

IS CITY BRANDING A NEOLIBERAL INSTRUMENT?
THE CASE STUDY OF GAZIANTEP CITY

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ABSTRACT

IS CITY BRANDING A NEOLIBERAL INSTRUMENT? THE CASE STUDY OF GAZIANTEP CITY

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There has been a crucial transformation from manufacturing economy to service-sector (knowledge) economy throughout the world; that is, global economy has emerged. In this study, impacts of global economy and globalization on urban transformation have been analysed from the neoliberal perspective. As cities are open to global influences, new urban strategies have appeared to manage competition among cities and attract more tourists, investors, big companies and so on. Since driving forces of the competition is composed of intangible measures like creative labour, innovative ideas and like, urban transformation as a process has been experienced.

There have been two main aims of the study. The first of which is to discuss whether or not city branding is a neoliberal instrument to manage competition among the worlds' cities by giving reference to strong relationship between global economy, globalization and city branding. The second aim is to examine the way Turkish national and local governments understood and implemented the concept of city branding. It has been analysed both in central and local level by focusing especially on Gaziantep as case study.

Key Words: city branding, urban transformation, globalization, place branding

ÖZ

ŞEHİR MARKALAMA NEOLİBERAL BİR ARAÇ MIDIR? GAZİANTEP KENTİ ÖRNEĞİ

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Yüksek Lisans. Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler Ana Bilim Dalı

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Dünya genelinde imalat ekonomisinden hizmet sektörü (bilgi) ekonomisine önemli bir dönüşüm olmuş; yani küresel ekonomi ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu çalışmada, küresel ekonominin ve küreselleşmenin kentsel dönüşüm üzerindeki etkileri neoliberal açıdan incelenmiştir. Şehirler küresel etkilere açık olduğundan, şehirler arasındaki rekabeti yönetmek ve daha fazla turist, yatırımcı, büyük şirket vb. Çekmek için yeni kentsel stratejiler ortaya çıkmıştır. Rekabetin itici güçleri yaratıcı emek, yenilikçi fikirler ve benzerleri gibi somut olmayan önlemlerden oluştuğundan, bir süreç olarak kentsel dönüşüm yaşanmıştır. Çalışmanın iki amacı vardır. Bunlardan ilki, küresel markalaşma, küreselleşme ve şehir markalaşma arasındaki güçlü ilişkiye atıfta bulunarak şehir markalaşmasının dünya şehirleri arasındaki rekabeti yönetmek için neoliberal bir araç olup olmadığını tartışmaktır. İkinci amaç, Türk merkezi ve yerel yönetimlerinin şehir markalama kavramını anlama ve uygulama şeklini incelemektir. Vaka çalışması olarak özellikle Gaziantep'e odaklanarak hem merkezi hem de yerel düzeyde analiz edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: şehir markalama, kentsel dönüşüm, küreselleşme, mekan markalama

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis argues that city branding is a neoliberal policy instrument that has been developed to manage the competition among the world's cities by intervening into social, cultural, economic, and administrative structures of cities. The aim of the thesis in general is to discuss the urban transformation processes resulted from globalization from a neoliberal perspective and particularly focusing on the city branding concept.

1.1. Research Interest and Questions

Although branding primarily belongs to marketing literature, it has been attributed to different places or fields to push strengths of the places or the fields forward. For instance, if one wants to visit a city, with an internet search, s/he can obtain the places to visit such as historical assets and places, symbolic structures and like. This information on particular places on the net or other domains are not formulated randomly; rather they are based upon management strategies. Such management strategies are highly influential on major aspects of urban development and policy in recent years. For this reason, city branding as a concept and a policy instrument has constituted the main interest of this research.

The first research question is as follows: *“What is the relationship between globalization, global economy and city branding concepts?”* Relevantly, the second question discusses *“whether or not city branding is a neoliberal tool to manage competition among worlds' cities”*. World is rapidly changing and the major reason behind this change can be considered as technological developments. Transformation from industrial economy to service sector-based (knowledge) economy has brought about the increase of mobility of capital; that is to say, turned the world into one market. Since globalization process emphasizes the one and the borderless world, interdependency among nations have increased (Giddens, 2006). In that sense, neoliberalism, as the solution to crises derived from this transformation, suggests an entrepreneurial approach for public policy, including cooperation of public and private sector, inclusion of civil society into decision-making processes and like.

The third research question is as follows: “*Is city branding a means for urban entrepreneurialism in the era of global economy?*” Harvey indicates that “in the new culture of entrepreneurialism, government and private sector joined their power in order to secure external funding and investment” (Knox, 1993, p. 10). At the urban scale, since cities are open to global influences, transformation process have caused restructuring process (Hubbard, *Conflicting Interpretations of Architecture: An Empirical Investigation*, 1996). Restructuring process indicates re-formulation of the city image in which public and private sectors have worked together to attract tourist; survive in the world economy and maintain their existence (Jansson & Power, 2006). This image formulation requires methodological management tools. Designing a logo of the city, enhancing the quality of life or publishing digital advertisements have not been influential without a strategy. Therefore, it is claimed that city branding including mentioned ways, and more is a means for urban entrepreneurialism.

The fourth research question examines “*How and in what ways globalization and neoliberalism have been influential in Turkey and Turkish national and local authorities understood and implemented the concept of city branding?*” Turkey has also been influenced by the neoliberal global transformation. As in the global scale, this had led to restructuring of economic institutions and organization with many respects in Turkey. Due to high mobility of capital and rise of global influences, local authorities found themselves in a position to search for new ways to adapt to the competition in international markets. Policy papers developed by central government have been quite beneficial for understanding the Turkey’s standpoint with regard to city branding. In addition, 10th Development Plan and Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023 have also been examined to answer the fourth question of the research. Almost all policy papers examined are found to deal with the competition among cities on a global scale. The main emphasis they make is usually to make Turkish cities attraction points in terms of tourism and other sorts of investments. Moreover, Tourism Strategy of Turkey can be considered as a road map for increasing tourism activities with a special emphasis on cooperation between public and private sectors.

The fifth research question aims to explain and explore “*the main tracks of city branding initiatives of Gaziantep?*”. Gaziantep has been selected as a case study to analyse

implementation of city branding in Turkey. Moreover, Gaziantep is the first city that implemented the city branding strategy in Turkey.

The sixth and seventh research questions draw conclusive remarks of the city branding strategies of Turkish cities: *“What are effects of globalization and neoliberal agenda to Turkey at national and local scale? How city branding initiatives have been utilized as neoliberal tool to manage urban competition?”*.

1.2. Methodology of the Research

The research design of the thesis is based upon the content and case study analysis. “Content analysis has to address prior questions concerning why available texts came into being, what they mean and to whom, how they mediate between antecedent and consequent conditions, and, ultimately, whether they enable the analysts to select valid answers to questions concerning their contexts.” (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 82). In that sense, the secondary sources composed of books and the articles constituting the literature of city branding, as well as official documents like policy papers, national strategy documents, national plans and like have been analysed.

Moreover, in the second part of the thesis, case study analysis has been utilized at both macro and micro levels. Yin claims that if the aim of the study to understand the reason and ways and need for covering contextual conditions due to their relations, a case study approach can be considered. (Yin, 2003) Also, it is not possible influence the behaviour of those who have participated in the study. At macro level, Turkey’s branding standpoint has been examined with respect to policy papers and legislation as well. Furthermore, Gaziantep has been dealt with in order to evaluate city branding initiatives within the scope of neoliberalism. It has been examined with respect to local documents and interviews made with the experts of local and central governments.

Exploratory type of case study has been conducted. Its aim is to “explore situations in which the intervention being evaluated, has no clear, single set of outcomes” (Yin, 2003).

In order to give detailed and elaborative answers to the research questions related to case study, interviews were made with crucial representatives of various institutions in Gaziantep on November and December 2019. The people interviewed in the research have worked in Gaziantep Chamber of Industry, Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality,

Gaziantep City Council, UCTEA Chamber of Mechanical Engineers, Chamber of City Planners, Chamber of Architectures, Chamber of Civil Engineers. Semi-structured interview has been utilized as a data collection methodology. Since this can be considered as one of the best ways to find out reasons behind the interested topic, this methodology was adopted (Miles, Gilbert, 2010). By means of the interviews conducted, the cooperation among related stakeholders in formulating and implementing city branding have been discussed.

1.3. The Structure of the Thesis

There are 7 chapters in this study. The first chapter is the introduction; providing insight of the research aim and interest, research questions and brief information about the chapters.

Chapter 2 puts evolving reasons of city branding into discussion. It has been discussed by with respect to transformation process derived from impacts of globalization after 1980s with a neoliberal perspective. Also, due to globalization process, creative city, world city and the global city concepts have been examined briefly to form a basis for city branding discussion. It is proposed that there is a relationship between globalization, global economy and city branding concepts. Moreover, it has emerged to manage competition among worlds' cities with a neo-liberal basis.

In chapter 3, city image, brand and place marketing have been explored. City image has been evaluated since it includes all components of the city. Lynch proposes that city image is composed of three components: identity, structure and meaning (Lynch, 1960). Since one can claim that city branding is a structured communication strategy, in that sense, image formulation has great importance, as discussed in this chapter. Also, brand as a concept has been defined to understand the transformation from city image to brand image. This chapter aims to discuss what features are necessary for building an attractive brand image. Moreover, there is an aim to make a differentiation between place marketing and place branding. It has been emphasized that with the rise of Entrepreneurial City, marketing strategies have been utilized in urban environments.

In chapter 4, main city branding approaches in the literature have been defined. The main aim of city branding is to manage perceptions of the city in consumers' mind. The

consumers can be tourists, investors, professionals, other cities, and like. According to Kavaratzis in general, there are two main aims of the city branding: being in a position of competitively advantaged and being an attraction point for investments and tourists (Kavaratzis M. , From city marketing to city branding: Towards a theoretical framework for developing city brands, 2004). In that sense, Barcelona as a successful example of the city branding have been analysed by giving reference to mentioned approaches.

Chapter 5 provides an overall standpoint of Turkey upon city branding by analysing the effects of neoliberalism in specifically at the urban level. The analysis in this chapter is based on the evaluation of some key policy papers such as the 10th Development Plan and The Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023. The Tourism Strategy document has great importance in the sense that it is the first policy paper mentioning city branding as a main chapter.

In Chapter 6, as a case study, main tracks of the city branding initiatives in Gaziantep have been discussed whether they can be considered as a strategic neoliberal tool to maintain existence of the cities in the world stage.

Finally, Chapter 7 provides a summary and an evaluation of the entire analysis and debate made in previous chapters. The main aim of the conclusion is to discuss effects of globalization and neoliberalism on Turkey at national and in specifically local scale and tried to find out the relationship between city branding and neoliberalism by examining the city branding initiatives of Gaziantep.

CHAPTER 2

WHY DO WE HAVE CITY BRANDS?

Today, we are living in a rapidly changing world and the driving forces behind this change are the technological developments and the knowledge economy. If it is compared with the industrial revolution, as another turning point in the world history with many respects, it can be obviously said that there has been a transformation from manufacturing economy to the service sector by means of the increase in the mobility of capital, international investments; in addition to that, the new system, that is global economy has been emerged. (Taşan-Kok, 2004) To explain the reasons behind this transformation, both global economy and globalization as a process should be examined briefly.

2.1. Globalization and its impacts

Globalization is a dynamic process that has various reasons, driving forces and consequences for the world's nations, societies and cities in economic, social, cultural, and political terms. Therefore, there is no brief or "one size fits all" type definition of globalization; rather, there have been perspectives and standpoints to explain the causes and effects of the globalization. Also, Sager proposes in his literature review that "neo-liberalism is arguably the most useful concept available for connecting the political discourses of the economizing social life, the reformation of welfare states, and the complex process of globalization" (Sager, 2011, p. 2). Thereby, in this thesis, globalization has been explored from the neo-liberal perspective to understand the reasons behind the city branding since it is proposed that city branding is a neo-liberal instrument that has been developed so as to handle the competition among the cities and manage existence of cities in a good economic, social, cultural, administrative level as well.

Although, globalization gained its popularity after 1980s, it was not a newly emerged concept back then, rather it has evolved as a process. Even though Karl Marx did not use the concept "globalization", it was implied in the *Communist Manifesto* by Marx in the

19th century as “an inner tendency of capitalism (the establishment of world market)” (Saad-Filho & Johnston, 2005).

“The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country...All old-established national industries have grown or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries... whose product are consumed, not only at home but in every corner of the globe” (Engels & Marx, 1847)

This quote from Marx defines simply the general aspects and conditions of the globalization. It implies a free movement of capital by referring to the world market. Also, by saying national industries have grown or destroyed; there is an emphasis; only the one who would manage the competition by restructuring process could maintain its very existence. Similarly, and currently, Giddens indicates that “globalization refers to the fact that we all are increasingly live in one world, so that individuals, groups and nations become interdependent” (Giddens, 2006, p. 50). According to him, political organization, cultural factors and the physical environment are the main three institutions affected by this change; that is to say; *globalization* (Giddens, 2006). The definitions in the literature emphasize the world as one and a big market. Yeung (1988) also mentions a borderless world by means of globalization from a neo-liberal standpoint (Wu, 2003).

Free movement of capital due to global economy has great effects not only on the economic life, but in politics, social, and even cultural aspects of the world. Kim (2008) states that mainly group these effects as globalization of production, international trade and international financial markets. (Kim, 2008). With the development of information communication technologies, the world has indispensably become a borderless place where people from different countries can communicate to each other. This communication enables to constitute production facilities to everywhere; that everywhere has been generally chosen with respect to existence of cheap labour. For instance, a company, namely multinational one, has a chance to establish the production part of the company to where the cheap labour is available; on the other hand, administrative office has been appeared in the metropole and global centers. The coordination between the parts of the company established in different parts of the world has been provided by the information-communication technologies. Therefore, globalization implies the neoliberal

principles like free market, borderless world, increased flow of goods, capital, and people across the world. (Kim, 2008)

2.2. Neoliberalism as a framework

Peck and Tickell that “Neoliberalism has provided a kind of operating framework or ideological software for competitive globalization, inspiring and imposing far-reaching programs of state restructuring and rescaling across a wide range of national and local contexts.” (Peck & Tickell, 2002, p. 380) In addition, neoliberalism has been utilized in this thesis in order to explain effects of globalization and strategies used to overcome it.

To begin with, neoliberalism should be examined briefly to understand the shift from manufacturing economy to service-based economy and its global effects. The reasons behind this shift has great importance and an emphasis should necessarily be given to the historical formation. After the World War II, there had been globalized world economy in which damage of monopoly power of large corporations had been observed before the rise of neoliberalism in the mid-1970s. That is to say, it can be considered that globalization has been a long run tendency; not only the consequence of an increase in neoliberal policies (Kotz, 2002) The dominative effects of Fordism started to disappear by the mid-1960s due to decrease of productivity and an economic crisis, considered as the 2nd crucial crisis after 1929, has occurred in 1973. (Eraydın, 2014).

Furthermore, free movement of the capital has been advanced after 1970s and this altered the economic relations throughout the world; in addition, the nations having new economic relations had dealt with the neo-liberal policies (Taşan-Kok, 2004). In other words, neoliberalism can be considered as a key of the situation to overcome the difficulties derived from the capitalism.

David Harvey proposes that neoliberalism is a political project of the corporate capitalist class due to political and economic threats they had face with. (Harvey, Neoliberalism is a political project). Sager states that according to Deumenil& Levy (2004) and Harvey 2005, “The current neo-liberalization of many societies is shaped by economic globalization and international capital mobility, and characterized by fewer restrictions on business operations, extended property rights, privatization, deregulation, erosion of

the welfare state, devolution of central government, uneven economic development and increasing social polarization” (Sager, 2011). Furthermore, decrease in the social movement in the industrialized countries, demise of state socialism, capitalist economic crisis are the additional factors promote the neo-liberalism. (Kotz, 2002).

When it comes to definition of neoliberalism, one of the most cited scholar David Harvey suggests that “neoliberalism is theory of political economic practices proposing that human well-being can best be advanced by the maximization of entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterized by private property rights, individual liberty, unencumbered markets, and free trade” (Harvey, 2007). Like Harvey expresses, free movement of goods, services, capital and money is the desired situation from the neoliberal perspective. (Kotz, 2002)

Neoliberalism can be understood in ideological, economic-normative, cultural and political-institutional perspectives. Ideology of the neoliberalism emphasize the idea of freedom in economic, political, social and cultural terms. This emphasize on freedom implies not only freedom of human beings but attributing commodification character to everything so as to be exchanged in the market. Also, economic-normative perspective sees the neoliberalism as a policy kit supporting the expansion of the market relations. In other words, main aim and base of the neoliberal policies to take everything into the market economy. Moreover, in the cultural level, neoliberalism not only attributes the commodifiable character to the culture but alters and constitutes the neoliberal culture and consumption habits due to very effects upon the personal spheres. Furthermore, coalitions, alliances, public-private partnerships have great importance since the main aim of the collective rationality is to reach common good. (not direct but paraphrased-Neoliberalism, consumption, branding)

The ultimate (unreachable) goal of neoliberalism is to constitute “a universe where every action of every being is a market transaction, conducted in competition with every other being and influencing every other transaction” (Trenor, n.d.)

Neoliberalism, proposing new conditions, changes the nature of economic relationships from within the national borders to across to borders. These new economic conditions aiming the extension of the market in the world has political impacts precisely. From the

political perspective, it favours the roll back of state intervention. (Jessop, 2002). In a similar vein, as opposed to Keynesian and/or collectivist strategies, neoliberalism has been based upon the idea of competition and extension of markets. It has implied the state downsizing and public service reform. (Peck & Tickell, 2002)

Additionally, decentralization should be mattered. World Bank defines decentralization as “the transfer of authority and responsibility for public functions from central government to subordinate or quasi-independent government organizations or the private sector” (Decentralization Briefing Notes, n.d.). It has been divided into 4 main types: political, administrative, fiscal and market. The core idea of the political decentralization is the participation to the decision-making process of citizens and elected representatives. It enables for the elected representatives to be aware of the needs and desires of the citizens; on the other hand, for the citizens to know the elected representatives. Administrative decentralization means shifting responsibility of central government to the different levels of government, semi-autonomous public authorities, corporations, regional and functional authorities. To put in a different way, revenues of the local governments can be gained by means of the central government and local attempts. With authority and sufficient revenue, private sector and local governments could make expenditure decisions. World Bank defines the most “complete” forms of decentralization are privatization and deregulation. It implies the transferring responsibilities and function of public sector to the private sector. (Litvack & Seddon, n.d.)

State downsizing has been influential in terms of both economic aspects and politics. In other words, the market has been the new actor considered as the substituting the role of the state. In addition to that, its new role has been to coordinate as opposed to state in Keynesian economy. In order to realize the state downsizing, the main tool has been to privatization. Private sector has in charge of most of the production and service actions done by the state before. The areas state could not be withdrawn easily have been maintained by the cooperation of public and private sector. Therefore, there have been newly emerged roles for the state. In addition, state has been the facilitator of the market and responsible only for maintenance of it by making conditions for the market appropriate.

As it has been mentioned that desire of extension of the market indicates withdrawal of the state as well as economic distress due to Fordism had not enough potential to realize sustainable production. Moreover, it has been accompanied with the “deconstruction of anticompetitive institutions” such as labour unions, social welfare implications like housing and so on to perform the competitive structure. Meaningly, all institutions have to be face with the competitive essence of the neoliberalism. (Peck & Tickell, 2002)

This is all to say, main aim of the neoliberalism is to development of market-based economy; moreover, it also had transformed the urban space is a place in which market-oriented economy and consumption practices have been developed (Sager, 2011). In addition, the maintenance of the neoliberalism can be associated with the increasing competition caused by global economic integration in the world. (Kotz, 2002)

2.3. Neoliberalism at the urban level

Cities have indispensably been affected and entered a restructuring process due to profound effects of neoliberalism on ideology, politics, culture, economy and like.

“Newly emerged concepts like global city formation, urban entrepreneurialism, gentrification, internationalization have emphasized the restructuring process of urban spaces. “In the early 2000s, such concepts remain central to urban political economy, but they are now being complemented by references to “neoliberalism”, which is increasingly seen as an essential descriptor of the contemporary urban condition (Brenner & Theodore, 2005)

David Harvey indicates that in the colloquium organized in 1985, there was a general agreement on how the urban government should be structured since the impacts of the changing structure of the capitalism had been influential at the urban level. This influence had appeared itself “as a shift from managerialism to urban entrepreneurship since 1980s”. (Harvey, 1989). In addition to that, free movement of foreign capital has been promoted by the neoliberal policies to promote competition between cities and regions. At that point, Harvey considers alternative competitiveness strategies for cities such as acquisition of key control and command functions in finance, government, or information gathering and processing. He also states that competitive edge with respect to

redistributions of surpluses through central governments is still of tremendous importance. (Harvey, 1989)

According to Harvey, shift from managerialism to entrepreneurialism has been persistent topic since 1970s. Harvey indicates three broad assertions of entrepreneurialism. The first one proposes to increase revenue by attracting external funding, direct investments and employment opportunities, partnership of public and private sectors. The only role of urban government is to facilitate and coordinate; implying urban governance. The second of which indicates this cooperation should be based entrepreneurial discourse due to speculative character of the relationship. Moreover, the third one claims that political economy of place in terms of improving conditions of a place have much more effects on the territorial focus. (Harvey, 1989). Also, Jessop (1998) argues that “being an entrepreneurial city has become a central element in many cities self-imaging (Jessop, 1998, p. 77) . In a similar vein, Short and Kim (1998) states that cities, faced with inter-urban competition, have dealt with the flexible modes of production and comparative advantages. (Short & Kim, 1998)

Furthermore, Jessop indicates that entrepreneurialism is an effort for increasing revenue of the city. Entrepreneurial governance becomes a “central element in many cities” self-imaging and/or place-marketing activities” if they are to be successful in their attempts to secure investment and dollars (Sotoudehnia, 2008).

This restructuring process led to transformation of urban structure where cities are open to supranational and global influences and urban economies has been mainly caused by globalization. Features of the city image could accurately be considered as unique due to urban renewal and restructuring process (Hubbard, 1996). According to Mayer, in the 1990s, municipal governments gained more independence in the West and directed their efforts to particular local needs (Taşan-Kok, 2004). Also, city image has been started to change by attributing the innovative character to the city. Therefore, new urban renewal strategies have been developed by public and private sectors to develop urban environment, take attention by the tourists, big companies and literally world around us, by doing that building a strong city image could be considered as a matter of fact (Jansson & Power, 2006). Because of the transformation in the economy and free movement of the capital, traditional industry could not maintain its very existence. Therefore, cities should look for new types of jobs and industries to manage economic competition in the world.

The driving force of the competition is not anymore the labour and production itself but rather 'intangible measures' like talented and creative labour and innovative ideas. (Jansson & Power, 2006).

Moreover, Gottdiener (1986) argues that global economy brings about modern "urban crisis" and cities have been obliged to face with many difficulties like increase of urban unrest, economic rout, and unemployment, (Hubbard, 1996). Cities have worked for finding a solution to overcome these obstacles and they have experienced a restructuring process. Borja and Castells, on the other hand, underline that cities should adapt themselves by restructuring to the changing environment in the global era. Also, since local authorities do not have enough power to lead the transformation caused by globalization by itself, the relationship between the local and global should not be considered as 'antagonistic' but rather "complementary" (Borja & Castells, 1997, p. 46). Moreover, Hubbard highlights that the adaptation of cities to the altered economic structure is crucial for managing competition in the world; as a matter of fact, re-imagining the city itself is a necessary process should be achieved (Hubbard, 1996). Business, human capital, branding strategies and natural inherits have been tried to manage competition of a city with respect to others and this is a prerequisite, if a city does not face with the economic and social difficulties (City of Rents). According to Logan and Molotch cities have potential to manage their competitive existence by turning them into advantages comparing the other cities for 'jobs and dollars' (Logan & Molotch, 1987).

Massey argues that places are not isolated anymore but they have many other relations could affect or be affected as well (1991). In the ages of a global network, the international division of labour and mobilized capital that seeks more profit in the world, the global economy has been more connected, and cities are more competitive in order to be a part of global economy.

It can be claimed that, on the other hand, this competition has contributed a mutual relationship among cities. Giddens maintains that there is a horizontal link constituting interdependency among cities across national borders. It also provides unitarization and differentiation of the world around us simultaneously. This differentiation mostly appears itself at the local level merely with cultural differences, could be considered as both strength and weakness of the cities in the global world. Therefore, cities would do well

to seek a feasible approach to both supporting existing economic life and attracting new resources from the global value flows (Anttiroiko A. V., 2015). According to Harvey, “one of the strategic decisions of cities in the context of globalization is to determine the most beneficial mix of offerings, interactions and attraction factors in order to derive maximum benefits from the local-global dialectic (Anttiroiko A. V., 2015).

In the lights of this information, apart from the ideologies, competitiveness is the key concept confronted in every level of the world. Simon Anholt, one of the most famous scholars in the topic, defines the term *competitive identity* in his famous book, as a mixture of brand management and public diplomacy and proposes the hexagon of competitive identity composed of tourism, brands, policy, investment, culture and people. Interrelation of these six points defined as the corners of the hexagon, well-structured government policies and investments enable to idea of competitive identity in the stage of the world. By means of the competitive identity, attractiveness of the city will be increased and more tourist, investors, consumers and like will want to see this place (Anholt, 2007). Additionally, despite of the fact that government policies are not enough to build a city brand, their coordination power should not be underestimated. Having famous city(ies) world widely for the countries is crucial in the globalized world around us; therefore, managing this representation and how it is perceived is one of the core responsibilities of the governments.

By means of the free movement of the resources, role of the cities in the global economy has gain its importance. In that sense, it can be obviously said that globalization has considerably influential at urban level. Additionally, cities have tried to maintain their very existence in the world stage by attributing a new role to itself. The main aim is to increase attractivity of the city by highlight their unique features to overcome the inter urban competition (Anttiroiko A.-V. , 2014)

Furthermore, Peck and Tickell propose that “ in contrast to the Fordist-Keynesian golden age, when the national-state became the principal anchoring point for institutions of social integration and macro-economic management, neoliberalization was inducing localities to compete by cutting social and environmental regulatory standards and eroding the political and institutional collectivities upon which more progressive settlements had been constructed in the past”. (Peck & Tickell, 2002, p. 385)

The effect of the state withdrawal at urban level should be mattered, of-course. Central governments had provided funds to local governments; in addition to that, they utilize this funds in the services in terms of housing, health, transportation. After 1980s, once financial support of the state has decreased, the capacity of providing service of local governments has also decreased. These vital services have been sustained by mainly by the local governments.

Local governments have altered their courses towards finding new resources and realizing their potentials. The main and crucial aim has been to attract investments to the city by dealing with urban transformation projects, tourism investments and so on. In addition, there have been newly emerged concepts like citta-slow cities, creative cities, entrepreneurial cities and like.

The budget of local governments for basic needs of the people has been narrowed and new investments for attracting new capitals to the city have been aimed.

The general aim for making those cultural differences as strengths of the cities is to create *city brands* (Kaypak, 2013, p. 336). Bringing those differences into the forefront also enable competition of cities with each other in the global world stage. In other words, to sustain their very existence, cities should compete each other by putting forward their unique features. Due to the transformation in the global economy, cities have affected, and new policy instruments have been required as a matter of fact. With the rise of competition among the cities in the world, some of them were necessarily be transformed itself to the global cities; however, all cities could not maintain its existence as a global city in this competitive arena (Taşan-Kok, 2004).

It brings marketing of cities onto the stage and necessarily require a restructuring process of the cities with respect to economic, social and cultural institutions. Moreover, this transformation has been occurred in the administrative system of the cities. The administrative system of the city should necessarily be based on participatory model depending upon the cooperation of public and private sector and involvement of all stakeholders of the city. “The public sector should be more entrepreneurial and give lower

priority to rules, processes, and various internal considerations, such as expert jurisdictions and job security” (Sager, 2011).

This new administrative model of the city is more suitable for the current competitive character of the world economy and it can be evaluated as ‘early stage of global integration’ for them. In this new model, local authorities are no longer fully dependent on the central government in the decision and policy making process of the city. Instead, they have the ability to develop a local strategy to manage the economic competition in the world by using their own resources with the contribution of private sector and other stakeholders of the city. This new model implies a transformation from urban government to urban governance including all actors of the city. (Taşan-Kok, 2004)

In the literature, before dealing with the details of city branding, there are significant studies on world city, global city and creative city debates, which are crucial for understanding the base and foundations of the concept of city branding.

2.3.1. World City

Firstly, the concept of world city has been developed by Friedmann (Friedmann, The World City Hypothesis, 1986). In his framework analysis, he states that that thanks to Manuel Castells and David Harvey, a revolutionary understanding of urbanization as making relation between city formation and world economy has been adopted. In addition, city could be affected by social influences launched by capitalist mode of production (Friedmann, The World City Hypothesis, 1986). In a similar vein, his main goal with respect to his framework to make connection between urbanization process and global economic forces. He argues that due to new international division of labour in the globalization era, world city hypothesis can contribute to understand how and in what ways world economy has affected the major global cities. (Friedmann, 1986)

In the framework, Friedmann propose 7 main arguments interrelated to each other. One of which has been stated as “Key cities throughout the world are used by global capital as ‘basing points’ in the spatial organization and articulation of production and markets. The resulting linkages make it possible to arrange of world cities into a complex spatial hierarchy”. He indicates mentioned hierarchy: core countries, semi-periphery countries

and periphery countries and primary and secondary world cities. According to this division, apart from two cities (Sao Paulo and Singapore), semi peripheral countries does not have primary world cities. Nevertheless, he updated this division and added global financial articulations, multinational articulations and important national and subnational/regional articulations. In this new model, rather than the country of cities, function and geographical reach has been considered. “World cities are now defined not only as “basing points” of global capital, but “control and command centers” that host globally oriented economic functions and actors which control and coordinate global economic flows” (Geniş, 2007)

2.3.2. Global City

Also, Saskia Sassen proposes that due to global economic changes, there is a dual situation on the economic activity both ‘spatially dispersed’ and ‘globally integrated’. That is to say, economic activity has been necessarily re-structured in the global context. (Sassen S. , 1991)

Sassen claims that this dual situation on the economic activity have attributed a new responsibilities and missions to the cities and re-structuring of the organization of cities. They are mainly four according to her; “concentrated command points, key locations for finance and for specialized service forms, sites of production including the production of innovations, markets for the products and innovations produced”. This is what she calls *global city* is. (Sassen S. , 1991)

Proposing concept of global city, Sassen mainly developed 7 hypotheses. In addition, since economic activities have exceeded the countries, central corporate functions have been highly complicated. Due to the composite operations of the global firms, outsourcing of specialized services have been came to the question. In other words, producing inputs are no longer is the situation but buying from multiple locations. “The mix of firms, talents, and expertise from a broad range of specialized fields makes a certain type of urban environment function as an information center. Being a city becomes synonymous with being in extremely intense and dense information loop”. Also, those specialized service firms have taken in partnerships and built new networks. In this new type of international economic activity, regulation role does not totally belong to the governments

anymore. Moreover, social and economic inequality in the city have increased in spite of the specialized firms and high number of professionals in the city. (Sassen S. , 2005).

2.3.3. Creative City

Florida proposes that there is a transformation of everyday life and this transformation has been caused by “human creativity”, in general and this knowledge or information economy is derived from creativity as well. The shift from industrial and manufacturing economy to the knowledge and information-based service sector has been explained with the idea of “human creativity” for Florida. In his own words: “The economic need for creativity has registered itself in the rise of a new class, which I call the Creative Class...I define the core of the Creative Class to include people in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music and entertainment whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology, and new creative content” (Florida, 2002) According to Florida, creative class “want to live in “quality”, “creative”, “tolerant” and “exciting” places. Nevertheless, it can be said that all cities are not appropriate for being creative center as they are unable to knowledge-based development (Lorenzen, 1999).

2.4. Conclusion

In a nutshell, changes in the notion of capital and other related factors like developments of information communication technologies have influenced the structure of the world economy and paved the way to the emergence of the global economy. The global economy brought about the decline in the importance of as well as the geography of manufacturing industry and thereby extremely affected the urban environment. In addition to that, to handle the difficulties derived from this transformation, by attributing neo-liberal characters, cities have been transformed themselves into a kind of a commodity available in the global world market and ready to compete with other cities. In other words, local authorities had raised a response with the innovative, creative and entrepreneurial strategies trying to overcome capitalism crises. This has been implied in the shift from manufacturing economy to knowledge/information-based and service-oriented economy.

Moreover, these strategies provided an alteration on the administrative structure of local authorities. With rise of globalization and neoliberal policies in the world, local authorities had not monopoly power of administrative structure and innovative strategies; instead, all stakeholders, public and private sector had been taken part in decision-making and implementation process of the strategies. It implies a transformation from urban government to urban governance as well as Harvey gives emphasize. This current situation had caused the raise the competition among the cities having innovative strategies and strong urban governance structure (Sager, 2011).

Also, an economy-based new focus had altered the social and cultural lifestyles of the urban environment that are needed to be improved with respect to attractiveness by the private sector and local authority together.” (Jansson & Power, 2006, p. 9) Jensen emphasizes that “urban branding is a response to such increased urban competition... There is nothing new in the attempt to make cities attractive in a market economy, but there is now an increased awareness of the strategic and professionalized dimension to such urban branding activities”. (Jensen, 2005). “As municipal governments continue to adopt entrepreneurial strategies to attract and secure investments, place promotion rhetoric becomes more commonplace, especially when undertaking systematic corporate renaming programs. The programmatic corporate renaming of public places, or toponymic branding, continues to gain popularity among proponents of the entrepreneurial city paradigm.” Kavaratzis (2008) also states a shift in urban politics, as the use of marketing in cities is perceived as a “natural consequence of entrepreneurial governance (p.59). This transition towards entrepreneurial urbanism demonstrates an enmeshing of the neoliberal project in urban contexts, as the marketization of cities and places through brand creation, management, and promotion becomes a central aspect of municipal governance. (Sotoudehnia, 2008)

Brenner and Theodore claims that neoliberalism is a complex phenomenon and could not exist in a single form. Articulation of the neoliberalism has been provided by the strategies like institutional transformation and ideological re-articulation. (Brenner & Theodore, 2005)

Alberto Vanolo mentions that there are significant connections between neoliberalism and city branding. Strategies for realizing the position in the market and can be considered

as the representation of the entrepreneurialism of urban politics. Also, restructuring process can be considered as attributing values to the city for becoming a commodity in the world stage to deal with the urban competition. Therefore, it can be said that cities are fell into a commodification process. They are, like a product, advertised and presented in the market. Moreover, by means of the neoliberalism and altered governance of cities, there have been new urban elites, new urban professionals, and new positions of power. (Vanolo, 2017)

City branding has been emerged as neo-liberal tool for managing the global world economy and its difficulties. While branding is usually held to represent an effort to develop urban competitiveness toward the economic development, urban branding's advocates see it as a potential to meet other goals such as community development, reinforcing local identity and identification of the citizens with their city and activating all social forces to avoid social exclusion (Kavaratzis M. , 2004). Therefore, this issue cannot be separated from urban governance and political economy. So, it can be argued that with globalization and neoliberalism, urban branding has emerged as a means of urban policy which can lead to the commodification of city.

CHAPTER 3

CITY IMAGE, BRAND IMAGE AND PLACE MARKETING

3.1. What is city image?

It is important to consider and comprehend for the city branding strategy how cities are perceived by others for managing the competition to attract globally mobile capital in the era of global economy. In that sense, city image should be considered not just the physical side of an urban environment but all components building the city as a whole. Taking attention of companies, people, tourists and investors in the situation of economical difficulty and competition bring about the restructuring urban image as a challenge for places (Brash, 2011, p. 101).

Kevin Lynch (1960) defines three components of environmental images as identity, structure, and meaning. *Identity* of the image provide differentiating that object from others as separate entity; the other component is *structure* of the object should give a spatial relation to the observer. Moreover, different from spatial relation, the image should include a *meaning* for observer (Lynch, 1960). Relph also maintains to grasp social structure of the place image, taking attention to identity, socially constructed, is necessary. (Relph, 1976).

Image of the city does not only refer to city itself but recognition of the city by dwellers, tourists, and the world around us. Kevin Lynch (1960) states that “environmental images are the result of a two-way process between the observer and his environment. This environment suggests distinctions and relations, and the observer-with great adaptability and in the light of his own purposes-selects, organizes and endows with meaning what he sees” (Lynch, 1960, p. 6). In other words, since perceiving can be evaluated already as a subjective process, experiences of the observer constitute the city image on his/her mind. Kampschulte (1999) mentions “the image of the city is best described as the link between real, objective space and its perception” (Kampschulte, 1999).

Bailly states representations in the urban have contributed to deal with meaning in symbolic and ideological context (Bailly, 1994). Vermeulen states “it is not the city but the image that has to be planned” (Vermeulen, 2002). Therefore, image formulation and how it is perceived maintains its importance and there are some methodologies for delivering the formulated and targeted message. Methodologies of the image formulation have been defined in many scholars in the literature. According to Lynch (1960), OECD (2005), Ashworth (2009), “the built environment, hallmark events and famous personalities are generally accepted as the transmitter of the city image” (Dinnie, 2011, p. 29). Smith also highlights that promotional activities have been used for attracting tourists to the city and generalize the term as ‘city re-imaging’. (Smith, 2005)

Lynch claims that accepting that image has a valuable effect on the living space, it should be sufficient, easily comprehensible, flexible to alterations, allowing individuals for exploration. Also, it is stressed that ‘good’ image depends on with many respects since it is the “product of experiences, attitudes, memories and immediate sensations” (Boulding, 1961)

Since images are utilized for managing and directing perceptions and behaviours, they are “not just selective abstractions of an objective reality but are the international interpretations of what is or what is believed to be. The image of a place consists of all the elements associated with the experiences of individuals or groups and their intentions toward that place”. (Lynch, 1960)

Lynch argues that “images of places have both a vertical and horizontal structuring. The vertical structure is one of intensity and depth of experience and has layers corresponding basically to those of the various levels of outsideness and insideness. The horizontal structure is that of the social distribution of knowledge of places within the between individuals, groups and the mass.” (Lynch, 1960)

In a similar vein, Kavaratzis underlines cities are communicated by means of the perceptions and images. He proposes that this communication occurs in three ways; namely: primary, secondary and tertiary. Primary communication does not take the communication as the core idea rather focusing on communicative effects. Kavaratzis divides primary communication into 4 categories. ‘Landscape strategies’ refers to public

spaces in the city; 'infrastructure strategies, on the other hand, attributes city infrastructure a unique character like a large airport. The third category is 'organizational and administrative structure'. "The most important elements of this category would be community development networks and citizens' participation in the decision making, along with the establishment of public-private partnerships". The fourth, city's behaviour' refers to "city leaders' vision for the city, the strategy adopted, or the financial incentives provided by the city to various stakeholders". Moreover, utilization of marketing practices like logo, slogan, advertisements, and like is considered as secondary communication according to Kavaratzis. "Tertiary communication refers to communication through and with the media and other cities". (Kavaratzis M. , From city marketing to city branding: Towards a theoretical framework for developing city brands, 2004)

3.2. What is brand?

Brand is a concept, mostly utilized in marketing literature. As it has been recently used in urban planning and politics literature; it should be defined and discussed further.

American Marketing Association defines brand as "a name, term, sign, symbol, or design, or a combination of them, intended to identify the goods or services of one seller or group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of competitors" (Wood, 2000, p. 664). Moreover, Stern states that "survival of *brand* is a signal of its vitality, for it is one of the most ancient words in English. It was first found in Germanic languages that evolved into Old English (Anglo-Saxon), in which it appeared as a noun (ca.1000) in the epic poem *Beowulf* (Heaney 2002) and as a verb (ca.1400) in Wycliffe's religious tract *An Apology for Lollard Doctrines* (Todd 1842)". According to Stern, first usage of *brand* is not in the marketing field in 1922.

Moilanen and Rainisto (2009) define brand as "an impression perceived in a client's mind of a product or a service" and "the sum of all tangible and intangible elements, which makes the selection unique" (Moilanen & Rainisto, 2009). They propose that there are three important features of brand; identity, image and communication. Identity can be considered as already existed value of a brand. Moreover, the brand image can be

interpreted as transmitter of the brand to the focus group; literally, perception. Furthermore, thanks to communication feature, brand can be easily noticed.

Moilanen and Rainisto asserts positive sides of the brand as:

- ‘A brand separates itself from competing products;
- A brand creates emotional benefits for the customer;
- Brand facilitates the customer’s decision-making;
- A brand protects the organization’s marketing and brings long-term strategic benefits;
- A brand can support innovations and be the ‘main thread’;
- A brand enables the connection of responsibility to the producer;
- A strong company brand connects personnel and business partners, so it is possible to develop stronger relationships and ensure long-term investments;
- Brands increase the efficiency of marketing operations and strengthen the process that creates more financial value;
- A business brand connects all goodwill-value derived from doing business;
- A brand guarantees quality; and
- A brand increases turnover’. (Moilanen & Rainisto, 2009, pp. 7-8)

Hankinson and Cowking states “a brand is a product or service made distinctive by its positioning relative to the competition and by its personality, which comprises a unique combination of functional attributes and symbolic values”. (Hankinson & Cowking, 1993, p. 10).

3.3. Brand Image

Brand and brand image are two different concepts that should be distinguished from each other. Anholt maintains there are 4 different usage of brand. The first one is to use as *name of the product*. Another usage is *its designed identity*. The yet another is *culture of the organization behind the product*. The fourth as a brand image is instead of *reputation* in the mind of consumers (Anholt, 2010). Yet, differentiation among brand, city image

and brand image should be discussed in order to grasp the relations of each other. It also contributes to exploration of transformation from city image to brand image as well.

Since branding a city is the management of perceptions of that city through certain messages, city image can be considered as transmitter of mentioned messages. Formulation of the city image have great effect on perception and reputation of the city. By saying perception and reputation of the city, it implies that what meant a city image for the dwellers firstly, representation in the mind of foreigners and the world secondly. It has been stated that “poor perceptions of a city can devalue its image and have far reaching consequences for its future prosperity. These negative associations may reduce the likelihood of inward investment, undermine business community activities, and have detrimental effect on the number of visitors, thereby exacerbating urban decline” (Trueman, Kemm, & Giroud, 2004).

Reformulating the image of the city has been required for city branding as “encounters between cities and their users take place through perception and images” (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005, p. 507) Brand image, in that sense, should promote the strengths of the city.

Brand image implies what brand represents and the way consumers have the idea of that brand. Thereby, it is the formed and comprehensive perspective of the consumers upon the brand (Vanolo, 2017). Moreover, brand image is defined by Anholt as an “instant and rich emotional response in the consumers immediately upon sight” (Anholt, 2010)

It can be said that there is a strong relationship between city image, brand and brand image in the context of city branding. This relationship has been constructed through the global influences at urban level. Cities to be branded are necessarily experienced this transformation since formulation of brand image is the core idea of city branding.

3.3. Place Marketing

Kavaratzis (2008) states that place marketing has a long history since there has been always an attempt that cities are needed to be distinguished from each other by promoting their unique characteristics. According to him, it has been occurred in three discrete

phases; they are place promotion, planning instrument and the precursors in marketing. The first stage “was concerned with generating manufacturing jobs through attracting companies with subsidies and the promise of low operating costs and higher profits existing or alternative sites”. On the other hand, the second stage involves attraction of economic activities but in a different manner from the first stage; in that case, the improvement and promotion of physical environment also gain importance. The third stage contains the objectives of previous two stages but adds an emphasize on global competitiveness. (Kavaratzis M. , 2008)

Attributing marketing character to the places is quite different from the corporate brands’, of course. Ashworth states that “place marketing is a legitimate form of marketing in the sense that the terminology, techniques and philosophies of marketing can be applied to places but equally, if it is to be attempted successfully, then a special type of marketing has to be devised” (Ashworth & Voogd, 1994). First and Venkatesh asserts that “marketing is the conscious and planned practice of signification and representation” (Firat & Venkatesh, 1993).

Place marketing as a necessary strategy for the cities by giving emphasize on the transition process from managerial governance to entrepreneurial model that private and public sectors are worked together (Hubbard, 1996) Ashworth and Voogd (1994:39), as cited in Kavaratzis M., 2004, proposes that promotion of the places is not newly emerged; instead, consciously attributing the marketing approaches into this promotion and inclusion of the public planning agencies for the management is something new and should be elaborated. Brenner and Theodore 2002; Hall and Hubbard 1998a, Harvey, 2001, place marketing is a necessary and organic feature of the new urban governance. (Brash, 2011)

Place marketing is a long-term process beginning with the promotion of the prominent and competitive characteristics of the place. Also, an aim, appropriate and implementable methodology are determined and the process has been maintained by the distribution of the roles for implementing the arrangements (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2006, p. 17)

Marketing is a process that can be used to accomplish various goals set by the city, because “to discuss city marketing solely in economic terms is to oversimplify its

meaning” (Paddison, 1993, p. 348). City branding, on the other hand, can be considered as change in the perspective and one of the most successful ways of place marketing (Kavaratzis M. , From city marketing to city branding: Towards a theoretical framework for developing city brands, 2004).



CHAPTER 4

CITY BRANDING AND ITS METHODOLOGIES

4.1. Theoretical Framework

Bringing unique characters of the city into forefront is nothing new in the world; however, attributing a branding character to those characters and appearing of the city in the market with strength characteristics to compete other cities has been emerged in 1990s and the concept has firstly introduced by Philip Kotler.

Since there are different types of consumers and places to be branded, namely brand aspects; there is a need for classification to understand the place branding and its dynamics. Kavaratzis and Ashworth states there are 5 main trends of place branding. The first one is the *place of origin branding* discussed by mainly Kotler and Gertner (2002); Papadopoulos and Heslop (2002). (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005) This trend defines place of origin as a product and “using the qualities, images and, in most cases, stereotypes of the place and the people living in that place to brand a product that is produced in that place is considered an effective strategy”. As he underlined, it cannot be associated with the place branding. The second trend studied primarily by Simon Anholt, Ham and Gilmore is *nations branding*. In this approach, governments have been oriented by the consultants for enabling outward investment, attracting tourists to the country and like. The third, widely charming trend is generally examined by Evans, Greenberg, Hannigan; *culture/entertainment branding*. “High profile buildings on the city’s image the use of such buildings and other ‘landmarks’ in general in the city’s promotion”. Another trend in the place marketing is *destination branding* evaluated by Morgan, Brent-Ritchie. According to him, this is most developed trend in place marketing above mentioned. Hankinson can be considered as pioneer of this trend. (Hankinson’s theory will be discussed). The last and most complex trend is *city branding*. (Kavaratzis M. , 2005).

As it is emphasized, cities having unique features and potentials have necessarily transformed themselves by attributing the commodifiable character to manage competition in the world. There is no clear-cut definition of city branding and its methodology in the literature. Nevertheless, many scholars as quoted below have tried to propose a definition and best methodologies of city branding.

Zenker and Braun defines place brands as “a network of associations in the consumers’ mind based on the visual, verbal and behavioural expression of a place, which is embodied through the aims, communication, values, and the general culture of the place’s stakeholders and the overall place design” (Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013). In other words, it can be said that main focus of the place branding is consumers’ mind since it has been occurred with the material and immaterial signs of the city with the experience and perception of that one.

Simon Anholt discusses whether the place branding is marketing or not by a dialectic way, in his famous essay. He raises a question “if place branding is not about communications but policies, what is new about it and why bother to give it a new name?” The answer provided by the author explains 5 new ideas of place branding. The first one is that *cooperation* among government, business, civil society, new institutions and structures for transmitting a clear, coordinated and communicative message to the globalized world. The second one is notion of *brand image* which is considered as a bridge between the brand and its consumers. The third one is the notion of *brand equity* that its reputation should be managed, measured and protected. The fourth one is the brand purpose providing consensus for strategic vision, which is internal. The fifth dynamic is the innovation in all sectors like media (Anholt, Is place branding a capitalist tool?).

Moreover, the concepts that utilized above have defined by Anholt as 4 main aspects of the branding.; *brand identity*, *brand image*, *brand purpose*, *brand equity*. According to him, brand identity is composed of a logo, slogan; *core meaning*. Brand image is *reputation*, about how this brand is comprehended by the consumers. Brand purpose is *the power of shared goals*. Brand equity is *the asset value of reputation*, “permission given by the local consumer base for it to continue producing and developing” (Anholt,

2007) Moreover, an analysis conducted by Kavaratzis and Ashworth, touches upon the importance of city branding with an analysis on urban management goals and place marketing. Similar to a corporate branding, city branding faces with the three main components of branding of which; brand identity, brand positioning and brand image. It is essential to position places in comparison with product on corporate marketing. With efficient urban planning it is feasible to position cities as a brand image within the perceptions of consumers. (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005)

Kasapi and Cela state that terms belong to place branding literature are generally utilized to define city branding. Although a consensus could not be built upon the one and single definition, it is generally accepted feature of the concept is hard to define; in addition to that, offering some explanations could be considered as practical, in that sense. (Kasapi & Cela, 2017, p. 136). Therefore, even though city and the place are not synonyms, they will be utilized interchangeably.

Rather than providing definition, Hall proposes the aim of city branding as well-designed communication strategy (Hall, 1996) According to Nickerson and Moisey, it is making link among residents, foreigners and the image of the city. (1999). Cai claims by means of the city brand, indicating a city as a destination is possible with branding factors like names, terms, signs, logos, mottos and so on and a strong city image for significant and positive representation among other cities (Cai, 2002). Rainisto sees city branding is the necessary approach for acknowledgement of city and attention-taking method (Rainisto, 2003). According to Julier, for enhancing unique characteristics of the city, city branding can be considered as one of the most crucial attempts. Morgan and Pritchard define city branding as a 're-building' and 're-defining' process rather than encouragement of a place (Morgan & Pritchard, 2007).

There are two important aims of city branding initiatives (Kavaratzis M. , 2004) One of them is to achieve a competitive advantage to bring more capital investment and more tourism activity to the city. On the other hand, the second aim is to achieve community development and consensus by means of the power of local identity in order not to experience social exclusion and unrest (Kavaratzis M. , 2004)

Andrea and Per Olof aims to conduct a brief review of previous studies on city branding. The key findings of researchers are that researches on city branding focuses on 3 main factors of producing, consuming and criticizing city branding. The researchers also point out the importance of multi-disciplinary harmony across researches on city branding. In order to conduct future researches on city branding, the key suggestion is to approach city branding with a robust and a unique combination of inter disciplinary thoughts.

Jensen touches upon the impact of globalization and transformation within industrial cities in terms of culture, creativity and knowledge based urban environments. The researcher supports formation of New Urban Management and Creative Class notions in order to generate knowledge cities, culture cities, shopping, fun and leisure cities. In order to plan urban city branding it is essential to consider these factors. (Jensen, 2005).

The researchers, Jesper and Arthur have focused on importance of citizens and other stakeholders which builds up the bricks of city branding. In addition to this the researchers argue that policies on city branding may be affected from democratic legitimacy. In order to enhance urban branding process, it is essential to strengthen urban democracy and urban governance policies. (Jasper & Arthur, 2013)

In his analysis, Senay focused on the importance urban policies on city marketing in terms of Istanbul's branding and tourism plan. The key findings of researcher have included that main focus areas of branding of Istanbul are; *tourism variability and geographic wideness, originality and character, interaction and communication, global effect, strong infrastructure and high quality of life, the spirit of the city, and the symbol attributed to the city*. In fact, these factors are mainly common within most of the large cities and their branding. These factors, which are stated by Senay, could be counted as main building blocks of a city branding. (Senay, 2017)

Andrea Insch highlights in her article "Branding the City as an Attractive Place to Live" residents are one of most critical part of the city by stating "...their disenchantment could trigger a vicious downward spiral". Insch emphasizes residents of the city should be integrated in the decision-making and implementation process of the city branding. According to her, since the residents represent the place identity, local culture and local business, they have a tendency of improving their own place's conditions and making it

more attractive. Therefore, they should be included in the restructuring process of the city. (Andrea & Per Olof, 2011)

Gert-Jan Hospers make a relation between Urry's famous theory "tourist gaze" and city branding in his article by stating "city branding is a powerful tool to construct the tourist gaze". Since a tourist does not choose the place that s/he will visit randomly; the attractive city image may contribute his/her preferences socially constructed. As he stated, in the literature, there are three main image carriers; the built environment, hallmark events and famous personalities. The built environment mainly refers to the image of the city socially constructed. The hallmark events have provided a city a new meaning since these events like Oktober Fest or Sziget Festivals are memorized with the host city. Also, it indicates the organization capacity of a city since these events have attracted the people's attention from all over the world. It implies there is enough accommodation services, in-city and inter-city travel opportunities, hosting place i.e. conference hall, concert arena and like, technical arrangements and so on. (Hospers, 2011) One of the good examples as Summer Olympics of Barcelona (1992) will be examined in Chapter 4. Moreover, iconizing someone who is famous, successful and made contribution to the world with a city is also the other technique of enhancing the city image to the world.

Jansson and Power (2006) have divided the branding techniques into two main categories with respect to aspects of the place: material and immaterial. Material aspect refers to *built environment* and *infrastructure*; on the other hand; immaterial refers to *slogan, identity and like*. Under this categorization; they also indicate that three ways of branding; *through buildings, events, flagship projects and like; through planning strategies, urban development, institutional and infrastructural support; through advertising, myths, slogans, logos and like*. According to them, since mentioned techniques are interrelated to each other; they have been generally utilized as integrated. (Jansson & Power, 2006).

Castello uses the word *cloning* in his analysis since it has a potential to connecting to certain fields of science and by means of the relation with the practice of life, implying the human component in the urbanism actions. He defines place branding in three ways; customizing, communicating, and commodifying. Customizing refers to by means of the powerful images, people should be customized as followers of the new manifestations of the city. Communicating deals with visual and iconographic messages having ability to

make good perception on the minds of place user. Commodifying; on the other hand, means attributing a commodity character to the historical and cultural values of a place (Castello, 2010).

4.2. Measurement of City Branding

Zenker, Knuben and Beckman (2010) propose that measuring the place brand perceptions can be divided into three groups; qualitative methods, quantitative methods and mixed methods. The qualitative methods deal with the ‘free brand associations of target customers’ like focus group interviews; on the other hand, the quantitative methods engage with the ‘standardized questionnaires’ on varied dimension constituting brand. Moreover, the mixed methods refer to making qualitative analysis with quantitative analysis. According to them, although qualitative methods have ability to provide more information with in-depth interviews or open-ended questions; comparing two cities with a qualitative method is not possible due to differences of the focus groups. To put in a different way, as quantitative methods imply a standardization and are depended on the dimensions chosen for the analysis; it is not the best way of measuring place brand perceptions. Furthermore, they propose that a mixed methods would overcome the mentioned difficulties of applying single method to compare cities’ perceptions of branding (Zenker, Knubben, & Beckman, 2010).

Kaplan, Yurt, Guneri and Kurtulus indicated a study aiming to “explore the applicability of brand personality framework to place branding”. They had engaged with an personality dimension investigation on three most crowded cities in Turkey; İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir. In this study, they define city brand personality as “the set of human characteristics associated with the city brand”. They had utilized 7 factors to measure brand personality dimension; excitement, malignancy, peacefulness, competence, conservatism and ruggedness. (Kaplan, Yurt, Guneri, & Kurtuluş, 2010)

Currently, there are many place branding scales in the literature. One of the popular is belongs to Simon Anholt. Anholt defines a city brand hexagon and all 6 points are different dimension of affecting the city brands; the presence, the potential, the people, the prerequisites, the pulse, the place. The presence refers to international status of the city and to determine its presence whether they visited in which way those cities can be

considered as famous and also are there any positive influence of a city with respect to culture, science, governance in last 30 years or not. The second point, the potential mean whether the city could provide visitors, businesses and immigrants to enough access to education services and economic opportunities. The questions have tried to explore the one's thought on how s/he can easily find a job; whether the city is appropriate for her/him and her/his family to get access to education and job opportunities. The third point is the people; dwellers of the city. This point has tried to measure feeling of inclusion, safety and satisfaction of the people with respect to dwellers of the city. The fourth point, the prerequisites, has engaged with the basic qualities of the city like accommodation, hospitals, public transport and like. The fifth point is the pulse have tried to explore the perception of the people both as short-term and long-term resident about brand image of the city. The sixth and the last point of the hexagon is the place. It refers to physical conditions of the place like climate, infrastructure, and like. (Anholt, 2007)

Most of the literature deals with the evolving reasons, methodologies, tools and best examples of the city branding. Braun, on the other hand, engaged with the factors affecting the implementation of city branding in his famous article entitled as "Putting city branding into practice" in 2011. He states that "we need to review mechanisms that structure collective action- in this case city branding". (Braun, 2011, p.261). Moreover, he proposes 8 hypotheses affecting the implementation of city branding in a positive or negative way(s). The first four of which are "the majority view on city branding, the inclusion of city branding in the political priorities, unambiguous political responsibility, and stakeholder management" having indirect relationship with the implementation of city branding and various different effects on the city policies in general.. On the other hand, remaining four hypotheses have dealt with the city branding in a very direct relationship; "strategic choices regarding the substance of the brand and the approach to building the brand; genuine and credible city branding; umbrella city branding versus sub-brands, strategic co-branding with strong brands in the city; and the balancing act between distinctiveness and wide support for the brand". These hypotheses will be discussed in Chapter 6: Gaziantep in a critical perspective.

4.3. Barcelona Model: City Sells!

“In capitalism, we find the dissolution of organic social and natural relations in the development of a fragmenting division of labor and an unprecedented structure where commodity production is the purpose of society and maximization of profit is the purpose of commodity production.” (Best & Kellner, 1997)

Commodification of city culture and city identity is one of the results of neoliberal policies. Urban political elites who are trying to sell cities by branding them are looking for the best place for their unique product in the global market in order to attract more tourists. The reason behind branding, the way that urban elites manifest the city, in what ways the city and its culture commoditized, and what kind of effect does branding has on tourism industry are generally seen in the example of Barcelona.

4.3.1. A Brief Description of Barcelona

Barcelona having more than 1.6 million inhabitants and the second largest city in Spain and capital city of the region of Catalonia is one of the famous cities of the World (Belloso, 2011).

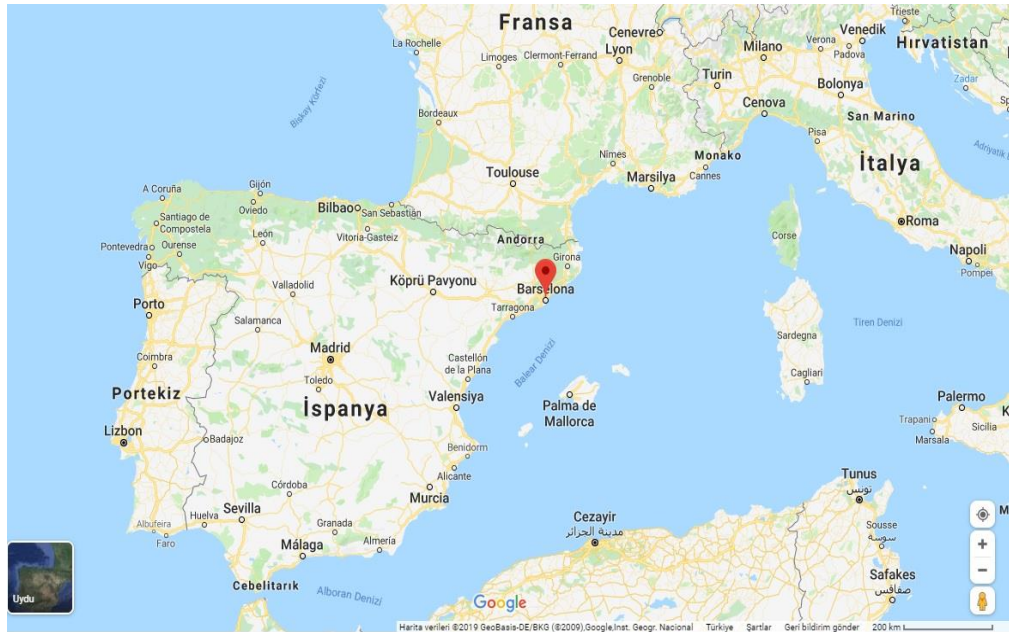


Figure 1: The location of Barcelona

Barcelona has taken part many ranking lists in the world with many respects. For example, the city has been considered as publishing center providing international dynamism; with this aspect, the city is ranked as creative city of the literature by UNESCO (UNESCO, Unesco Creative Cities Programme for sustainable development, 2018). The Livability Index 2010 Indicator of The Economist Intelligence Unit have rated Barcelona in terms of infrastructures at 96.4 out of 100. According to 2009 data of the government, Barcelona is the sixth most important tourist city in the world by means of the 12 million overnight stays and 2 million cruise travelers. Also, with the Alba Synchrotron, the Scientific Park of Barcelona (PCB), the Biomedical Park, the UAB Research Park, the research parks of the UPC, ESADE, Creapolis, IESE, the Communication Campus at Poble Nou (UPF), the El Valles Technological Park, research centres in food, elite research institutes (photonics, materials, energy), Iter, KIC Innoenergy (EIT), Barcelona Graduate School of Economy, the Institute of Global Health, MareIncognito, Barcelona (Barcelona Vision 2020, 2010, p. 19)

4.3.2. City Branding in Barcelona: Barcelona Model

In the literature, as it is mentioned, Barcelona is considered as one of the most successful city brands with a special emphasis on hosting 1992 Olympic Games. Certainly, the effect of hosting Olympic Games are undeniable; nevertheless, since the making a city a famous brand is a process, the experiences and historical formation Barcelona have should be examined briefly to explore its success story and find out the relationship with neoliberalism.

The death of dictator Francisco Franco in 1975 brought the city on a restoration process. Two events mostly promoted has also promoted this transformation; the first one is the accession to the European Community and the second one is the 1992 Summer Olympic Games. Hosting the Olympic Games offered to the city that the kind of unique, commodifiable image which is necessary to compete in international markets and to produce the tourist experience. Thus, the urban branding policy took place in the city, in order to do that, urban elites used the architecture of the city, language of the city and the specific characters of the Barcelona which is its Catalanian history and so on. The symbolic power of the city served/serves to its branding. Besides the historical

architectural side of Barcelona, the new ‘modernista’ architecture kind of understanding helps to the attracting tourists for business in addition to cultural ones (Balibrea M.-P. , 2007). “The effect of this ‘modernista’ reimagining strategy can be understood via reference to the processes of image change identified in the conceptual framework. The successful reclamation, (re)presentation and championing of buildings designed by Domenech, Puig and Gaudi, has provided Barcelona with several important new synecdochical devices” (Smith, 2005).

4.3.3. Olympic Games 1992

Hosting 1992 Olympic Games can be considered as one of the turning points of Barcelona as a city brand. It leads to both great transformation in the city and gave to chance to city to represent this transformation to the world.



Figure 2: Logo of Barcelona

Firstly, the places in which games organized were restructured and opened to public use. Necessary infrastructure system was also built like a ring road system, an extension of the subway, rehabilitation of the old city, opening of public spaces in many areas of the town. Moreover, since this event embraced by the world, it enabled to City Council of Barcelona to work in cooperation with different public administration both at the regional and national level. It is considered that the dark period in Barcelona in the times of Franco was closed by means of the Olympic Games in 1992. (Ramon, 2000).



Figure 3: Olympic Games 1992

The Olympic Games has taken the attention of tourists and urban designers due to infrastructure projects like airport expansion, highway rings, telecommunications and like. Most of the time, buildings and creations made in the sake of Olympic Games could not be utilized after the games. However, thanks to design team of Barcelona, the structure was built anticipatorily. For instance, Olympic stadium have been still used for football games in the city (Rossi, 2004).

“The 1992 Olympic Games provided the seemingly obligatory grand spectacle and a conventional mixture of slogans and promotional material was used to sell Barcelona to an external audience (Smith, 2005).

By means of the Olympic Games, transformation of the city has been gained acceleration. Also, all citizens had been included in this transformation. Olympic games enabled to present city image of Barcelona to the world and capacity of hosting such a worldwide event (Belloso, 2011).

4.3.4. Developments after the Olympic Games 1992

In 1999, award Royal Gold Metal had been given to Barcelona.

“In 1999, precedent has been broken to award the Royal Gold Medal to a city: to Barcelona, its government, its citizens and design professionals of all sort. Inspired city leadership, pursuing an ambitious yet pragmatic urban strategy and the highest design standards, has transformed the city’s public realm, immensely expanded its amenities and regenerated its economy, providing pride in its habitants and delight in its visitors... Probably nowhere else in the world are there so many recent examples, in large cities and small towns, of a benign and appropriate attitude towards creating a civic setting for the next century” (Balibrea M. P., 2001).

Balibrea states that with respect to this quotation, the Barcelona Model and its success had been officially approved at the international level. Moreover, a plan had been developed for 10 UK cities with respect urban programme of Barcelona. “The Observer summarized the aim of the project as follows: ‘Each of the target cities will be encouraged to sell themselves as exciting and stylish places to live and work, mirroring the success of the Catalan urban regeneration’ (Wintour and Thorpe 1999)” (Balibrea M. P., 2001, p. 187)

Also, the transformation process in the city has never ending. Poblenou, is a village, has been transformed to a “knowledge district” and rebranded within the scope of 22@Barcelona plan. Oriol Clos who was the director of urbanism at 22@Barcelona states that “the 22@ Plan establishes the criteria and terms for the conversion of the old industrial areas into a sector suited to the new forms of productive activity based on information and knowledge technology, and on a new balance of urban, residential, productive and service functions, in which all are integrated into a hybrid fabric, constructed around the historical morphology of the sector” (Clos, 2004, pp. 193-194). The village has been transformed to manage competitiveness at the urban level, improve life quality of inhabitants and create a knowledge space as well. (Charnock & Ribera-Fumaz, 2011)

Having a place for knowledge and innovation in a city and urban clusters have indicated to “smart-city” and crucial for urban revitalization. Transformation of Poblenou from old-textile industry to a knowledge and innovation district at both local and international level has great significance. This transformation has been provided with a new model promoting cooperation among universities, government institutions, private sector and citizens as well. (Pique, 2013).

Moreover, the year of 2003 has been dedicated to sport in Barcelona. Sport events has made crucial contribution to the image of the city. Thanks to organization of World Swimming Championships, the X Police and Firement Games and the European Cup of Nations Hockey Championships (Ajuntament de Barcelona), city image of Barcelona has been improved as a matter of fact. (Smith, 2005).

Furthermore, another international event hosted by Barcelona, Universal Forum of Cultures- Barcelona 2004 was organized by UNESCO with the initiative of City Council of Barcelona. The title of the conference is “New Ignorances, New Literacies: Learning to Live Together in a Globalizing World”. Between the dates of 8 May-20 September 2004, decision-makers and representatives of the international community and civil society had focused three key themes of cultural diversity, sustainable development and the conditions for peace. (UNESCO, 2005)

President of the Generalitat of Catalonia Mr. Pasqual Maragall states in the preface of the report that “We live in a globalized world where much too often more knowledge also means more ignorance...In this globalized world, we are increasingly aware of our common destiny, yet at the same time, we continue to wish that others understand us in what makes us unique, in what makes us singular...I hope that the force of the ideas presented at the conference and now collected in this book will help us continue on our way towards freedom and justice with a greater effectiveness and better result” (UNESCO, 2005)

“We value the Universal Forum of Cultures Barcelona 2004 as a new opportunity to find out about and take part in resolving the problems of the world we live in, as a experience for us to discover through events and dialogue, new fields of knowledge and action to

bring about a better world” (The Barcelona Commitment, presented at the closing ceremony of the first Forum, on 26 September 2004, as cited in Universal Forum of Cultures Barcelona 2004).

The Barcelona model indicates that transformation process with respect to socio-economic and urban level. (Balibrea, n.d.) In the last 20 years, transformation process of Barcelona has been observed obviously. This transformation has been observed in City Council of Barcelona’s attempts and the public spaces in a way of creating an identity to promote social and cultural integration. Town Planning Regulations have been reorganized to sustain coherence, credibility and legitimacy. Making and preserving the connection between the newly built areas and existed neighbourhoods to prevent zoning and functional specialization has great importance in this transformation process. In addition, there was a concern of avoiding gentrification during renovation of the Old Town to provide social consensus. Also, the inclusion of civil society has extensive significance; therefore, all citizens have taken part of this transformation; for instance, young people made voluntary work in the Olympic Games. This transformation process has contributed to position of Barcelona in the stage of the world by means of the urban marketing promotional strategies (Ramon, 2000).

4.3.5. Barcelona Vision 2020- A Strategic Proposal

It should be emphasized that city branding is a never-ending process. Since the world has been changing with respect to interactions and improvement in the global scale, the form of competition should necessarily be altered. In order to manage competition, cities should have a vision and plan for future competition.

At that point, to grasp the city branding process of Barcelona, it is necessary to analyze Barcelona’s first strategic metropolitan plan. It is crucial in the sense of being first metropolitan strategic development of Barcelona Metropolitan Area by indicating its intention to existence in the global scale. (Barcelona Vision 2020, 2010)

It has been stated in the strategic plan that Barcelona Metropolitan Area should be a “global metropolis” having the crucial characteristics: interconnection and cooperation; innovation, talent and creativity; leadership.

The vision has been indicated in the plan as: “The AMB’s vision for 2020 starts with a global metropolis which is the capital of Catalonia and holds the capitality of the Mediterranean. As such, it will reinforce its relationships and its presence in regions which are leading world growth and will exercise leadership appropriate to its values and factors and competitiveness, one of which is sustainability”. (Barcelona Vision 2020, 2010, p. 28).

It is important to mention there is a methodology of mentioned vision. In other words, the plan provides not only the vision but the challenges and levers of the vision.

Challenges could be faced with in the sake of managing this competition according to Vision 2020 are “sustainability and climate change; position the AMB as a benchmark in the new global framework: greater presence in countries which lead the world and capitability of the Mediterranean, global leader in some growth-driving sectors of knowledge, getting beyond the ‘bio’ companies. Updating and strengthening traditional industry and sectors, being among the most attractive European regions for innovative talent, being an interesting and socially balanced city: a social response to the crisis” (Barcelona Vision 2020, 2010). On the other hand, levers of change are powerful university and education system, administration, governance, values, extensive knowledge of languages.

“The philosophy behind the plan is that the future cannot be decided by a simple extrapolation of data from the past, and we cannot tie our progress to a basis of methodological and instinctive observations.”. (Barcelona Vision 2020, 2010, p. 59)

4.4. Evaluation of Brand Image and City Branding Strategies

Neoliberalism is a political economic policy that leads “the best human well-being, individual entrepreneurial freedoms with strong private property rights”. What is important for neoliberal policies is their competitiveness in the world stage. As David Harvey stated in his article, the power is given to the class not to the individuals that already has economic power. Here it can be said that with neoliberal policies, new sectors have emerged. City branding is one of them and as David Harvey stated in his article named The Art of Rent-Globalization, Monopoly and the Commodification of Culture,

Barcelona is one of the best examples of this issue. Commodification of city culture, city identity or generally the idea of nation branding is one of the results of globalization therefore, interlinked neoliberal policies.

Transition from city image to brand image can be considered as a subjective and neoliberal process. Attributing “branding” character to the city image is commodification of the city image and city itself available in the market as a commodity. As Lynch mentioned, city image is a subjective entity since it implies both city itself and recognition of the city by people.

The main components of the city branding like brand image, restructuring process, promotion activities, cooperation of private and public sectors, facilitator role of the local government, competition in the market are necessarily be related with the neoliberalism. Due to free movement of the capital, the borderless world has evolved and competition between nations and then cities have been come to the stage. To understand the effects of globalization not only on economy but in other aspects of the life, neoliberalism has appeared by saying not the state not the people, but the competition is the new playmaker. This competition has been influential on every aspects of the life at each and every levels of the society. In this case, the more competitive is to richer. There are some strategies and tools to enable that thing a place, competitive and attractive, in the market. City branding is one of those strategies turning the city into the commodity. Gottdiener argues that “the production of space becomes directly part of capital accumulation process that is tied to global linkages in the investment, construction, reconstruction, renovation and redesign of real estate”. (index)

At that point, it is crucial going back to Marx and analyzing how commodity has been defined. In simple terms, there are two essence of the commodity; use value and exchange value. Marx indicates features of use value as independent of the amount of labour, a thing to be used/ consumed, its utility being limited with physical properties of the commodity. On the other hand, exchange value refers to quantitative relation changing with respect to time and space. Marx indicates that “if then we leave out of consideration the use value of commodities, they have only one common property left, that of being products of labour” (Capital Volume I). If we adapt this statement to the recent agenda, products of labour will be replaced with the competition. That is to say, driving force of

attributing exchange value to the cities besides its use value is inter-urban competition. Therefore, it is proposed that city branding strategy, turning cities into commodities in the market, is neoliberal tool to deal with the competition in the market.

Through the strategies dominated by exploitative demands of modern capital, urban places, which have been supposed to host social events and activities perform their service as grounds of consumption for capital flux. The use value of public spaces has been replaced and trivialized by their exchange value transforming them into a matter of commodity.



CHAPTER 5

IMPACTS OF GLOBALIZATION AND NEOLIBERALISM ON TURKEY: CITY BRANDING AS A NEOLIBERAL TOOL

As it is mentioned, there had been crises and restructuring process in 1970s in the world. It can be summarized as restructuring process basing upon changes in the production relationships by means of the information communication technologies and increase free movement of the capital; that is to say, globalization process (Ataay).

As stated in previous chapters, globalization has increased the implementation of neoliberal policies worldwide. Turkey has inevitably been influenced by this restructuring process. Transformation to service sector has led to the wider integration of the world economy and created a new profile of employee like high-educated, professionals and like (Erkip, 2000). In this chapter, it has been argued that city branding strategy has been developed and tried to be implemented as a neoliberal tool in Turkey mainly caused by Turkey's integration to this transformation and the global economy.

Economic depression experienced by the developed capitalist countries during 1970s derived from the decrease in the profit amounts and efficiency issues. Moreover, fuel oil crises and economic depression had brought about decrease state-oriented centralist approach in the world. In that sense, there was a response developed by the state with an aim of radical change in the economic system. This response had been appeared as a stabilization program and introduced on 24.01.1980. The aim of this new program was to "adjust some of the factors of production to create competitive advantages for national producers and industrialists". (Balaban, 2008, p. 77)

According to some scholars there are three main forces influencing neoliberal restructuring of public administration in Turkey. The first one is the military coup of 1980, which thrashed out the then-existed political structure. The second force is the need and the urge to get integrated into financial liberalization and global neoliberalism under

the control of the military government in the early-1980s. The third force is the increase in urban population. They mainly argue that “there three dynamics opened up new spaces and sites both for creative politics and governance of the masses in the post-1980 period. The proliferation of new identities and political positions on the one hand enabled new forms and repertoires for progressive politics. But these emerging forms and process also are indicative of, and sometimes engender, new forms of regulation and governance” (Erol, Ozbay, Turem, & Terzioğlu).

In the lights of this information, approach of Turkish government has been changed towards neoliberal reforms and internationalization of Turkish economy (Taşan-Kok, 2004). Global influences have brought about the restructuring process of institutions and organizations at local and national levels. Taşan argues that the “demands of the global economy stimulate the city to develop global urban networks and capture international capital flows; there are the main drivers behind the change in urban areas” (Taşan-Kok, 2004). The main impetus behind the shift from urban government to urban governance is the desire to increase competitiveness in global urban networks. In other words, to manage increased competitiveness caused by the high mobility of capital and global networks have altered the approach of local governments toward “governance”, indicating more innovative and entrepreneurial mode of administration structure.

Bayırbağ underlines that “introduction of neoliberal reforms in Turkey involved establishment of a new type of institutional interface between state and local business, namely metropolitan municipalities. They were designed to facilitate a national economic strategy promoting investment in built environment (along with commerce) as a way of past economic crisis” (2011).

One of the apparent impacts of mentioned restructuring has been shown in the legislation of local governments in Turkey as alterations. Law No. 3030 Metropolitan Municipality was repealed, and Law No. 5216 Metropolitan Municipality was enacted in 2004. The justification of Law No.5216 was stated as “Cities are the places business and activities have developed. A considerable part of the foreign investment, international trade, transportation and communication entering the country is flowing to the metropolitan centers. Cities in the global and regional network have a high proportion of transportation and communication networks. Developments in the urban infrastructure, transportation,

modern buildings, financial areas, communication and like have been accompanied by globalization requirements. Cities are the places where the communication services have been best provided. In sum, cities are the big market in the new global economy and driving force of trade center and national economy” (sayılıkanun.com, 2004). As it is understood from the justification of the law, neoliberal discourse has been influential in the structure of local governments. Cities are the new remarkable actor affecting the market relations. Therefore, attracting foreign investment and providing international trade as defined as requirements of globalization were regulated with the legislation.

According to Öçal, there are four main aspects of strengthening of local governments. They are strengthening the legal basis of the local governments, their autonomous position, financial position (2015, 266).

With the changed legislation, it can be considered that there was an attempt to provide flexible relationship between the central and local government. In addition to that, a new local government system has been tried to be conducted so as to provide efficient use of resources, increase participation, and competition.

5.1 Analysis of The Key Policy Papers

In this thesis, one of the main aims is to conduct an empirical analysis on urban policies on city branding in Turkey. As discussed on the earlier chapters, the factors of city branding consist of interactions between vast amounts of inter disciplinary subjects. Considering that, within this analysis, city branding will be empirically analysed with respect to different domains.

The government policies play a crucial role on development of city branding as well. The data on below graph summarizes investments ranging from agriculture, mining, energy, production, health, education, construction, transportation, tourism and other public services.

	Agriculture	Mining	Production	Energy	Transportation	Tourism	Construction	Education	Healthcare	DKH-Economic	DKH-Social
1999	11.586.151	164.222	1.394.366	13.377.568	18.398.504	218.893	403.161	2.285.683	1.521.590	1.440.674	6.382.399
2000	17.921.362	281.955	2.243.892	20.374.304	28.980.301	354.783	636.477	3.141.000	2.449.767	2.272.247	7.563.180
2001	23.474.863	329.838	2.974.533	22.426.220	36.096.100	496.978	80.474	4.055.378	3.244.935	3.155.714	8.870.535
2002	33.629.019	615.013	5.554.148	39.051.043	58.298.675	1.046.749	101.189	6.618.119	5.652.349	4.573.791	11.659.832
2003	36.978.349	644.812	4.743.245	46.400.656	61.705.264	1.108.314	128.945	9.302.329	6.768.404	3.960.682	15.369.313
2004	43.166.064	766.365	4.634.190	48.328.232	59.317.857	1.591.016	125.960	10.585.950	7.339.625	4.423.742	15.833.867
2005	45.906.575	859.777	4.639.200	48.163.137	65.523.180	1.068.717	182.711	10.201.691	9.474.806	5.977.088	14.687.437
2006	45.761.462	1.341.703	2.282.913	45.523.511	64.014.411	1.050.315	222.345	10.518.723	7.492.060	7.116.617	15.067.183
2007	48.470.668	1.164.122	1.278.763	47.471.738	67.790.669	997.933	266.807	12.484.373	7.423.151	8.013.457	13.985.196
2008	52.973.948	991.108	1.614.808	47.958.645	71.299.412	960.150	309.181	13.413.289	6.611.006	9.012.428	13.831.660
2009	61.585.154	1.374.953	1.371.057	40.668.995	88.668.986	1.197.441	343.135	18.101.462	7.039.628	10.355.792	15.059.388
2010	68.568.676	1.951.107	1.506.429	38.752.912	104.078.309	1.406.179	416.027	19.980.361	9.361.289	11.246.236	16.132.639
2011	76.818.752	2.733.912	2.015.194	34.859.606	119.117.996	1.945.529	808.017	24.621.476	9.312.766	13.350.655	18.143.373
2012	80.237.942	2.790.271	2.184.060	38.724.283	158.328.238	2.637.275	794.606	30.897.605	9.368.719	13.741.459	22.251.483
2013	87.739.958	3.644.860	2.682.202	41.738.457	169.738.402	3.152.910	949.512	38.471.710	12.380.777	16.782.668	22.254.119
2014	84.955.089	3.035.286	2.834.642	39.174.768	203.650.028	3.532.743	767.910	47.160.070	13.965.358	19.015.981	20.414.587
2015	94.220.478	3.237.135	3.538.456	36.283.883	217.361.443	3.470.248	696.522	54.335.429	16.094.310	24.926.279	23.131.377
2016	106.372.354	6.281.950	3.605.270	27.637.801	253.319.134	2.591.236	888.616	63.951.866	22.360.515	28.766.917	27.499.023
2017	122.818.315	3.324.473	3.571.801	26.648.183	308.039.630	2.063.411	1.155.884	70.500.998	23.558.658	39.491.461	34.881.743
2018	155.751.039	5.722.329	4.480.934	35.924.996	385.933.291	2.423.318	1.752.882	83.635.823	28.003.424	48.013.514	53.008.387

Figure 4: Total Amount of Investments on different projects and sectors between 1999 and 2018

In this figure, the distribution of total investments on different areas of sectors by the government policies could be observed. It could be seen that in terms of total investments, the government spending has been increased over the years. The investment areas of transportation, tourism, education and healthcare could be related with the city branding initiatives since they are directly linked to the conditions of life and attractiveness of the city.

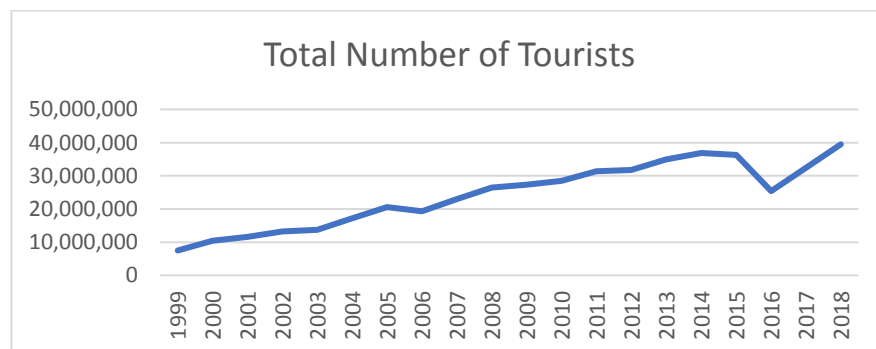


Figure 5: Total number of visiting tourists to Turkey between 1999 and 2018

The figure 5 illustrates the total number of visiting tourists to Turkey between 1999 and 2018. This is another indicator of impacts of city branding. Tourists would be willing to visit a country with increased city branding activities. In this time period, it could clearly be seen that number of visitors on Turkey have increased. This is the impact of efficient city branding activities and investments by the government.

5.1.1. 10th Development Plan

In the lights of the information, it can be said that city branding is a multi-dimensional process where different agents play crucial role. In that sense, it can be proposed that to explore the city branding activities in Turkey, consideration of policy papers have great significance as well.

The Tenth Development Plan of Turkey (2014-2018) includes a chapter “Livable Spaces and Sustainable Environment”. This chapter emphasizes the competition at local level with the rise of globalization and economic transformation and proposes enhancements.

“Shift of intensity of production from west to east and to developing countries, and preferences of location gaining transnational dimension have brought new regional development and urbanization phenomena, highlighting importance of cities and their competitiveness. Once economic geography is properly planned and quality of urban space and urban life are upgraded to higher levels, this trend will strengthen Turkey’s geographical advantages and will support Turkey in being a center of attraction for investments and skilled human resources. Achieving this objective makes coordinated execution of growth, development, regional development and spatial development policies more important than before”. (The Tenth Development Plan 2014-2018, 2013)

It can be obviously seen that as there is a crucial emphasis on competition among cities on global scale and emphasis on neoliberalism. The general aim of considering that is to make cities an attraction point for companies, investments, tourists and like. Also, it should be highlighted that possibility of this aim is associated with the coordination of regional and spatial development policies according to 10th Development Plan.

“Problems of excessive and low-quality growth, housing, traffic, security, infrastructure, social cohesion and environment in cities of Turkey maintain their importance. On one hand, transforming cities into more livable places by managing these risks with proper interventions, and on the other, making them

attractive centers by urban image management and branding efforts are the main concerns”. (The Tenth Development Plan 2014-2018, 2013)

The quote from 10th Development Plan is quite important because on the one hand, it aims both difficulties that cities faced with like security, infrastructure, housing and like; and on the other, management of city image and city branding have been emphasized. Coming up with solution to the obstacles in the city life will enhance the city image; however, the obstacles mentioned in the development plan can be considered as fundamental prerequisites of the residents and cities. Even though it is stated in the policy part of the chapter, the methodology utilized for decreasing the problems of the city or urban image management have not been explained implicitly.

In the sub-section; titled “Regional Development and Regional Competitiveness”, there is current situation analysis of transformation process in Turkey by 2000s. In the analysis, although general emphasis is given on management of regional competitiveness, competition at the global level have been mentioned in the policies part, as well.

“For metropole cities to compete on the global scale, their R&D capacities and capabilities in producing innovation-based high-tech products and quality services, providing quality life and employment opportunities will be increased. Cohesion and integration between metropole cities and their hinterlands will be strengthened.”

“Conditions required for branding cities with respect to their potentials, opportunities they offer and goods and services they produce will be created. Geographical indications will be supported in this context”. (The Tenth Development Plan 2014-2018, 2013)

5.1.2. Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023

There was no official tourism policy in Turkey until the early 1960s. Between 1963-1977, tourism promotion was only a minor policy, no more than a footnote in three consecutive Five-Year Development Plans due to lack of financial means infrastructural investments” (Sözen, 2007). However, the fourth Five-Year Development Plan (1977-1982) prepared in the wake of Neo-Liberal structural adjustment policies, also included recommendations for tourism investments. The year 1982 was a turning point for tourism development in

Turkey. The Tourism Encouragement Law, issued in 1982, regulated tourism-oriented regional development, the use of natural resources and historical/ architectural heritage for tourism purposes (Uysal, A Brief History of City Branding in İstanbul, 2016)

Tourism Strategy of Turkey (hereafter TST 2023) was prepared by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2007. The strategy is a road map for developing tourism activities and increasing the benefit from tourism activities by providing co-operation between public and private sector upon governance. It has been stated that the strategy was developed in accordance with the 9th Development Plan (2007-2013) which concluded that a “Tourism Industry Master Plan” need to be developed and provided. (Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023, 2007)

The national tourism strategy has built upon 16 strategies for strengthening the tourism activities in Turkey. Among them, “Strategy of City Branding” takes part as the 10th strategy. City branding is considered in the TST 2023 as a strategy of attracting the tourists and the general emphasis has been made with respect to this. (Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023, 2007)

Strategy of city branding is defined as to “manage branding of cities rich of cultural and natural heritage and thereby convert them into a point of attraction for travelers” The chapter starts with proposing that city tourism occurs in metropolitan cities like Paris, London, Montreal and Prag; moreover, potentials and image of the city are important determinants in that sense. Therefore, a tourism project will be implemented İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir and Antalya has been proposed. Choosing mentioned cities are coherent argument when city tourism takes place in metropolitan cities argument is considered. Moreover, it is mentioned that identification of İstanbul as Cultural Capital of Europe for 2010 puts strengthen the city in terms of culture, art, planning and environment forward.

The objectives for the year 2023 are stated as below.

- Plans and projects for development of city tourism shall be brought into life in Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir and Antalya cities.
- Culture tourism shall be revived, and cultural branding efforts initiated for increasing the credibility of Adıyaman, Amasya, Bursa, Edirne, Gaziantep, Hatay, Konya, Kütahya, Manisa, Nevşehir, Kars, Mardin, Sivas, Şanlıurfa and

Trabzon cities.

- Each year, a city will be disclosed and publicized as "City of Cultural Tourism", by Ministry of Culture and Tourism, in an effort to maximize cultural visits domestically and internationally.
- Building, structures and ruins of historical, cultural and architectural value will be restored.
- Local events will be developed in line with internationally accepted standards.
- Facilities and places will be built to stage cultural and artistic shows.
- Provisions will be made for raising awareness among the local public on the value and conversation of both physical and abstract cultural heritage.
- Marketing and promotion efforts will be onset at both national and international levels to promote and highlight the rich cultural heritage of our cities. (Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023, 2007)

The second objective proposes implementation of city branding strategy to 15 cities; Adıyaman, Amasya, Bursa, Edirne, Gaziantep, Hatay, Konya, Kütahya, Manisa, Nevşehir, Kars, Mardin, Sivas, Şanlıurfa and Trabzon. However, in the introduction part of the strategy, it is claimed that city tourism occurs in metropolitan cities. The selection criteria of mentioned cities are not reflected in the strategy and stated cities could not be considered as metropolitan cities. Returning to the defined strategy itself, the general aim is to “manage branding of cities rich of cultural and natural heritage”. Therefore, it can be deduced from this statement, these 15 cities pullulate with cultural and natural heritage. The question that should be asked, in that sense, is having cultural and natural heritage enough for city branding?

To achieve these objectives for the selected 15 cities, there are some suggested arrangements in terms of architectural, transportation system, cultural route, physical and social arrangements. As architectural arrangements, city museums; restoration of buildings and structures having historical, cultural and architectural value; lightening and landscape arrangements, social facilities around historical attraction points, authentic shopping centers have been proposed. Also, as transportation system arrangements, airport hotels, developed public transportation system, re-arrangement of piers, quays and harbours in coastal cities, and increased sea tourism have been suggested. Moreover, art

villages, facilities and efforts of congress tourism, building exposition and conference halls, hallmark events have been stated as cultural route arrangements. Finally, opening tourism information booths, eliminating deficiencies of infrastructure and superstructure in cooperation with local authorities and related institutions, publishing city maps and brochures have also been highlighted as physical and social arrangements.

There is no defined arrangement to 15 cities separately in the Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023. These arrangements are defined in general and whether it is appropriate for each city not discussed in the strategy. Further to that, the general applicability of these arrangements is not even mentioned.

There is another strategy related to city branding in TST 2023; “Marketing and Promotion Strategy”. It is defined as “to commence with marketing and promotion activities at each destination, in addition to the national marketing and promotion campaigns with the ultimate objective of branding on a national, regional and local scale”. (Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023, 2007)

The methodology of the strategy has been stated as exploring, examining and interpreting characteristics of country markets and determining current situation of competitors. Also, sustainable image will be provided so as to enable competition in the market. The other defined methodologies in the strategy are collaboration of public and private sector, usage of new information and communication technologies, dealing with promotional activities via specially internet and advertisements.

In TST 2023, since it is a policy paper of tourism, the main aim of city branding was defined to attract tourists to the city. Although it implies the increase in the revenue of the city, attracting more capital and investment were not mentioned explicitly. Yet, neoliberal discourse with the rise of competition in the global era can be read from TST 2023.

CHAPTER 6

THE CASE STUDY OF GAZİANTEP CITY

Gaziantep is one of the ancient settlements and attraction point in which mixture of various civilizations, cultures, and beliefs throughout the history takes place. Also, the passing of historical Silk Road has given direction to the history and today together; it should be protected as a cultural and commercial center ¹.

According to World Bank Competitive Cities for Jobs and Growth study, there are 7 competitive cities experienced rapid industrialization in the world: Saltillo, Mexico; Meknes, Morocco; Coimbatore, India; Gaziantep, Turkey; Bucaramanga, Colombia; and Onitsha, Nigeria. In the report, it has been stated that Gaziantep has limited natural resources, and its land is dry and ill-suited for agriculture; it is not a port city; it is not a capital city; it does not have high-tech clusters; it is not a household name or a large, primary city. Yet Gaziantep's light-manufacturing firms sell their products in 175 countries around the globe. In that sense, it is one of the crucial competitive cities in the world. (World-Bank-Group, 2015)

Entrepreneurship, driving force of the competitive character of Gaziantep, is an important characteristic differentiating the city from the other cities. Moreover, gastronomy and potential for cultural tourism are the other important characteristics of the city. (Özdemir B. , 2018)

As emphasized, due to shift from import substitution to free competition economy, cities have been faced with the interurban competition. At that time, 1980s, "Anatolian Tigers" have been emerged in Kayseri, Gaziantep, Çorum, Konya, Eskişehir and Denizli. (Özdemir B. P., 2018). Main aim of Anatolian Tigers, product of restructuring process in Turkey, was to eliminate the economic inequality between metropolitan areas and them. Gaziantep became prominent among Anatolian Tigers thanks to its strategies based upon the competition. (Utanır, 2019). Bayırbağ defines Anatolian Tigers as "a term often employed to refer to an emergent economic model of development under neoliberal

¹ <https://gaziantep.ktb.gov.tr/TR-52328/gastronomi-turizmi.html>

policies” (Bayırbağ, Local Entrepreneurialism and State Rescaling in Turkey, 2009, p. 363)

At the end of Keynesianism in Turkey in 1980s, Gaziantep has experienced a rapid industrialization process funded by local resources. When the industry was not the main idea and with the indirect state intervention, industrialization was increased, and new accumulation regime was based upon the idea of export-oriented economic growth. From the mid-1990s onwards, when Gaziantep industrialists began to turn their faces to the international markets, local resources proved to be insufficient for new investments and growth (Bayırbağ, 2011)

In that sense, vision and responsibilities of local governments have been inevitably changed. They have contributed to extend global networks of cities and manage competition in the international market. Therefore, local governments have tried to participate crucial international networks. In this respect, Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality have tried to constitute international and sustainable relations. According to strategic plan of Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality 2019-2024, there are 25 memberships of international networks like Metropolis, The Assembly of European Regions, Union of Turkish World Municipalities, United Cities and Local Governments-Middle East & West Asian Section, and so on. In addition, Gaziantep hosted international events such as symposiums, forums, fairs. This has contributed to the increasing awareness of Gaziantep in the international arena and to the competitiveness of the city image. (Strategic Plan 2020-2024)

Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality have shown important efforts to attribute competitive character to Gaziantep. In other words, there have been various concepts utilized for highlighting the strengths of Gaziantep in the international market like gastronomy center, creative city, smart city, brand city.

One of the crucial agendas of Gaziantep is entering “UNESCO Creative City Network (UCCN)” in 2015. UCCN has been composed of six main categories; crafts and folk Arts, media arts, film, design, gastronomy, literature and music.² In the website of UCCN, it

² <https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/content/about-us>

has been stated for Gaziantep:

“The Municipality demonstrates a strong commitment to improving urban quality of life and supporting sustainable development through many environmental and ecological programmes including a climate change action plan, an environmental plan and the creation of an eco-park. The third programme is aligned with the production of renewable energy by transforming pistachio shells, unused until now, into an innovative source of energy foreseen to benefit both industrial and residential use”³

Two international gastronomy festival were organized within the scope of UCCN action plan of Gaziantep on 20-22 September 2018 and 12-15 September 2019. These events have brought together prominent people from the field of gastronomy from various locations in Gaziantep. It can be proposed that there have been various reasons gastronomy city image formulation has been successful comparing to city branding project. One of the crucial reasons is based on the idea that “better image, reputation or brand must be earned and cannot be invented or constructed” (Anholt, 2008, p. 2). For instance, New York is one of the successful brand cities in the world is successful because of the city not just because of the “I Love New York” campaign. In Gaziantep, when deniable and magnificent power of gastronomy was used in the image formulation, it has been built upon the solid ground.

Moreover, a smart city project was conducted with the aim of technology-based urban development in Gaziantep by Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality and Turkcell in 2015.

³ <https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/gaziantep>



Figure 6: Kick-off Event of Smart City Project held by GMM and Turkcell

Fatma Şahin underlined that:

“In order to manage competition, we should manage information, technology and finance. Sustainable development is possible with the management of mentioned areas. We need to transform our capital to the future...In cooperation with Turkcell, we achieved significant savings and efficiency in electricity and water consumption and earthmoving management. We build technological infrastructure together with Turkcell in Zeugma Museum and in our zoo, which is visited by 2.5 million people annually. There are new projects we are planning. We would like to thank our road friend Turkcell for their support in making Gaziantep a smart city... Our aim is to reduce all expenses by 25 percent by using technology better, increasing productivity and saving. In doing so, we need to use technology and human productivity very well. Our goal is not to be a uniform smart city, who needs what we need to be a smart city to support”⁴.

Furthermore, there have been another smart city project implemented with private company. It has been launched in cooperation of Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality and Enerjisa to apply new generation energy system to 100. Yıl Atatürk Kültür Park

⁴ <https://gantepp.bel.tr/haber/turkcell---gaziantep-akilli-sehir-lansman-toplantisi-3774.html>

declared as important specific park by International Federation of Park and Recreation Association in 2016.

Mayor of Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality Fatma Şahin stated that:

“Our Municipality, which has undertaken a pioneering project for energy management, energy efficiency, and renewable energy, has accelerated its projects for energy production from renewable energy, wind and biogas resources. We are assertive about efficiency, development, innovation and smart city planning in Gaziantep. Smart City Gaziantep project will take our city forward and be an example to other cities in Turkey and the world”⁵.

The project has been funded by Enerjisa and focussed on smart lightening, e-mobility, infrastructure solutions, renewable solutions, municipality solutions, and internet of things.



Figure 7: Kick-off Event of Smart City Project held by GMM and Enerjisa

Currently, Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality has defined the city as a smart city with its tourism, culture, gastronomy, people, and so on. An expert from the Municipality indicated that the projects held before about smart city has contributed to smart city image of Gaziantep and as a municipality, as a municipality, there is a possibility of cooperating private companies to make Gaziantep a smart city.

⁵ <https://m.enerjisa.com.tr/tr/enerjisa-hakkinda/medya-merkezi/basin-bultenleri/gaziantep-buyuksehir-belediyesi-ve-enerjisa-ismirligi-ile-akilli-sehir-gaziantep-projesi>

Moreover, Union of Municipalities of Turkey has organized Smart Cities and Municipalities Congress on 15-16 January 2020.

President of Turkish Republic Recep Tayyip Erdoğan indicated that aim of brand cities is provided through smart city solutions. Also, Mr. President underlined that the balance between the results and costs of the projects should be considered crucially. More to that, it has been stated that the only responsible institution is not the municipalities, rather, other institutions and private sector could engage with the smart city projects and they should be implemented in harmony.

Apart from these initiatives, city branding is one of the earliest efforts shown for making city as one of the crucial competitors in the global market. In that sense, main tracks of city branding initiatives of Gaziantep have been examined.

6.1. Main Tracks of City Branding Initiatives of Gaziantep

Gaziantep has tried to attribute competitive character to the city by applying various trends such as creative city, smart city, brand city.

The shift from managerialism to entrepreneurialism has been defined in previous chapters. One of the assertions of entrepreneurialism according to Harvey, increasing revenue by attracting external funding, direct investments and employment opportunities, partnership of public and private sectors. In addition, as it can be seen from the answer, Gaziantep has considered as an entrepreneurial city. Its entrepreneurial character and wish to increase of competitiveness gave a pathway to city branding initiatives in Gaziantep. It can be easily proposed that city branding efforts are the oldest way of managing challenges of the globalization for Gaziantep in neoliberal terms. In this section, main tracks of city branding initiatives of Gaziantep have been explained and discussed with respect to their motivation, implementation, effects and success.

City branding initiatives have been realized with different institutions since 2003 in Gaziantep. It has started a city image formulation based on industry and maintained with more comprehensive and holistic image encapsulating all stakeholders of the city to manage competition in the world.

6.1.1. Gaziantep Chamber of Industry

The first initiative was made by Gaziantep Chamber of Industry (hereafter GCI) in 2003. They launched a project entitled as “Trademark City Gaziantep Project”. Expressly, the name of the project implies that this is not a direct city branding project. However, due to motivations of formulating the project and its objective, it indicated brand city as a level for Gaziantep should reach, it has been considered as the first initiative of city branding in Gaziantep. The project is crucial since taking city branding into consideration.

The project has been awarded the first prize in the international competition of the World Chambers Association in 2005⁶. Moreover, the Institute for Public Relations is a nonprofit foundation dedicated to fostering greater use of research and research-based knowledge in public relations and corporate communication practice. The Evolution of Public Relations book⁷ published by Institute for Public Relations Research and Education has included the Trademark City Gaziantep Project in 2009. In the book, there is a chapter entitled as “Branding is Power: The Trademark City Gaziantep Project” was written by Dr. Serra Görpe from İstanbul University.

6.1.1.1. Motivations behind the project formation

It is important to examine the motivations behind the project formation so as to discuss its implementation and success in terms of city branding methodologies. According to the Strategy Report of the project published in 2003, international competition has been the key motivation of the new urban agenda, and thus a comprehensive restructuring process was aimed to be realized by considering the opportunities created by globalization in which the world gets smaller. It was emphasized in the reports that restructuring of the economy was not completed entirely, and thus there is still a room for adaptation that should be maintained by competition valid for both companies and people. The main strategy for competition was indicated in the report as “differentiation from others” by emphasizing and featuring the unique characteristics of Gaziantep. In other words, the only appropriate means of competition is the differentiation; otherwise, institutions, cities and nations could not (re)present their competitive characters inevitably face with some

⁶ <https://gso.org.tr/tr/projeler/marka-sehir-projesi-1.html>

⁷ https://www.instituteforpr.org/wp-content/uploads/International_CB.pdf

obstacles in terms of economic, social, political, and administrative. (Strategy Report of Trademark City Gaziantep Project, 2003)

National and international analyses made within the scope of the project discovered the production power in various sectors and entrepreneurial characteristics of the companies in Gaziantep both at national and international levels. Results of the analyses showed that by means of the globalization, trade in Gaziantep have been turned into a more liberal action before the branding initiatives launched and as a matter of fact, competition tendency and potential have been increased. However, the rise of low-cost production in the Far East and Southeast Asia, particularly in China, caused a disadvantaged position to Gaziantep, as the city's economy was based overwhelmingly on the production of "intermediate goods". In that sense, branding has been considered as a strategy to manage this disadvantage (Özdemir B. P., 2018).

Moreover, current situation of Gaziantep in terms of industry has addressed the project. In one of the interviews conducted in this research, the Secretary General of GCI gave detailed information about the industry sector in Gaziantep and underlined the perception that the industrial products produced in Gaziantep were of poor quality. He also stated that Gaziantep's production structure has been based on the production of raw materials and intermediate goods. The Secretary General illustrated people generally know famous curtain or bedclothes brands; however, they are not aware of the fact that their raw materials are produced in Gaziantep. Therefore, there was a need for powerful brands in Gaziantep to exist and maintain its existence in the national and international markets. This objective could only be achieved by production of good quality products and having powerful brands in Gaziantep. For this reason, the Chamber of Industry took the lead and showed efforts to promote industry by means of a well-designed project.

According to the Görpe, the starting point of the project was to increase the urban income of Gaziantep by means of trademarks originated from the local economy. (Görpe, 2008) Nejat Koçer, the president of GCI, notes that

"We are living at a time where cities compete, and every city puts forward their own values. The Trademark City Gaziantep Project is Gaziantep's vision and target project- an important project towards the future". (Görpe, 2008, p. 7)

The arguments raised by Görpe (2008) emphasize Gaziantep as a production center due to its industrial development and production culture. However, as a production center, Gaziantep suffered from the international competition facilitated by free flow of capital and labour in the global era. In that case, GCI has decided to take part in this competition by producing high quality and trademark products with low production costs. (Görpe, 2008). In addition, the relationship between competition derived from free flow of capital and labour in the era of globalization and city branding initiatives have been obviously observed. In that sense, branding has been utilized as a strategic instrument for Gaziantep to manage the international competition.

6.1.1.2. Aim of the Project

Strategy Report of the Project states that the analysis of the current situation in Gaziantep and Turkey was conducted in order to determine appropriate objectives and aims for the project. (Strategy Report, 2003)

The Secretary General of GCI expressed the aim of the project as “to increase the number and range of brands in Gaziantep”. Moreover, “Brand City Gaziantep” was indicated as a motto and a target for the city to be reached. More to that, the Secretary General also mentioned that the current awareness on branding in Gaziantep was succeeded by means of this initial project.

To this aim, the vision of the project has been defined as “to provide a structure for Gaziantep that will ensure more added value than the production of intermediate goods and increase competitive power through mobilizing the potential of entrepreneurs and large production power and make it sustainable” (GCI, 2003, p. 10)

In line with the major aims and the vision of the project, GCI has taken particular actions to support its members about branding. In this context, training programs and seminars were organized on intellectual property rights and an information office was opened at the Chamber to provide its members with necessary information and supportive actions. (GCI, 2003)

The target groups of the project have been defined in 2 main groups; the local ones within Gaziantep and the external ones that are located outside Gaziantep. The targets that the project emphasizes for the two partners are as follows: (GCI, 2003)

- For local partners; “to create higher added value”;
- For external partners; “easy and profitable investment, quality products and high gain”.
-

In collaboration of both major partners, the project thus aimed:

“to make the city a trademark-rich city in the near future by both providing guidance to the local investors of Gaziantep and attracting new investors from outside to the city on national and international scale, to create new national trademarks, to influence the neighboring cities positively, to be a model for the development of the country and region” (GCI, 2003, p. 11)

6.1.1.3. Image Formulation

The project considered an image making and formulation process for Gaziantep. As expected, the city image was intended to be based on industry. This seems plausible when the results of a questionnaire survey made by the GCI are considered. The questionnaire survey asked participants what the most important brand of Gaziantep is. The graph below indicates the options and their response rates.⁸

As can be seen from the graph, the major theme for city brand or image appears as the

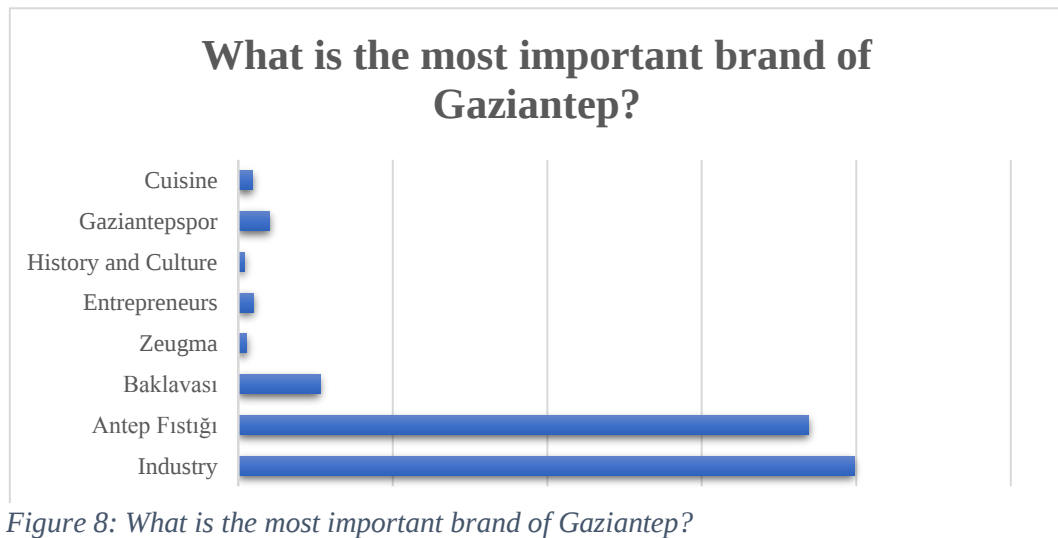


Figure 8: What is the most important brand of Gaziantep?

⁸ <http://www.markasehir.com/>

industry. Also, the pistachio and baklava have received considerable responses. So, industry and gastronomy are the two main local brand assets for Gaziantep. One interesting result is that baklava has been evaluated as a distinct item alongside the Gaziantep cuisine; baklava appeared as a certain and a single category. Gaziantep has been selected as a creative city with its cuisine, yet the responses favoring city's cuisine is very low. There seems to be a perception that baklava and pistachio are the driving forces of the city's cuisine and they might be the reasons of the selection of the city as a creative city by the UCCN.

In the GCI website⁹, it has been stated that “Gaziantep manufacturing industry has been the most dynamic industrial power in the region with its qualified personnel structure and experience accumulation from the power. As a general structure, it is noteworthy that in addition to small workshops and factories, the large facilities are numerous in number, capacity and employment. In many sectors of industry in Gaziantep is the most important production center in Turkey.

Moreover, series of informative activities were realized like panel, informative video film, website, yahoo mail group composed of chambers, associations, civil society organization, businesspeople and like, brochures, banners, press releases. Presentation in 2nd Industry Congress organized by İstanbul Chamber of Industry entitled as “Successful Regional Development Examples: Experience of Gaziantep”, opened a stand to promote Brand City Gaziantep in 3rd Industry Congress as well to constitute and strength the city image. (GCI, 2003)

Also, the logo of the city was produced for the first time in Turkey to present the companies from Turkey. Turkish Patent and Trademark Office was approved the logo as well.

⁹ <https://gso.org.tr/en/general-page/the-industry-of-gaziantep/industrial-structure-53.html>



Figure 9: Trademark City Gaziantep Project's Logo

Secretary General of GCI stated that powerful brands should have a logo. Therefore, best examples and powerful logos of brand cities in the world were examined and, the first city logo was designed. He informed that the companies/factories want to use this logo firstly apply to chamber of industry and signed a written engagement indicating their products have been produced according to standards of the Chamber. It enables the standardization of quality of products, as well.

6.1.2. Gaziantep Governorate

Moreover, the second effort of Gaziantep in terms of city branding can be associated with the TST 2023. The city branding strategy of Gaziantep has been prepared as “Action Plan of Brand City Gaziantep on Culture and 2010-2014”.

The plan has 5 main aims and 27 necessary actions taken for realizing those aims. The five main aims; constituting a brand city image of Gaziantep; increasing the tourism awareness at local level; providing and strengthening infrastructure for tourism and culture; promoting historical and cultural structure of Gaziantep at national and international levels; including the cultural heritage of Gaziantep to city tourism. Sources of funds have been provided by Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Gaziantep Governorship, Chamber of Industry, Gaziantep District Governorship, municipalities, Gaziantep University, İŞKUR and indicative fund is 42.560,000.00 TL.

6.1.3. Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality

The third initiative of city branding in Gaziantep has been launched under the leadership of Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality in 2015. The project entitled as “Gaziantep:

Turkey's Masterly People" with respect to image and identity formulation of the city. It has been conducted and implemented by a private branding and advertising agency; I Mean It. They state that "I Mean It was hired to pronounce, protect and promote the culture of the city of Gaziantep" in their website. Although this was the famous initiative of city branding in Gaziantep, due to criticisms and obstacles presented below, the project could not be completed as it is planned and sustained.

6.1.3.1. Motivations behind the project formation

Branding of Gaziantep was discussed in Gaziantep City Council according to a minute of meeting held in 19 December 2014. The vision of EU and Foreign Affairs Working Group of the City Council was indicated as making Gaziantep a secure- brand city by emphasizing the cultural heritage of the city. There is no further information about the project and its sustainability in website of Gaziantep City Council; yet, they have utilized the logo produced under this project in the website. Therefore, it can be considered that the mentioned minutes was one of the evolution phases of this initiative.

Moreover, the two people interviewed in this research have taken part of the development of the project and worked as project writers in the department of Foreign Affairs in Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality. According to them, Gaziantep is an entrepreneurial city implementing active strategies to increase the competitiveness of its own areas in the global world and giving importance the cooperation of public-private sector and other key stakeholders constituting the city. Also, the success of Gaziantep has based on the cooperation of all institutions acting together and making efforts in the studies conducted in the city. They maintain that when we look at Gaziantep, with its economy, history, culture and gastronomy, it takes certain steps towards becoming an entrepreneurial city. They state that if you do not have strengths and powerful brands, it is impossible to take part in the big world market and have a word as well.

Furthermore, they state the needs assessment analysis has been conducted during project development; additionally, objectives were identified. They strongly emphasize that the city branding could not be initiated by the Municipality or any other single public institution. In addition, a synergy by acting with local sense of ownership has been created and this process was started with the all stakeholders constituting the city

6.1.3.2. Project Implementation

It should be emphasized that there is not sufficient and available information about the project in terms of preparation, implementation and effects. Most of the information presented here have been obtained by means of the interviews conducted in the research.

Project coordinator Ms. Hayrül'nisa Gül, from Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality, mentioned that there was a committee, included representatives of chambers, opinion leaders, local authorities, associations, and like, was responsible for determining city branding strategy, its implications, city image formulation and like. She indicated that there was even a folk-dance association and they had contributed to design sound logo of Gaziantep especially. The main reason of formulation of this committee was to present all related institutions of the city in this project according to her. As it mentioned, the analysis in the field was conducted by the private agency, I Mean IT. She underlined that committee was reached the decision about the branding strategies or image formulation under the guidance of the agency.

The campaign was started on research of Gaziantep by the agency. To include the people living in Gaziantep, major stakeholders, representatives of local government, chamber of industry, board of tourism into the decision-making process, in-depth interviews were conducted. In addition to providing invaluable insight, the interviews also served as a tool to make people that they were involved in shaping the desired future state of the city.

6.1.3.3. Image Formulation

Within the scope of the campaign, in-depth interviews with 32 opinion leaders had been conducted to explore “problems, opportunities and dreams”¹⁰. As a result, there has been a need for new story about Gaziantep. Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality states that branding efforts have focused on tourism, increase of investments and development of city culture.

The campaign states that “Gaziantep is not a city it is a productive mindset!”¹¹. Branding

¹⁰ <https://www.imeanit.com/portfolio/masterly-people-of-gaziantep/>

¹¹ <https://www.imeanit.com/portfolio/masterly-people-of-gaziantep/>

works aim at showing the target groups that Gaziantep is a city which reflects the power of Mesopotamia, it is the first and only gastronomy city of Turkey, it is one of the oldest cities of the world, it is the city of architectural beauties, and it is a child-friendly city. The branding efforts carried out for the identified goals and main themes were essentially built on a promotion strategy and predominantly aimed at reaching a branding goal that is developed by a communications campaign. (Özdemir B. P., 2018) In that sense, it can be said that while the first initiative of GCI focused on the attracting investment, increasing exports and trademark registrations, this project has more comprehensive focus of the brand image formulation. As it is stated, brand image formulation should be based on both the unique and competitive features of the city and aim of the project.

Formulation of brand image has great significance. Gaziantep's brand city concept can be described with its strong history, rich cultural heritage, production power and magnificent gastronomy. With an internet search, the only available outputs of the project could be reached is the video films and press release published by Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality. In the video films, the main emphasize has not been on just gastronomy but textile, pistachio, houses, coppersmith and cuisine of Gaziantep. It has been stated that there were three objectives of the project: "to position Gaziantep as a city worth visiting, to make the city more livable, to inspire and encourage the businesspeople of Gaziantep to create global brands". In order to realize the project objectives, the positioning and inclusive idea was the "mastery".

Since the city branding can be considered as managing perception of the consumers, promotional and communication activities should be mattered. To realize the objectives of the project and manage perception of the city in the people's mind, they have been implemented like launching the website, organizing the events, advertisements, publishing press releases and so on. By means of the promotional materials and communication strategies, perception of the consumer has been tried to be directed the brand image of Gaziantep, towards "Masterly People".

As stated, mentioned outputs except videos could not be reached in the internet. Yet, Ms. Hayrılınusa Demir, Media and Communication Brand Manager at Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality shared "corporate identity" document and leaflet with me.

What they call as corporate identity is the explanation of the design and usage of the logo. In that sense, attributing branding character to the city and similarities between corporate brand and city brand have been implied. However, corporate identity formulation could not be completed by the agency due to criticism upon the project.

The logo was designed for Gaziantep to create a public face for the new brand. The design chosen a metaphor representing the productivity and unity of people of Gaziantep. Also, sound logo (children, orchestral, ringtone, folkloric versions) was produced to be utilized in airport terminal, public transportation buses, municipal call centers and local chamber dial lines.

The figure 10 indicates the different versions of the logo. Various areas were represented with different icons and colors such as gastronomy, baklava, chamber of industry, pistachios, museums, transportation, gardens and so on. Nevertheless, like the chaos of the concepts, utilization of the logos has not maintained with any standardization. Logos of GCI and these icons were utilized together and this lead to confusion of which one is the logo of Gaziantep. For instance, in Democracy Park, located in the city center, there is a 3-D logo enabling people to take photograph like New York or Amsterdam. However, the slogan and 3-D logo of New York and Amsterdam is the same; “I love NY” and “I Amsterdam”. At least, it should have written the font produced under the project.



Figure 10: Different Versions of Gaziantep's Logo

6.1.3.4. Project Budget

There is no sufficient information about the budget of the project in the website of Municipality; however, they state that this project has been funded with the grant provided by Silkroad Development Agency.

An expert from the Silkroad Development Agency states that part of the project has been funded by themselves. He states that since the beneficiary and owner of the project is Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality, the only information that they can share is stated below via table.

Name of the Project	Preparation of Feasibility Report of Global Brand City Gaziantep
Beneficiary Institution	Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality
Grant Programme	2015 -CMDP (Programme of Supporting Attraction Center)
Project Budget	786.542,28 TL

Figure 11: Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality's Project Budget

In that case, supporting attraction centers including 12 city centers, Malatya, Elazığ,

Erzurum, and Van in East Anatolia; Gaziantep, Diyarbakır and Şanlıurfa in Southeast Anatolia, Samsun and Trabzon in Black sea and Konya, Kayseri and Sivas in Middle Anatolia Regions should be discussed. “Based on gradation of the settlement areas in order to create growth poles, Turkish planning authorities and governments began to implement for the first time a very different financial support approach, supporting attraction centers”. Approximately 100 million TL was planned to be granted from central budget for each city center to implement the selected project in only city centers. Mentioned program was prepared in the 9th National Development Plan term and has still been carried out since 2010 with the coordination of local actors of Regional Development Agencies in the cities (Toy & Gündüz, 2016)

Each development agency should present the monitoring report of the attraction center including realization of technical and financial implications, challenges, risk assumptions and like to former Ministry of Development. However, no monitoring report could be reached within the scope Gaziantep.

6.2. Discussion of Main Tracks of City Branding Initiatives of Gaziantep

As mentioned in the measurement of city branding section, Braun propose that implementation of city branding have been included in the urban governance by saying it is both political and administrative process due to its nature. He identified 8 main factors as hypotheses related to success of city branding implementation. (Braun, 2011). In this section, main tracks of city branding initiatives of Gaziantep have been discussed with respect to those hypotheses. Since Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality’s project is a continuation of Gaziantep Chamber of Industry’s, they have been evaluated together to grasp a comprehensive picture of city branding in Gaziantep.

The first hypothesis deals with the majority view on the meaning of city branding. In other words, consensus on the interpretation of city branding by political leaderships, decision makers have provided successful implementation of the city branding. It indicates that “*a shared majority view on the interpretation of city branding among the city’s political leadership and other city decision-makers positively affect putting city branding into practice*” (Braun, 2011, p. 261).

There are various definitions and approaches of city branding. Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005, p.58) states that “Unfortunately, there is no single accepted definition of place branding and marketing experts have often compounded the problem by their attempts to elaborate” (Braun, 2011, p. 261). Therefore, the people responsible for the implementation of city branding like decision-makers, political leaderships and like should have a shared majority view on the interpretation of city branding.

Gaziantep Chamber of Industry and Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality are two prominent actors of the city branding initiatives in Gaziantep. Although they have different image formulation of Gaziantep, they have a shared view on the interpretation of city branding since they have applied similar methods including logo production, in-depth interviews and like to create city brand.

Although it has been said that the project by GCI was successful and considered as the first city branding project in Turkey, it should be examined in terms of city branding strategies. Though all cities have different and unique features, it would not be wrong to claim that image formulation of the city is a multidimensional process. In this project, the only dimension utilized for branding is industry; in specifically trademark registrations. Other strong features of the city were not taken into consideration.

Due to aim of the project mentioned above, image formulation of Gaziantep has been based upon the industry. Rise of registered brands in Gaziantep alone cannot indicate the city branding effort of Gaziantep. Nevertheless, although the project has been open to discussion, it has significance; in the sense that this is the first project utilized city branding concept in Turkey and has taken attraction of other chambers of industry in Turkey (Özkul, 2017)

In brief, image formulation based on the manufacturing industry as a component of city branding strategy should be discussed. As it is proposed, city branding is a neoliberal instrument and its tools and components have neoliberal essences as well. Image formulation and constituting brand identity are the crucial steps for city branding. On the other hand, as stated in the previous chapters, there has been a transformation from manufacturing economy to the service sector due to free flow of capital, international investments and like. Yet, the industry utilized in the image formulation has based on

manufacturing. Although there have been attempts to make industry more creative, information-communication technologies based, the powerful notion of the industry is still manufacturing. Therefore, it can be proposed that even though this initiative as a Trademark City Gaziantep Project aims the Gaziantep as a brand city and have promotional efforts by emphasizing mainly trademark and industry, can be considered as a problematic by its nature in neoliberal terms.

Moreover, “Gaziantep: Turkey’s Masterly People” project has more comprehensive image formulation. It tried to cover all unique features of Gaziantep. Furthermore, the most important deficiency of this project may be the lack of public opinion when creating a city image and establishing a branding strategy. Although the opinions of the stakeholders in the board and the city were taken, the strategy has been determined under the guidance of the private branding agency.

Although they shared the similar view on city branding, it should be emphasized that city branding is not simply constituted of communication and promotion activities but rather it is an economic, administrative, social, and cultural restructuring process.

The second hypothesis deals with mainly the political priorities of the city and proposes that *“including city branding objectives in the political priorities, programme and long-term city vision has a positive effect on putting city branding into practice”* (Braun, 2011, p. 262). Setting city branding objectives as a long-term vision and one of the political priorities have contributed to city branding in various positive ways. In that sense, city branding has been positioned with the other city policies. Also, proposing city branding objectives by elected local representatives have secured the position of branding and not to perceived as an outsider competing other city policies. (Braun, 2011)

When TST 2023 considered, it can be clearly said that city branding has been adopted as a vision for cities by the government in the lights of the information. Gaziantep, as one of the brand cities determined in TST 2023, prepared the action plan for branding as well. Moreover, the initiatives of Gaziantep Chamber of Industry realized in 2003 sustained by the Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality in 2015. This efforts since 2003 reveals that city branding was set up as a vision for Gaziantep. Additionally, brand city Gaziantep as a

statement has been utilized in official reports of local institutions especially in the metropolitan municipality.

Nevertheless, these initiatives should be discussed with respect to sustainability. One of the main reasons why city branding initiatives have not maintained is related to sustainability. As project coordinator Ms. Hayrül'nisa Gül stated, after criticisms, implementation of the project was terminated. Nevertheless, it can be proposed that these initiatives have contributed to development of other competition mechanisms like creative city and smart city.

The third hypothesis claims that *unambiguous political responsibility for city branding increases the chance of successful implementation of city branding* (Braun, 2011, p. 262). If the political responsibility for the city branding is clearly indicated, this strength the position of city in the face of other city policies. Significance of leadership has been highlighted by prominent scholars like Van der Berg, Braun (1999) and Rainisto (2003) with respect to success of city branding. Braun states that who is the responsible for city branding depends on the political structure of the city. In that sense, Position of the city branding in other city policies affect the success of the city branding implementation. (Braun, 2011)

There have been various criticisms to the city branding project launched by Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality. The main actor of the criticisms is the private branding agency, called as I Mean IT. For instance, there was a kick-off event organized for promoting the project on 8 February 2016 at Gaziantep University. Ms. Hayrül'nisa Gül stated that the presentation of the project and introduction of the logo were provided by Ms. Emrah Yücel, owner of I Mean IT. It can be proposed that criticisms of the project were accelerated since the project was introduced by the private branding agency. It implies that ownership of the project was the private agency; however, this project was constituted by Gaziantep City Council, Gaziantep Chamber of Industry and other important stakeholders and implemented by Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality.



Figure 12: Launching Event of City Branding Project of GMM



Figure 13: Emrah Yücel: Launching Event of City Branding Project of GMM

The fourth hypothesis is that “adequate stakeholder management affects the implementation of a city branding strategy positively (Braun, 2011, p. 263). Braun proposes that city branding is a networking process where public and private stakeholders cooperated. More to that, he proposes “City brand management is very much stakeholder management, involving decisions about which stakeholders to include and during which part of the branding process, as well as organizing support in the community” (Braun, 2011, p. 264). In other words, city branding is a process all stakeholders, local

government, universities, trade associations, private stakeholders constituting the city should work together.

In case of Gaziantep city, when the responsible institutions have been analyzed, it can be claimed that the action plan was not prepared as proposed in TST 2023 considering partnership of public and private sector. Although the private sector was not considered, the responsible institutions have been the integral part of the city. On the other hand, the only available information about the plan is the plan itself; no implementation or methodology document were published on the website. It shows that there has been an action plan developed in line with the requirement of TST 2023, yet, it has not been implemented.

Moreover, interviews were conducted to examine participation of integral part of the city into the city branding process in Gaziantep. UCTEA Chamber of Mechanical Engineers in Gaziantep stated that there were 2 symposiums conducted in collaboration with Gaziantep Chamber of Industry about branding in 2005 and 2007. Although their main focus was the branding in production terms, there was a session entitled as Branding and the City. In that session, perceiving cities as brands, effective factors of city branding, characteristics of strong city image were discussed. However, they state that there is no active involvement of the decision-making process of city branding project in 2015 done by Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality.

Also, Gaziantep representative from Chamber of City Planners indicated that although he is a member of Gaziantep City Council as well, there is no active involvement of the project by himself. He mentioned that the basis of the project was not developed appropriately. He stated that Industry of Gaziantep is not based on the creative principles; therefore, the image formulation of the city was maintained in a wrong way. Moreover, he underlined that the institutions constituting the city and citizen may unnoticed some important features, therefore, the collaboration with a private and professional agency is important; yet, the whole strategy could not be made by this agency.

Gaziantep Chambers of Architectures representative states that city branding as a concept is a problematic issue since cities and products are very different entities. Yet, he underlined that if image formulation of the city is based on the industry and gastronomy,

there is need for development with these respects. Developments and investments in the gastronomy can be considered as easier than the industry in specifically by means of the UCCN. However, if you do not invest in industry, what will be promoted as a city image is an important question. Therefore, only analyzing the image of the city and promoting it with promotional activities could not maintain a coherent city branding strategy of Gaziantep.

Furthermore, representative from Chambers of Civil Engineers state that this process should be sustained with a participatory understanding. We do not engage with the branding project.

The fifth hypothesis is that “*putting city branding into practice requires that city branding is genuine and credible*” (Braun, 2011, p. 264).

“It concerns specific choices made regarding the city brand and the process of building the city brand. It deals with the authenticity of the city branding effort. Is the city branding genuine and credible? The choices made for the substance of the brand could make or break the city brand.” (Braun, 2011, p. 264)

Braun gives reference to Kavaratzis (2008) and says that perception of the city has provided not only by promotional activities and campaigns as Kavaratzis called secondary communication but also by infrastructure, organizational structure and landscape as Kavaratzis call primary communication. Therefore, there should not be gap between primary and secondary communication to have effective city branding; tertiary communication. (Braun, 2011)

There were lots of criticisms to the city branding initiative by Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality especially about the budget and logo produced. Thereupon, Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality published a press release on their website April 2016 to explain that the project budget was utilized for constituting the brand identity for Gaziantep. It has been published with respect to the news about the budget of the project by saying it is too much to design a logo in general. The Municipality stated in the press release city branding project is a need in global era and this project has been conducted with Gaziantep Governorship, Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality, chambers of

industry and trade, and other key stakeholders.

The press release indicates that as a result of the comprehensive research, website and social media account specific to the brand city identity, 1 general launch film including a total of 6 commercial films 5 themes on pistachio, copper, handcrafted, cuisine, architecture; sound logo alternatives, 2 website designs, newspaper and brochure designs with Turkish and English. Moreover, it has been stated that it has been decided with a common mind to make such a film and logo and the competence of the products like pistachio, baklava, zoo, kebab, handicrafts, organic symbols, important values of the city, to be introduced for the national and international fields.

However, excepts videos, logo designs and visuals, the outputs of the project mentioned above could not be reached. Ms. Hayr lnisa G l states that most of the outputs could not be finalized due to criticisms.

One of Gaziantep deputies, Mr. Akif Ekici raised a written question to the parliament about city branding project of Gaziantep. In brief, the written question is about the tendering procedure of the project. It asks why the tendering procedure was based on negotiation. Also, the legislation enabling the negotiation procedure states that tendering process will be realized with negotiation in case of natural disaster, epidemic illnesses, loss of life and property. In addition, what was the situation in Gaziantep enabling negotiation in tendering process could not be foreseen by Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality. These questions were not answered by the parliament.

In this respect, questioning the tendering procedure made credibility and genuineness main issues. Apart from the tendering procedure, formulating city image and constituting city branding strategy for a city by a private branding agency should be examined in terms of legitimacy. City branding elaborated as a neoliberal instrument, enabled the cooperation of private and public stakeholders by nature. However, it would not be wrong to state that private branding agency I Mean IT came into prominence than other important stakeholders. This also damaged the credibility and genuineness of the city branding initiative of Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality.

Image of the city has great importance in formulation of the branding strategies. This question should be raised: “Does a private branding agency have a legitimacy for formulating city image?” City branding is one of the marketing strategies in broader sense. Therefore, there has been a need for professional expertise. Nevertheless, strategy and formulation of city image and brand identity of the city should not have been maintained by the private agency. Instead, role of the private agency should be the consultant and implementer of the project.

Moreover, other outstanding and widespread criticism was about the logo of Gaziantep. The general perception of the people according to the local news, the project budget was spent for the production of logo, available in the public stock image website at very minimum cost. Upon the criticisms, the owner of the private agency Mr. Emrah Yücel stated that “Brand City Gaziantep project was started in 2003 by Gaziantep Chamber of Industry and Turkey’s oldest city branding project. Gaziantep City Council has decided to expand the scope of the project, contributed to the development of urban industry for years, to include tourism and city culture in 2015. Following the tender, the project was won by us”.

The sixth hypothesis is “*A combination of umbrella branding for all target audiences with sub-brands for particular city customers group affects the implementation of city branding positively*” (Braun, 2011, p. 265)

All people and organizations are considered by the umbrella city branding as potential customers. According to Van den Berg and Braun, there are four main target group in the city; residents, companies, visitors and investors. They are crucial for the successful implementation of city branding. In that sense, cities could engage with mentioned various target groups by means of the sub-brands in a more effective way. He gives differences efforts for attracting inward investment and destination branding in Amsterdam as a successful example. (Braun, 2011)

In that sense, it can be proposed that there is a strong relationship between the image formulation and target groups. This relationship also gives clues whether there is an umbrella branding strategy has been utilized.

Gaziantep Chamber of Industry formulated target groups as local and external partners as indicated. Their target group formulation was based on attracting investment and creating higher added value to the products. Other main groups were excluded in this formulation. Moreover, although image formulation of Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality is more comprehensive, residents were not considered as much as visitors. This affected the success of implementation of city branding.

Moreover, there were two different image formulation in the same year, 2015 in Gaziantep. The first one emphasized the productivity and masterly people of Gaziantep with many respects, and the second of which was formulated Gaziantep as a gastronomy city. Interurban competition and neoliberalism have been added newly emerged concepts or cities. They all can be considered as the efforts to manage this competition and maintain its existence in the market. Gaziantep has also experienced this concept chaos so as to manage interurban competition.

The seventh hypothesis is *“The implementation of city branding is stimulated by co-branding the city with successful brands in the city of companies, institutions, events and people”* (Braun, 2011, pp. 264-265). Cities need to work with sub-brands for particular target audiences to be more effective. Successful brands within the city can be used to strengthen the city brand. The idea is similar to co-branding where marketers try to transfer the positive associations of one co-branding partner to the other. In case of city branding, examples could be a university, an international successful football club, a museum, or any other company, individual or institution with a positive and reliable reputation. (Braun, 2011)

In the case of Gaziantep, two international gastronomy festival were organized within the scope of UCCN action plan of Gaziantep on 20-22 September 2018 and 12-15 September 2019. These events have brought together prominent people from the field of gastronomy from various locations into Gaziantep. It can be proposed that there have been various reasons gastronomy city image formulation has been successful comparing to city branding project. One of the crucial reasons is based on the idea that “better image, reputation or brand must be earned and cannot be invented or constructed” (Anholt, 2008, p. 2). For instance, New York is one of the successful brand cities in the world is successful because of the city not just because of the “I Love New York” campaign. In

Gaziantep, when deniable and magnificent power of gastronomy was used in the image formulation, it has been built upon the solid ground. Of course, masterly people and idea of productivity in Gaziantep have strong roots and implications, they are not powerful enough to enable competition as uniqueness of the city. Moreover, Ms. Hayrülhisa Gül informed that entering UCCN was not finalized during the image formulation of city branding project. Therefore, they have two crucial attempts for not basing the image formulation of Gaziantep on the gastronomy. Since there was a possibility of refusing of UCCN, they have tried to make an alternative tool to for the competition as masterly people and idea of productivity. Moreover, gastronomy was utilized as a tool to emphasize other crucial but underestimated features of the city. It can be said that co-branding strategy was not used effectively in Gaziantep.

The last hypothesis is *“Putting city branding into practice requires striking a balance between a distinctive focus for the city brand and wider support in the city’s communities”* (Braun, 2011, p. 265). This hypothesis put forwards the problematic issue of the city branding about distinctiveness. Formulation of the city image should be distinctive to compete other cities. Moreover, there is strong need for involving relevant stakeholder to the formulation and implementation processes in order to achieve successful city branding. On the one hand, there is a risk of undifferentiated city brand formulation. On the other, constituting distinctive city branding strategy with a small number of experts endangers the support for city’s branding initiative. In this respect, city branding should be provided as a “balancing act” between these two important aspects. (Braun, 2011)

Interviews conducted clearly indicates that residents and related stakeholders were not completely included in the city branding formation and implementation in Gaziantep. As indicated by Braun, there is not enough support for the city branding initiative since they could not involve to the process. The initiative of Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality indicates the importance of balance between constituting distinctive focus and including all related stakeholders.

Apart from the hypotheses, when main tracks of city branding initiatives in Gaziantep considered, the origin of the funds should be taken into consideration to discuss its neoliberal nature. Although one of the main ideas of neoliberalism is the withdrawal of

the state, there is of course differences between ideology and implementation of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism has depended its basis upon a utopia, market freed from the interventions. However, neoliberal restructuring projects produced within the national, regional and local contexts, have necessarily and inevitable embedded in the inherited institutions, policies, and like. This path-dependency character of neoliberalism between neoliberal structuring projects and inherited institutions has been defined by proposing a concept by Brenner, Theodore, and Tickell as “actually existing neoliberalism”. (Brenner & Theodore, Cities and the Geographies of "Actually Existing Neoliberalism", 2002). In other words, there have been differences between the neoliberal ideology and implications and effects of neoliberalism. “Whereas neoliberal ideology implies that self-regulating markets will generate an optimal allocation of investments and resources, neoliberal political practice has generated pervasive market failures, new forms of social polarization, and a dramatic intensification of uneven development at all spatial scales” (Brenner & Theodore, Cities and the Geographies of "Actually Existing Neoliberalism", 2002, p. 352).

Therefore, it can be obviously claimed that city branding initiatives have been funded by the government but with respect to neoliberal terms. It can be said that the city branding initiatives of Gaziantep have been funded by the central government except Trademark City Gaziantep project but in an indirect way by promoting local governments to compete by differentiating themselves and creating thematic areas like. In addition, city branding evolved and implemented as a neoliberal instrument in Gaziantep to achieve interurban competition.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1. Summary of the Findings

The main argument of the thesis is that city branding is a neoliberal instrument and it helps manage the competition among cities by giving emphasis on priorities of globalization and neoliberalism. Throughout the thesis, first globalization and neoliberalism concepts have been discussed in a theoretical manner, which is then followed by the evaluation of the effects of globalization and neoliberalism on Turkey. Moreover, the thesis aimed to find out the relationship between neoliberalism and city branding initiatives based on the case study of Gaziantep.

Due to free movement of the capital; broadly speaking under the global economy, there have been crucial consequences in not only economic but also social, politics, cultural and administrative terms at both national and local levels. By means of the developments of the information and communication technologies, borders of the world have started to disappear, or at least come closer. Many institutions have indispensably connected to each other and the competition among them has intensified. In that case, neoliberalism as a framework should be mattered to analyse the globalization as a process and its effects upon the nations, states and importantly cities. The developments in “transport, communications and institutional support for global capital had conspired to seemingly make places less important- less unique” (Cresswell, 2004, p. 54).

The main idea of neoliberalism can be summarized as attributing commodifiable character to everything and turning them into commodities available in the market to compete with each other. To realize this objective, decentralization, state downsizing, privatization, deregulation and competition have been utilized as the main tools of the neoliberal economic transformation. The effects of which have been influential both in national and local levels with many respects as mentioned.

The power and the legitimate use of power should be decentralized according to neoliberalism. In other words, state should not be the end actor; instead, everything should be engaged with the market. Therefore, there has been a withdrawal from state intervention into many areas. The only and desired role of the state is considered as a facilitator and making the conditions appropriate for market transactions.

Neoliberal ideology should consider economic relations with respect to its politically constructed characteristics instead of dealing with state and market as opposing institutions. Also, neoliberal policy implementation should not be based on the idea of “one size fits all”. Instead, it should take different and specific institutional landscapes and policy environments into consideration. Moreover, exact withdrawal of state has not been the case in actually existing neoliberalism. Instead, there have been a need for dominant state interferes dramatically so as to deal with consequences and contradictions of neoliberal ideology. (Brenner & Theodore, Cities and the Geographies of "Actually Existing Neoliberalism", 2002)

“In the present context, the key point is that politico-ideological shifts have emerged, in significant measure, along a strongly path-dependent evolutionary trajectory: while first deployed as a strategic response to the crisis of an earlier political economic framework (Fordist-Keynesian capitalism), neoliberal policies were internal to neoliberalism itself as a politico-regulatory project” (Brenner & Theodore, Cities and the Geographies of "Actually Existing Neoliberalism", 2002, p. 362).

In that sense, it is proper to claim that essence of inherited institutions could not be disappeared suddenly due to neoliberal restructuring projects. Yet, path-dependency character should be considered. Neoliberalism is based upon the unequal developments and realized itself through unequal and uneven development. Therefore, it can be said that uneven development of the place is the neutral essence of neoliberalism. They propose that neoliberal urbanization has been achieved since cities have become the centers of neoliberal policy initiatives, administrative restructuring projects, and strategic targets of the political projects. In addition, cities have contributed to reproduction of neoliberalism. Cities have had great significance in terms of roll-back strategies of neoliberalism. More to that, local governments have focused on capitalist and market-

oriented developments and commodification processes. On the other hand, economic competition has been promoted and secured within administrative, societal and ecological terms. (Brenner & Theodore, Cities and the Geographies of "Actually Existing Neoliberalism", 2002)

The new situation of the cities has contributed to emergence of a new focus. “This renewed focus on the city as an economic driver coincided with a series of generational and lifestyles changes that has pressured government and the private sector into improving the attractiveness and vitality of urban areas” (Jansson & Power, 2006, p. 9). Due to innovative feature of the city, image formulation has been changed and new urban renewal strategies have been developed. The main aims of mentioned strategies to attract tourists, companies, investments, capitals, and like. Thereby, cities should adopt themselves by applying some strategies to manage competition.

“Neoliberal programs have also been directly interiorized into urban policy regimes, as newly formed territorial alliances attempt to rejuvenate local economies through a shock treatment of deregulation, privatization, liberalization and enhances fiscal austerity. In this context, cities- including their urban peripheries- have become increasingly important geographical targets and institutional laboratories for a variety of neoliberal policy experiments like place marketing” (Brenner & Theodore, Cities and the Geographies of "Actually Existing Neoliberalism", 2002).

In addition to that, city branding is one of those strategies to manage inter-urban competition, highlighting the competitive features of the city and enabling a competitive-commodifiable city image in the market. As shift from industrial economy to information and communication technologies, there has been a shift from the city image to the brand image. Brand image is thus constructed to manage the perception of consumers.

Although the techniques of branding have been varied, they can be summarized as investments in the built environment and infrastructure, identity-based activities, various local events, flagship projects, planning strategies, urban development, advertising, myths, slogans, logos and like. Barcelona is considered as one of the successful city

brands in the world since they have experienced the branding as a process and applied the techniques mentioned above in a more integrated and planned form.

According to Brenner and Theodore, different types of neoliberal urbanization cannot provide sustainable and coherent solutions to the dualities and contradictions of contemporary capitalism. Instead, they should be considered as involving profound contradictions of newly emerged types of neoliberal urbanization destabilized the inherited institutions, policies and so on. Therefore, it can be proposed that new vision of the cities, due to neoliberal agenda, could not come up with solutions needed for the actual challenges of cities. It leads to an expanding gap between responsibilities delegated to local governments and diminishing urban capacities; in addition to that, it brings about a constant competition anxiety, accompanied by the search for the investment opportunities and so-called development solutions for the cities. (Brenner & Theodore, *Cities and the Geographies of "Actually Existing Neoliberalism"*, 2002)

Turkey has also inevitably been affected by the neoliberal discourse in the late 1970s. The governmental policy and the national approach have been changed towards neoliberal reforms to internationalize Turkish economy during the initial years of the 1980s. Several developments have been examined in order to find out the effect of neoliberalism on Turkey with a particular focus on city branding. The first one is the examination of policy papers belonging the central government. Both 10th Development Plan and Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023 indicate that globalization is a fact and its effects could not be denied. Therefore, both policy documents underlined the need for increasing attractiveness of appropriate cities to be part of the global competition. Although the methodology is missing in the papers, the effects of globalization and the urge for the use of city branding as a neoliberal instrument is obviously indicated. Moreover, at the national scale, alterations in the legislation indicates the new role of cities as competitor, arena for investment, capital, and tourism. By those alterations in the legislation, it can be said that withdrawal of state could not be appeared directly, yet, flexible mode of administration and production could be observed.

To examine the direct relationship between neoliberalism and city branding, in chapter 6, the main tracks of city branding initiatives in Gaziantep have been explained and

discussed especially in terms of their success. In addition, neoliberal agenda of those initiatives should be taken into consideration.

The city of Gaziantep has experienced the neoliberal restructuring before the city branding initiatives started. Anatolian Tigers and engagement of Gaziantep industrialists with the international markets from 1990s indicated that globalization have had an impact on the city, especially in terms of industry sector. That's why industrialists aimed to take place in the international market. Also, due to the competition derived from mainly globalization, there have been significant changes in the visions and responsibilities of the local governments.

As mentioned, Gaziantep and particularly the Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality has shown great efforts to be included in the global market by entering into the international and famous networks, hosting international events, attributing some famous and unique characters to the city and so on. Therefore, it can be said that there have been efforts for making Gaziantep as one of the competitive, powerful, favourite cities in the world. Although city branding is the earliest effort, the remaining efforts like creative city and smart city have been maintained as of today. By implementing those projects, public and private partnerships have been conducted. More to that, city branding project of Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality was funded by the Regional Development Agency, namely the Silk Road Development Agency, by a grant programme that aimed to support attraction centers in Turkey. It can be said that central government, as a state policy, supports the increase in attraction centers and city branding. Yet, there is a necessity for building a project highlighting unique features of the city and attributing commodifiable character to them in order to gain competitive city and benefit from the funds. Thus, the programme of supporting attraction centers in Turkey shows that these projects have been evolved and implemented in neoliberal terms.

In chapter 6, success of the city branding initiatives has been discussed as well. It can be clearly proposed that these projects could not be considered as successful; however, they have contributed to the city image of Gaziantep. On the other hand, it is important to underline that there are many crucial and vital challenges in Gaziantep like migration, Syrian refugees, unregistered work, increase in the rents, traffic, air pollution and so on. In that sense, city branding is a neoliberal instrument have not role in solving mentioned

problems. To put in a different way, if city branding initiatives are implemented in a successful way, they might help improve the city image of Gaziantep and also may have a positive effect on the economy of the city. However, if the city is insufficient in terms of infrastructure, employment opportunities, tolerance, economy, cultural activities, sensitivity to vital agendas like climate change, air pollution and like, the city branding could remain simple as a neoliberal instrument and will make no significant contribution despite the resources it consume. In the lights of this information, it is claimed that city branding initiatives of Gaziantep are implemented as neoliberal instruments and could not be maintained successfully. In addition, attributing branding character to the city before solving the vital problems in the city can be considered as one of the main clues of neoliberal agenda and reasons of the unsustainability.

7.2. Further Remarks for Future Research

This thesis focuses on exploring city branding as a neoliberal instrument to manage the global competition for the world's cities. In order to make a contribution to the literature, main tracks of city branding initiatives in Gaziantep has been examined since it has rooted in 2003, the oldest city branding initiative in Turkey.

Ashworth and Voogd stated that “there is nothing new about places being promoted by those likely profit from their development. What is new, however, is the conscious application of marketing approaches by public planning agencies not just as an additional instrument for the solution of intractable planning problems, but, increasingly, as a philosophy of place management” (Ashworth & Voogd, 1994, p. 39). Also, having unique and powerful features does not necessarily mean that the city could be branded. Therefore, these points raise the questions “How Turkish national and/or local government determine the cities branding methodology applied” or “City branding is a neoliberal instrument appeared upon the decision of government, that is to say, should it be implemented as a top to bottom instrument or not?”

Therefore, future research should focus on the relationship between implementation and formation of city branding upon other vital problems and challenges of the city in terms of national and local government policies.

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