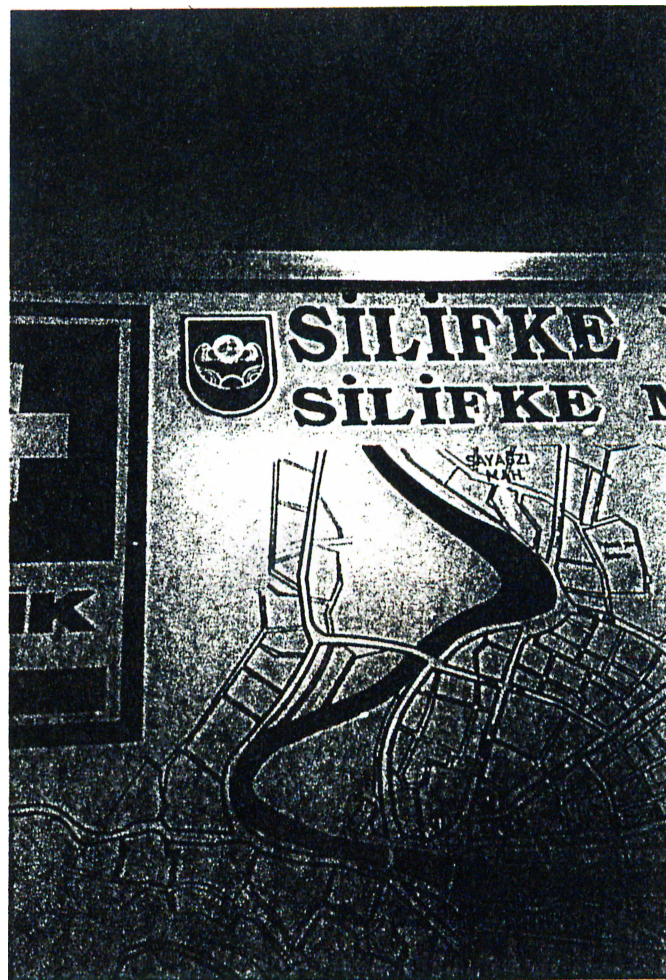


Fig.15 Application of the
Emblem in Silifke

Moreover, in Mersin, although the emblem is reproduced in a consistent manner, the use of all aspects of the emblem is inconsistent. The typography changes and the positioning of the type holds no consistency. Further, the emblem is not a part or a keystone of the visual graphic system. For example, the product graphics and the emblem have nothing in common in graphic or any other language. [figs.16, 17 and 18].

If creating a city identity in the graphic sense indicates a Modernist approach, with its aim to create a 'unity' in public space (hardware or services) the situation in the Turkish cities cannot even indicate this approach. On the other hand this does not indicate any sensitivity towards fragmentation, or heterogeneity, rather it indicates a non-developed level of visual sensitivity and design consciousness.

Although the graphic symbols used by the municipalities have the name of the municipality within their composition, the public understanding is that the symbols represent the city. It can thus be said that the municipalities are the political institutions that represent a city.

On the other hand these symbols tend to represent the stereo-types and the 'self' of that city. But within the



Fig.16 Application of the
Emblem in Mersin



Fig.17 Application of the
Emblem in Mersin



Fig.18 Application of the
Emblem in Mersin

postmodern condition, which applies for Turkish cities too, the question of the representational rights of the 'others' is a important issue and in the current situation it does not matter who tends to be the 'self' and who is the 'other'. As in the Ankara case, even if one group's representational rights are taken away, when those who stand as the 'other' become the 'self', they act in the same way they were treated, the manner which they had previously criticized.

If the concept of a symbol is to create a element that indicates values held in common, the important question is what is there in the present day Turkish cities that holds the value of being common? What are the elements or common ground that can guide one toward the establishment of a symbol?

Moreover, as Başak Şenova states, if all fragments of the city dwellers tend to see the values of others as viruses from which that their system has to be protected (1996:89), how can one, even referring to a modernist approach, create common ground? Is it possible to create a common ground that stands at a equal distance from all fragments? If this is not possible, is there design model that will allow one to challenge the existing models, that gives the chance and the right to the 'self' to create hegemony over the 'others'? Or should the

question be, whether there is there another way that avoids the structure of working from the model of 'self' and 'other'?

Besides the problematic of visual and design quality of established city identity studies, another problem is how much of the social structure these establishments represent. As the examples indicate, all of these studies represent the supposed 'self' of those cities. It is questionable to what extent the mosques in the symbol of Istanbul represent the Alevis who have not even been to see the historical peninsula of Istanbul, though they supposedly live there. Or how much does the sea or orange figures in the symbol of Mersin represent the Kurds who are industrial workers and are blocked off from the sea front for miles by those who inhabit its luxurious apartment developments.

Equally, if these figures act as landmarks of these cities, to what extent do they correspond to their inhabitants' mental images? Even if they match, are they priorities for these people? Which 'self' has the right to extract the mental images of these people to be expressed in public space?

On the other hand another important question is whether the Turkish public cares or rather considers symbols to

be representative elements? Would it have been so important if Gökçek had not decided to change the emblem, but some other figure who had no intention of creating a so called Turco-Islamic symbol for the city of Ankara?

The important point here to be able to detect whether any design approach can be appropriate to create a visual system that will be able to go beyond the limitations that are imposed by the 'unifying' structure of 'corporate identity'.

5. DESIGN APPROACHES

It can be said that most of the debates over the solution to many problems posed by the city are focused on two poles, modernism and postmodernism. With respect to these approaches there have been two main axes identified to seek the solutions and the new problems they create. These can be described as the modernist approach and the postmodern approach.

Can a Modernist approach - being the source of this issue - solve the problem? If a Modernist approach to create symbols is to be perceived as a design approach which can create a unity referring to common mental pictures, the present condition suggests that it does not seem capable of providing the answer. As it has been discussed, the present condition does not indicate any unity within the cultural structure of contemporary cities. Even though there are symbols of cities that are referred to as representative elements, this does not indicate that there is not a problem.

However, even if a modernist approach can be expected to take a more neutral position to cultural facts that refer to history and aim to take a upper cultural position, it

can be said that there is no element that can be considered totally neutral.

On the other hand, can the flexible approach of postmodern design allow a solution to the fragmented structure of the Turkish cities? Although the postmodern design approach indicates a different perception in the visual relations of compositions, as Boyer (1994) indicates, this not a change in the understanding of unity, but rather a different form of unity. The allowance of a fragmented look to compositions may not indicate full representation of the present condition. An approach to represent all fragments within one composition automatically brings the question of who develops the policies of this study. As Boyer (1994) points out, a decision once made by the state is now made by the corporations.

However, the idea of 'democracy of forms' as Michael Graves (1996) calls it, clashes with the selective principles of corporate city identity as used in graphic design terminology. Graves term indicates the right of representation of all forms, historical periods and styles within one product(1996:81).

As an illustration of the complexities of creating an inclusive city identity, a design study was undertaken as

part of this thesis. The intention of this study was to approach this problematic through different design models. Instead of choosing a particular city, a imaginary city was created that contains basic problems and similar structures to those of the metropolitan areas in Turkey. The example city therefore has a fragmented social structure and an already-existing graphic symbol that aims to represent that city.

The physical structure of the model city was chosen with the following characteristics: it is divided in two sections by a waterway, on one side connected to the seafront and on the other side surrounded by mountains or hills. The economy is based on trade, industry, and is partly agriculture. Besides the class divisions due to economics, the city is fragmented with reference to ethnic and religious aspects that come from history and ongoing migration from rural areas. Fragmentation due to gender is a new and developing issue for the city.

The Modernist Approach

The municipality of the city has developed the idea of creating a 'corporate city identity' and has commissioned a graphic consultant to handle this issue. The basic aim of the municipality is to develop a better look for the

city in graphic terms as a result of a policy to give the city a sense of order to solve visual pollution.

Moreover, the municipality aims to solve speculations over the issue of representation by creating a symbol that will not be changed each time power changes hands, in other words it aims at institutionalization.

The graphic designer develops two main paths: one aims to be able to fulfill basic notions of design such as clarity, syntactic measures, etc. On the other hand it aims to refer to common mental pictures and create a sense of order and unity of the visual language of public space.

Moreover the aim of the second path is to fulfill the problematic of representation. The reference of the designer is the social and cultural structure of the city.

In respect to these main paths the designer develops two ideas. The first can be considered a modernist approach, by this it can be said that the product, with reference to the problematic of representation, takes a neutral position to social and cultural aspects and focuses on the physical aspects of the city. It tends to create a unity under so-called neutral elements.

Moreover the designer chooses the waterway dividing the city and the basic form of the city (an oval) as the starting point. To be able to use the potentials of these inputs the designer also inserts a typeface. The guiding intention of the choice of a specific type refers to the concept of 'neutral'. In this respect, types that refer to any specific historical period or culture are excluded. The type itself as a form is not to carry any elements that refer to any codes. On the other hand they are to be easily read at any scale [fig.19].

The final result is a oval shape with 'futura' type used in which the 'I' cuts through the center of the oval to indicate the river. The 'I' is modified to create a bridge figure that connects the two sides of the city, which is a focal point in the city, the bridge is considered as a landmark. This symbol is the starting point of the whole 'city identity' study. The visual language developed will be applied on all elements of public space and the municipal institution. As a result the visual appearance of the city will be identical at all points of the city.

However, the important question this approach raises is that, although this study solves certain problematics of design, can it solve the problematic of the rights of



Fig.19 Emblem Designed with
Modernist Principals

representation? To whom will this refer to? Can the clarity of the 'futura' type be considered neutral? As a modernist typeface can this refer to the unifying approach of the Kemalist Modernity Project and by this refers to the hegemony of the discourse of the 'self'? By this approach whose rights are prevented from being represented in public space? On the other hand, as Lozano indicates, can there be one symbol of a city that does not have a nature of being 'one'? (1990:294)

The Postmodern Approach

However, the second product is based on the concept of the fragmented structure of the city. The intention is to create a symbol that will be able carry elements of all components of the social and cultural structure.

The designer, however identifies the basic components of the fragments according to ethnic, religious and political aspects and refers to the first alternative as the ground figure - the physical structure of the city.

Moreover, the symbol contains representational elements of each fragment. The idea is to allow each fragment to be represented. Religious, ethnic and political symbols, such as crosses, crescents, stars, folklore figures, and traditional colors are inserted. Typefaces are used as

representative elements, each referring to certain qualities such as origins, history and folk [fig.20]. Through this symbol all fragments are considered to be represented.

On the other hand, this graphic product lacks solving the problematic of representation of all fragments. Besides its visual and design qualities, who decides which elements are to be inserted as representative and in what order they are to be placed? Which institutions or authorities give the inputs to the figures? How is the designer expected to fulfill any quality with so many figures? And through which system is this product institutionalized? How is the balance of the hierarchy of the figures protected from political manipulations during its process of institutionalization?

Another alternative to the second approach is to fragment the 'one symbol' concept. Instead of creating one symbol for the whole city, the idea is to create symbols for each fragment.

Approaching to the problematic in a 'post-modern' manner, the designer takes some inspirations from the Roman city. According to Onians, in the Roman city most of the architectural figures were similar and the problem of orientation was solved thus: "As the number of columns in



Fig.20 Emblem Designed with
Post-Modernist Principles

the cities of the empire rapidly increased, their role as landmarks must have become correspondingly important, and distinction of color, surface treatment, and material must have become more and more telling." (1988:51).

The designer, using this information, tends to develop the idea of creating different symbols and visual language for different fragments and inserting these into the public space with reference to the orientation of each fragment in the city. By this approach, a so-called flaneur would be informed about his or her orientation in the city and the 'identity' of that particular space [fig.21].

This approach however offers a multi symbol system. So each fragment will be represented by one symbol, and the elements of the symbol will contain folk figures, religious and cultural symbols and codes. Each symbol will be the keystone of the corporate identity system that will be observed predominantly in zones that are defined as the district of a particular fragment. The priority is not seeking any kind of visual unity between symbols of fragments.

Besides the symbol the public space will be fragmented when the corporate identity structure is implied on to products such as street furniture and services. So for

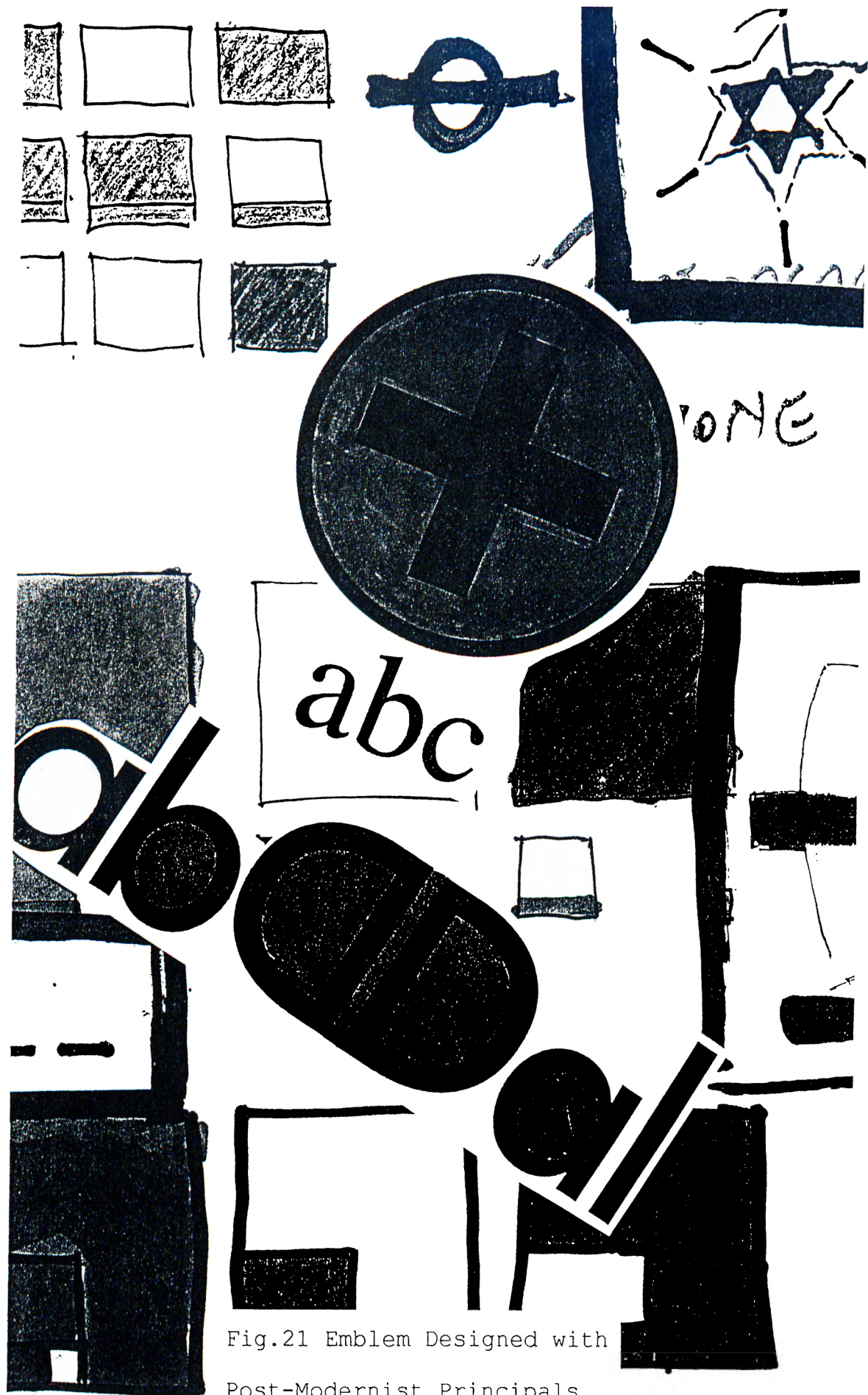


Fig.21 Emblem Designed with
Post-Modernist Principals

example if the color red and the symbol plus are elements of a symbol -and a corporate identity system- the visual qualities of the space will be dominated with this visual language and when the flaneur changes his or her orientation within the city the visual qualities and codes will change too.

Although this approach may seem able to challenge the existing system and to be a solution to the problematic of representation in public space, there are a few important points that have to be taken into consideration. Firstly, the fragmentation of the social and cultural structure of the Turkish cities are not predominantly defined by definite physical borders as in the American and Canadian cities which Jencks (1993) and Caulfield (1994) describe.

It can be said that there are many overlaps of physical orientation of fragments within the city and the problem of deciding where each developed visual structure would be installed is a issue which might lock the establishment of the system.

Moreover, a similar question to one that arose in the first option comes to surface: which institutions or authorities are to decide the elements that represent a particular fragment?

As a further obstacle, there is no definite information produced on the composition of the fragments and their physical orientation within the country and cities. The State Statistics Institute does not deal with the idea of the existence of ethnic and religious facts of the population. The census of population studies that are carried out once every five years only concentrate on social and economic characteristics of population (1994:ix). This approach indicates the fact that the state does not recognize that there can be any 'others', especially when the fact that the State Statistics Institute considered religious and ethnic factors as information necessary until 1965, is kept in mind.

CONCLUSION

The fragmented structure of the social and cultural context of the present day cities of Turkey, inevitably leads to the conclusion that no known design model is capable of solving the problematic of the establishment of a symbol for visual representation.

Moreover, the drive to dominate public space through imposing corporate city identity products in it can be understood as creating hegemony over the city-dwellers. However, this approach does not change in respect to the shifting of political power. Therefore, whichever political organization takes over the municipality, the new occupants tend to develop an act of establishing or rather imposing their identity on public space.

The easy way to be able to impose a selected identity over all 'others', passes through creating a symbol that is declared to be the keystone of the visual representation structure.

On the other hand, the priority fact that a symbol is to represent the 'essence' of a organism/organization, as P. Williams (1991:9) indicates, is lost. Although there is no common ground that one can refer to within the present

condition of Turkey, the drive to dominate, makes it impossible to even communicate at any level. The obsession with hegemony leads to conflict, as in the Ankara example.

In this respect, within Turkey's context a unifying, or rather an approach that seeks common ground, is beyond the imagination. The absolute hegemony over the representation system blocks all possibilities of communication, contrasting with the existence of a symbol that is supposed to seek communication.

Municipal structures that are supposed to supply services have become apparatuses of the 'self' to be able to create hegemony over 'others'.

In this respect, until there is a ground created on which to communicate over this issue, there seems to be no possible solution to the problem.

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