THE IMPACT OF ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY ON NATION BRANDING: THE CASE STUDY OF IRAQI KURDISTAN

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ABSTRACT

Despite the convergence points between architectural identity and nation branding, the relationship between them remains ambiguous. Moreover, the formulation of a sustained and competitive national identity and architecture of nation branding are yet to be completely comprehended. Thus, this study seeks to fill this gap by developing a model that explains the impact of architectural identity on nation brand, particularly for the case study of Kurdistan (paradoxical paradigm of the political independency in the dependent architectural environment).

To assess the impact of architectural identity on nation branding, the study formulates the following research questions: How does a nation brand project itself in architecture? Can the existing architectural theories be adapted to explain this relationship effectively? Consequently, this study points out broad implications of architectural influence on nation branding; for understanding the dynamics of its political message and discourses on its symbolic power in the context of national recognition.

Testing "the impact of architectural identity on nation brand" has been done through comparative analysis on the selected cases of Finland and Israel. This testing provides sufficient empirical evidences to throw light on the complex relationship between "Kurdish architectural identity" and "Kurdish nation brand". Moreover, focusing on empirical findings, this research allows for comparisons and contrasts between nations as recognized, semi-recognized and non-recognized states by examining the historical, socio–political, and cultural dimensions of each nation in relation to its built environment. The study of the different built environments as well as the nation brand, identity and image background and development of the compared nations brings to light what is hidden as an overall conception from an architectural perspective. This also discloses the significance of the architectural identity in context with their original objects. Valuable conclusions have been derived on the similarities and the differences in the polices maintaining the nation brand in architecture, which is used in this research as a foundation to help the development of the best management practice of sustainable and competitive national identity in Iraqi Kurdistan.

Within the context of Iraqi Kurdistan, as a result of the Kurdish quest to be an integrated nation having its own geographical borders, questions have seldom been raised about the Kurdish identity in architecture, much less about, to what extent the reconstruction of the collective memories of the disputed historical architectural sites in Iraqi Kurdistan can be the collective identity of the Kurdish nation. Simultaneously, there is a surprising amount of available research on Kurdish identity, history, and regional politics. Thus, this study offers a new theoretical horizon for a good understanding of the powerful force of architecture as central in transforming the Kurdish nation brand and opening a new direction for the empirical inquiry and theorization of the current efforts of Kurdish independence.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of the Manchester Metropolitan University or any other university or institute of learning.

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Sharameen Ebraheem

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Sharameen Ebraheem
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ABBREVIATIONS

GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS

ACRONYM	DESCRIPTION
PUK	Patriotic Union of Kurdistan
KDP	The Kurdistan Democratic Party
KRG	Kurdistan Regional Government
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
COO	Country of Origin
CBI	Country Brand Index
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development
AMA	American Marketing Association
WZO	World Zionist Organization
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology

1. INTRODUCTION: THE RESEARCH FOCUS

The investigation of nation branding continues to be a central issue and the most recent confusing term in national regeneration strategies. According to Anholt's observation, people are not only confused about what is branding, but also confused about what is being branded (Anholt 2005a). Interest in the concept of nation branding dates back to the mid-1990s.It describes the construction practice of promoting a spectacular image of a particular nation to the rest of the world (Anholt 2007:3), making use of public diplomacy, trade, exporting promotion and tourism. Despite the fact that the practice and theory of nation branding is in its early stages having only a few decades of experience, there is an argument from some practitioners, for example Olins (2002), who believe in a country's branding and re-branding themselves throughout history. Accordingly, it is possible to consider only the word of "brand", and not the concept of "nation branding", as new, basically, it stands for a new concept of image management (Szondi 2008).

In terms of the intersection with national identity, the perception of nation branding has been emphasised as "the dominant channel of communication for national identity, national reputation, and image" (Anholt 2003:139). In the widest sense of the word, nation branding or rebranding is an activity, which is controversial, and highly politicized (Dinnie 2008:200). Moreover, in terms of nation branding, the brand has been placed in a wider context by referring to the nation as a whole described through intangible assets, which belong representatively to the whole nation (Fan 2006). The notion of brand as a core value is therefore essential, as it is the meaning-giving feature of any country or nation. According to Van Ham (2001), nation brand has been explained as a result of the world's views about a particular country. Since the term nation brand or country equity is an abstract of the whole nation (Fan 2006), more research is needed to find out the main factor that affects the strong nation brand and plays as a unified representation of the whole nation by which sustainability and competitiveness of the nation can be sustained.

Anholt (2005) assumes that a "hexagon" of communication channels and conducts has been depended on by most countries to send out messages about themselves. It has been confirmed that it is possible to convey the nationality and the competitiveness via six identifiable components: Tourism, exports, governance, investment and immigration, culture and heritage, and people. These dimensions are by no means equal in value or capability and many sharp definitions of these identifiable components have been offered, not all of them satisfactory. At the same time, what constitutes a more identifiable component often depends on the context of nation and the aims to be achieved. Accordingly, this study focuses on the discourse of the nation's cultural activities from an architectural perspective. It examines the ways in which architectural identity and nation brand are conceived and represented by architects and decision makers, and the ways in which they are politicised to regulate a nation's space on the global map.

Although there are a number of differences between the two disciplines of architecture and nation branding, there are also points of convergence. One such point for example, (even if the convergence is only partial) is that nation branding can help to remove misconceptions about a nation or a country and at the same time it helps the country to relocate itself in a more approving way (Dinnie 2008:18). Simultaneously, Vinsand (2004) states that "the aesthetics of architecture can be used to sell the ideas of a political system to the populace, both by the creation of new architecture, and the destruction of symbols contrary to the polity". Therefore, the aim of this research is the study of the convergence points between the two approaches in order to propose the impact of architectural identity on nation branding for the case study of Iraqi Kurdistan. This research enables the nation brand to be an analytical framework adapted to the context of architecture. Since history is attached to architecture, understanding the layers of national history is integral to understanding further the larger concept of the impact of architecture on nation branding. Political meaning has a long history of being part of the equation of the built environment and continues right through to the present to be a matter for architects and politicians across the world (Vale 1992:3).

The debates surrounding the Kurdish identity have a long history as there is no single true version of Kurdish origin, but rather there are distinct Arab, Turkish or Persian versions, each with highly nationalistic bias. However, according to the modern political history that dates back to post-First World War (Romano 2004), Kurdistan, a term refers to the historical site of Kurds located in small Asia in a strategic location which stretches from the north western Zagros and the eastern Taurus mountain ranges and covers a small portion of Armenia. Kurdistan always was, like much of the Middle East, "an ethnic and religious mosaic, in which nomads, peasants and townspeople, speakers of various languages and numerous dialects, adherents of Islam, Christianity and Judaism and a plethora of syncretistic religious communities lived side by side"(Bruinessen1999). Geographically, Kurdistan today is de facto divided among five different states across international borders as a result of the Lausanne Peace Treaty in 1923 within the applications for the new post-Ottoman political order. It has been divided as "Turkey has the largest portion (43percent), followed by Iran (31percent), Iraq (18 percent), Syria (6percent), and the former Soviet Union (now Armenia and Azerbaijan) (2percent)" (Gunter 2004). However, before World War I, it was divided between the Ottoman and Persian Empires.

Figure 1.1 The Map of Traditional Kurdistan: Ottoman-Persian Boundary (O'Shea 2004:76)

The Kurdish conflicts date back generations that were the result of regional-political changes, Kurdish revolutions and international agendas, but the pressure over global international legitimacy has passed through dramatic transformations during the second half of the twentieth century. Unfortunately, the Kurdish issue continues to be one of the most complex political issues that the Middle East faces today. However, Iraqi Kurdistan, after living for decades in unstable conditions, the three northern governorates of Iraqi Kurdistan, which are Erbil, Dohuk, and Sulaymaniyah experienced semi-liberation for the first time in 1991 as a consequence of the successful uprising of Iraqi Kurds and the removal of Saddam's regime (Stansfield 2003:132). In the period between1991 and 2003, in spite of the establishment of the "no fly zone" (Mufti 2008) provided by the US, the UK, and France, the formulation of an emerging democratic region faced challenges in implementation. As in 1994, the civil war between the two dominant parties, PUK and KDP, concluded in 1998 by dividing the region into two different political, social, and economic systems which belonged to two different governments led by KDP in Erbil and Dohuk, and PUK in Sulaymaniyah (Chorev 2007).

With the collapse of Saddam's regime in 2003, and the region's independence, a new phase of Kurdish history has been recorded and the Kurdistan Regional Government has been unified, represented by the Kurdish National Assembly in 2006 with the exception of some ministries, namely Finance, Peshmerga Affairs, Justice, and Interior (Chorev 2007), a structure that has recently been unified in 2012. Iraqi Kurdistan has made extensive efforts to find its social, economic and political place on the global map since 2003. It is unfortunate that the built environment, which has to be the physical icon of Kurdish history, is difficult to identify.

Thus, this study offers a new theoretical horizon for better understanding the powerful force of architecture as central in transforming the physical image of nation brand and opening a new direction for the empirical inquiry and theorization of the current efforts of Kurdish independence. It questions the

architect's ability to investigate the power of the political messages of Kurdish identity in architecture, compared to the architecture of the Kurdish political message over the Kurdish nation brand (Kurdishness). Identifying characteristic principles of Kurdish architectural identity as a true meaning of Kurdish identity and its relation to the national value of Kurdish nation brand is an alternative approach that is largely ignored by Kurdish geopolitical approaches. As a result of the Kurdish quest to be an integrated nation having its own geographical borders, questions have seldom been raised about the Kurdish identity in architecture, much less about to what extent the reconstruction of the collective memories of the disputed historical architectural sites can be the collective identity of the Kurdish nation. Simultaneously, there is a surprising amount of available research on Kurdish identity, history and regional politics.

However, it is not in the scope of this study to cover all aspects involving Kurdish political history, by choosing Iraqi Kurdistan as a study area the aim is to examine the misinterpretations of Kurdish identity from an architectural perspective and to question how and why the visual image of the Kurdish nation brand did or did not catch on rather than with the efforts made by the Kurdish elite to construct a national value of Kurdish nation brand. To understand the configuration of architectural spaces within the political atmosphere, taking a historical look at four shifts (reading between historical layers, from total repression toward semi-independence and autonomy), provides a precise answer to regulate and control these architectural spaces in Iraqi Kurdistan.

The research explores the nature of the problems and the gaps within the architectural perspective in Iraqi Kurdistan in relation with the two selected case studies; Finland and Israel. It is important to investigate these case studies in order to propose a developed model for the future architectural development of Iraqi Kurdistan through analysing empirical cases.

1.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

THE MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION

➢ How does a nation brand project itself in architecture? Can the existing architectural theories be adapted to explain this relationship effectively?

THE SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

➢ What is the background of the quest of Kurdish architecture? To what extent has the Kurdish built environment reinforced state sovereignty and self-determination in terms of being a product of physical planning solidified by cultural references and the spirit of the Kurdish nation? Has the Kurdish identity been taken as a central point to design a culturally responsible built environment?

➢ To what extent does the reconstruction of the collective memories of the produced architecture of the four historical shifts (reading between historical layers, from total repression toward semi-independence and autonomy) in Iraqi Kurdistan represent the collective identity for the scattered Kurdish nation, and how could it be translated into a new construction of national identity?

1.2 RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

RESEARCH AIMS

➢ To produce a new theoretical model for Iraqi Kurdistan illustrating the impact of architectural identity on the Kurdish nation brand (Kurdishness).

- To discover what architecture and nation branding require to improve and enhance aspects of identity; that is, how nation branding and architectural identity can be helpful in the development process of nations.

- Developing architectural policy and principles that satisfy Kurdish architectural requirements of what, in Kurdish environment, could be defined as a successful Kurdish architectural identity.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

- To carry out a literature review in order to identify architectural identity among various factors that affect nation branding.

- To understand the intersection points between the dimensions of architecture and the nation branding. In addition, to address the convergence between these two fields that is likely to have a significant impact both on strengthening and charting the nation on the global map.

- To explore the importance of the political message of Kurdish identity in architecture.

1.3 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH AND THE RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS

This research is a study of the phenomenon of nation branding from the architectural perspective. It is an effort to make empirical and theoretical contributions for building a positive body of knowledge in the study of nation branding based on an architectural identity-led agenda, particularly for the case study of Iraqi Kurdistan as described below:

- Through making comparisons of the architectural and nation branding theories, this research has highlighted the intersection points between

the dimensions of architecture and nation branding, and addressed the convergence between these two fields that is likely to have a significant impact both on strengthening and charting the nation on the global map.

➤ This study has highlighted the importance of the political message of architectural identity in strengthening and charting the nation on the global map. In addition, the complex signs underlying the power of architecture in the process of national recognition have been analysed. As has been stated that, "by studying the architectural practices of different countries at different periods, a large number of ideological frameworks can be found" (Evin 1986:65). Thus, focusing on the empirical findings, this research allows for making comparisons and contrasts between the architectural productions of nations as recognized, semi-recognized and non-recognized states. Moreover, it examines the socio-political, cultural, and historical dimensional aspects of each nation in relation to the architectural identity. In addition, this research considers how it reflects the search for the true essence or the real identity in the context of a nation's culture and history by way of developing forms of representation with reference to the spirit of the nation. Finland and Israel have approached two different architectural strategies, which have led the nation branding paths, consciously or unconsciously. The first case is Finland, which has been chosen to analyse the politics of Finnish architecture and its impact on the physical overall dimension of nation brand; whereas the second case is Israel that has been chosen to evaluate the architecture of Israeli politics in relation to Israeli architecture and its impact. Israel and Finland have adopted different architectural development policies. Therefore, valuable conclusions are derived on the similarities and the differences in the polices maintaining the nation brand in architecture, which is used in this research as a foundation to help the development of the best management practice of sustainable and competitive national identity in Iraqi Kurdistan.

➢ Within the context of Iraqi Kurdistan, as a result of the Kurdish quest to be an integrated nation having its own geographical borders, questions have seldom been raised about the Kurdish identity in architecture, much less about, to what extent the reconstruction of the collective memories of the disputed historical architectural sites can be the collective identity of the Kurdish nation. Simultaneously, there is a surprising amount of available research on Kurdish identity, history and regional politics. Thus, this study offers a new theoretical horizon for understanding of the powerful force of architecture as central in transforming the Kurdish nation brand and opening a new direction for the empirical inquiry and theorization of the current efforts of Kurdish independence. Moreover, taking a historical look at four shifts (reading between historical layers, from total repression toward semi-independence and autonomy), provides a precise answer for the missing link in the debate of what is the background of Kurdish architecture? To what extent has Kurdish architecture reinforced state sovereignty and self-determination in terms of being a product of physical planning solidified by cultural references and the spirit of the Kurdish nation? Considering the lack of studies on Kurdish identity in architecture, this study contributes to addressing this lack in the field. It is hoped to fill an essential gap in this field via using concepts and conducting original field research in this respect.

1.4 OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH

This thesis concerns the study of the impact of architectural identity on nation branding on the selected cases of Finland and Israel. In addition, it outlines how this study can be used to develop a theoretical model to explain the impact of architectural identity on nation branding for the case study of Iraqi Kurdistan. This thesis comprises six separate chapters and each chapter provides detailed information about the study.

➢ Chapter 1 is an introductory chapter that outlines the theoretical framework and clarifies the scope of the thesis. It elaborates the methodology, presents the research questions, the research aims and objectives, explains the value of the research, and provides an outline of the thesis.

Chapter 2 presents background information about the study from a broad range of literature reviews to provide a clear theoretical background. The first part attempts to clarify the fundamental concepts and dimensions of nation branding for building a clear conceptual framework and developing its significance to generate a theoretical model of the impact of architectural identity on nation branding. It examines the following questions: what is the background of nation branding and how can it be abstracted and approached in this study?

The second part of the chapter adapts the theoretical framework of architecture into the emerging global phenomenon of nation branding. It intends; first, to explore the importance of the political message of architecture in strengthening and charting the nation on the global map; second, to analyse the complex signs that underlie the power of architecture in the process of nation recognition and nation brand; and third, to disclose the architectural identity among the variable factors

that belong to nation branding and its participation, which is the central point in this chapter.

By reviewing a wide range of literature from architectural perspectives, this chapter attempts to unravel complex issues surrounding the rethinking of charting the nation on the global map through architectural identity. It also attempts to clarify the concept and the relationship between nation brand, architecture, and identity towards the development of a model that aims to explore the convergence points between nation branding and architectural expressions and dimensions.

➢ The following three chapters (Chapter 3-4-5) focus on the empirical findings and make comparisons and contrasts between nations as recognized, semi-recognized, and non-recognized states. Moreover, these chapters examine the socio-political and cultural dimensions of each nation in relation to the built environment and consider how it reflects the national value of nation brand. In addition, in these chapters the argument about the rhetorical connection between architectural identity and nation brand is advanced, firstly in general terms and secondly, illustrated by the comparison of case studies in which the main criterion of selection and points of similarities and differences with the main case of Iraqi Kurdistan are underlined.

➢ In chapter 3 Finland is chosen for the sake of analysing the politics of architectural identity and its impact on Finnish nation brand (Finnishness), as the significance of Finnish architecture in Finnish history has been increasingly acknowledged. Detailed analysis of the relationship between Finnish architecture and identity reveals different forms of nation branding based on architectural identity-led agenda.

➢ In chapter 4, by looking at Israel's background and the key components of the Israeli built environment, this chapter explores

Israeli architecture and its impact on Israeli nation brand as the second detailed case study of the research.

➢ Chapter 5 relates to the main case study of this research that is the autonomous region of Iraqi Kurdistan. This chapter aims to throw light on the complex relationship between Kurdish identity, architecture, and Kurdish nation brand. It is an exploration of Kurdish architectural identity as a reflection of political subjectivity. Taking a historical look at four shifts in the historical, the political and the cultural representations that affected Kurdish architecture (reading between historical layers, from total repression toward semi-independence and autonomy) is most important for our present concern. It illustrates different political strategies that animated the architectural identity in Iraqi Kurdistan.

➢ Finally, chapter 6 summarises research findings of the study and suggests some possible directions for future work.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

1.5.1 INTRODUCTION

Taylor (1998:3) defines the term methodology as "an approach to reach answers for intended problems". In other words, methodology indicates the theoretical analysis of the methods (procedures and techniques) appropriate to a field of study. Accordingly, under the objective of establishing a bridge between the fields of architecture and nation branding studies, this research adapts a triangulation method (qualitative, quantitative and on site observation of architectural productions) to bring a new angle to the ways of branding a nation by using architectural theories and concepts. There is a widespread consensus about the advantage of triangulation approach. Bouchard (1976:268) argues that the convergence findings derived from two or more methods "enhances our beliefs that the results are valid and not a methodological artifact".

Referring to the philosophy of operationalism and triangulation: blended research (Thomas 2003:13), integrative research (Johnson et al. 2004), multi-method research (Hunter and Brewer 2003), multiple methods (Johnson and Christensen 2010:269), ethnographic residual analysis (Fry et al. 1981), and mixed research (Johnson 2006), are additional identifiers that further describe the third methodological movement: An intellectual and practical synthesis (Johnson 2007).

In concrete terms, the major advantage of the broader term of mixed research is that "it does not suggest a limitation of mixing two methods only" (Johnson 2007) as today, the primary philosophy of mixed research is that of pragmatism. Moreover, Rossman and Wilson (1985) state that there are several additional reasons for combining quantitative and qualitative researches. For example:

> "First, the combinations are used to enable confirmation or corroboration of each other through triangulation. Second, combinations are used to enable or to develop analysis in order to provide richer data. Third, combinations are used to initiate new modes of thinking by attending to paradoxes that emerge from the two data sources" (Johnson et al. 2007).

In other words, in order to produce a more comprehensive set of findings, the mixed research has been approached in this study, as mixed methods research is an approach to knowledge of the theory and practice that attempts to consider multiple viewpoints, perspectives, positions, and standpoints (Johnson et al. 2007). It is envisaged that this is the most contextual and situated approach to the research where the qualitative, data collection and interviewing approaches have been adopted. In addition, the types and features of the case studies and the comparison methods and the interviews, as they are examined in the following chapters, will not only enable the identification of significant trends and patterns in the selected sites, but also increase the predictive capacity of the research. Based on recommendations by Yin (1994) for the use of multiple methods, the study depends on the collection of information from multiple sources but at the same time, it aims at corroborating the same fact or phenomenon.

1.5.1.1 THEORY BUILDING PROCESS: LITERATURE REVIEW

Researchers in the context of building a theory have found that developing a clear theoretical background is considered a priority framework of the sequential steps to develop a theory or model, and a broad range of literature is a key to this process (Eisenhardt 1991). "It supports the importance of the study's focus and may serve to validate the eventual findings in a narrowly descriptive study" (Marshall et al. 2006:46).

Concepts have been suggested as first-order questions that lead to research and aspects of situations that need to be investigated. If any of the concepts that form a proposition is ill-defined, an ambiguous research proposition, an ill-conceived emphasis on certain aspects of an organizational phenomenon may result (Osigweh 1989). Shortly, "the development of clear definitions for concepts is important to improving organizational research and theory building" (Ibid). A set of important research questions and areas of consideration have been addressed and identified in the discussion of the impact of architectural identity on nation branding. As also, Eisenhard (1989) emphasises that "an initial definition of the research question, in at least broad terms, is important in building theory from case studies".

For the purpose of this research, it is important to provide a general framework of nation branding and architecture's theories so that a better understanding of the impact of architectural identity on nation branding can be facilitated. On this basis, "the prior theory is developed from literature and from pilot studies and/or convergent interviews to be the first step in the theory-building process of case study research"(Perry 1998). Moreover, the purpose of the literature review chapter is to chart the body of knowledge and identify gaps (Ibid). Within the context of this research, it helps explain nation brand and clarifies the role of architectural identity under a greater scheme of nation brand building.

Furthermore, fundamental concepts and ideologies of architecture and nation branding have been presented as the focal point, working as a grounded theory of a journey towards validating the impact of architectural identity on nation branding based in "distinctive theoretical perspectives" (Johnson 2007). In other words, the use of the theoretical discourse is limited to framing investigative approaches, formulating rational analysis and underpinning critical inquiry at different stages in the research process. From this review the theoretical framework, and key concepts come and "findings resulted from previous research that would guide the new research and a major aspect of the study significance" (Marshall and Rossman 1999:54).

Accordingly, the relationship between architectural identity and nation branding is expanding as a reaction of the increasing demand for research that is relevant to the nation branding theories and practices (Fan 2006). Within the context of nation branding, there are theories about national identity, yet there is scant theorizing about the impact of architectural identity on nation branding particularly for the case study of Kurdistan. Consequently, an important goal of theory building "leads to the generalization as a field progresses, it tends to have theory in higher abstraction levels"… and, this progression from low abstraction to high abstraction is called ladder-climbing (Osigweh 1989).

This study is, rather, an effort to uncover the "hidden ways" in which nation branding operates as a new field within which discourses of national identity and architectural identity come into contact and reconfigure. Disclosing the architectural identity among the various factors that belongs to the nation branding and its participation is a special central point in this research. By examining these reconfigurations, this study seeks to reveal the impact of architectural identity on nation branding. Thus, it intends to investigate the status of creating "nation brand" in the field of architectural theory and practice and study its advantages and disadvantages regarding analysing and interpreting of the built environment, as well as proposing a more comprehensive method of interpretation of nation branding from an architectural perspective and examining it in the case studies of Finland, Israel and Iraqi Kurdistan.

1.5.1.2 DEVELOPING A RESEARCH THEORY: THE CASE STUDY APPROACH

The case study approach is especially convenient for exploratory research on topics that have not been extensively covered. Yin (1984) describes the design of case study research, "as a research strategy, developed a typology of case study designs, and described the replication logic which is essential to multiple case analysis". The case study is a research strategy, which focuses on understanding the dynamics present within single settings.

According to Eisenhardt (1989), "building theory from case study research is most appropriate in the early stages of research on a topic or to provide freshness in perspective to an already researched topic". Thus, nation branding as an emerging area has not been examined with much reference to architectural identity; a case study approach can therefore be of great value and typical to conduct in depth investigation in this field. This is an applicable method when a detailed contextual analysis and investigation are needed (Dooley 2002:335).The case study is "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin 2003:13).

Case studies method develops its strength with various strategies and data sources. As far as case study is concerned, it is helpful to clarify both the process and the consequence of a phenomenon containing both quantitative and qualitative data through full observation, reconstruction and analysis of the cases under investigation (Tellis 1997). Case studies typically combine data collection methods such as documents, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observation and artefacts (Eisenhardt 1989, Yin 1994). Accordingly, the present thesis, although mainly qualitative, it draws on a variety of sources such as direct observation, field survey, structured interviews, and archival records. In this research, articles and books have been used to propose the evidence of the information. In addition to the academic sources, the study resorted to reports of the relevant organizations such as municipalities. Best

efforts have been made in an attempt to have access to the database of government to get authorized information. In order to get insight to the central phenomenon "within single settings", in this study a multi-case studies have been presented for analysing the interplay between architectural identity and nation brand. As according to Przeworski and Teune (1970):

> "The logic of the comparative method is that by comparing units (countries, cities, or any other unites) that are most similar in some aspects, the researcher is able to control for the variables that are similar and isolate other variables as potential causes of observed differences. Likewise, most different comparisons control for the variables on which systems differ, eliminating them as possible explanations for similar outcomes".

Accordingly, the selected case studies of Finland and Israel have been explored respectively in relation to the main case study of Iraqi Kurdistan to exemplify the major design concept of developing the impact of architectural identity on nation branding. As also Harvey (2003:214) states that the purposive selection of cases contributes to its validity because of a relevant diversity of cases.

1.5.1.2.1 INTRODUCTION TO CASE SELECTION AND ANALYSIS: RECOGNIZED, SEMI RECOGNIZED AND NON-RECOGNIZED STATES.

This study presents the date collection and assessment methods for the exploration of the two selected case studies (Finland and Israel). "Case studies are useful in providing answers to "How?" and "Why?" questions, and in this role can be used for exploratory, descriptive or explanatory research" (Rowley 2002). Therefore, in this research multiple case study method has been employed to provide a basis to explore the questions of how architecture endures physical identity of nation brand. How could architectural identity be accepted as a model-of nation branding?

Darke, Shanks and Broadbent (1998) have claimed that the multi case studies propose a methodology to allow "cross-case analysis and comparison, and the investigation of a particular phenomenon in diverse settings". Reflecting on the

importance of case study research in developing theory, Eisenhardt (1989) insists that "theory developed from case study research is likely to have important strengths like novelty, testability, and empirical validity, which arise from the intimate linkage with empirical evidence".

Focusing on the case study research design, Yin (1994) indicates that case study research design should be guided by the theoretical development. To develop affective theoretical propositions in terms of the impact of architectural identity on nation branding, Chapter 2 reviews the literature that concern the different-aspects of architectural identity and the gaps between the specified features of the process of nation branding from the architectural perspective. Central to this argument is a question: How does a nation brand project itself in architecture. However, as the main theme of this study in terms of the intersection with nation brand, the perception of nation branding has been emphasized by Anholt (2003:139) as "the dominant channel of communication for national identity, national reputation and image". The research's interest here is in a similar yet different strategy, for the study of which it looks at the architectural discourse rather than at the nation branding as the object of marketing academics.

Accordingly, following the literature reviews, the case studies of this research will be analysed regarding the key identified aspect: The importance of the political message of architectural identity in strengthening and charting the nation on the global map, and the importance of analysing the complex signs underlying the power of architecture in the process of nation recognition. By studying the architectural practices of different nations in different political strata, different forms of nation branding based architectural identity-led-agenda can be found. As recommended by Groat and Wang (2001:356), case studies are "a real laboratory environment" that provide the research with a theoretical replication "logic".

A multiple case study research method has been proposed for the thesis. In the selection of case studies, it has taken into account several features, which involve: Geopolitics importance, territorial size, population, history, architecture as a strategic pillar (the architecture of politics and the politics of architecture). Each

case study has been selected to "serve a specific purpose within the overall scope of the enquiry" accommodating replication logic rather than a sampling logic (Groat and Wang 2001:236).

The two-selected case studies are different countries in two different continents, northern Europe and Asia. Israel and Finland are both considered as advanced, and have been placed within the approximately similar category level in terms of representing a rapid economic growth[1]. In addition to, in spite of the similarities that both countries have from the main case study Iraqi Kurdistan in terms of geopolitical importance, is categorized by roughly the same population, and most importantly same contented history (national tragedies), they are different in terms of being successful stories of independent sovereignty and national brand identity. Each nation has its own national strategy, policies, and systems (Porter 1998; Murtha 1994) to identify its goal and to guide the nation to achieve the goal. Within the context of architecture as a result, each nation takes different paths to architectural development, which inevitably leads to nation brand-specific mechanisms.

Finland and Israel have approached different architectural identity–leading nation branding paths consciously or unconsciously. The first case is Finland, which has been chosen to analyse the politics of Finnish architecture and its impact on physical Finnish overall image, whereas the second case (Israel) has been chosen to evaluate the architecture of Israeli politics in relation to Israeli impact on the physical Israeli overall image. After much literature review, the criteria employed were selected for each case study to "serve a specific purpose within the overall scope of the quality" (Groat and Wang 2001:356). The above-mentioned cases are likely to be measured as two different approaches to the management practice of nation branding from the architectural perspective. Israel and Finland have adopted different architectural development policies. Thus, valuable conclusions can be driven on the similarities and differences in the policy maintaining the national brand identity in architecture that can be used as a foundation to help the

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[1] Future brand: 2011-2012 country brand index, the seventh annual future brand country index (CBI).
http://www.futurebrand.com/wpcontent/uploads/2011/11/2011_2012_FB_CBI_ENG.pdf

development of the best management practice of sustainable and competitive national identity in Kurdistan. Meanwhile, these differing illuminations are reflected in the method approached in this research and the type of model presented. Thus, to have both relevant and diverse features in the selection of case studies is not a choice but a necessity in order to analyse the issue from different angles of an architectural perspective.

Although this study tries to follow the same analysis in all case studies, we can state here that the reason to design the research with multi case studies was to provide the thesis with "theoretical replication" logic as defined by Groat and Wang (2001:356). According to Stake (2005:23), "an important reason for doing the multi-case study is to examine how the program or phenomenon performs in different environments. When cases are selected carefully, the design of a study can incorporate a diversity of contexts". Thus, focusing on empirical findings, this research will allow for comparison and contrasts between the architectural productions of nations as recognized state, semi recognized and none recognized states. Moreover, this study examines the political, cultural, and historical dimensional aspects of each nation in relation to the architectural identity and consider how it reflects the looking for the true essence or real identity contextual with nation's culture and history by way of developing forms of representation with reference to the spirit of the nation.

Case studies are complex because they generally involve multiple sources of data, may include multiple cases within a study, and produce large amount of data to analyse. Though essentially qualitative, this study draws on a variety of sources, which involves both qualitative and quantitative data. As one of the first researchers to study the impact of architectural identity on nation branding in relation to case studies from northern Europe and Asia (Finland, Israel and Iraqi Kurdistan), it was important to access the relevant and up to date data in the selected study areas. The following section relates to the methodology of analysis followed in the case study assessment process.

1.5.1.2.1.1 COMPARISON TABLE BETWEEN FINLAND AND ISRAEL

The following table looks at the nation brand characteristics between Finland and Israel according to the 2012-2013 Top Country Branding Ranking[2].

The Association Dimensions of a Country Brand		2012–13 Top 25 Country Brands Ranking	
		FINLAND	**ISRAEL**
VALUE SYSTEM	Environmental Friendliness	2	Not on the list
	Freedom of Speech	10	Not on the list
	Political Freedom	11	Not on the list
	Stable Legal Environment	4	Not on the list
	Tolerance	3	Not on the list
OVERALL VALUE SYSTEM TOP 25		**5**	**Not on the list**
QUALITY OF LIFE	Education System	4	Not on the list
	Healthcare System	5	Not on the list
	Job Opportunity	12	Not on the list
	Safety	3	Not on the list
	Most Like to Live in	6	Not on the list
	Standard of Living	6	Not on the list
OVERALL QUALITY OF LIFE TOP 25		**6**	**Not on the list**
GOOD FOR BUSINESS	Advanced Technology	11	13
	Investment Climate	11	Not on the list
	Regulatory Environment	9	Not on the list
	Skilled Workforce	6	Not on the list
OVERALL GOOD FOR BUSINESS TOP 25		**9**	Not on the list
HERITAGE AND CULTURE	Art and Culture	Not on the list	9
	Authenticity	6	8
	History	Not on the list	3
	Natural Beauty	3	No on the list

[2] Country Brand Index 2012-13

OVERALL HERITAGE AND CULTURE TOP 25		16	8
TOURISM	Value for Money	Not on the list	Not on the list
	Attractions	Not on the list	14
	Resort and Lodging Options	Not on the list	Not on the list
	Food	Not on the list	Not on the list
	Shopping	Not on the list	Not on the list
	Beach	Not on the list	Not on the list
OVERALL TOURISM		Not on the list	Not on the list
2012–13 Top 25 Country Brands Ranking		9	Not on the list

Table 1.1 Comparison Table between Finland and Israel Brand[3]

1.5.1.2.1.2 METHODOLOGY OF ANALYSES AND LIMITATIONS

In order to get insight to the central phenomenon "within single settings", in this study a multi-case studies approached have been presented for analysing the interplay between architectural identity and nation brand. It consists of three phases:1) Historical and political dimensions in relation to architectural identity; 2) Nation brand dimension in relation to architectural identity; 3) Nation brand identity and image legitimating in relation to architectural identity. There is an increasing desire of this study to engage architecturally with the contemporary and complex issues that lie beyond nation branding and its borders. Examining the interplay between architectural identity and nation brand is a challenge for contextualizing the aforementioned issues and helps making architecturally farther suggestions for the nation brand of unrecognized Iraqi Kurdistan.

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[3] "Small countries can have a big reputation; Country brand strength is not a function of geographic size or economic power. China demonstrates this very fact with a fall of nine places to sixty-fifth position in 2011, despite having the world's largest population and displacing Japan as the second largest economy. Conversely, New Zealand, Switzerland and Finland all enjoy top ten rankings and some of the highest scores in the index with populations below ten million"(Future brand 2011-2012).

➢ "Value System is a dimension at the root of so many others. It is the foundation for a country brand's essence and it evolves slowly-- just as the long term cultural, political and social factors that comprise it"(Ibid).

➢ POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL DIMENSIONS IN RELATION TO ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY

This section investigates how the layers of political and historical changes have been reflected in the built environment and architectural strategies and mechanisms that have been used to respond to the pressure of political and cultural predicaments in the context of case studies. Architecture is assumed to have political and cultural powers (see Chapter 2), accordingly, this research explores broader implications of the dynamics of political and national message of architecture and discourses its symbolic power in the context of Iraqi Kurdistan in relation with the two selected case studies, Finland and Israel.

➢ NATION BRAND DIMENSION IN RELATION TO ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY

As mentioned earlier in this study, Fan (2010) points out that "as an emerging area of interest, nation branding is driven largely by practitioners and there is an urgent need for conceptual and theoretical development of the subject". These issues can be stated among the reasons behind the need to conduct more research and analysis in this field as it helps to reach a true consensus on its concept and dimensions. Consequently, in this research, the concepts and dimensions of nation branding and its importance for theorizing upon issues of national identity are elaborated within the discourse of architecture. The architectural production used in this research is a tool to know more about what is nation brand and what is its anatomy, is a reflection mirror of development "from tangible to intangible, multiplicity to singularity, concrete to abstract, experiential to cerebral and emotional" (Simonin 2008:22). Brand has been defined by Simonin as the core value of branding strategy. He adds that it should easily be conveyed into an obvious, simple, distinguished, and motivating ideally proposal communication purposes(meaningful unique selling proposition). In addition, it is recommended by Gilmore (2002) that the core of a country's brand must capture the spirit of the people of that nation and their shared purpose. The spirit of the people and the spirit of their place are deeply connected. In a parallel vein, solid values – sustainable stories in this context – are central to any form of this connection that

nation brand based on whether brand value is of a nation, country, region, and a story should be identified, recognizable and constructed or not to motivate and legitimate the comfort and certainty (Hannigan 2003). Within the context of nation branding, in particular, O'Shaughnessy et al. (2000) insist that any nation can be considered as a brand and the core value of brand can be secured by many tools, however, sustainable competitiveness, uniqueness, and credibility of the core value is the puzzle that need investigation (Simonin 2008:23).

> NATION 'IDENTITY AND IMAGE' LEGITIMATING IN RELATION TO ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY

Although several key themes are important in the analytical process of a nation's image and identity, the aim of this section is to produce a conceptual framework for a construction process of nation brand image building based on architectural identity. Dinnie (2008:42) argues that, "to develop an understanding of a nation brand identity and image, an analysis of the components of brand identity and image is a useful starting point". In this study, the focus will be on architecture and the extent to which it is successful in reinforcing the construction process of a sustainable and competitive nation brand identity and image. Analysing the built environment of the compared nations will consider how it reflects the national sustainability of communities and bring light to the overall conception, significance and use of architectural identities in the their original context**.**

> CONCLUSION

The relationship between nation branding and architectural identity as the spirit of nation –their interaction and dependence, is explored in detail via looking at the following two case studies (Finland and Israel). As has been outlined in this research, architectural identity is a crucial component and of critical importance in shaping a strong national brand, simultaneously, the ambiguous relationship between architectural identity and national essence contributes to the emergence of fragile value of the nation brand from the architectural perspective. A number of themes are explored which will be important implications for the evaluation of

the process of identifying the nation branding based architectural identity- led agenda for the case study of Iraqi Kurdistan.

1.5.1.2.1.3 THE MAIN CASE STUDY: IRAQI KURDISTAN

As one of the first researchers to study the Kurdish identity in architecture and its impact on the Kurdish nation brand, a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methodologies and a structured questionnaire are used in order to reveal the research questions.

As a result of the Kurdish quest to be an integrated nation-state, having its own geopolitical border, questions have seldom been raised about the Kurdish architectural identity as a spirit of Kurdish nation, much less about: To what extent the reconstruction of the collective memories of the disputed historical architectural sites in southern Kurdistan can be the collective identity of Kurdish nation? Simultaneously, there is a surprising amount of available research on Kurdish identity, history and regional politics. Thus, this study offers a new theoretical horizon for better understanding the powerful force of architectural identity as central in transforming the image of the Kurdish nation brand and opening a new direction for the empirical inquiry and the theorization of the current efforts of Kurdish independence. It questions architect's ability to investigate the power of political message of architecture compared to the structure of Kurdish political message over the Kurdish nation brand. Identifying characteristic principles of Kurdish architectural identity to understand the meaning of the Kurdish nation brand (Kurdishness) is an alternative approach that is largely ignored by the Kurdish geopolitical approaches. The possibility for improving the complexity of Kurdish nation brand through a framework of architectural analysis has been approached in this research based on the political strata.

"Methods of data collection varied from interviewing and participant observation to the study of human documents" (Schurink and Willem 2003:4). It is important to gather and present the data by a way that the subjects speak for themselves (Strauss and Corbin 1990:12). In this study, data is analysed by means of analytical induction and grounded theory. The grounded theory, which is called "the discovery of theory from data", is a good means for researchers to theorize from evidence existing in the data (Glaser and Strauss 1967:1). There are many aspects related to grounded theory, the most important one is its inductive, contextual, and processual nature (Charmaz 2006).
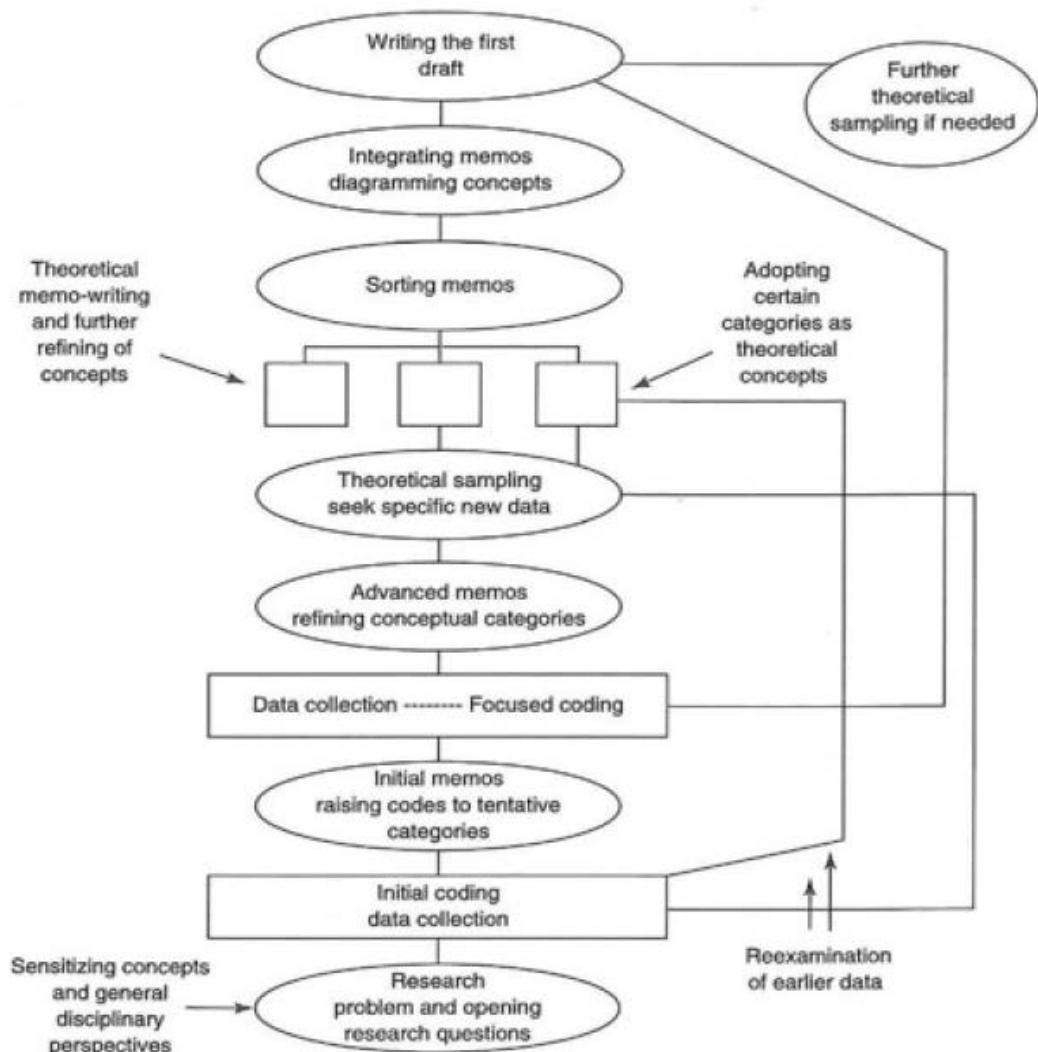
Figure 1.2 The grounded theory process (Charmaz 2006:11)

From this definition, it is the best method that concentrates on neutral analysis based on positivist or interpretive approach (Urquhart 2006). Additionally, Gasson (2004) states that "to employ grounded theory rigorously, it is important to understand that, like the case study method, this approach may be used successfully to support both positivist and interpretive research".

Actually, data analysis entails certain distinct activities. The first and the most important one is discovery of what is ongoing, identifying themes and developing concepts and propositions (Taylor 1998:141). In the evaluation of each of the documents, there is some factors must be taken into account such as corroboration and augmented evidence from different sources as it importance to recognize the strengths and weaknesses of the various forms of documentation, particularly with respect to any bias (Onsrud 2007:64). Moreover, in case studies, corroboration and augmented evidence from other sources have been considered the most important one to minimise possible bias. Tesch (1990) distinguished over forty types of qualitative research for analysing data from case studies based qualitative research. It has been stated that "there is no one kind of qualitative data analysis, but rather a variety of approaches, related to the different perspective and purposes of the researchers" (Dey1993:1).

By considering the research questions, this study attempts to bring together data about specific historical, cultural, and political contexts in relation to the architectural identity in different levels and periods. Although the regular association of events provides a basis for interpreting possible connections between them, it is subject to conceptual confirmation through establishing some links or connecting mechanisms, which operate between the architectural identity and the nation branding. It has been stated that "the conceptual identification of links provides a basis for identifying connections between events, but subject to empirical confirmation through regular association between them" (Dey 1993:171).

Data has been collected from a variety of sources; this has been done by taking a historical look at four shifts in political representation that affected architecture in Iraqi Kurdistan. Cooper and Schindler (2003) articulated that it is important to decide on the data collecting scale which is ranged from a simple observation at one location to a wide-ranging survey in different parts of the world. Alternatively, during the data analysis stage, qualitative data can play an important role "by interpreting, clarifying, describing, and validating quantitative results, as well as through grounding and modifying" (Johnson 2007).

Through scholarly methods, interviews, field studies and participant observations, the Kurdish architecture through a different range of sites that dated back to different political strata has been examined. This study aims to explore the role of architecture identity as a fundamental factor for the negotiation of the Kurdish identity, and in particular, how this relates to Kurdish nation brand (Kurdishness). This has been done through an analysis of the political context surrounding the architectural sites and the built environment in Kurdistan. The data for this study has been collected over a period of 12 months, between December 2011 and January 2013, from the archive departments of the Ministry of Municipality of Iraqi Kurdistan, as this study includes another approach of methodology, which is considered as archival analysis for the available official documents talking about the architectural history of appearing Kurdish nation, their major characteristics and heritages.

The self-reflection approach has been used to reflect what is going to anticipate and move the research forward. Likewise, a method has been developed to provide a hypothetical understanding of Kurdish identity as a structure. A significant part of this study is about the researcher's own reflections and decisions. It is about the field that has been covered and what has been eliminated. The field in that sense has not merely been noticed but it has been reconstructed as an examined and an analysed model. The research provided analytical insights into how the Kurdish identity in architecture has been considered: Is there Kurdish architecture? What is the background of the quest for Kurdish identity in architecture?

Structured interviews with a total of 50 of architectural professionals and 50 of decision makers from different government institutions has been conducted. According to May (1997:227), "questions are normally specified but the interviewer is freer to probe beyond the answers in a manner which would appear prejudicial to the aims of standardization and comparability". In terms of the target group, Grant (2000) called this type of interviewing "Elite Interviewing". In terms of the number of interviews, Grant states that, twenty to thirty interviews might be reasonable target for a PhD; however, the exact number depends on the circumstances of the research. In the case study of Iraqi Kurdistan, a structured questionnaire has been conducted. The duration of the interviews was on average between 35-40 minutes. However, most of the respondents have been guaranteed confidentially in that their names would not be mentioned in the main body text of the thesis. This has been done to make sure that interviewees would be as honest as possible in their answers, which might touch on sensitive political issues (see Appendix).

QUALITATIVE SAMPLING METHOD: IRAQI KURDISTAN

In fact, this research partially emerged in response to the challenges of the ongoing process of defining Kurdish nation brand represented by Kurdish architectural identity. Architecturally, to modify the base of Kurdish nation brand (Kurdishness), an understanding of the true Kurdish past, present and future is required (see Chapter 2). Thus for the purpose of this study, in Iraqi Kurdistan, it is possible to divide the layers of Kurdish visual memory as a result of the political transformations into four main categories (reading between historical layers, from total repression toward semi-independence and autonomy).

Considering Maxfield (2006:124) approach in terms of stratified sampling, in this study the political categories have been organized into homogenous subsets. Essentially qualitative, a stratified method of sampling process is selected for this study. Random samples of architectural projects are taken within each political

stratum. The samples are selected to be the representative of the whole architectural productions during these periods in order to draw conclusions and make generalizations. The importance behind the stratified method is to reduce the risk of bias (D'agostino 1998). This method is used when representatives from each political stratum (layer) in the history need to be represented in samples. This sort of analysis is crucial for understanding the nature of the relationship between a complex built environment and its political history (Vale 2008:4). Based on the suggestions of Dovey (2008:3) that such a "frame of theorization" has outlined the theoretical frameworks and deals first with the use and misuse of the concepts of architectural identity as a mean of sustainable and competitive national identity. The selected samples (as indicated in Table 1.2) are distributed into political strata. In each political layer, samples are selected as follows:

Architectural Category	Political layer	Number of Samples	Total
Kurdish architectural identity: Total repression	1970-1991	10/year	110 cases
Kurdish architectural identity: Toward semi-independence	1991-2003	10/year	130 cases
Kurdish architectural identity: Autonomy 2003-present	2003-2013	10/year	100 case

Table 1.2The architectural categories based political strata - the case study of Iraqi Kurdistan

> ➢ IN SEARCH OF KURDISH IDENTITY IN ARCHITECTURE: READING BETWEEN HISTORICAL LAYERS

The first layer: The case studies of this discussion are largely based on the archaeological sites which are nominated as a representative of specific political stratum and this status is the main criterion of section here. Architectural analysis of historical sites, in its morphological type aspects, is the tool chosen to describe and get to know the elements and parts of complex architectural heritages. The

archaeological site analysis is the necessary starting investigation tool to approach the problem of defining the characteristic of Kurdish identity in architecture in its politicized historical context. Thus, this analysis has been carried out focusing on five samples (in depth case studies), each as a representative of specific political condition and are chosen from different areas of Iraqi Kurdistan. As it has been emphasized by Rosado (2011) that

> "The importance of architectural typology to give continuity is in its possibilities, in the functional analysis to understand the form, and the formal analysis to comprehend the styles and the aesthetic trends, or in its critical evaluation that locates it in its cultural and historical context. There is its significance, furthermore, not only in defining and describing a type in particular, but also in situating them as ideal models to compare architectures, creativities, forms and functions, procedures and materials, elements and ornaments, utopias and nostalgia".

Accordingly, the complex architectural morphology of archaeological sites based political strata are analysed through, historical documents and the physical reading of the historical sites in nature, photo reportages, and records in accordance with the proposed study principles and criteria. Though, geographically, the historical architectural sites are distant from each other, those belong to the same political series share the same political myths and aesthetic characteristics. The aim behind the method is to describe Kurdish identity in architecture, basing the relationship between the morphological structure of the archaeological sites and the political structure of particular period of history. Rosado et al. (2011) state that "the empirical verification results not only factual, but also necessary in terms of proving that the colonial influence survives strongly even in our architecture and therefore must be restudied, recognized and reconsidered as a source of creativity and rescue, respect and conservation of our heritage".

➢ IN SEARCH OF KURDISH IDENTITY IN ARCHITECTURE: TOTAL
REPRESSION 1970-1991

The second layer: previous Iraqi regimes had strong control on the region only after First World War as a result of the Lausanne Treaty in 1920-1923 (see Chapter 5). Accordingly, the Kurdish conflicts date back to generations that were the result of regional-political changes, Kurdish revolutions and international agendas, but the pressure over global international legitimacy has passed through dramatic transformations during the second half of the twentieth century. Architecturally, the relationship between architectural identity and Kurdish identity was complex. To examine this relationship and questioning the Iraqi government's architectural policy in misinterpretation of Kurdish architectural identity, this analysis has been carried out focusing on 110 samples of architectural projects from the archive departments of Ministry of Municipalities of Iraqi Kurdistan to highlight the concrete problems addressed by the research and the impact of architectural policy-making mechanisms on the production of architectural identity during this period. Over 300 files of architectural projects were mapped and identified from 1980 to 1991 and then 110 of these were shortlisted. Due to the political events that took place in Iraqi Kurdistan after March 1991, the General Central Archive and many culturally and politically important materials were destroyed by unidentified individuals. "A good portion of the files was destroyed in the early 1991s", says a staff member at the archive department in the Ministry of Municipalities. The archive holds a sample only of architectural projects licenses for the period after 1980s as most files were destroyed. Despite the lack of spaces in which these documents were received, the archive has attempted to satisfy the needs of both the researchers and administrative officers.

➢ IN SEARCH OF KURDISH IDENTITY IN ARCHITECTURE: TOWARD
SEMI-INDEPENDENCE 1991 —2003

Third layer: following the 1991 Kurdish exoduses in the northern Iraq uprising against Iraqi regime, a brief period ensued in which semi autonomy was given to the Kurdish region, elected Kurds to the state government in 1992 (Clwyd 2008). The Kurdish council of ministries and parliament and other institutions were

created by a semi-independent government, at the beginning of Kurdish reconstruction, to legislate the region internationally and assist Kurds towards independence. During this period, the major Kurdish social, religious, and educational policies began or expanded as a response to the continuing institutionalization of the segregated society. Architecturally, to examine this political transformation and questioning the Kurdish government's architectural policy in the extent of interpretation of Kurdish identity in architecture, this analysis has been carried out focusing on 130 samples from the archive department of the Ministry of Municipalities of Iraqi Kurdistan to highlight the presence of any features or elements that give the Kurdish identity its visual characteristics (Kurdish architectural details) during this period. However, over 300 files of architectural projects were mapped and identified from 1991 to 2003and then 130 of these were shortlisted.

> IN SEARCH OF KURDISH IDENTITY IN ARCHITECTURE: AUTONOMY 2003-PRESENT

Fourth layer: This period has started during 2003, following the Iraqi Liberation War and the establishment of the autonomous Kurdistan. The Kurdistan Regional Government has made its own laws, controlled its own army and decided its own pace of economic development (KRG 2008); the region has manifested major activism during 2005, and realized real estate investment policies in 2007 and 2010. Architecturally, to examine this political transformation and questioning the Kurdish government's architectural policy in the extent of interpretation of Kurdish identity in architecture, this analysis has been carried out focusing on 100 samples of the architectural projects licenses from the archive departments of Iraqi Kurdistan Ministry of Municipality. However, over 300 files of architectural projects were mapped and identified; only 100 of these were shortlisted.

1.5.1.2.1.4. LIMITATIONS ON THE POLITICAL DEFINITIONS OF NATIONS AS RECOGNIZED, SEMI RECOGNIZED AND NONE RECOGNIZED STATES

Recent research on national terminology has identified different terms that are used interchangeably such as nation, state, and nation-state. Each term has its history and a distinct meaning. For example, the term state used instead of the term country, which is commonly used, to refer to "an internationally recognized, politically organized, populated, geographical area that possess sovereignty" (Campbell et al. 2010:32). For example, Campbell used a four- characteristics scale to define states as follows

> ➢ A fixed territory with boundaries
> ➢ A population;
> ➢ A government
> ➢ The capacity to enter into relations with other states.

However, the term nation refers to "a shared cultural or ethnic identity rather than a legally recognized geographic territory" (Ibid). With regard to the third term nation-state: It is understood that this term possess the both definitions of nation and state. It is "a type of state that provides sovereign territory for a particular culture or ethnic group. However, it is also frequently used interchangeably with the terms state and country" (Ibid). Only in nation-state, it can be argued that the cultural or ethnic group coincides with the geopolitical entity. Therefore, in response to the raised question: What is nation-state? Rosow (2004) states that "this is a difficult question to answer briefly because the words nation-state" conjure multiple meanings and associations. Defining nation-state is complicated by the fact that in contemporary English usage, the words "nation" and "state" are used interchangeably". For the purpose of this study, Finland has been defined as a recognized nation-state (Minahan 2002:69). While, Israel, as a distinct nation, has been identified as a semi-recognized state (Engebretson 2010:500). In addition, Kurdistan has been defined as a nation without state (Chaliand 1993:112). (see Chapter 3, 4 and 5).

CHAPTER TWO

AN EXPLORATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATION BRANDING AND ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY

2. BASIC ANALYTICAL CONCEPTS: IN SEARCH OF THEORY: INTRODUCTION

The present chapter attempts to clarify the fundamental architectural and nation branding theories and concepts to build a clear conceptual framework and develop its significance, and thereby generating a hypothesis for the subsequent stages of this research. The primary question examined herein is as follows: What is the background of nation branding and how can it be abstracted and approached architecturally in this study? Disclosing the architectural identity among the various factors that belongs to nation branding is the special central point in this chapter. It intends to explore the importance of the political message of architectural identity in strengthening and charting the nation on the global map, and to analyse the complex signs underlying the power of architecture in the process of national recognition. Deep explanation, evaluation, and analysis of all the relevant aspects are provided in the following sections of this chapter.

2.1 CONCEPTS AND DIMENSIONS OF NATION BRANDING

The investigation of nation branding continues to be a central issue and the most recent cause of confusion in national regeneration strategies. According to Anholt (2005a), people are not only confused about what is branding, but also confused about what is being branded. There is little agreement among different branding scientists about its meaning and concept, as Anholt (2002) mentions that the existing ambiguity of different branding planning levels resulted from the lack of obvious and significant difference between branding a city and branding a country. Moreover, Fan (2010) points out that as an emerging area of interest, "nation branding is driven largely by practitioners and there is an urgent need for conceptual and theoretical development of the subject". These issues can be stated among reasons behind the need to conduct more research and analysis in this field as it helps to reach a true consensus on its concept and dimensions. Before proceeding farther, it is necessary to elaborate the concepts and dimensions of nation branding and its importance for theorizing upon issues of national identity.

Interest in the concept of nation branding dates back to the mid-1990s. It

describes the construction practice of promoting a spectacular image of a particular nation to the rest of the world, making use of public diplomacy, trade, or exporting promotion and tourism (Anholt 2007:3). Despite the fact that the practice and theory of nation branding is in its early stages having only a few decades of experience, there is an argument from some practitioners, for example Olins (2002), who believe in a country's branding and re-branding themselves throughout history. Accordingly, it is possible to consider only the word of 'brand', and not the concept of 'nation branding', as new, basically, it stands for a new concept of image management (Szondi 2008). It is also underlined by Olins (2003:152) that "although the technologies are new and infinitely more powerful and pervasive than ever before, and the word 'brand' is also new, the concepts which it encompasses are as old as the nation itself".

The great success and power of brands have led countries to practice a branding process and emphasise its distinctive characteristics. A brand acts as a utopian model, which aims at suggesting to consumers a kind of road leading to paradise. Strong brands encourage ideological systems that persistently depend on utopian models, which comprise a series of intrinsic inconsistencies, and paradoxes, which enable brands to be brought together through a narrative program (Schroeder 2006:7-115). Anholt (2007) points out that "nation branding- is an important concept in today's world". A crucial competitive advantage is provided by a positive and strong nation brand so that countries know it is very important for them to understand how publics around the world see them across key dimensions. Anholt and others indicate that:

> "Countries looking to manage their image have to go deeper, aligning their foreign and domestic policies with a well-researched set of national images, much as a successful marketing campaign requires a company to "live the brand". The United States, for example, might brand itself as a nation of personal freedom, risk-taking, and cultural tolerance, and then coordinate policy around the promotion of that brand (by, say, expanding market-friendly foreign aid programs)" (Risen 2005).

Against this backdrop, some writers commonly accept the idea of nation as a brand, whereas there are others who are more doubtful in respect of the applicability of branding concepts to nations (Szondi 2008). Others may see some value in it but only for tourism (Simonin 2008). Recently, researchers have begun to call the approach "Competitive Identity", as Anholt (2007:xi) argues that "because it has more to do with national identity, and the politics and economics of competitiveness that with branding as it is usually understood". In fact, there is a dangerous myth around the concept of nation branding (Ibid). That is, it is in vain, naive and foolish to brand a country, which in from Anholt's (2008) point of view nation branding does not solve but creates the problem. Fan (2010) offered a new definition, which makes the need sure to transform from "branding" the nation to nation image management. The current research identifies some of the different approaches to dimensions of nation branding described in the literature. Anholt (2005) assumes that the "hexagon" of communication channels and conducts is depended on by most countries to send out messages about themselves. It is confirmed that it is possible to convey nationality and competitiveness via six identifiable components: The nation's tourism promotion; the country's exports; the policy decisions of the country's government; the way the nation attracts inward investment; foreign talent and companies; the nation's cultural activities; and the people of the country. These dimensions are by no means equal in value or capability and many sharper definitions of these identifiable components have been offered, not all of them satisfactory. At the same time, what constitutes more identifiable component often depends on the context of the nation and the aims to be achieved.
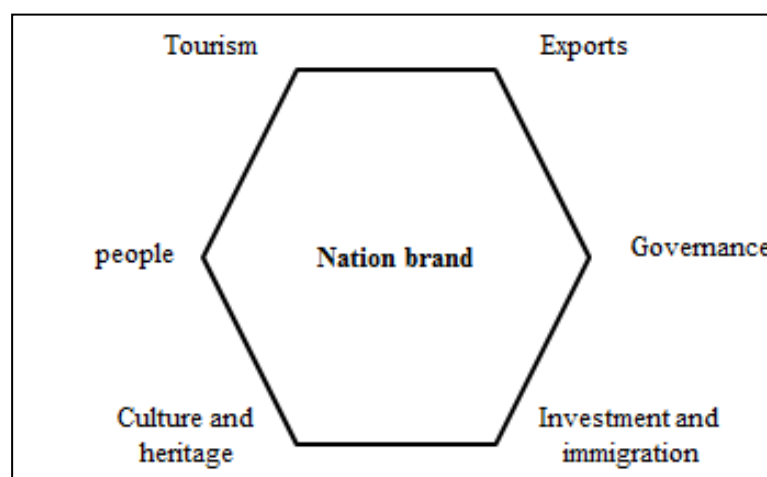
Figure 2.1: Nation brand Hexagon (Anholt 2005)

It is to be mentioned that a group of authors concentrate on the origin of nation branding which in their viewpoints traces to four various sources. (1) Country of origin (COO) (Papadopoulos 2002), (2) place or destination branding (Kotler et al. 1993), more recently, (3) public diplomacy (Van Ham 2001) and (4) national identity (Szondi 2008).However, place branding, country of origin and nation branding are contrasting case studies as the first two terms concentrate on promoting specific economic interests (export, tourism or inward investment), while nation branding pays attention to a nation as a whole on the international phase covering political, economic and cultural aspects (Quelch and Jocz 2005; Fan 2006). Nation branding is defensible among state and shared actors as a required correction to the declining significance of the nation-state in the globalized economic, political and cultural exchange context (Aronczyk 2009).

Reflecting on the nation branding context related to country-of-origin, Roth and Romeo (1992) argued that the competitive gain is strongly related to the powerful image variable of country of origin and it could rapidly increase by promoting the country of origin. In a parallel vein with destination branding, Imonen (2005) defined place branding as a sort of interesting memories providing storytelling, aiming to teach its participant how to watch the city in a specific way. The other experts focus on the main notions and the main components of urban branding strategy such as, Kavaratzis (2005) who identified the main components of branding in three items; people, reputation, and purpose. In addition, he emphasized on the necessity for any urban branding strategy to achieve sustainability and profitability. Additionally, it has been defined as "a strategy tries to use the existing tourist attractions, distinctive cultural features, natural beauty, and unique heritages in a city or destination in order to attract the tourist and their spending to it" (Kolb 2006:18). Others try to render the implications of city branding strategy on enriching its visual perception such as, (Cai 2002) who defined city branding as any slogan in the city, either it is physical like the vernacular and historical buildings or none-physical like an event or activity, which is able to construct physical visual perception images, consequently it is possible to brand any city or country. In the same vein of these implications,

Gellatly (2001) emphasised the importance of city branding in establishing its unique brand, visual image, that summaries the soul of city in order to stimulate its attractiveness for the travellers, investors, and local population as well. As a new tool involving political components, in nation branding's reflection on public diplomacy; Leonard (2002:9) defines public diplomacy as a form of communication that is constituted by the nation brand. He adds that:

> "Public diplomacy is based on the premise that the image and reputation of a country are public goods which can create either an enabling or a disabling environment for individual transactions. Work on particular issues will feed off the general image of the country and reflect back on to it – in both positive and negative directions".

"Soft" power is another feature of nation branding in compare to the "hard" power of both assets of military or economy (Metzl 1999; Nye 2004). Actually, there is a wide range of views regarding the convergence points between public diplomacy and nation branding. In the widest sense of the world, some scholars have considered nation branding as "the postmodern mutation of public diplomacy, representing a line of evolution, which started from propaganda" (Szondi 2008).However, the aforementioned three components (COO, public diplomacy, and city branding) are beyond the limits of this study, it is important to evaluate the origins of nation branding in order to understand the gap between nation brand, sustainable and competitive national identity and the reflection of those through the implementation of nation branding projects.

As the main theme of this study in terms of the intersection with national identity, the perception of nation branding has been emphasized by Anholt (2003:139) as "the dominant channel of communication for national identity, national reputation, and image". In the widest sense of the word, nation branding or rebranding is an activity, which is controversial, and highly politicized (Dinnie 2008:200).
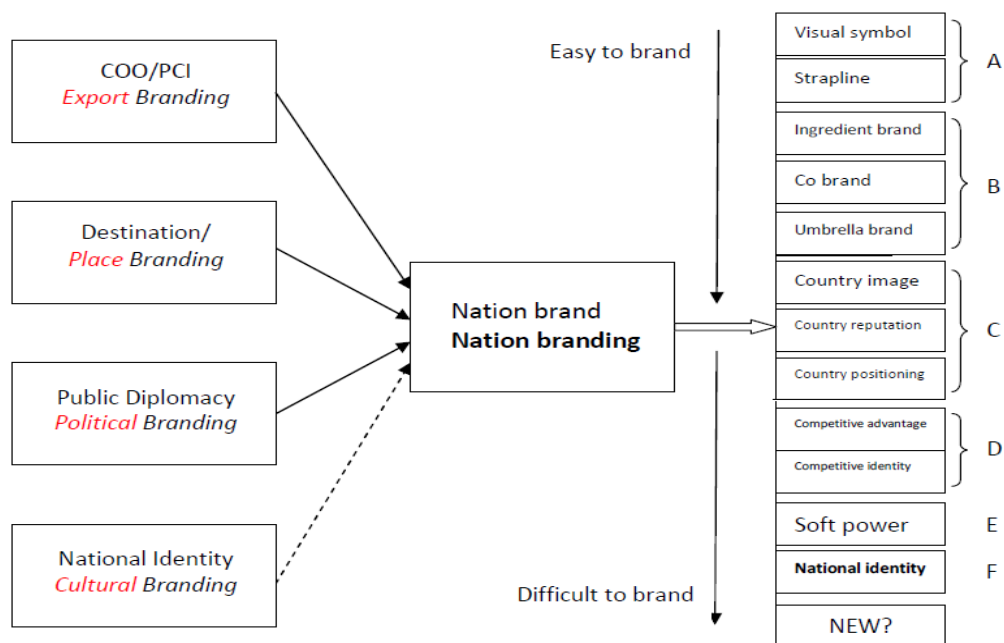
Figure 2.2 The concept of nation branding: Origins and interoperations (Fan 2010)

Moreover, nation branding is the outcome of the country- of origin and the interdisciplinary literature on national identity combined, where all approaches of politic, culture, sociology, and history crosslink with identity (Szondi 2008). In Anholt's (2008) viewpoint, "nation brand is national identity made tangible, robust, communicable, and above all useful". Nation branding is displayed as a"2.0" version of "nationalism" and as a more developed shape of "patriotism" than its prejudiced or aggressive counterparts depending on its capacity to join diverse "motifs of heritage" and modernization, domestic and foreign interests, and to connect economic and moral ideologies (Aronczy 2009). To collect a number of various categories in the early phases like business interests, government parties, civil society actors, and citizens-in a "grassroots"- style approach to the formation of the new national identity is to highlight a key aspect of the process of nation-branding (Ibid). It is obvious that national identity and nation branding are developing toward becoming an integral domain in the future due to the growing correlation between the two fields.

Dinnie (2008:13) points out that nation branding is an exciting, complicated and contentious phenomenon. On the other hand, Peter Van (2001) argues that "the

unbranded state has a difficult time attracting economic and political attention, and that nation image and reputation are becoming essential parts of the state's strategic equity". The key dilemma of nation branding theory might be raised at this point since it is a complex phenomenon, which makes nations compete economically and in other fields like foreign direct investments, tourism, exports, culture, social, and politics (Endzina and Luneva 2004). Therefore, the main problem of nation branding is brand researchers are in need of a holistic vision to develop tools to work. It can be stated that nation branding is the present and future of past production joined at the same time. Further exploration into an additional variable that affect nation branding, and the way that it used to propagate a nation's value will be examined in the next part of this research.

2.1.1 NATION BRAND

In a reference to brand as a term, the American Marketing Association (AMA) defines brand as "name, term, design, symbol, or any other feature that identifies one seller's good or service as distinct from those of other sellers". Indeed, for Mommaas (2002:34) brands can be viewed not only as an origin of differentiation, but also as a deciphering code that makes us more easily read each other besides our physical environment and products. Accordingly, brand is an origin of "identification", "recognition", "continuity", and "collectivity" (Ibid). In terms of future –orientated brand, James and Jack (2002:27-209) state that the heroes of emotional and imaginational stories will act as the bedrock for successful future brand by which such heroes of these stories could be represented by anything–products, service personalities, or attitudes. As it can be understood from James, transformation of emotional stories to tangible representation has been proposed for an effective future brands. The central theme of the brand is the invention of successful essence. Adopting Kapferer's (2004) definition of the theoretical roots of core brand models, the core has been identified as the main factor by composing 70% of traits of brand definition. Van Gelder (2005) has made a noteworthy contribution to the current understanding of the brand as an organizing principle for the whole strategic branding process. In terms of brand classification, one could say that "the brand occupies a mental

territory, while the product or trademark merely occupies a functional territory" (Stigel and Frimann 2006). At the same time, Schroeder (2006:1) insists that "if brands occur as cultural, ideological and political objects then brand researchers are in need of developed tools to understand culture, politics, and ideology, in accordance with more typical branding concept, such as equity, strategy, and value".

In the literature, the importance of the brand as a medium seems to be commonly interpreted as an important concept since the negative message can be converted to positive within a strong context in which messages are received (Konecnik 2007). The usage of different factors, features, and associations of brand as a tool to know more about what is a brand and what is its anatomy, is a reflective mirror of development "from tangible to intangible, multiplicity to singularity, concrete to abstract, experiential to cerebral and emotional" (Simonin 2008:22). As brand is the core value of branding strategy; it should easily be conveyed into an obvious, "simple", "distinguished", and motivating ideal proposal for communication purposes–a "meaningful Unique Selling Proposition" (Simonin 2008:22). Accordingly, to make a distinction between slogan and brand is to distinguish between the shell and the core; the brand is "deeper rooted" (Unsworth 2008).

Within the context of nation branding, in particular, Shaughnessy et al (2000) insist that any nation can be considered as a brand and the core value of brand can be secured by many tools, however, sustainable competitiveness, uniqueness, and credibility of the core value is the puzzle that needs investigation (Simonin 2008:23).Undoubtedly, one of the most essential themes for a research in the field of nation branding is the nation brand as the core value of nation. However, in the words of Gilmore (2002), "the core of a country's brand must capture the spirit of the people of that nation and their shared purpose. The spirit of the people and the spirit of their place are deeply connected". In a parallel vein, solid values – sustainable stories in this context – are central to any form of this connection, based on, whether the brand value is of a nation, country, region, a story should be identified, recognizable and constructed or not to motivate and legitimate comfort and certainty (Hannigan 2003). Moreover, in terms of nations, brand has been placed in a wider context by referring to the nation as a whole described

through intangible assets, which belong representatively to the whole nation (Fan 2005). The notion of brand as a core value is therefore essential, as it is the meaning giving feature to any country or nation. According to Peterson (2006), nation brand is explained as a result of the world's views "about a particular country". Since the term nation brand or country equity is an abstract of the whole nation (Fan2006), more research is needed to find out the main factor that affects the strong nation brand and plays as a unified representation of the whole nation by which sustainability and competitiveness of the nation can be sustained. Fan (2010) asserts that:

> "Nation brand is the total sum of all perceptions of a nation in the mind of international stakeholders which may contain some of the following elements: people, place, culture/language, history, food, fashion, famous faces (celebrities), global brands etc".

	Nation brand	Product brand	Corporate brand
Offer	Nothing on offer	A product or service on offer	Related to the product or sector
Attribute	Too complicated to define in simple terms	Clearly defined	Well defined
Benefits	Purely emotional	Functional and emotional	Mainly emotional
Image	Complicated, diverse, vague	Simple, clear	Simple, visible or hidden
Association	Secondary, numerous and diverse	Primary and secondary, relatively fewer and more specific	Mainly secondary, fewer and specific
Purpose	To enhance national reputation	To help sales and develop relationships	To enhance reputation and develop relationship
Dimension	Political, economic, social, and cultural	Mainly economic	Economic and Social
Ownership	Multiple stakeholders, unclear	Sole owner	Sole owner
Audience	International, diverse, "significant others"	Targeted segment	General public or targeted

Table 2 .1: Comparison between nation branding and commercial branding (Fan 2006:7)

In this research, before proceeding to the analysis of the impact of architectural identity of nation branding itself, it was necessary to elaborate how the essence of a brand is chosen explicitly, why a specific core may provide a nation brand with a base for theorizing upon issues of national recognition, collective memory and sustainable national identity.

2.1.2 THE CORE IDEA OF NATION BRANDING

In this part, this study attempts to disaggregate several significant objects of nation branding. Actually, the core idea of nation branding is "to identify the "uniqueness" of the country, its people, culture, or landscape to identify and draw on features that distinguish and differentiate "us" from "them" (Szondi 2008). Many scholars have tried to identify the value of nation branding, as Aronczyk (2008) states that nation branding influences the moral foundation of national citizenship.

According to the fact that most of the well-established nation branding efforts are interested in achieving the following three branding objectives; confirming the country of origin for export products (COO), branding their tourist destination, and attracting foreign investments(Sandikci and Kemming 2007). Another purpose of nation branding, as expected by its promoters, is to liberate prejudiced or mistaken thoughts about a certain nation and introduce a new image that could result in a proper comprehension (Georgescu et al. 2004). In nation branding, "the aim is to create a clear, simple, differentiating idea built around emotional qualities which can be symbolized both verbally and visually and understood by a diverse audience in a variety of situations" (Fan 2006). Another role of nation branding is to use the tools of branding so that the behavior, attitudes, identity or image of a nation can be changed positively (Gudjonsson 2005:285). It becomes obvious that nation branding pays attention to a country thorough image on the international phase covering political, economic, and cultural aspects (Quelch et al. 2005). The term is at the nation level, multidimensional and context-dependant but the biggest struggle that faces nation branding is how to correspond a single

image or message to various audiences in various countries (Fan 2006). As "communications strategy and a practical initiative, nation branding allows national governments to better manage and control the image they project to the world, and to attract the "right" kinds of investment, tourism, trade, and talent, successfully competing with a growing pool of national contenders for a shrinking set of available resources" (Aronczyk 2008). On the other hand, nation branding has been domestically allocated to maintain agreement through fostering positive perceptions of international decisions (Ibid).

The process of embracing nation branding by nations all over the world is increasingly looking forward to distinguish them on the world phase and to support their economic performance (Dinnie 2008:23). Together with uniqueness, national citizenship, cultural aspects and history, it is important to note in this respect that economic, identity and image as much as political awareness issues involved in the process of nation branding. As much as the impacts of branding in nations have been discussed, the variety of definitions of the term has also been debated. Anholt (2007:13) argues that:

> "Every responsible government in the global age report, is duty bound by
> which steps are taken in ruling their nations reputations, as the only type of
> government that can be able to neglect the effect of its national reputation is
> one which doesn't pay attention to contributing in the global community,
> and has no willing for its economy, its culture or its citizens to make use of
> the rich impacts and chances that they get from the rest of the world".

Nation branding can help to remove misconceptions about a country and in the same time, it helps the country to relocate itself in a more approving way (Anholt 2007:18). In Olins' view nation branding aims at building or changing national identities (Olins 1999), whereas Hall (2002) believes that it can re-image national identity. Meanwhile, Dzenovska (2005) indicates that the reason beyond lining up the way the nation and its subjects think of besides acting in accordance to the logic of the "reality of globalization". That is, the reason is to find out and devise the truth regarding the nation that could make the foundation.

Researchers have viewed nation branding as a managed process by which the brand identity, image, and reputation are built. The significance of variation in national character has been stressed and emphasized by Dinnie's theory. Nation branding has been postulated to be an answer to distinguish problems of national identity. It is worth mentioning that many contemporary discussions of international completions have been held to highlight global homogenization and the decreased role for nations. However, indeed, national variations are at the heart of an aggressive triumph (Dinnie 2008:18). Michael Porter confirms that nations and national character keep their major significance, even in the globalization period (Dinnie 2008:18).

2.1.3 BRAND IDENTITY

The notion of brand identity could be identified as the core of the process of nation branding, representing the real core of community. However, a very obvious and simple illustration is provided by Kapferer (1997:71) to obtain a comprehension of brand identity, which underscores the importance of the perspective on the brand concept and recognizing "who we are" is a must which precedes knowing "how we are perceived" (Konecnik 2007).

The main theme of nation brand identity is to bring together the events of history, politics, certain individuals and physical structure and integrate them as "communication equities" (Gilmore 2002:283). The essence of a brand of a country must control the spirit of the people of that nation and their shared purpose. Such deriving is the most difficult part of the branding exercise since the positioning is in need of 'aspiration, inspirational, challenging, and differentiation. Most significantly, it is required to be "translatable" for the various audiences as well. As has been stated by Jaworski and Fosher (2003:100) that the brand identity of the nation is the perception of reality. The key dilemma of nation branding might be raised at this point since it is as much as connected to the real components of nation as it has been elaborated with building nation brand identity. Gnoth (2002) held a discussion in which the selection of brand attributes is of help to determine and form competitiveness in addition to the identity, and

the pool of attributes is comprised of attraction, basic services, supporting primary and secondary industries, and all products that are exported.

An umbrella identity covering sub-brands, such as tourism, FDI, export, or political influence (Frasher et al. 2003) is basically far more complex as a total concept of a nation brand identity. Such reality changes around nation continuously; that is why, the essence of brand must be too stable to be suitable for dealing with all conditions and sudden changes that may happen and it needs to take a strategic approach for the major problem through which all political, social and economic problems could be sorted out (Szondi 2007).

Actually, the future brand vision for the nation with limited recognition is not an easy task especially for rapidly growing nations like the Kurds, which undergoes unstable political and economic conditions. Meanwhile, it has all the capabilities of enhancing its competitive force on the international map. Understanding the complexity of the brand architecture and structural elements of nation branding is usually very important as a major theme of the long process of designing meaningful brand identity (Simonin 2008). In addition to having multiple roles, brand identity apparently identifies what the brand seeks to represent. Firstly, it is a matter of a set of associations where the brand strategist tries to form and sustain. Secondly, it stands for a vision of how a specific brand should be perceived by its audience. Thirdly, the brand identity should aid and form a link between a specific brand and its clientele creating potentially either engaging reimbursement or providing credibility which endorses the brand in question (Konecnik et al. 2007). In Dinnie's (2008:42) viewpoint, a key function in the creation of a nation brand identity is to make the factors of national identity be identified.

Defining the group in terms of its relationship to other groups just as the self has been defined to its relationship to other selves, is a logical corollary of the term of personal identity (Dittmer et al. 1993:4). Some of these collectives are considered to be no more than conceptual groups to which members do not feel any specific sense of belonging just like left handed people, or people in a particular post code

or tax bracket (Ibid:35). Thus, brand identity to particular nations requires an understanding of the true past, present, and future that alter the nation's basis for collective memory and the essence of the nation brand (Fan 2010). The nation brand identity has been regarded as a paradox by some scholars as it has been considered to be the representation of a nation's overall value. On the other level, Skinner et al.(2007) state that many aspects such as the dynamics of nationhood, national and cultural identity, and place branding come together and are part of the nation brand identity as have been shown in "Nation's Brand Identity Model". Moreover, the model shows how two nations may be interacted and how these nations affect each other, indicating their interrelationships and the dimensions of the influence. For example, the internal factors of each nation include political, culture, economic, and legal system affect the places and people within the nation, whereas the external factors such tourism, export brand, foreign and domestic policy, investment and immigration, culture, heritage and people affect the places and people outside of its borders.
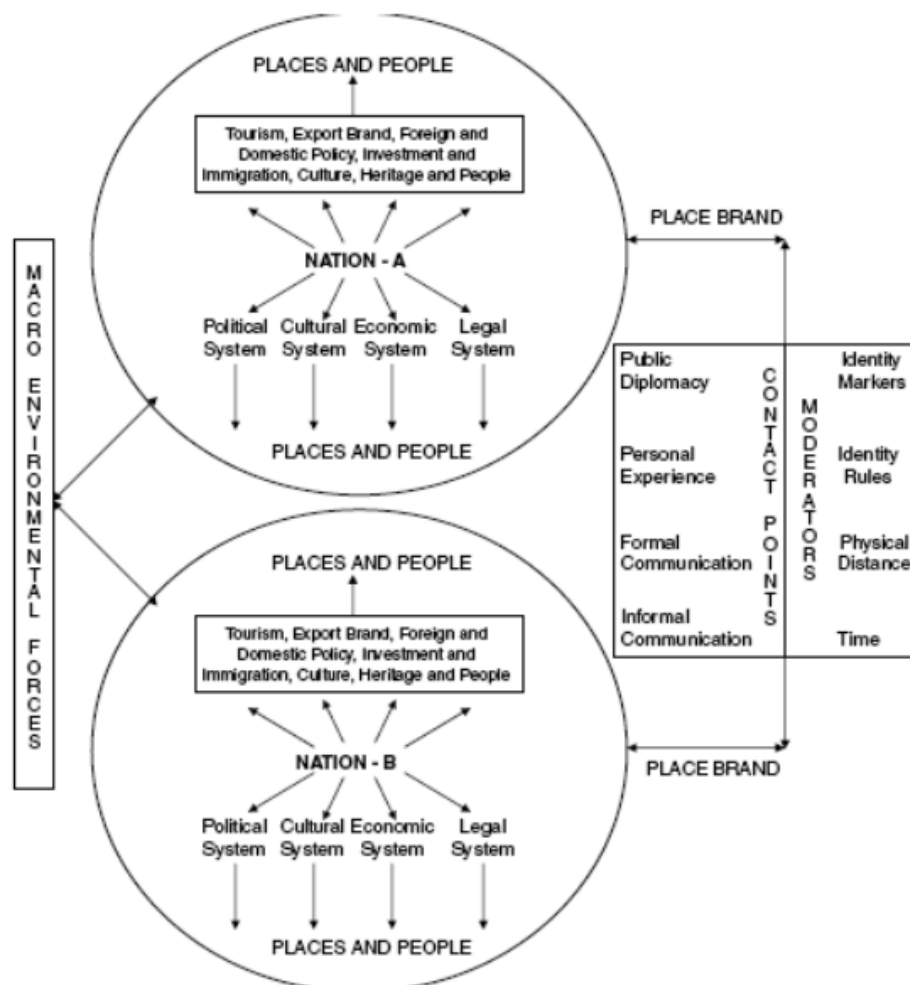
Figure 2.3 Nation's Brand Identity Model (Skinner & Kubacki, 2007)

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However, in this study, the architectural space has been taken as a principle representation of nation brand identity. The political power of architecture and the physical cultural structure enables the nation brand identity to solidify, and to act as a physical configuration of national story, thus offering citizens the space for maintaining their national sense of belonging to one nation, and offering politicians in addition to architects shape the brand identity of a nation and by that alter the national basis for collective memory and nation brand image on the global map. The following parts of the study provide a more complete evaluation of the impact of architectural identity on nation branding in particular those nations with limited recognition like the Kurds.

2.1.4 BRAND IMAGE: THE DYNAMIC PERCEPTION OF THE CORE OF BRANDING

Despite the many studies using the concepts of brand image (e.g. Anholt 1998; Shaughnessy et al. 2000; Simonin et al. 2008) within nation branding as a theoretical framework, rare studies have provided a clear theoretical model illustrating the relationship between nation brand image and architectural identity as a geopolitical production. Although, reflecting growing interest in national identity and nationalism from the architectural perspective is not new phenomenon, there is no account of what architectural identity as "a powerful medium for representing, ordering and classifying the world" (Pearson 1994) guides nation branding and to be a foundation of its dimensions. In particular, for nations with limited recognition like the Kurds who have struggled towards sovereignty and recognition, using most amicable and non-amicable ways, and have not reached its aim yet, it is possible to view the lack of architectural identity as relative factor, which potentially has affected such phenomena. As the relationship between nation brand image and place national identity is longitudinal, which is an abstraction of both culture and politics (Skinner and Kubacki 2007). Simonin (2008) indicates that "country image is a reflection, sometimes distorted, of its fundamental being, a measure of its health, and a mirror to its soul". However, this raises a question of in what way could nation branding make a difference? Are the branding principles applies to recognized

nations sufficient to lead the national sustainability and development of a nation with a limited recognition?

The brand image is a dynamic perception of the core of nation. Based on the theoretical perspective of nation branding, it is believed that nation/country image is a matter of the mental depiction of a country, and of the total beliefs and impressions held by people in regard of particular place (Simonin 2008). In this sense, every nation owns an image, which is able to differ across time and space to a "greater or lesser extent". This principle applies as many nations have become able to divert their images from negativity to positivism. For example, Chile, which was one of the bloodiest countries for a period of 17 years of an atrocious and violent military rule, today, has become able to change its image apparently from an authoritarian society to that of a developed country in the Western hemisphere. Moreover, Chile has made a strong effort to divert the bloody past into a bright future through setting out working directly after the tragic events of the coup. In many ways, the most fruitful strategy to make negativity positive is to change reality and then make sure everyone is aware of it (Kotler 2002). In examining the evaluation of national image, Simonin (2008) asserts that "a country image results from its geography, history, proclamations, art and music, famous citizens and other features". It has been emphasized that the large majority of a rapid poll of successful international consumer brands is exposed to come from countries, which have a powerful and stable international brand image of their own.

A nation-state can be seen to comprise several nations. For instance, the United Kingdom is a single state, whereas it holds at least four nations, on the other hand, Germans who are a single nation but before the fall of Berlin Wall, they were composed of two states and even before Bismarck of many states. This shows that the images of most nations will not be clear due to a general level of ignorance of countries other than one's own (O'Shaughnessy et al. 2000). It is possible to make a critical difference to the success of its business, trade and tourism attempts besides its diplomatic and cultural links with other nations through the way a country is recognized. On the other hand, unfortunately, there

is a common belief that the chance of correcting an image of a country is very slight. That is, one can accuse media, people's lack of knowledge, globalization or one's own history, but obviously, it is even not possible for the richest countries to do much to alter a negative stereotype when it has become deep-rooted. For instance, even America now appears to be unable to restore its unsuccessful image despite its virtually limitless resources and influence it has over the world media (Anholt 2005). Moreover, Fan (2005) believes that "nation has a brand image with or without nation branding" and he adds that in compression to the roles played by non–marketing factors that affecting nation brand image, the role played by nation branding turned out to be peripheral. Since the nation brand image is the "totality of consumer perceptions about the brand, or how they see it" (Kathiravana et.al. 2010),thus powerful nation brand image results from values added to a brand as a basis so that perception is changed accordingly. The term national image (country image) refers to the dynamic phenomenon in which strategically has been mastered and resolved by branding whether for cities, states, or regions (Jaffe and Nebenzahl 2006).

Dinnie (2008:47-48) underlines that it is necessary for segmentation of target audiences to be performed so as to both monitor and affect the image. He adds that "to develop an understanding of a nation brand identity and image, an analysis of the components of brand identity and image is a useful starting point". It is believed also that nation/country image is a matter of the mental depiction of a country, and of the total beliefs and impressions hold by people in regard of particular place (Simonin 2008). These perceptions can be stated among the reasons behind the need to conduct more analytical research on nation brand image. Thus, this study discusses the development of brand image with a specific focus on the importance of architectural identity as the essence of the nation brand and the recognition process.

2.2 ADAPTING THE ARCHITECTURAL THEORY TO THE CONTEXT OF NATION BRANDING

2.2.1 INTRODUCTION: ARCHITECTURE: LANGUAGE VERSUS TECHNIQUE

In architectural critique and theory, the controversy related to architectural language[4] has continued to be debated among theorists and researchers like Summerson, Zevi, or Jencks, whereas others refuse to consider any existence of architectural language literally or any metaphorical use of such language (Goodman 1976). Language in Arakawa's viewpoint is the scope of representation and it is therefore constructed like architecture, and on the contrary, architecture shows the construction of our language.

Based on the existing literature on architectural theory and accepted histories, "the architecture –language analogy is at least as old as Vitruvius, and the related comparison between poetry and painting –Horace's ut pictura poesis –goes back to Aristotle's poetics and (according to Plutarch) to Simonides of Ceos" (Clarke et al. 2000). As the natural elements has always been related to the formation of shelter, compared to other art activities and languages, architecture is the most ancient and necessary art that had its beginnings as part of prehistory in which it is older than the development of written language. (Moffett and Fazio 2003:9). In terms of symbolising a way of life and the public realm via architectural language, Jencks (1977:37) assures that the lack of credibility in such language leads to a problematic dilemma. It is accepted that:

> "There is nothing more the architect do about this except protest as a citizen,
> and design dissenting buildings that express the complex situation. He can
> communicate the values which are missing and ironically criticises the ones
> he dislikes, but to do that much, he must make use of the language of the

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[4]The fact that architectural language is unlike architectural style is another point which is to be taken into consideration despite of utilizing often the terms casually as synonyms. According to Jackson (1970: 9-10) an identifiable and repeatable set of motifs which are organized by means of conventional syntax defines the style.

local culture, otherwise his message falls on deaf ears, or is distorted to fit this local language" (Jencks 1977:37).

According to Cairns (2004:68), architecture can be seen moving around in such a process, as it is the obviously stable proof for the culture presence. A short survey of some state-funded, landmark architectural projects in Europe is an indicator for pointing out that state commissions make an effort to give meaning to their language in terms of architecture and politics (Delanty and Jones 2004). For political construction, architectural language can be articulated as "language which is required to be ensured by politicians as it is like the language of politics in general does not turn to an empty jargon that no one likes to see or hear" (Scheel cited in Wise 1998:32).

Moreover, it has been found that social and cultural aspects and those characteristics of architecture which are similar to those features of natural or formal language have been the central theme of contemporary architectural theory, in addition to the issues such as "the relations of personal and super personal groups to architecture, and those special features of architecture that distinguish it from the other plastic arts, such as treatments of form and space or its relationship to engineering and design" (Fisher 2000).

Clarke et al. (2000) argue that intrinsic qualities of architecture reflects the technical and aesthetic values, but seldom have the imitative and phonetic properties of sculpture and painting been involved. Supporting the argument of architecture as a language, Alofsin (2006:23) has found that imperial and national identities, and cultural and civic aspects have been the central theme of architecture as a conventional style of historical language. For example:

"Czech architects identified neo-Renaissance architecture with the Golden Age of Czech Renaissance and used it as a symbol of national revival; at the same time, ethnically German architects saw it as the language of Austrian imperial identity. At other times, historical language was used solely for aesthetic delight or became emblematic of distinct political positions" (Alofsin 2006:13-14)

The arts were divided into three main types by James Fergusson namely the technique, the aesthetic, and the phonetic. In his historical inquiry; the opportunity to project the idea of assimilation between architecture and the phonetic arts under similar category had been dismissed based on the rejection of linguistic analogy. According to his definition, "architecture was purely a combination of the technique (constructional) and aesthetic (ornamental)" (Collins 1998:176). However, in terms of ornaments and their potential to express historical events, Vitruvius first wrote of the expressive role of architecture:

> "The story of the Caryatides, these statues of women from Caryae holding entablatures, is good example. The replacement of columns by statues of enslaved women supporting cornices expressed not only their structural role, but the historical event of the defeat of inhabitants of Caryae by Greeks" (Pelletier 2006:11).

The term of architectural space has been examined as a language in terms of social construction, and like the syntax of language in terms of linking the perception of the spatial arrangements of our buildings to the dimensions of communities (gender, race, and class relations in society) (Weisman 1992). Debate in respect of meaning in architecture often concentrates on secondary, extrinsic ideas affixed to forms by association, neglecting the symbolism, the direct comparison, or similarity between ideas and formal patterns truly inherent (Hardy 1995:4).

It is beyond discussion that architecture does not only make form as a language, but also it can affect lives and plays a great role in the local economy in addition to cultural life of the local people. Further, architecture tries excitingly to be part of the process through listening to the local community besides listening to something that was meaningful but not available there before and it is within the process of enriching people's lives (Heath 2009:75). As a total concept of architectural language, it is an understandable language that tells a story, which provides the comprehension identity basis (Baudrillard et al. 2003). There is a need for more research to reach a sophisticated mechanism that examines in

greater depth the dilemma of architectural language. Accordingly, the effect of architectural language as a comprehension identity basis on nation brand will be investigated in depth within the context of this research.

2.2.1.1 ARCHITECTURAL LANGUAGE AS COMPREHENSION IDENTITY BASIS

2.2.1.1.1 WHAT IS IDENTITY?

There are a plethora of theories describing what exactly identity involves, therefore, it is necessary to explore how different experts classified the spectrum of identity within different perspective. Charles Correa (1983) regards identity to be a process not an object. Further, he confirms that looking for identity plays an obvious role in giving much more sensitivity not only to our settings but also to our society and us. According to Correa's (1983:10) viewpoint, "the search for identity is by a product of looking at our real problems, rather than self-consciously trying to find identity as an end in itself, without worrying about the issues we face". He adds that we may find our identity via understanding ourselves and reacting with our environment.

Actually, identity has been referred to as a biological organism transforming over time and making a development journey through an analytical and evaluation system of accommodation, assimilation, and social world (Breakwell 1986). Moreover, people have tried frequently to search for their territorial roots to find their steadiness in order to get rid of essentialism (Pearson1994:1). Identity is a people's source of meaning and experience. As Calhoun writes:

> "We know of no people without names, no language or cultures in which some manner of distinctions between self and other, we and they, are not made [....] self–knowledge–always a construction no matter how much it feels like a discovery- is never altogether separable from claims to be known in specific ways by others" (Calhoun 1994: 9-10 in Castells 2004:6).

Therefore, such a debate about identity should be studied thoroughly involving an evaluation of all the factors that influence the continuity and sustainability of identity and prevent it from being shrinkage over time to determine the indispensable features in such process. As such, it seems to be a complex system that can be analysed into many variables having relatively many relations among them, so that either the collapse or continuity of each element depends on the performance of others (Holland 1995). In Sarup's viewpoint (1996:47), "identity is conceivable through difference" and this reflects that one is required to define oneself against the other whenever he wants to preserve a separate identity. On the other hand, Bachelard (1997:85-97) observes that living experience creates identity. Actually, searching for identity continues to be a serious and on-going issue that needs to be reinforced through a combination of factors including culturally defined spaces and sense of place by means of individual practice (Martin 1997:1). In referring to identity as a field of query Joo (1983) suggests that "a quest for identity implies that discernible characteristics have not emerged; yet such a search has to be defined and the definition may take into account a preference for an identity for the region as a whole".

In fact, we are about to deal with one of the most sensitive cases in the societies growth and their continuity. This may make this issue (case) the factor beyond a lot of armed struggles or even the peaceful cases in the world in Africa, Asia, and Europe. Such rushing towards the identity is in fact not restricted to the places where it is exposed in the media as armed struggle, but also it covers the entire world (Mercer 1994:4). Moreover, Mercer adds that "identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty".

Changes over times and space has been measured to be an important factor in creating new identity or the vanishing of identity. People know who they are through the stories they tell about themselves and others. Friedman (1998:8-9) states that:

> "As ever-changing phenomena, identities are themselves narratives of
> formation, sequences moving through space and time as they undergo

development, evolution, and revolution...narrative texts—whether verbal or visual, oral or written, fictional or referential, imaginary of historical—constitute primary documents of cultural expressivity"

Identity comprises many complicated characteristics and variant features. It is, consequently, has generally taken into account history, heritage, culture, religion, ethnicity, language, and consciousness (Peterkov 2003). Identity is a form of life in the sense that it describes ways of speaking about one's self and community. According to Manuel Castells (2004), the construction of identities is essential to the dynamic of societies. He adds that;

> "It is easy to agree on the fact that, from a sociological perspective, all identities are constructed. The real issue is how, from what, by whom, and for what the construction of identities uses building materials from history, from geography, from biology, from productive and reproductive institutions, from collective memory and from personal fantasies, from power apparatuses and religious revelations" (Castells 2004:6).

Identity continues to be the problem as, it was throughout modernity. According to Bauman (1996:18)

> "If the *modern* problem of identity was how to construct an identity and keep it solid and stable, the *postmodern* problem of identity is primarily how to avoid fixation and keep the options open. In the case of identity, as in other cases, the catchword of modernity was creation; the catchword of post modernity is recycling".

As the evidence indicates that at the end of the twentieth century, identity is often defined as problematic for example, Kathryn Woodward has suggested that there is a "crisis of identity that has emerged from the breakdown of previously stable group membership" (AlSayyad 2001a:4). Recently, identity has appeared functioning as a key theme in human, social and architectural science. Hereby, there are different explanations for increasing attention to identity and highlighting it (Schroeder 2006:126).

Early significance is given to identity not only due to the basic dimensions of a nation's existence which are at stake, but it is a necessary prerequisite for that membership to pay taxes, fight for the sake of their country, and so forth when they identify the nation state membership (Dittmer 1993:9). Moreover, it seems interesting to note that "in search of their own values and principles, architects and historians have started to re-examine their own traditions and rediscovered indigenous roots of architecture in their countries"(Herrle 2009:7)

As long as there is an ambiguity regarding the sense of belonging, uncertainty of being surrounded by the right behavioural styles and patterns in a way that facilitate harmonic interaction between popular, identity remains to be a contentious question (Bauman 996:19).Nevertheless, unfortunately human identity has been brought into question after the emerging of technological substitution. Actually, the human identity basis is neglected by technology, and individuals are left to rapidly advancing multiple identities without paying attention to the long quantitative process of memory collection (Rankin 2008).

2.2.1.1.2 INTERSECTION OF ARCHITECTURE AND IDENTITIES

2.2.1.1.2.1 ARCHITECTURE: THE EXPRESSION OF PERSONAL IDENTITY, LEGITIMIZING IDENTITY, AND RESISTANCE IDENTITY

> *"We shape our building and afterwards our buildings shape us" (Winston Churchill 1943 cited in Roth 1994:48).*

Anthropologist Victor Buchli (1991:1) indicates that "often the way to understand a given society is to understand the physical and, by metamorphic extension, the social architecture of its organization". Increasingly in any analytical study of any type of identity, architecture has always been utilized as a nexus of a re-examination of the nature and definition of identity of any nation (Vale 1992; McNeill et al. 2003). Identity consists of complicated characteristics and different feature. As a result, identity has taken into consideration history, heritage, culture, religion, ethnicity, language, and consciousness (Peterkov 2003). Since identity

has known to be acting as a key theme in human and social science recently, one can observe variant illustrations for the sake of increasing interest towards identity and drawing attention to it (Schroeder 2006:126). Therefore, this section will preliminary investigate into the philosophical foundations of identity in architecture, and will focus on what makes architecture unique as an essence of identity. As such, the concept of identity in architecture in general will be examined as a context in which the uniqueness of architecture as an identity form can then be addressed from different angles. The existing literature on architecture has emphasised the role of architectural identity as controllable. Proshansky (1978:170- 171) in this way, points out that:

> "It is reasonable to plan and construct a large variety of physical settings to meet the specifications of any number of human functions, activities, and relationships meant that the effects of the physical environment are predictable and controllable. An appropriately designed physical setting could be expected to evoke a range of expected behaviours, not of physical parameters but of those complex social and psychological determinants that are rooted in all human activities".

In the context of the individual, Proshansky (1978) wrote the theory of "Environment and Behaviour" in an effort to make available a relationship between the problems of human-environment, the psychology of environment as well as existing social-personality theory. As a result, he looks at the linkage between the structure of the individual personality and the physical besides the social world of the individual. Self-identity comprises an organizing nexus of this structure which is a vital element of the personality constitution that joins the person's behaviour and experience, on the one hand, with the on-going requirements of social and cultural settings, and on the other hand, to self-awareness. It seems that it is the impact of physical settings especially for the places and spaces that the physical contexts are supplied with for the impact of society and culture on the self (Proshansky 1978:154-155). Architectural identity is a powerful shaper of behavior, Edward Casey (1993:x) in his book 'Getting Back into Place' points out that:

> "To place a position of renewed respect by specifying its power to direct and stabilize us, to memorialize and identify us, to tell us who and what we are in terms of where we are (as well as where we are not)".

Sarup (1996:47) suggests that identity is not given, as it is the outcome of the process of interaction with the other and this process results in the construction of identity. In other words, identity is cyclical or ever changing since the interaction with others frequently contains the self, and he adds that "identity is conceivable through difference". Further, any individual who wants to mirror his or her exceptional socialization in the physical world can get a general place identity that are known to be dimensions of self. The individual's personal identity is defined in accordance with the physical environment through the aid of a complicated pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, feelings, values, goals, preferences, skills, and behavioural inclinations that relate to a specific environment (Trivedi 2009).

In the context of resistance identity, it seems that it is not an easy task to categorize a society. Castells (2004:8) depends on a dynamic transformation when he makes clear that "identities that start as resistance may induce projects, and may also, along the course of history, become dominant on institutions of society, thus becoming legitimizing identities to rationalize their domination". For years, the phenomenon of change in society has been referred to by this dynamics. What does resistance identity mean in architecture? Frampton attempted to answer such a question in his work "Six points for an Architecture of Resistance", where the process of developing architectural resistance as a Critical Regionalism was addressed in depth. Critical Regionalism is defined in his work as "an architecture of resistance," seeking to mediate the impact of universal civilization with elements derived indirectly from the peculiarities of a particular. While critical self-consciousness is believed to be the core of Critical Regionalism, Frampton (1981) states that "it may find its governing inspiration in such things as the range and quality of the local light, or in tectonic derived from a peculiar structured mode, or in the line of topography of a given site". Kenneth Frampton believed that the idea that Critical Regionalism is primary about the

'rationality of normative technique' and the rationality of idiosyncratic form' is best illustrated by Utzon's Bagsværd Church, built near Copenhagen in 1976 (Foster1985:22).
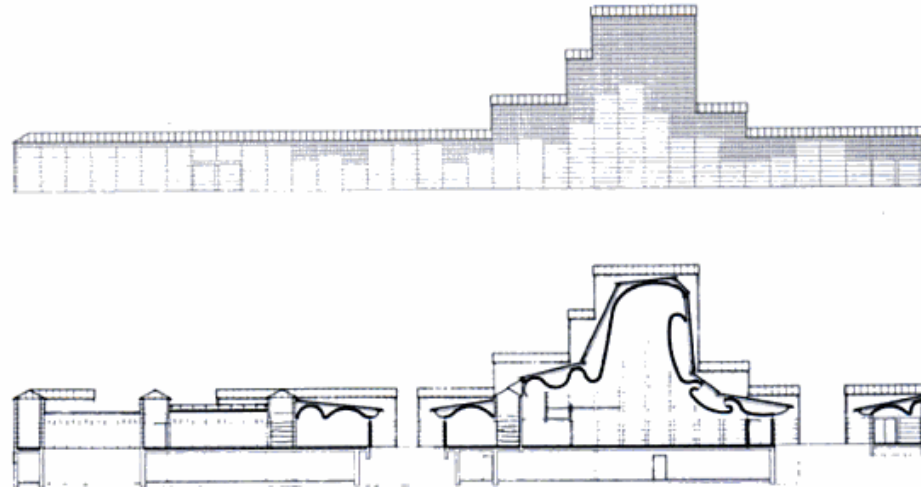
Figure 2.4 Utzon Bagsværd Church, 1973-76: North elevation and section (Foster 1985:23)

Moreover, Ando' architecture is an additional example of what Farmpton referred to as Critical Regionalism. Ando is at once both "an unequivocally modern architect and a figure whose values lie embedded in some archaic moment… committed to some other time before the machinations of progress has turned into an every present nemesis" (Frampton 1989 cited in Wu 2006). Additionally, Xianghua Wu (2006) states that:

> "The point of dispute of Ando being "critical" lies in this very statement. While Ando may be critical in his opposition against the chaotic Japanese urban context and his refusal to reproduce traditional Japanese elements, it is his romantic sentimentality and homogenized forms that ultimately undermine this label. Then, is it logically possible to create architecture that is both regional and completely without sentimentality or nostalgia? Critical regionalism seems to become an oxymoron, since the notion of place is inevitably tied to the collective memory and cultural history of the place."

Figure 2.5 Rokko Housing negotiates the terrain (Ando et al.1989: 107)

Figure 2.6 The Festival as the modulator of light (Ando et al. 1989: 108)

Within the context of legitimizing identity, understanding the relationship between physical space and identity can create meaning of being alive. The relation between identity and physical space is stronger than most believe, and measuring the strength of this relation is another foci of beyond original identity (Erzen 2000:291-294).Moreover, according to Jones (2006), the brilliance of architecture's characteristic as a concrete focus for identity discourses of many kinds is not defined only by its ability to represent abstract values materially, but also literally by being "in concrete". To make it clear, the space production always has a political dimension, as

"Architecture should not be considered a neutral of free-floating cultural form, but rather as an inherently social production that reflects one way which those with political power attempt both to materialize this status and to make it socially meaningful" (Jones 2011:166).

Moreover, it has been observed by Delanty (2002) that the use of architecture is not too distant from what Manuel Castells calls a 'legitimizing identity' as opposed to a 'project identity' that might be more transformative and reflexive in its use of cultural symbolization. For example, in an attempt to legitimize new identity, in Turkey:

> "Along with the planning of the new capital Ankara, the construction of new buildings and the cultivation of the vast open landscape further signified the material transformation of Turkish society for the revolutionary purposes of progress and change. In short, such a massive transformation was a powerful metaphor in the process of making both the new identity and official memory more visible and legitimate; and the emphasis on urbanism and European spatiality was certainly an indispensable part of it" (Sargin 2004).

On the other level, the achievement and legitimacy of Western civilization through the aegis of British colonization might be abstracted in the aesthetically, then, the culturally inspired forms of Flagstaff House (Bremner et al. 2003:232). For example "the use of architecture in the Brussels Capital of Europe project is what Castells would refer to as a legitimizing identity project(1997), one where the appropriation of European cultural history and spatiality is mobilized by a political institution, in search of legitimacy, to serve an ideological end" (Jones 2011:151). As an additional example, Mclaren indicates that to legitimize their colonial claim, "the use of native forms by Italian architects in Libya was a relatively direct result of the political policies developed by the colonial authorities to deal with the local populations" (Isenstadt 2008:61).

2.2.1.1.2.2 ARCHITECTURE: THE EXPRESSION OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL REPERTOIRE OF NATION

There is a wide range of views regarding what exactly the power of architecture involves therefore it is necessary to explore how different experts classified the power of architecture. The interconnection between architecture and society in the viewpoint of the modern architects was highly significant. Reducing building

to its simplest elements, indicates that a building was a social statement not a work of art and architecture (Jackson 1970:63), on the other hand, architecture is known to be the art of supplying the human with ordered shelter for the sake of multitude of human activities. Actually, it is beyond discussion that every change in human life means new chances of the links of human necessities, and the needs to give them a new order so as to be given a new form, and choice in addition to fullness besides richness of life. Moreover, it has been said that this world is a scientific one; its mirror is architecture (Jackson 1970:50-63).

According to general suppositions, architecture, which is considered an art, plays a moral role in the process of cultural configuration and transformation (Ghirardo 1991:11). Political meaning has long history of being part of the equation of built environment and continues right through the present to be a matter for architects and politicians across the world (Vale 1992:4). Architecture often overlooks and imitates the interrelationships between social, economic, and political forces. According to Parker Pearson(1994):

> "Architecture is a powerful medium for representing, ordering and classifying the world. For over a decade archaeologists have been using concepts of the symbolic use of space, but until now there has been no single study of this field or its interaction with architecture and anthropology".

Notably, for all political and cultural elites who direct at the forms of flagging the nation through a physical repertoire of cultural symbols, the signifying of architecture has been an important affair (Billig 1995). However, the perception of design theories as a mechanism which evolves under particular political circumstance is not in separation of being a fundamental factor in the process of colonization (Dutton 1996:28-30).

On the other hand, researchers in the field of cultural economies in contemporary cities believe that "with the disappearance of local manufacturing industries and periodic crises in governments and finance, culture is more and more the business

of cities—the basis of their tourists attractions and their unique competitive edge" (Zukin 1995). In addition to the form, content, function and context; values, culture and power are also characteristics added to architecture which has been viewed by J. Max Bondjr as a social art concentrating on social uplifting and making "three –dimensional statements about culture and power" (Dutton. at el 1996:223-177).

Actually, "if architecture is part of social context, then its task is not to embody a cultural critique but to become part of that culture's critique [..]. not a formal representation of resistance, but an instrument of resistance" (Ledwitz 1992:68 cited in Dutton at el. 1996:197). It seems that all buildings, urban designs and settlement patterns share a symbolic content which plays an effective role in providing them with an identity and, moreover, gives the people, who inhabit or observe them, an image-of self. That is, sometimes it is not easy to get such meanings, nevertheless, whenever buildings become architect-designed, the attempt of communicating particular meanings is often found to be a deliberate, self-conscious act (Lang 1997:xiv). Actually, the role of architecture in the process of image creation via sites of buildings is inspected by Peter Marcuse in "Reflections on Berlin" (Marcuse1998:333). He states that "Berlin represents the ultimate landscape of power-not because of its form but because of its construction". Marcuse came to this correct conclusion by indicating that who has the control over what is built is the focal point of power.

In today's world, architecture is an important part of the state project. For example, with the former Soviet Union, in order to fully understand Soviet culture, it is necessary to know that architecture was the focal point and the outcome of such interaction of architecture was essential in many debates around universalism and particularism in that context (Delanty 2002). Moreover, in some cases, architecture is used to satisfy certain social groups, for example the opera house in the Cardiff Bay has associated predominantly with members of the cultural elite resident in the Anglo-centric south east part of Wales, while on the other hand the Rugby Stadium represented Wales as a whole and become a symbol of the entire nation (Mcneill 2003).In turn, "the social structure, artistic

and aesthetic trends of the era", are factors having great impact on the type of cultural properties and conversation method. Architecture functions as both representative symbol and unifying medium of political discourse. As Segal and Weizman et al. (2003:19) have argued that "national conflicts are characterized not only by rapid change and dramatic transformation. The process of building and lengthy bureaucratic mechanisms of planning are as much a part of the scene on which territorial conflicts are played out".

Additionally, evidence is presented that the Pompidou Centre reflects "culture for everybody and for all pockets" and continued to be a slogan sparking the same meaning after twenty years and being a visiting site of one hundred million visitors(Proto and Baudrillard et al. 2003:2). There is now a stable of evidences to support the view that architecture is of great importance in such a process of culture presence (Proto 2004:68). Accordingly, in this context, architecture is exposed to act as a kind of hidden (or all – too obvious) evidence that guarantees wider doctrines of social propriety, liberty, and civility (Cairns 2004:10).

In fact, the architectural preferences contribute to the formation of selling the ideas of a political cue. Vinsand (2004) states that "the aesthetics of architecture can be used to sell the ideas of political system to the populace both by the creation of new architecture and the destruction of symbols contrary to the polity". Interestingly, in terms of the socio –economic factors and their impact on the characteristic related quality that attached to the architectural layers and represented style, a number of sources define these factors as a key in identifying elements of architectural story of places which in return determine nation's past and future development (Damluji 2006:2). Therefore, the political economy of environmental design production must be considered as a crucial step in any architectural analysis, especially its impact in the context of social relations. There is a hope that in the near future, the architectural buildings will be better harmonized with their environmental and cultural context in order to facilitate the applicability, sustainability, and the growing trend of bio mimicry (Berkebile 2006). Actually, in urban spaces of both developed or developing countries, the

issues of representation of identity, flagship developments, and consumer culture, are identified as the fundamental challenges (Wai 2006).

2.2.1.1.2.3ARCHITECTURE: THE EXPRESSION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND NATIONALISM

As Walzer (1967 cited in Levin 1999:19) points out, "the state is invisible; it must be personified before it can be seen, symbolized before it can be loved, imagined before it can be conceived", in the obvious sense, many scholars have tried to identify the representations of national identity and nationalism and the scope of the terms has been widened. In the modern age, Zelinsky (1988:13) states that "modern states could neither exist nor operate effectively without an adequate body of symbol and myth, whatever other excuses they may have for their creation".

National identity is defined as continuity characteristic of natural production and sense of consciousness in the process of manipulation (Smith 1991:1-18). Anderson (1991) states that the relationship between spatial and temporal configurations based upon socio-cognitive construction supported by additional social forces, is best defined as national identity. Moreover, he adds that "from the start the nation was conceived in language, not in blood', thereby through language acquisition 'one could be "invited into" the imagined community".

On the other hand, according to Smith (1991:1-18), nationalism continues to be the most difficult endeavor of identity myth. In the wake of nationalist movements, every new nation has "engaged in constructing a distinct national identity and culture, recreated its roots in the past" (Zerubavel 1994:3). In fact, the differences in aspirations from society to others are the ways that motivate the considerations of national identity to be an important factor (Al-Hathloul et al. 1999). National identity is therefore not a fixed construct, it exists in a dynamic environment, depending 'critically on the claims which people make in different contexts and at different times (Skinner 2007).

In the same vein, there has been a considerable body of literature devoted to the debate of national identity in the postmodern age such as the one of Bechhofer et al. (1999:516) who believed that national identity "has become fashionable because people are not sure who they are". Moreover, in terms of national decline debate, Beck (2000) argues that globalization plays a vital role in raising nationalist sentiments as shown, by the revival of nationalist movements. Kelman (1999:191) believes that national movement is "the group's past history, current purposes, and future prospects".

Nevertheless, during late modernity cultural communities, on the one hand, turned to be parted and contested in an increasing way, and on the other hand, identities have been observed becoming more "fluid" (Bauman2004). Moreover, Moscovic (1983) believes that the "common sense assumptions and ways of talking about nationhood" are priorities to search for national identity, and therefore add the insist on having a national identity as a requirement first for having national and social representations and patriotism (Georgescu et al. 2004). It is therefore evident that the principal approach to the strategic exploration of national identity of nations in particular for those with limited recognition lies firmly in the realm of high-politicized implications (Aronczyk 2009).

These claims are reflected through the disciplines, including architecture as true history, which forms the focus of this study. However, similar conceptualisation exists in the literature in respect of preserving history from erasure, the need to respond to history, and the need to open the future (Libeskind 1999:127). There are certain functions that architecture is to perform to be free, expansiveness, and love of the physical world that are considered as the outcome of the best regionalism- the liberation regionalism. Meanwhile, architecture must supply people with an image of qualities that express them and their nation and make them be unified in a great national expression (Libeskind 1999:64). An image of the qualities that the nation tries to symbolize must be provided by national architecture. For example, according to (Delanty 2002):

"The development of the European nation-state was accompanied by a strong desire for state representations of the nation. State-led projects that attempted to embody, or more accurately to create, national identity often used architecture as a way of articulating the nation code. This codification of national identity meant modifying universal architectural styles to specific or particular, national contexts".

It is beyond discussion that architecture in Europe has a dual function. That is, it is a significant discourse for new expression of post-national identity in general and for the appearance of a "spatial" European identity in particular. Hence, one may refer to architecture as an important cultural expression of post-national building within and beyond the nation-state, especially the degree of being tied to the state, which is apparently less than in the nation-building period (Delanty 2002). Historically, it has been found that many great European buildings as at 1850 till 1914 give testimony to a nation-state's self-confidence and imperial power to give tangible form to abstract national values that have used buildings-alongside other significant codifications like art, flags, national anthems, and a nationalized discourse of history (Delanty et al. 2002).

Moreover, a key way by which the national code is expressed and developed "with many of the discourses of modernity finding substantive reflection in landmark buildings", is state-led landmark architecture (Jones 2006). A rapid review on the past period shows that nation-states and imperial powers had self-confidence when they erected buildings to provide tangible form with abstract values. The Haussmanization of Paris explains in a good way that architecture was essential to the cultural self-understanding of the nation-state in modernity (Jones 2003). Consequently, the most significant valuable and practical aspect of the nation is the spirit of architecture. As a result, national architecture, which describes aspirations symbolically, is much more general that an architecture reflecting both spiritual and physical needs.

Figure 2.7 Charles Garnier: The Haussmanization revolution of Paris (Mead 1991:107)

Notably, there are also territorial elites who rely on large-scale state projects such as parliament buildings, national libraries, and museums, in dealing with national identity describing national aspirations. According to Ren (2011:140):

> "In the past, national elites searched for a national form that incorporated indigenous architectural elements to express distinctive national identities. In the age of globalization, however, state politicians and bureaucrats have increasingly adopted a global architectural language to rebrand their cities and nations. The National Stadium for the 2008 Beijing Olympics is an example of this".

Depending on an essential empirical study, research on nationalist and ethnic struggle displays that 70% out of 160 important conflicts may be terminating in large-scale violence (Dittmer et al. 1993:8). Consequently, Dittmer adds that national identity must be defined as a predicate normative not as an abstract noun, as a continuing process or journey not as a constant set of limitations, as a relationship not a free standing entity or attribute. A basic multi-dimensional national identity cannot be condensed to a solitary element. Naturally, within the process of time the subjective process of forming national identity changes. Accordingly, national identity has been identified as the link between nation and state that the people of that nation obtain when they are recognized with the state. Actually, it is not a property or an aspect, which belongs to neither the nation nor

the state and would differentiate between nation and state identities when national unity is unidentifiable (Dittmer et al. 1993:13).

On one hand, according to Benedict Anderson (2006:11), nation is an imagined community that is imagined as limited and sovereign. Since the extensive use of the printing press, mass media and capitalism make imagination; how communities are imagined, define nations. On the other hand, Eric Hobsbawn (1983) explained nations further. In his viewpoint, the relation between nation and invention indicates that nations invent tradition, education, public ceremonies, and mass production of public monuments. In a word, those invented traditions define the nations.

Hereby, it is possible to demonstrate that national identity has various facets. That is why it is quite natural for the national identity to be altered within the process of time since its formation is a subjective process. Notably, it has been observed quite apparently that nations try to install spiritual values in their buildings through searching for and making use of previous experiences in this respect. In other words, as time represents the historical steps of the nation development, it can be claimed that time is important and fruitful in this process (Canizaro 2007:61).

Nation branding is displayed as a "2.0" version of nationalism and as a more developed shape of patriotism than its prejudiced or aggressive counterparts depending on its capacity to join diverse motifs of heritage and modernization, domestic and foreign interests, and to connect economic and moral ideologies (Aronczyk 2008). When citizens live the brand, nation branding is successful (Sozondi 2008). Thus, this study looks at the Kurdish architectural identity and specifically focuses on: How does nation brand project itself in architecture? Although, reflecting growing interest of national identity and nationalism from architectural perspective is not a new phenomenon, this study proposed a suggestion, which considers relationship building (Szondi 2008) as a central paradigm of architectural identity and nation branding as two fields upon which it is possible to interplay more effectively in the future. It examines how

architectural identity serves as an essence of nation brand. The competitiveness and even the sustainability of emerging nations are regarded to be continual feature of nation branding and national identity literature. However, there is a little question about the architectural identity's effect on increasing nation competitiveness and advancing sustainable national identity-led regeneration agendas within the southern Kurdistan in particular. As such, it is a scheme that deserved more detailed analysis.

2.2.1.1.2.4 ARCHITECTURE: EXPRESSION OF HYBRID IDENTITY

There is an important need in every society for icons, which constitute a particular era and structures which form the texture of living memory. "In refuting the past and the future alike, the eternal present of transformation and metamorphosis must be incorporated in an urban framework, which encourages the creation of unpredictable, flexible and hybrid architecture" (Leach 1999:127). Examining the concept of hybridity, Alsayyad (2001a:15-16) argues that the notion of hybirdity is not new, but the concept and its far reaching insights are incomparable with globalization, and, as a condition, the nostalgic tendency considered to be indispensable factor for viewing hybridity, assuming this pre-colonial purity. Accordingly, one may wonder what does hybridization mean. Hybridity is a very complicated concept since its most major level has been known as "the interbreeding or mixing of different people, cultures and societies" (Alsayyad 2001a:x). With regards to the applicability of the normalization and legitimating of hybridity in urban space sphere and its political impact on unsettling "traditionally established political and social norms", this research has been initiated partially as a consequence.

Cairns (2004:68) refers to the excessive added values as hybridity, irony, disjunctiveness that have been brought to the occupied building by colonial aggressors as tools for reducing the durability of buildings. In particular, to understand the gradual invisibility of such architecture, it would be worthwhile to refer to the Viceroy House that was built to work as colonial architectural foundation, the purpose of which vanished in short period (Ibid). On the other

hand, India being a good example is exactly due to the infrastructure that the British were looking to create for ruling the country (Cairns 2004:67).

Consequently, it seems that the notion of hybridity and hybridization have been completely taken in a wrong way within architectural circles, since they are employed to explicate architectural works that join various shapes, substances, or decorative design. As a result it could be easily confirmed to state a truth in which the concepts of hybridity and hybridization in the early 1990s became only words that stand for the concept of eclectic or eclecticism, widely found in art history and architectural theory to explain the aspect of the blending of styles (Lejeune 2005:110). Further, hybridization "produces results that may manifest synthetic characteristics, like a fusion of different elements into one as in the case of Canclini's discussion of artisan works or in the examples of Krysinski, Abel, and Ruede" (Ibid). In a word, it is necessary that the elements which give rise to these consequences be part of a continuous and eternal hybridization process that takes place in various cultural measurement (Lejeune 2005:10-111).

In an answer Archer (2005:361) displays that hybridization could be a blending of a couple of social languages within the scope of a single utterance, an encounter within the field of utterance between two components of linguistic awareness separated from another by an epoch or by social differentiation. Nevertheless, an eclecticism in which no single mode or controls have been suggested by the aforementioned architectural languages in their abundance and lack of "purity". Eclecticism in its original sense in Greek indicates the class of philosophers who did not belong to any system, that is, they had chosen the principle that pleased them (Alofsin 2006:177), alternatively, "allowed the coexistence of languages of history, organicism, rationalism, and myth, in which no single mode dominated other tendencies" (Ibid). Moreover, Heath (2009:6) has outlined that the complex characteristic features of cultural weathering, realization, or hybridity result from adding a mixed pre-existing and imported element into distinctive localized expression. To refer to the more complicated definition related to hybrid architecture is to point out that "the relation between situated subject and object,

conception of hybrid architecture that fully acknowledges the local as well as the global politics of identity"(Herrle 2008:492).

According to the existing literature review, within the discipline of hybrid architecture, we found that the concept of hybrid architecture has been discussed controversially in terms of being as a deconstructive or constructive language. First, these findings are shown in its impact on the purity of a nation's identity and the extent in which hybrid architecture, as a result of jumbled importing styles and languages, causes encrypted physical memory, encrypted entity, and deconstructive architecture to exist. Second, its impact on the cultural plurality and the extent in which hybrid architecture as a result of different cultures leads to-cultural co-existence. Third, its impact on the sustainability of national identity and the extent in which hybrid architecture as a result of basic successive architectural elements form the past blended hierarchy with their present and future equivalents leads to living memory and constructive architecture. The term hybridity will be examined within the context of our intended case studies so that new empirical evidence and new definition will be added to the aforementioned explanation.

2.2.1.1.2.5 ARCHITECTURE: THE EXPRESSION OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITY, COLLECTIVE MEMORY, AND PLACE IDENTITY

Visualizing memory scopes, as a tool of sustainable identity, serves as a mechanism for collecting theoretical data to develop arguments about the questions raised in this research: To what extent does the reconstruction of the collective memories of the disputed historical architectural sites in Kurdistan can be a collective identity for the scattered nation? The extent by which visualizing a collective memory may affect the analysis of nation brand and the sustainability and competitiveness of Kurdish national identity. Furthermore, such negotiation has been elaborated in a wider context by analysing examples of the memory visualization and identity construction in Iraqi Kurdistan (see Chapter 5). The theoretical framework for justifying the relationship between collective memory, architecture, and a nation is regarded as the first step in the direction of analysing the aforementioned questions that require answers.

However, the relation between architecture and the issues of collective memory and collective identity has been revealed via growing body of literature (Delanty et al. 2002), recent examples are of help to clarify the fact that the past is basically at the service of legitimizing authority (Lewis 1975:61). Khan (1989) argues that "it is also dangerous to invent the future" (one of Buckminster Fuller's phrases) without reference to the traditions of the past. One has to know where one is coming from, to know where one is going. In Zerubavel's (1994:214-283) viewpoint, the typical effort of nationalist movements is going to be the best evidence to show the relationship between collective memory and society legitimization, to make a master commemorative narrative by which their aspirations are legitimized for a shared destiny through taking a common past for its members into account. The way of remembering the past is influenced by the social environment (Ibid).

Taken together collective identity and collective memory characterize a deep cultural and national challenge, as Landry (2006:6) states that "we are connected to our histories and our collective memories via our cultural heritage which fastens our sense of being and can supply us with a source of insight to be of help to face the future". That is, the power of physical culture is constantly encountered. Landry wants to know why we find solace and inspiration in the building, artifacts, skills, values and social rituals of the past. Is it possible to say that one of the choices is because we search for stability and local roots in the globalizing world?

The relation of collective memory and architecture has been identified in different ways and there are many pre-modern and preliterate societies, which express their sense of belonging to the land in a way that constitutes two faces of the same coin with the place. In this domain, in the modern world, monuments and topographical features have been regarded by one of the most influential philosophers on collective memory, Maurice Halbwachs as the central theme of the construction of collective memory and identity. Actually, such collective memory is the aim of every new nation to let their people consider themselves as

the same community members. Halbwachs (1992:224) highlights that "collective memory reconstructs its various recollections to accord with contemporary ideas and preoccupations". At the same time, the use of landscape as part of memory in an oral society in which everything about itself and its practice is to be remembered enhanced this point. Hereby, it is attempted to make place necessarily more intimately a part of its culture that is, the tendency to blur divisions between the natural and cultural besides the living and the dead encourages this in these cultures (Sack 1997:136). There is a general agreement with Said (2000:179) who claims that many people these days want to get themselves a coherent identity, a national narrative, a place in the world through having a look at this refashioned memory especially in its collective shapes or forms.

Unfortunately, an answer to what is identity (which is presupposed to be the more fundamental question by a convinced definition of national identity known not as a physical basis but as a link between self and others) may, therefore, be applied to any identity, individual or collective. Thus, a collective identity is possibly defined as a conceptual umbrella for its members, defining the group in terms of its relationship to other groups just as the self is defined to its relationship to other selves, is a logical corollary of the term of personal identity (Dittmer et al. 1993:4). However, researchers indicated that in order to provide individuals with a sense of place, urban physical setting has to be characterized by architectural identity. Place identity requires those aspects of self that identify personal identity belongs to the individual in accordance with the psychological settings (via a complicated pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals, behavioral tendencies and skills related to this setting) (Proshansky 1978:155). Further, Proshansky et al. (1983:57-83) states that place identity, is a cognitive constitution defined as a substructure of a more global self-identification, just like that one might regard gender identity and role-identity in addition to its being compared to social identity. Hereby, Cohen (2002:14) proposes that the identity idea has a relation to sameness of a thing with its context; it has relation to the sameness of man with his environment. According to Dovey (2010:3), places are identified with what does not change;

their/his sense of place character or identity is seen as relatively stable. Places are experienced primarily in terms of stabilized contexts of everyday life and they are a primary means by which we stabilize our identity in that world.

The built environment needs to be analysed as a form and structure to comprehend the identity dynamics. In general, two ways have been found to show that place relates to identity. The first is what has been known as place identification. Hogg and Abrams (1999) state that different social identifications, which rely on the context are comprised by social identity, that is, place identification would describe membership of a group location which defines them. According to Ozkan (1996:22):

> "It is not surprising, therefore, that the sense of place that such architecture generates is challenging to both residents and visitors, it reflects a sense of boundaries, physical and psychological. The architecture seeks to express the boundaries between the public and private ,and between the transition zones in a physical sense of space ,just as the behavior is articulated in that same gradation of demeanor".

The second way relates place to distinct identity through the concept of place identity, a construct encouraged by Proshansky (1983-1987), which calls for a more fundamental re- evaluation on identity construction. The glue that binds together the different groups no longer held whenever independence has been obtained and carried out. Actually, these weaknesses are depicted in states like Sudan where there were long ethnic civil wars and in the recent American occupation of Iraq. The ongoing struggles among the various ethnic parties that constituted these countries are evidence to the real connection of their native populations, whereas the major definer of their collective identity, ethnic origin, or religious association has been exposed. Bevan (2006:8) states that it is inevitable to have the relationship between rubbing out any physical reminder of people and its collective identity besides killing people themselves. The same point is expressed by Gillian Rose, "one way in which identity is connected to a particular place is by feeling that you belong to that place. It's a place in which

you feel comfortable, or at home, because part of how you define yourself is symbolized by certain qualities of that place" (Rose 1995:89). Like persons, places in relation to practice own biographies as much as they are constructed, utilized, and transformed… if the mythic value and historical relevance are rooted in the concrete details of locals in the landscape, stories will acquire part of such value and relevance. It can further acquire points of material reference which can be visited, seen and touched (Tilley 1994:33).

"Stories and tales may be attached to such places, making them resonate with history and experience" (Pearson et al. 1994:4). This major proposal reflects the necessity of human attachment to specific places, which has been found in the understanding of people's traditional knowledge, cultural exercise, ways of communication, and conventions for imaging the past. That is, the major tools of historical imagination have been constituted by world-building, place-making, and constructing places through multiple acts of remembering, guess, and speculation. David Glassberg (1996:17 cited in Seefeldt 2005) argues that:

> "Historical consciousness and place are inextricably intertwined; we attach
> histories to places, and the environmental value we attach to place comes
> largely through memories and historical associations we have with it".
> Seefeldt (2005) adds that "the creation of sense of place is an important part
> of the struggle between groups for control of the past. Therefore, place
> making is a way of constructing history, and sharing ' place-world' is a way
> of reviving and revising the past. Ultimately, according to anthropologist
> Keith Basso, we are, in a sense, the place-worlds we imagine".

Hence, Basso (1996:7) discusses that it is not possible to reconstruct self-knowledge without place-worlds: Place-making can be regarded as a way by which social traditions are constructed, if it is a way of past construction, i.e. a respected means that does human history. It is also a way of constructing social traditions and, in the process, personal and social identities. Consequently, every new nation has been found to be searching for the creation of a collective memory for its people so that they can consider themselves members of the same

community, and thereby justifying its state. Accordingly, to what extent the reconstruction of the collective memories of the architecture produced during the four historical shifts (reading between historical layers, from total repression toward semi-independence and autonomy) in Iraqi Kurdistan can be the collective identity for the scattered Kurdish nation and how could it be translated into new construction of national identity will be the focus of this thesis (see Chapter 5).

2.3 CONCLUSION: INTERSECTION POINTS BETWEEN ARCHITECTURE AS A COMPREHENSION IDENTITY BASIS AND NATION BRANDING

As the first contribution of the research, this study has highlighted the following points as part of the intersection between the dimensions of architecture and nation branding, and addressed the convergence between these two fields that is likely to have a significant impact both on strengthening and charting the nation on the global map. As mentioned above, central to this argument is a question: How does a nation brand project itself in architecture? Can existing architectural theories be adapted to explain this relationship effectively? The table below shows comparative values of the dimensions of architecture as a comprehension identity basis and nation branding based literature review as follows:

Architectural language-strategy	Nation branding strategy
It is beyond discussion that architecture does not only make form as a language but it can affect lives and plays a great role in the local economy in addition to cultural life of the local people. Further, architecture tries to be part of the process through listening to the local community besides listening to something that was meaningful but not available there before and it is within the process of enriching people's lives (Heath 2009:75).	Nation branding is defensible among state and shared actors as a required correction to the declining significance of the nation-state in the globalized economic, political, and cultural exchange context (Aronczyk 2009).
Architecture is described as an important cultural expression of post-national building within and beyond the nation-state, especially the degree of being tied to the state, which is apparently less in the nation-	Anholt (2003:139) describes nation branding as "the dominant channel of communication for national identity, national reputation, and image".

Architectural Essence	Nation brand
building period (Delanty 2002).	
The political meaning has a long history of being part of the equation of built environment and continues right through the present to be a matter for architects and politicians across the world (Vale 1992:9).	Nation branding or rebranding is an activity, which is controversial, and highly politicized (Dinnie 2008:200).
In addition to the form, content, function and context; values, culture and power are also characteristics added to architecture which has been viewed by Max Bond Jr as a social art concentrating on social uplifting and making "three–dimensional statements about culture and power" (Dutton at el 1996:223-177).	Nation branding is the outcome of the country- of origin and the interdisciplinary literature on national identity combined, where all approaches of politics, culture, and sociology and history crosslink with identity (Szondi 2008).
Architectural Essence	**Nation brand**
"The emergent interest in architectural identities is likewise premised on the assumption that architecture has a specific essence, the understanding which is essential both to the discourse and practice of the field" (Abel 2000:143)	See adjacent quotation
See adjacent quotation	In the words of Gilmore (2002): "The core of a country's brand must capture the spirit of the people of that nation and their shared purpose. The spirit of the people and the spirit of their place are deeply connected"
According to (Vale 1992:48), "architecture and planning are often used as tools for promoting something called national identity".	In Anholt's (2008) viewpoint, "nation brand is national identity made tangible, robust, communicable, and above all useful".
Places in relation to practice own biographies as much as they are constructed, utilized, and transformed… if the mythic value and historical relevance are rooted in	Sustainable stories in the context of nation brand – are central to any form of this connection that the nation brand is based on, whether the brand value is

Architectural Dimensions	Nation Branding Dimensions
the concrete details of locals in the landscape, stories will acquire part of such value and relevance. It can further acquire points of material reference which can be visited, seen and touched (Tilley 1994:33).	of a nation, country, region, a story should be identified, recognizable and constructed or not to motivate and legitimate the comfort and certainty (Hannigan 2003).
Architectural Dimensions	**Nation Branding Dimensions**
According to Pearson (1994), "architecture is a powerful medium for representing, ordering, and classifying the world".	"To identify the uniqueness of the country, its people, culture, or landscape to identify and draw on features that distinguish and differentiate us from them" (Szondi 2008).
According to general suppositions, architecture which is considered an art plays a moral role in the process of cultural configuration and transformation (Ghirardo 1991 11)	Aronczyk (2008), states that nation branding influences the moral foundation of national citizenship.
Notably, for all political and cultural elites who direct at the likes of flagging the nation through a physical repertoire of cultural symbols, the signifying of architecture has been an important affair (Billig 1995)	In nation branding "the aim is to create a clear, simple, differentiating idea built around emotional qualities which can be symbolized both verbally and visually and understood by diverse audiences in a variety of situations" (Fan 2006).
It seems that all buildings, urban designs and settlement patterns share a symbolic content which plays an effective role in providing them with an identity and, moreover, gives the people, who inhabit or observe them, an image-of self. That is, sometimes it is not easy to get such meanings, nevertheless, whenever buildings become architect-designed, the attempt of communicating	Another role of nation branding is to use the tools of branding so that the behavior, attitudes, identity or image of a nation can be changed positively (Gudjonsson 2005:285).

Identity in Architecture	Nation brand Identity/Image
particular meanings is often found to be a deliberate, self-conscious act (Lang et al.1997: xiv).	
Increasingly in any analytical study of any type of identity, architecture has always been utilized as a nexus of a re-examination of the nature and definition of identity of any nation (see Vale 1992; McNeill and Tewdwr-Jones 2003).	However, a very obvious and simple illustration is provided by Kapferer (1997:71) to obtain a comprehension of brand identity, which underscores the importance of the provided side perspective on the brand concept and recognizing who we are is a must, which precedes knowing how we are perceived (Konecnik 2007).
The system of signs whose material mirrors not only its use, but also signs, texts, and meanings and written in its material cover and in which symbols transfer socially relevant information like the national images of a country, are known as architecture (Herrl 2009: 114).	The term is at the nation level, multidimensional and context-dependant but the biggest struggle that faces nation branding is how to correspond a single image or message to various audiences in various countries (Fan 2006).
Vinsand (2004) states: "the aesthetics of architecture can be used to sell the ideas of political system to the populace both by the creation of new architecture and the destruction of symbols contrary to the polity".	Nation branding can help to remove misconceptions about a country and in the same time, it helps the country to relocate itself in a more approving way (Anholt 2007:18).
As a matter of fact, Marcuse (1998:333) comes to the correct conclusion in indicating that who has the control over what is built has the focal point of power.	that brand identity of the nation is the perception of reality
Charles Landry (2006:6) summarizes architecture, "we are connected to our histories and our collective memories via our cultural heritage which fastens our sense of being and can supply us with a source of	Thus, brand identity to particular nations requires the understanding of the true past, present and future that alter the nation basis for collective memory and the essence of nation

insight to be of help to face the future".	brand (Fan 2010).
Actually, in today's world, architecture is an important part of the state projecting (Delanty et al. 2002).	Simonin (2008) indicates, "a country image is a reflection, sometimes distorted, of its fundamental being, a measure of its health, and a mirror to its soul".

Table 2.2 The Intersections between Architecture and Nation branding

This research is a study of the phenomenon of nation branding based on architectural identity led agenda: For the study of which it looks at the architectural discourse rather than at the nation branding as the object of marketing academics. Following the literature reviews, the case studies of this research will be analysed regarding this identified aspect: The importance of the political message of architectural identity in strengthening and charting the nation on the global map, and to analyse the complex signs underlying the power of architecture in the process of nation recognition. "By studying the architectural practices of different countries at different periods, a large number of ideological frameworks can be found" (Evin 1986:65). Brand for particular nations requires an understanding of the past, present and future (Fan 2010). Thus, when analysing the evolution and development of nation brand architecturally, it is important to understand and examine the context in which the identity as a spirit of nation in architecture emerged.

Although there are a number of differences between the two disciplines of architecture and nation branding, there are also points of convergence (even if the convergence is only partial). These comparisons between architecture as a comprehension identity basis and nation branding will be farther developed in the following chapters. Thus, for the purpose of the study and based on the architectural and nation branding literature the study formulates a comprehensive structure based on the following questions: To what extent has the built environment reinforced state sovereignty and self-determination in terms of being a product of physical planning solidified by cultural references and the spirit of

the nation? In other words: To what extent does the reconstruction of the collective memories of the historical architectural sites of the nation came to be used as the collective identity and how is it translated into a new construction of national identity?

CHAPTER THREE

POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF CASE STUDIES SUPPORTING THE IMPACT OF ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY ON NATION BRANDING

3. CASE STUDY ONE (FINLAND)

3.1 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FINNISH CASE FOR THE RESEARCH

Finland is chosen for the sake of analysing the politics of architectural identity and its impact on Finnish nation brand (Finnishness), as the significance of the Finnish architecture in Finnish history has been increasingly acknowledged. Detailed analysis of the relationship between Finnish architecture and Finnish nation brand from an architectural perspective reveals different forms of nation branding based on architectural identity-led agenda.

In this study, Finland is observed as one of the positive frameworks for the complex architectural effect on nation brand. As Connah (2005:32-51) states that architecture has been employed to serve the aims of an independent nation and has been the reflection of true socio economic, cultural, and political phases of Finland state. Architecture is one of the most important elements in forming the essence of Finnish independency. In fact, the sector of Finnish architecture has paid sufficient attention to all aspects of principle characteristic of Finnish identity and the reinforcement of the sense of collective belonging via coordinated and structured urban spatial patterns (Othengrafen 2012).

Moreover, it is important to investigate this case since Finnish independence has approached a new policy of renegotiation and redefinition of intertwined notions of nationhood, architecture, and socio-political dimensions of the new country. Another advantage of this case study for the research is the potential of the organic tendencies of Finnish architecture as a source of national construction and cultural development. This study argues that although Finnish architecture was developed in the early 20th century, its value as a physical story of Finland is a powerful tool to which it can rely and base its identity on and plays an important role as sustainable and competitive national focal point.

Additionally, one of the most important components of the architectural policy in Finland is the spirit of Finnish national identity[5]. Indeed, in the case of Finland, in the early phase of gaining its own identity, much has been made by the Finnish architects in particular Aalto who uses architecture as a symbolic medium for building a strong sense of national pride while in another sense also performing on the international stage (Ray 2005:4). Finnishness was the central feature of Aalto's architecture in an attempt to reflect his love for Finland and the Finnish pavilions at the 1939 New York World's fair is an example of "manifestos of a specific Finnishness" (Schildt1991:13). However, unlike any other professionals, the Finnish architects soon entered a programmatic position of architecture that could shape the nation's identity and create a new mode of society in the context of radical social and political changes. Keeping up with a political situation and reflecting on society's need in each stage are the characteristics of famous Finnish architects in addition to the growing urge for symbolic architecture that interacts with the national identity-cultural and social needs (Richards 1978:138). Among the factors, variables, elements that belong to nation branding, Finnish architecture is a key component that has affected the Finnish nation brand and thereby regulated Finland's space on the global map. Since linking Finnish architecture to the international architectural scenes has been the core of architectural ideas and practices of most leading Finnish architects (Richards 1987:152)

Maintaining unique cultural characteristics as a central component of a young country, Finland's strategies toward developing its place on the global map characterises the overall concept and the image of Finland. In a sense, Finnish architecture, and its dimensions have acted as a core of Finnish identity and physically has attached to the form of the Finnish nation brand. For example, in 2012 Helsinki-Finland was named as a World Design Capital[6].

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[5]The Finnish architectural policy 1998

[6] World Design Capital.com

Figure 3.1 Helsinki-Finland as world Design Capital 2012 (World Design Capital.com).

The Finnish architecture is a vivid example in this respect: A frame of nation brand conceptualization from architectural perspective as a core component of the Finnish identity is being transferred to the Finnish nation brand image "to accommodate the geopolitical context of international exchange" (Aronczyk 2008).

Although a change towards marketing and image building as a more vibrant language started to occur in the beginning of the 1970s in Finland, the importance of perceptual tourism marketing has been stressed and kept its position since the early 1900s, involving the physical environment as one of the fundamental elements that has been directed to such mission both as a concrete and an abstract image (Pitkane 2003). By looking at Finland's memory, represented mainly by the Finnish architecture, the physical layers of the built environment through time shaped the successful identity of Finland (Connah 2005:9).

In spite of similarities that Finland has with the Iraqi Kurdistan in terms of the geopolitics importance, categorized by roughly same population, and most

importantly same contested political history, they are different in terms of being successful story of independent nation from an architectural perspective. Finland is considered as advanced, has been placed within 8th category levels in terms of representing rapid economic growth[7]. In Iraqi Kurdistan, the sequence is often reversed: Moreover, the different political strategies that animated architectural design rather weakened the possibility to achieve Kurdish identity in architecture in the light of political changes that the Kurdish region has passed through throughout history. The empirically grounded understanding of the politics of architecture and its impact on the nation brand (nationess) in a well-documented example, Finland, is then applied to develop a modified methodology for monitoring the impact of architecture identity on nation brand for the case of Iraqi Kurdistan.

3.2 INTRODUCTION: IN SEARCH OF POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF FINLAND THROUGH ARCHITECTURE

The up to date interpretation of Finland on the world stage as an independent country defined as:

> "A mid-sized European state with nearly one quarter of its territory north of Arctic Circle. With more than 80,000 islands and 188,000 lakes, the country lies on the edge of the Eurasian boreal coniferous zone; with 70 percent of land area as productive forests of pine, spruce, and birch… the population reached 3 million in 1914 and 4 million in 1950. Then the births rate sagged as the shift/relocation from a rural to urban society in search of jobs produced an emigration to Sweden. Gradually, by 1991 the population had reached 5 million, and by spring 2000 the official census put the population at 5,171,302. More than two thirds of Finns are of working age (15-64) and over 51 per cent of the population are women"(Connah2005:7).

This chapter discusses the interaction between Finnish identity and its relation to architecture as a political pivot of the nation-state and architecturally constructing

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[7]Future brand: 2011-2012 country brand index, the seventh annual future brand country index (CBI).

Finnish nation brand (Finnishness). In the effect of structural analysis, the theoretical research, and insights of literature on Finnish architecture, identity, and image legitimating, the following questions are studied: What is the background of Finnish architecture? To what extent has the Finnish built environment reinforced state sovereignty and self-determination in terms of being a product of physical planning solidified by cultural references and the spirit of the Finnish nation? In other words: To what extent the reconstruction of the collective memories of the historical architectural sites in Finland came to be used as the collective identity for the Finnish nation and how is it translated into a new construction of national identity? Has Finnish identity been taken as a central point in the design of a culturally responsible built environment? And finally how has the architectural environment comprehended on promoting Finnish brand image? Since so much has already been written about Finnish history and while the goal is to focus on the relationship between Finnish identity and architecture and its impact on Finnish nation brand, it is not in the scope of this study to cover all aspects involving the Finnish history. An introduction to the historical roots of Finland evaluates the empirical evidence to validate that the identity in Finnish architecture has played a significant role in regulating Finland's space on the global map. The political power of Finnish architecture and the physical cultural structure have enabled the nation brand to solidify and to act as a physical configuration of the national story. Thus, it offers the citizens the space for maintaining their national sense of belonging to one nation, and offers the politicians and architects the ability to shape the brand identity of a nation and alter the nation's basis for nation brand image. Nevertheless, discussions within the historical and political based architecture aspect reveal the Finnish scene in full. It has been perceived by Richards (1966:16) that:

> "In spite of her geographically remote situation Finland did not escape European dynastic rivalries and struggles for power; on the contrary, Finland was one of the meeting grounds of the west and east and the changes and conflicts this position involved is written into her history and visible in her architecture".
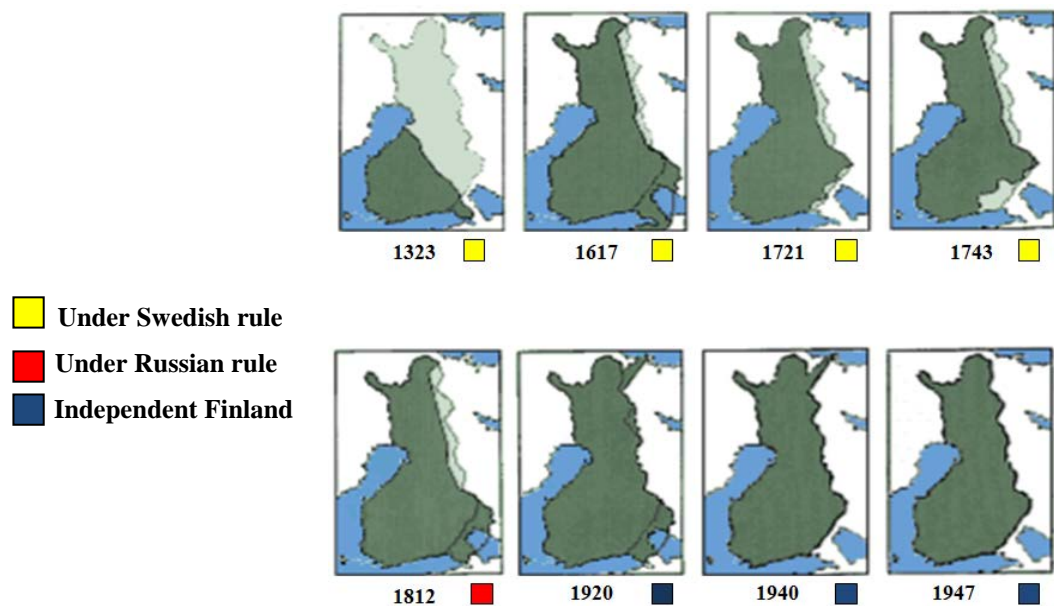
Figure 3.2 The re-drawn of Finnish boarder. The Finnish Karelian League (Fingerroos 2008).

3.2.1 SOCIO-POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL DIMENSIONS IN RELATION TO FINNISH ARCHITECTURE

3.2.1.1 FINLAND (CA.1150-1809): THE SWEDIFICATION PROCESS FROM THE ARCHITECTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Although Finland is considered to be one of the oldest countries of the World characterized by physical features, which date back to the last Ice Age[8] (Tan 1996:8), the origins of the Finns were viewed with vague suspicion. However, many streams of research have offered valuable insights into the historical background of Finland. According to Lavery (2006:17):

"Concocted pasts have proclaimed the Finns as the founders of civilizations ranging from ancient Egypt to Renaissance Venice. For generations, Finnish schoolchildren were taught that their ancestors came to Finland as a result of a great migration from the Urals at about the time of Christ. Out of Finland,

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[8]Which began 40 million years ago and ended as a result of the receding of continental glaciers 10.000 years ago

people have learned that the Finns have descended from the Turks or Mongols".

The ambiguity in interpreting the origin of Finns has also been complicated by Finland's multi-ethnic character. Finland was a multi-ethnic territory based on mixed population (Harding and Berwer2003:10). Ethnicity stratified as ethnic Finns and an untold number of other European peoples in the South, in addition to the two problematic Finnish tribes, Hamenites (Swedish: Tavastians) and Karelians respectively in the west and east roughly 2000 years ago (Ibid). While the literature on the historical background of Finland is extensive, it has failed to fully explore the origin of the Finns. However, various opposites and fragmentations have both created and resulted in misunderstanding the roots of Finns, the main cause as Lavery (2006:17)stated is "the lack of long, visible past has provided fertile ground for the creation of fanciful myths about the Finns' prehistoric origins".

However, it is largely accepted in Finland that prehistory ended around the twelfth century with which a recorded history began with Sweden success in extending its boundaries to cover the completely northern shore of the Gulf of Finland (Jussila1999:3). During this period, as part of Swedification policy, the Swedish language became the main tool of political power and received more legitimacy as a national language for administration, commerce, and formal culture (Schoolfield1998), while Finnish was largely the neglected tongue of the countryside. Moreover, for political purposes, Western culture and law as well as the Lutheran religion were enforced by the Swedish rule to support their political agendas in Finland (Lunde 2011:7).

Although Finland has been occupied briefly by Russia twice from 1710 to 1714 and from 1741 to 1743, the Swedish Empire regained control in Finland apart from Karelia, which had been handed over to the Russian Empire in addition to the fortified towns like Hamina Lappeenranta, and Oavinlinna fortress (Tan 1996:20). Thus, for 700 years from the Middle Ages until 1809, Finland had been an "eastward-looking nation of the Swedish realm with a very Swedish influence in its social, economic, legal, and administrative dimensions" (Tan 1996:29).

3.2.1.1.1 CHURCH ARCHITECTURE, FINNISH LOG CONSTRUCTION, AND THE CULTIVATION OF THE RED GRANITE

More interestingly, during this period as part of its strategy to protect its position, Sweden placed more emphasis on church architecture as a tool of sustainable invasion (Kelley 2000:132). The use of the Swedish style and forms to reflect a political notion of Swedish identity had been the main theme of architecture in Finland until early nineteenth century. However, the phenomenon of the "hall churches" and "stone castles" that imitated the form and construction of these would also have been found on the Swedish island of Ostra Gotland and other parts of Europe, has best defined the medieval period architecture in Finland. Although it is believed that Finland "did not flourish architecturally under Swedish rule" (Quantrill 1995:39), on the one hand, the large variations between granite as a natural stone in Finland and brick as a cheap material used for the construction of walls, with decorative details being carved from soft sandstone or limestone in other parts of Europe made a significant contribution in promoting a distinctively Finnish character. On the other hand, a horizontal log construction with block pillars that originated from medieval times Finnish original form came to be the dominant building type in 17th century in Finland with total number of 105 block pillar churches in Enonteko (today only 14 of them remains) compared with few buildings of this type built on Sweden side of Tornio River, also played noticeable role in forming and codifying national distinctiveness in architecture (Kelley 2000:132).

However, in Finland the existence of horizontal log construction technique dates back thousands of years. The geographical characteristic of Finland as flourishing forests helped to define simple principles of using wood as a basic natural building material and to work out appropriate technique. Thus, "the horizontal log technique has resulted in simple rectangular building masses which are given uniformity of scale by construction tradition" (Heikkila2000).
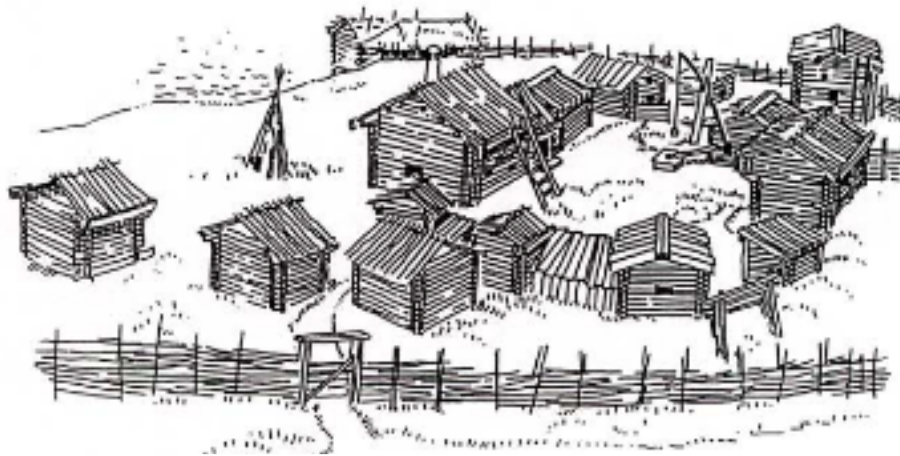
Figure 3.3 Simple log buildings form. A traditional Finnish farm house with several outbuildings (Heikkila 2004)
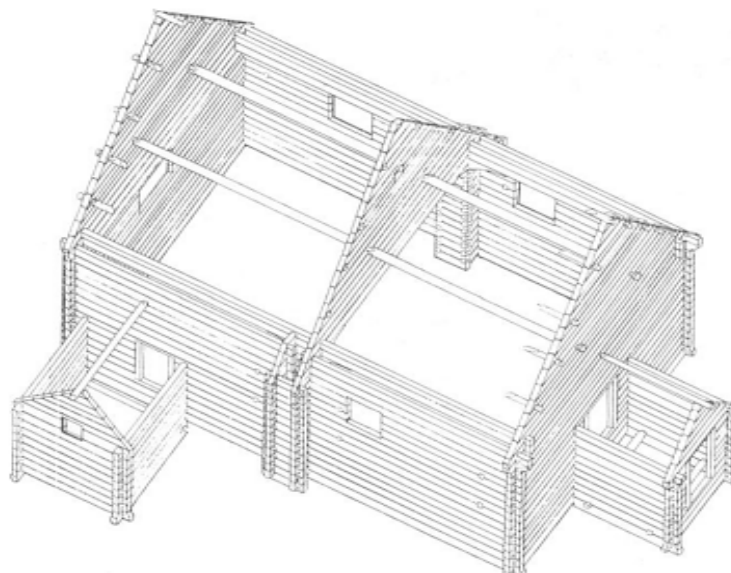
Figure 3.4 The log construction of Sodankylä, old Church, that drawn by EeroHuotari according to Lars Perrersson's advice (Kelly 2000:133).

In spite of the significance changes that took place in the horizontal log construction over time, its value as a sustainable tool of Finnish national identity is of great importance since "the log construction heritage has never been completely broken in Finland" (Heikkila 2000).

Moreover, although the architecture for the Swedish Kingdom has been an important affair of flagging the Sweden nation in Finland, it is actually for Finland the culturally inspired character of the Finnish granite (evolved under the Sweden political circumstance) that refers to some of the Finnish achievements in separation, being a fundamental factor in the process of Sweden's colonization. The cultivation of the red granite further signified the material transformation of Finland for the political purposes of progress and independence. Furthermore, to elaborate such negotiation in a wide context, analysing examples of the architectural construction based on the Finnish natural material during the Swedish Empire is of help to clarify the fact that architecturally part of the visual past in Finland was basically at the service of its authority legitimization. However, within the context of national legitimization, in particular, Ashby (2010) states that for Finns, "in the absence of any history of political nationhood, 'the people', their language and their culture (architecture) provided the foundation for developing ideas of national identity".

3.2.1.1.1.1 THE VISIBILITY OF DEVELOPING IDEAS OF FINNISH NATIONAL IDENTITY: TURKU CASTLE

Thus to understand the visibility of developing ideas of Finnish national identity during this period it would be worthwhile to refer to the Turku Castle that was built to work as colonial architectural foundation of Sweden. Interestingly, on the one hand, Turku Castle is an example of the ways in which the political achievement of Sweden in Finland was expressed. On the other hand, it serves as a mechanism for collecting theoretical data to develop arguments about the question raised in this chapter: That is, to what extent the reconstruction of the collective memories of the colonized historical architectural sites in Finland can be used as the collective identity for the Finnish nation and how is it translated into new construction of national identity?

According to the existing archaeological remains, the castle was one of the main projects of Swedish Empire that was built initially in 1280 at the mouth of the

Aurajoki River in southwestern Finland (Juuti et al. 2007:32). In terms of the main uses of Turku castle, in addition to the defensive purpose, the castle had its prime importance as the centre of administration in the East (Ibid). The original structure of Turku castle largely reflected the form of a rectangular fortified camp (Juuti 2007a). However, the castle experienced numerous developments over time. Simultaneously, the basic functions of Turku castle as well changed through time according to the political situation. During the 14th century, many changes were initiated within the construction of the fortified camp that later was divided into the main castle and bailey in which functionally the castle was closed during that time (Ibid). Moreover, one of the first alterations in the 15th century was the renovation of the castle and altering it into a handsome renaissance-style dwelling in 1556-1563 and its extension to its current size. Since during the Renaissance, no additions have been made to the castle (Ibid). Functionally, as can be understood from the archaeological evidence the castle turned into a crucial strategic territory and gained much political importance when the first king of the Vasa dynasty lived permanently in the castle for eleven months in 1555-1556. The construction of the bailey began in the late 15th century and finished in the 16th[9]. The bailey was not as heavily fortified as the keep, but it had several turrets. The Renaissance construction work included heavy modification of nearly all the rooms in the older medieval part of the castle. However, the castle came to be used as a historical background for an inclusive notion of Finnishness since the distinctive added values like the locality Finnish material (granite) was provided a tool for reducing a policy of Swedification that was imposed on Finland during the Sweden Empire. Turku Castle was considered as an integral tool of internal power strife within Sweden-Finland and the Kalmar Union[10]. However, the castle lost its central position as an administrative centre in 17th century. Interestingly, after a long time of neglect, the time between the beginning of 18th century and the end of 19th century marked the real essence of -turning point in castle history when the main purpose of the castle was a prison.

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[9]http://finland.fi/public/default.aspx?contentid=160061&contentlan=2&culture=en-US

[10]Kalmar Union: the formulation of the union of the three Scandinavian crowns that dates back to 1397, " was partly a response to German expansion into the Scandinavian economy " (Bandle 2002:1065).

Figure 3.5 Turku castle.P.O. Welin, National Board of Anti quities
http://www.nba.fi/en/museums/other_sites/turku_castle

In 1808, the castle was ceded by Swedish Empire to the Russian navy and thus the basic function of the castle changed and served a range of new purposes. Interestingly, the Finnish authorities had the control of the castle only after 1809 when Finland became an autonomous Grand Duchy under Russia and the castle served as a historical Museum of Finland for the first time in 1881. The Soviet aircraft destroyed the castle in the beginning days of the Continuation War 1941. Prior to the war and for decades later the process of renovation of the castle to its former Renaissance glory had been started. The restoration came to an end in 1987, and the castle was returned to the city of Turku, which is entrusted with its operation for the Finnish state on October 12, 1993. The Castle as part of the Finnish cultural and architectural heritage stands for an architectural monument, a museum and as premises for distinguished celebrations. Still the castle currently has a continuing symbolic significance for Finland, as it becomes the most visited national museum[11]. Since history is attached to the architecture and place, understanding the layers of Finnish history is integral to further understanding the larger concept of the impact of architecture on nation branding. Political meaning has long history of being part of the equation of built environment and continues right through the present to be a matter for architects and politicians across the world (Vale 1992:4). However, knowledge of Finnish society, the Finnish atmosphere, and the criteria of its architecture reveal the importance for re-evaluation of that history (Connah 2005:10).

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[11]http://www.turunlinna.fi/en/turku_castle.html

3.2.1.2 FINLAND (1809): THE PROCESS OF RUSSIFICATION FROM THE ARCHITECTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Finland became an autonomous Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire and achieved some measure of independence[12] as a result of a bloody war declared by Russian against Swedish Empire in1808 after the signing of Tilsit Treaty by Russian tsar Alexander I and Napoleon (Brewer 2003:12). What was achieved during this period was a relative freedom (with its own senate and the Diet of the four estates) from the dependence of Finland on which all major decisions were approved by the Tsar gave Finns a temporary relief to develop the country in many ways (Ibid). Thus, during this period, the issue of new national identity was one of the central challenges faced by Finns and the idea of breaking away mentally, culturally, and linguistically from Sweden policy became a top political priority (Korkalo 2010:141). Theoretically, philosophers attempted so far to define Finnish identity whereas the term Finnish nationalism acquired new meanings and interpretations under the slogan "we are not Swedes and we do not want to be Russians, so let's be Finns"[13] (Virtanen 2001:76-77 cited in Korkalo et al. 2010:141). However, it is originally believed that nationalism began in Finland during eighteenth century, which was transformed by a group known as the Turku Romantics (1818 to 1822) from the purely academic to one with a border public agenda (Lavery 2006:56). This strategy of transformation was based on three kinds of approaches: "First, they wanted to build national pride by exalting Finland's part. Second, they encouraged Swedish speakers to learn and use Finnish. Third, they encouraged the development of Finnish language literature" (Lavery 2006:56-57).

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[12]"Even before reaching a settlement with Swedish crown, Emperor Alexander I had achieved peace with his new subjects. At the emperor's request, representatives of Finland's four states met in the city of Porvoo between March 25 and July 19, 1809. During this meeting, the estates pledged allegiance to their new ruler, who would bear the title of Grand Duke of Finland. For his part the emperor- grand duke promised to uphold Finland's" constitution," estate privileges as well as the Lutheran religion. In doing so, Alexander made Finland legally autonomous from the rest of his empire" (Lavery 2006:52).

[13]It echoed the slogan of Italian nationalists in the 1860s:"We have made Italy- now we must make Italians" (Jakobson 1998: 14).

Moreover, in this period, a state of geographical stability was shown to play an important role in building a sense of "Finnishness"/ "being Finnish" and in this regard, the role of territoriality accorded particular attention (Herb et al. 1999:129-130). Finnish territoriality has been derived from a combination of interrelated factors such as Finnish space based symbolic landscape and knowledge tied to governmental activities rather than a result of politics and the military (Herb 1999:130). In turn, in this period, the Finnish national sentiments flourished and the Finnish elites were faced with a new issue of asserting its own national identity. However, in previous periods difficulties were found in converting Finland from being the name of geographical area to a concept referring to a sovereign political unit (Jussila1992 cited in Herb1999:131). The state- making process of Finland was different from other cases like Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia…etc. in terms of the evident historical continuity from the imperial period (Ibid:129).However, the focus here is not on the Finnish nationalism as a whole, instead, it is on the particular role of architecture in the representation of Finnish identity.

3.2.1.2.1RETHINKING IDENTITY THROUGH ARCHITECTURE: LESSONS FROM EXPERIENCE, PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

Architecture as a result of the Russification policy was contested in increasing ways through planning for new towns, designing civic buildings, and churches on one hand and, while Finnish identity became more sophisticated through remarkably public face on the other hand. During the 19th century, the architectural movement of neoclassicism, which had its roots supported and paralleled through Sweden and Russia, dominated the architectural scene in Finland (Singleton 1989:68). The influence of neoclassical style on the architectural productions can be most clearly seen in Helsinki, which under Russian rule became the capital of Finland. There are many excellent examples of neoclassical structures scattered throughout Helsinki for instance most notably in downtown Helsinki, there were fine public buildings around Senate Square that

were designed by German architect Carl Ludvig Engel (1778-1840) who settled in Finland in 1815(Richards 1987:15). Moreover, the main government building and the huge white domed Lutheran Cathedral were also excellent examples of the combination of neoclassical and St Petersburg features (at that time, Russian capital). These projects were used by Finns in 1830 as a mirror of development of Finland from the heap of rocks to a beautiful city, although the original design was not completed until the 1870s (Singleton 1998:68).

Figure 3.6Architectural details of Lutheran Cathedral Helsinki.

Figure 3.7 Lutheran Cathedral Helsinki. [http://www.sacred-destinations.com/finland/helsinki-lutheran-cathedral].

Another example of Russification strategy through architecture is the Great Russian house in Karelia (with living quarters and haylofts forming a high story over cowsheds and storage rooms), which can also give a glance to the development of housing model during this period. Even though it is originally based on Finnish region, it is not a true representation of Finnish building tradition (Norberg-Schulz1996:64).Moreover:

> "Under Russian rule in the nineteenth century, a detailing developed that outwardly distinguishes the buildings from Swedish folk architecture. This consists of the division of wall surfaces into horizontal bands: a solid plinth of standing panels below the fenestration, an extended fenestration band, and attic frieze on top...the tendency toward a dispersed and extensive horizontal gestalt also comes across clearly in the use of coloration: street facades were thus treated as applied screens, generally yellow, while and back faces were red. The yellow front was, perhaps, an element of status, but nevertheless, the disintegrative whole that results is emphatically Finnish".

It was remarkable that in the nineteenth century, Finnish architecture was successful in finding its identity and its roots, which were first uncovered by Kalevala. As a matter of fact, they were hidden beneath the impact of Swedish and Russian rule (Ibid). However, Finnish architecture has had a particularly strong link with its building tradition: It is the reinterpretation of essential qualities of the Finnish tradition implies; it is not the reiteration of conventional forms. The work of both architects Lars Sonck and Eliel Saarnen at the turn of the century witnessed this occurrence with convincing power (Ibid).

Notably, Symington (2009:44) points out that "after the 1850s National Romanticism emerged in response to pressure from the Russians". The idea of national Romanticism particularly in the area of architecture behaving as style controlling the period was probed. Meanwhile, the complicated link between the movements of nation building in addition to the search for a national style and important engagement with international trends was uncovered (Ashby 2010).

The period of National Romanticism at the turn of the 20th century was a significant heyday of log construction in Finland since it brought back the dignity of the log surface. Thus, the tradition of the boarded log house has been broken by it. It was from the national epic Kalevala, domestic rustic architecture, old wooden churches and Russian Karelia that the model for a national image construction came. The focus on the Finnish identity has been particularly seen in the construction of artists' wilderness studios, which obtained their major shapes and bare surfaces, often treated with tar, from the Karelian house (Heikkilä 2004).

Finland's peasant churches, which are usually regarded as genuine products of an indigenous tradition, are obviously echoes of continental high style (Canizaro 2007:135). Likewise, it was in Neo-Hellenic spirit that the architectural identity of the grand duchy of Finland has been formed. It was of course thoroughly unfamiliar for the underdeveloped forestland of the time. Actually, it was closer to updated examples not only in Germany and in Scotland, but also even on the other side of the Atlantic in the American Midwest that the national romanticism of the turn of the century found inspiration. Further, the national romanticism intentionally intended to form national style and overtly from indigenous mythology and tradition sought its inspiration (Ibid). It was into humane and somewhat romantic version of post-war modernity in the Nordic countries that half a century later the universal ideals of international style were turned (Ibid).

The term "modern" was first used by Lars Sonck, who was one of the leading architects later considered to be romantic and eclectic in 1898 "for a more modern approach to city planning, echoing the ideas of Camillo Sitte" (Connah 2005:40). It has been emphasized by Richards (1987:15) that:

> "Yet the earlier Finnish architecture deserves to be noticed, and several of its episodes-the building of village churches in the late medieval period, the achievements of Carl Ludwig Engel in the neoclassical style which transformed Helsinki, after about 1817, into the elegant city it still is. And the period of national romanticism at the end of nineteenth century–made–a unique contribution to architectural history and can be studied today in buildings that are distinguished even by international standards".

Prior to the transitional status of Finland to be an independent nation in 1917, architecture had been a core for the national identity's reflection and construction of the Finnish image and facet of this trend was evident in early icon in Kalela, the studio-home in 1895 by painter Akseli Gallen-Kallela (1865-1931) on the shores of Lake Ruovesi (Nerdinger 1999:62). Moreover, it can be noticed that with the acquisition of independence in the year of 1917 and the beginning of the transformation of Finland's place into the global stage, the functioning of the Finnish brand comes to be related to different factors. Among them, this study seeks to take part in advancing our understanding of this phenomenon from an architectural perspective.

3.2.1.3 FINLAND (1917): THE PROCESS OF FINNISH INDEPENDENCE FROM THE ARCHITECTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Though Finland gained semi-independence in 1809, it was only in 1917 that it was declared as a recognized state with its own parliament and government. It is believed that "the state's legal and administrative systems were inherited from the period of Swedish rule, whereas the territorial shape and the state governmental structure were formed during Finland's autonomy as a Russian Grand Duchy" (Herb1999:129). Architecturally, the turn of the 20th century is one of the most intriguing periods in architecture for Finland. Scholars consider that the Art Nouveau architecture movement, based on grey granite and wood as construction materials, reached its climax during this period, combining Karelian ideas with rich ornamentation (Harding 2003:24). The national Museum (Eliel Saarinen) and the Cathedral of Tampere (Lars Sonck) are the best examples of buildings made in this style (National Romantic) as the dominant art and architecture at the turn of 20th century (Ibid). However, it is vital to understand different political periods that Finland has faced throughout history, as architecture is a symbolic representation of social, political, and economic dimensions. It is believed by Quantrill (1995: xi) that "it is these ingredients that provide the basis for new recipes and for the 'basic smell' of future Finnish architecture".
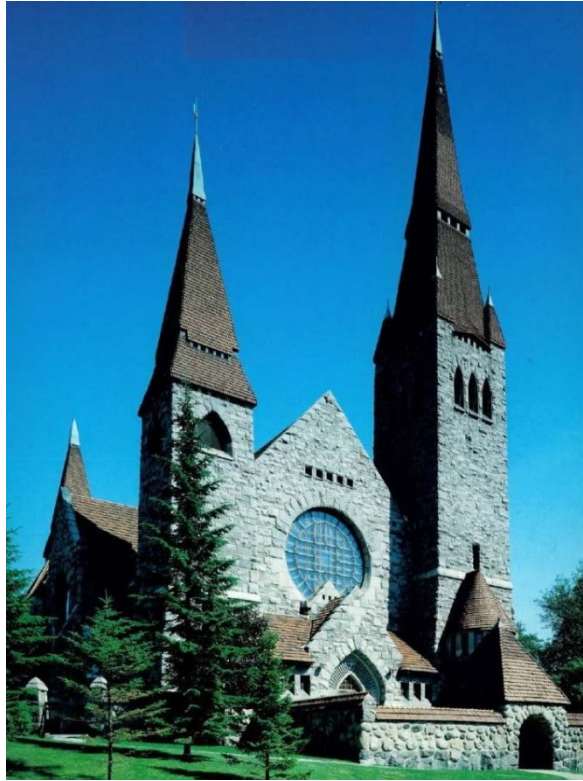
Figure 3.8 Lars Sonck Cathedral of Tampere, Tampere, Finland (1903-1907) (Helander 1987:37)

3.2.1.3.1THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF FINLAND IN 1917: THE BIRTH OF NEW TENDENCIES IN ARCHITECTURE

As mentioned above, Finland has historically undergone several confrontations that first ended with independence from Russia on the last day of 1917 (Connah 2005:49). Lenin's government was the first to recognize Finland as an independent country during his success in Russia by the end of First World War (Ibid). In the arena of architecture, the declaration of independence of Finland in 1917 gave birth to new tendencies in architecture; also, it saw the emergence of rationalism and functionalist architecture (Harding 2003:24). Moreover, state-led landmark architecture was one of the key ways by which the national code has been expressed and developed. Finland became independent from Russia and replaced the monuments of the Russification era with Finnish national symbols. For example, "the statue of Peter the Great was toppled from its pedestal and removed to the inner courtyard of the National Museum in Helsinki, from where

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it was returned to the new Municipal Art Museum in Vyborg in 1930. Meanwhile, a new monument in the form of a huge heraldic lion created by the sculptor Gunnar Finns, was put up on the same plinth at Tervaniemi in 1927 to mark the tenth anniversary of Finland declaration of independence" (Ahto 1979:77–82 cited in Raivo 2004).

Interestingly, in this period the complex relationship between "nation-building movements, the search for a national style and significant engagement with international trends" as well as the idea of National Romanticism were greatly reflected in Finnish architecture (Ashby 2010). In his book, Finland, Connah (2005:51) advocates that "the scale of its planning and aesthetic style might have echoed and even encouraged independence earlier, but it related little to the political and social reality of the new country". He argues that Finnish independence was approached through a new policy of renegotiation and redefinition of intertwined notions of nationhood, development beyond architecture, and socio-political dimension of the new country. For Finland, Finnish architecture can be best understood as the continuation of Finnish politics to turn Finland into an independent nation. Roughly speaking, we can identify the two decades before Finland gained independence in 1917 as a "pioneering period", these years would lay the basis for the way that Modernism would help to direct and define the Finnish nation (Ibid:18). However, our understanding and interpretation of this period must also take into account the political shape of this time, both inside and outside the country, and consider the various cultural and artistic movements that seem to have come together before the First World War. It was only after 1917, after independence from Russia, that "Finland could build on these pioneering years and establish its own identity as a nation" (Ibid). It should be noted that in Finland, the visual culture, in general, and the architecture, in particular, has worked as the main factor beyond the politics to create a unique atmosphere to build up a recognizable nation brand. According to Gartman (2009:126), "Finland compressed into one decade three modern developments that other countries required a century or more to accomplish: national independence, democratic government, and

industrial development. Consequently, the aesthetic symbols of these struggles were complexly superimposed on one another".

3.2.1.3.2 CIVIL WAR 1918

After independence, Finland entered the most difficult stage of its history as a result of bloody civil war in 1918, in addition to the problem of the 7000 remained−Russian troops in Finland (Connah 2005:49). The problem is complicated by the fact that the absence of an effective state policy accentuated new challenges among groups to seize power in Helsinki as a capital that first was controlled by "red guards" of the Finnish working class-Russian aided-rebels (Ibid). In the same year when the confrontation deepened above ruling power, a 'white army' was organized by the Finnish government and strongly supported by German force upon the invitation of the Finnish Senate to guarantee Helsinki and other cities under white control. The consequence of this coalition was an unsuccessful attempt by Germany to build a monarchy with a German king that ended with the German collapse in November 1918 and Finland's new alliance with the East that lasted under Mannerheim's control as a regent until the summer of 1919 when Finland's first president Stahlberg, was sworn in (Ibid). However, during the civil war, Finnish architects like "Aalto had fought in a bloody civil war on the side of the independents, and his distaste for ostentatious ornamentation led him to the spare Functionalist aesthetic" (Mitchell 2003).

The 1920's constituted a turning point in Finnish integration in the political community. This was due to the fact that the formal treaty with Russia and the adaptation of parliamentary principles were the greatest political achievements in addition to the establishment of the first provisional associations of cultural and political development (Paasi 2002). Architecturally:

"In the early 1920's, shortly after Finland achieved national independence from the Soviet Union, Aalto and other Finnish architects were still expressing nationalist impulses with national romanticism, an aesthetic dating back to the turn of the century and combined a timber vernacular

with indigenous medieval architecture. But with national unity on a firm basis by the mid -1920s, Finnish architects turned increasingly to classicism to express and bolster the country's new democratic government. By the late 1920's, when Finland was beginning to industrialize, Aalto let the country's architects in adopting modern architecture to symbolize this transition, designing several notable buildings in a rectilinear, rationalized style" (Gartman 2009:126).

3.2.1.3.3 THE RECONSTRUCTION PROCESS AFTER WORLD WAR II

During the reconstruction process after World War II, historians believed that the early important works of Romantic architecture which blended the architect's role in society and culturally drove Finland towards independence was pioneered by Saarinen and Sonck as a characteristic feature of national Finnish style and identity (Connah 2005:43),conceptualizing the Finnish national epic as a "fully account of adventures, beliefs and rites of the ancient forest-dwelling Finns", and based on nature as a key theme in developing Finnish identity (FerrerForés 2010). Moreover, the process of constructing a Finnish national identity using the power of 'discursive landscape' as a reflection of the historically and geographically specific social activities and processes of nation-building are additional tools which "have given rise to things and events firmly interpreted in terms of Finnishness, within the Finnish territory" (Herb 1999:124).

Politically, the Winter War of (1939-40) and the Continuation War of (1941-44) were two wars Finland witnessed against Soviet Union for a period (1939-1944). During these wars, the Soviet army was able to move forward and reach the eastern border of Finland where the Finnish region of Karelia was. Consequently, Finnish Karelia was obliged to be evacuated to central Finland. In September 1944, the war came to an end, and only then Finnish Karelia and other portions of Finnish territory were forced to be ceded to the Soviet Union. Besides the costs of two wars, the national mission was to find a solution for the Karelian population who were resettled on productive farmland where they would be self-sufficient as soon as possible. Definitely, among the significant events and happenings of the

20th century history of Finland were the two wars as well as the process of re-settling of the Karelians. Such events were ones that resonate for most people who lived in Finland.

Architecturally, Gartman (2009:126) states that by the year 1930's, Aalto, "Finland's preeminent modernist was back pedalling, compromising his machine aesthetic with curvilinear, organic elements reminiscent of the surrealists"[14]. He adds that the tuberculosis sanatorium at Paimio was the first manifestation of this synthesis. According to Passi (1992), the nation-state territory was viewed as a configuration of nation building processes combined with national consciousness. In this sphere in the 1930's, Alvar Aalto, in contrast to rigid geometry, elaborated further the emerging link between architecture and nature, freedom and movement at a variety of spatial levels in his post-war building (Nerdinger 1999:20).

Moreover, in terms of the reconstruction of urban areas, during 1940's and 1950's, the state subscribed loans and the accompanying planning regulations encouraged the development in the housing sector in particular, in which 70% of Finnish housing construction covered (Juntto 1990:228), in addition to rapid modernization, urbanization and industrialization that accompanied such a transformation of Finnish society as a whole (Saarikangas 2006). The role of the urban design in setting criteria for residential development, and for influencing the ultimate shape of the urban space was defined when architecture extended its interest and responsibility beyond mere building. Throughout the 1950's the (banquet years), Connah (2005:8) states that:

> "Finland had been characterized as a key site for the effective governance of economic development and as a response Finnish architecture began to evaluate this reading in which: Finnishness would stand in, metonymically, for notions about the whole culture: pure, honest, direct. At the end of the twentieth century, encouraged and realigned by postmodernism and the rise

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[14]By the year (1939-40) of the Winter War, Finland revealed the epic resistance that had been the basis of its transformation among states around the world (Connah 2005:126).

in the media role within architecture, Finnish culture had learnt to judge itself by how well it preformed to these notions of Finnishness".

However, the economic growth and technology in 1950's opened new optimistic doors for the country (Richards 1966:83).Seeking political neutrality was a central thrust area for Finland and was hard to be accepted by the Soviet Union by the end of 1960's (Connah 2005:186). Architecturally, "this was the time when Finnish architecture was intensely promoted internationally. The Museum of Finnish architecture arranged a number of travelling exhibitions with the explicit aim of making Finnish architecture internationally known" (Herrle 2008:52). Moreover, in the beginning of 1950s a new phase of log construction was recorded as the log houses began to be produced industrially (Heikkilä 2001).
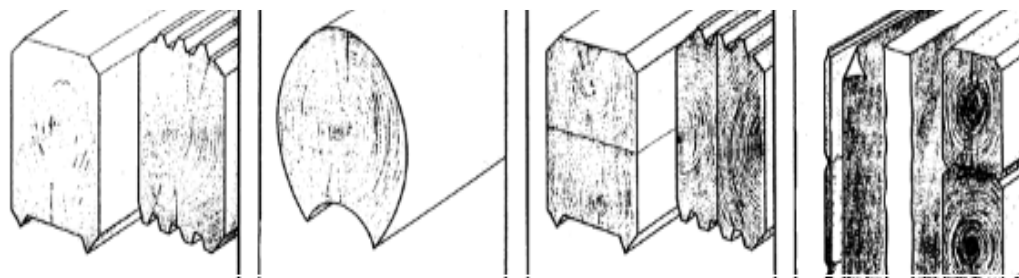
Figure3.9 Different types of industrially produced logs (Heikkilä 2001).

Between the 1960s-1970s, the country continued its progression towards social reform and industrialization through implementing a steady market of timber and paper with the Soviet Union, as in 1968, it became a member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (Connah 2005:159-213). Moreover, in terms of log houses, "in towns most of them were demolished during the so called urban refurbishment of 1960s and 1970s. In the countryside old log farm houses became also neglected because of their lack of modern conveniences – it was considered more easy to build a new modern building besides the old one than to repair and update the old one"(Heikkilä 2001).

However, in response to the 1960's rapid industrialization, Quantrill (1995:135) believes that although there was a considerable decline in the quality of much Finnish architecture, the period 1960's can be categorized as a period "of struggle between the values of an established modern Finnish architecture on the one hand and a reductionist mode of building measurement combined with so called design methods and rationalized production on the other".

Log Wall in 1930s   *Timber Wall With Sawdust insulation in 1950s*   *Timber Wall with brick façade and mineral wool insulation in 1970s and 1980s*
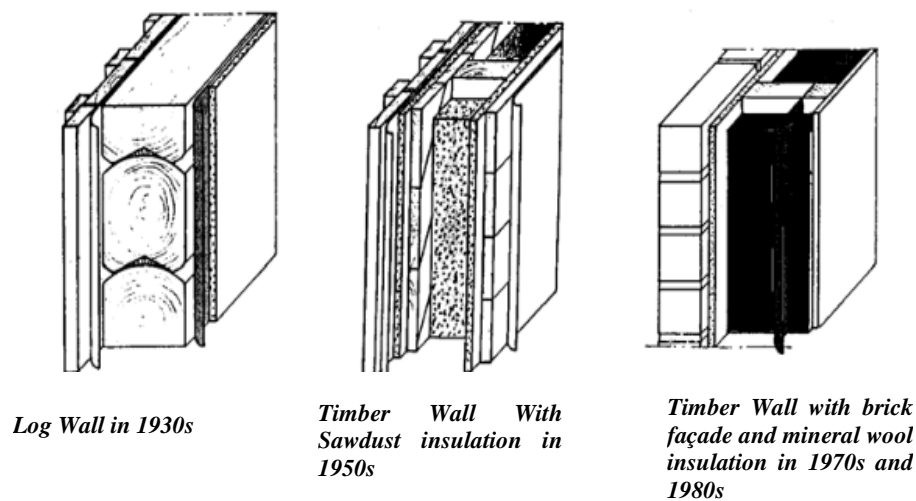
Figure 3.10Evolution of the timber wall (Heikkilä 2001).

In 1980's, there was a rapid change of the opportunity for political expression (Connah 2005:185), as in 1986, Finland became a full member of the European Free Trade Association. However, in architecture, by contrast, by entering the 1980's although there is less emphasis on the origins and the intentions of the new Finnish architecture, reducing it in part to the status of a province of international and postmodernism, this was not, of course totally the case as Quantrill (1995:196) states since there "remained some significant and productive pockets of resistance". He adds that:

"In this conflict of new Finnish architectural expression, the work of Matti
Nurmela, Kari Raimoranta and Jyrki Tasa stands for the more eclectic

international polarity, while that of Kari Jarvinen and Timo Airas represents new insights into the continuing tradition of Finnish modernism"

It had already noted after the collapse of the Soviet bloc in 1989, Finland enjoyed a considerable degree of economic upswing by the second half of the 1990's in which the international commerce became highlighted by Nokia and its subcontractors that have been the major growth tool of the Finnish economy (OECD 2000: 22). In 1995, the country became a member of the European Union (Paasi2002) by which Finland held the EU presidency for the second half of 1999 (OECD2000:129).Along the path of economic growth during this period, within the sphere of architecture, a new tendency was launched by the young generation of the Finnish architects. "They sought and expressed a new kind of abstraction in their works. They reduced buildings to forms and solids-to objects in a sense- and affected details illustrating scale andsize" (Jetsonen 2003:17).

Figure 3.11 Folk center/ Kaustinen designed by Rainer Mahlamaki and Juha Maki-Jyllila 1997(Tiainen 1999: 105-126).

In describing the architectural value of the Folk center project, Tiainen (1999:107) states, "the spatial fine turning, spatial relationships, forming sequences of spaces and interlacing them is always going to be a quality of

lasting value in architecture". He adds that, "what is essential in design is imaginative wandering free from the constraints of computer technology".

Moreover, in 2003, Finland has been reported as one of the few euro area countries for its stable economic performance (OECD 2003:20). According to OECD (2004:8), the Finnish economy was considered one of the most successful stories of economic transformation in Europe as it follows the second half of 1990s when Finnish output and productivity was reported to be the highest in OECD. Finland takes the first position in the Growth Competitiveness Index (GCI) rankings (2004-2005) and holds this position for the third time in the last four years[15]. Actually, in 2006, Finland economic growth was reinforced by a strong innovation performance besides high educational attainment and Finland continued to be among the best in the OECD (OECD 2006:8).From different perspectives, "the Finnish growth mechanisms have performed very well in recent years, with strong GDP growth in a low inflation environment, easing employment and sound fiscal position. Strong social safety nets and high education standards put the country in a good position to benefit from the opportunities of globalization" (OECD2008:8). Focusing on the global recession that attacked Finland harder than most other OECD countries in 2010 the Finnish prudent strategic management reduced the risk of fiscal deficit that the country was prone to face (OECD 2010:8). However, Finland was ranked 8th out of 25 top countries in nation brand index 2010.According to nation brand index 2011-2012, Finland again came in the 8th place in the 25 top strongest countries. Architecturally, the ultimate result of the Finnish architecture in 21th century as a chronologically proceeding story is what Tiainen (2002:5)states that:

"We Finns can be proud of the quality of Finnish architecture, but we must preserve it. The principle of free competition must not be adopted too extensively. Cheapness and short schedules should not often be prioritized in architecture. Instead the durability and high quality are makes a good environment. Beauty and usability makes buildings loved and valued".

[15]Embassy of Finland, Washington:
http://www.finland.org/public/default.aspx?contentid=147720&nodeid=35833&contentlan=2&culture=en-US

In brief, currently Finland is one of the best countries in the world that engraved its passion on the international solution equation as "unbiased, solution-focused approach to problems"[16].Social values are the focal components of the Finland Strategic Planning Process highlighted by "reduction of regional disparities, the provision of equal living conditions, and nationwide comprehensive public approaches and services" (Othengrafen 2009). Certainly, the process of ascribing the Finnish place on the global map has a long background and continues to be a concern for Finland. In terms of the architectural productions today Finland is "the world leader in the industrial production of log houses. Finland also has the largest log companies and the largest log factories in the whole world" (Heikkilä 2001).

3.3 FINNISH ARCHITECTURE: SPIRIT OF FINNISH NATION: FINNISHNESS

Architecturally, understanding the concept behind the interrelationship between Finnish architecture and the construction of Finnish nation brand (Finnishness) through the empirical analysis of the architectural productions within the context of the Finnish national system is vital for this research. Accordingly, this study raises the question of how such interaction between architecture and nation essence is understood not only for the explanation of the architectural influence on the Finnish nation brand, but also for the definition of Finnish identity for writing a research on specific subjects within the field of Finnish architecture as identity. Thus, in order to answer these questions, giving an analytical description of the core quality concept of four selected architectural productions can support the above-mentioned knowledge about Finnish architecture that has been increasingly treated as a unifying tool in the formation of Finnish national identity and the Finnish place preference on the global stage. It was during the last decades of 18th century that the term Finnish architecture emerged as the subject of discussions by a few selective Finnish architects. Nevertheless, Finnish architecture emerged as a vital point of departure around the turn of 20th century.

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[16]Country Brand Delegation 2010.

One of its major proponents was the architect Alvar Aalto[17]. In the decades before and after World War II, the work of Aalto generated a growing interest among the leading Finnish architects as a hero figure in which linking Finnish architecture to the international architectural senses has been the core of his architectural ideas and practices (Richards 1987:152). Focusing on Finnish architecture as a paradigm of Finnish brand essence during the middle decades of the 20th century, the work of Aalto has been the focus of this examination and the reasons for choosing the architectural productions of Aalto as a field of study are as follows:

➢ Underlying the power of Finnish architecture in the process of nation building represented the majority of Aalto's architectural productions during his entire years of practice in Finland (1921-1976).

➢ "Expressing loyalty, love, and respect towards Finnish culture as well as a healthy attitude towards the external cultural forces"(Schildt 1991:13),occupied a particularly important place in Aalto's works, which played an important role in Finnish national culture

➢ On the one hand, the creative integration of international and national cultural forces features in Aalto's works and the integration of democratic, social and aesthetic on the other hand, occupied a key position in prompting architecture how to be Finnish.

➢ Aalto's works provide the best materials for the study of the impact of architectural identity on nation branding from the architectural perspective.

Poole (1992:27) has underlined Aalto's approach:

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[17] Finnish architect Alvar Aalto (1898-1976) was one of the first modernists to fuse technology with craft

"Aalto unlike so many architects of his age, sensed the loss of home in the modern age...[] For Aalto, the house of memory and imagination had little to do with machine romanticism; it was instead of a shell for dreaming in. In place of a fractured modern world, he suggests the existence of living unity in the depth of matter. Aalto recalls the mythical power of images bound to elemental substance. From a stone or a tree, he arouses the most primordial sensations"

In exploring Aalto's conceptions of architectural building, Paatero et al. (1998:132) argues that the emphasis on knowledge beyond appearance has been mainly to do with the understanding of the anatomy of thought and feeling and specifically architectural dimensions. Aalto reviewed the uses of all human activities mainly based on emotional, historical, and social digestions and function as catalysts for humanizing architecture during the design process (Nerdinger 1999:14). However, there is no anti-scientific bias to Finnish architecture as was evident from Aalto's use of plywood and his scientifically exploitation to produce virtually a new material (Richards1966:82).

Figure 3.12Finnish landscape 1893, Sortavala to looking south fromRiutanvuori Hill (now Lake Ladoga, USSAR (Poole 1992: 22).
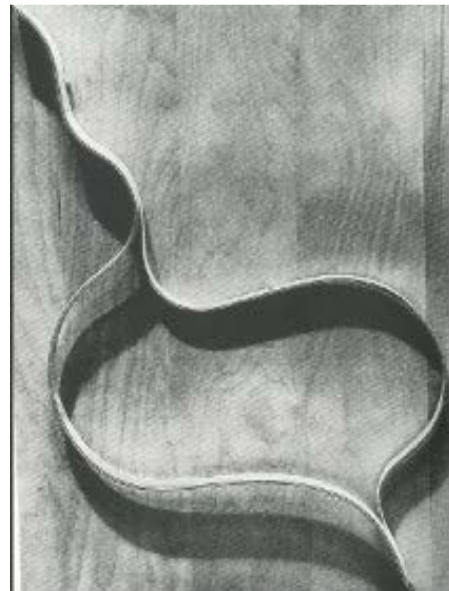
Figure 3.13: Aalto, laboratory experiment with laminated wood 1931(Poole 1992: 22)
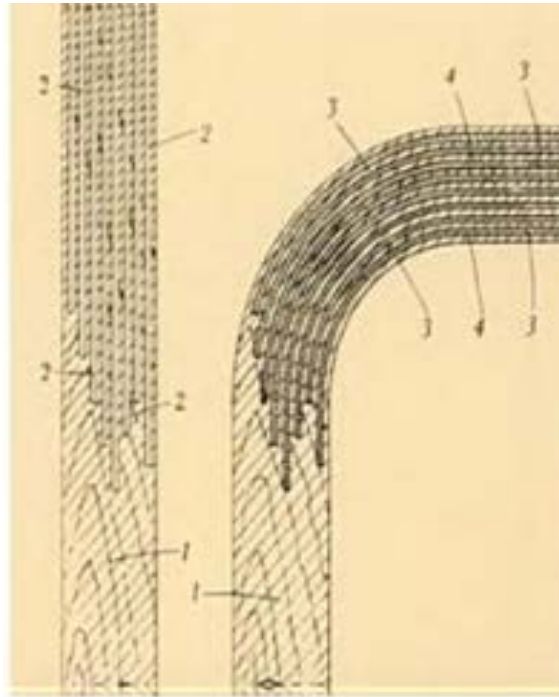
Figure 3.14 Aalto's invention of Plywood (Pfeiffer et al. 2003).

According to Hunter (2009):

> "Aalto perhaps more than any other so-called modernist architect, developed his own regional language, eschewing the absolute character of the mainstream moment. In doing so, he was unbounded in using elements of history and the vernacular in combination with modern, thus creating work that was based on place and time rather than style, and place".

Thus, Aalto's architecture has been described as being expressive of the age and society for which he built (FerrerForés 2010). Searching for a contemporaneous Finnish architecture, it took an important place in Aalto's way of thinking as the early years Aalto spent in the University of Helsinki played a crucial role in the formation of his architectural sensitivity towards both the Finnish national style and international modernism (Trencher 1996:18). Aalto's usage of "natural materials, the inclusion of historical typological references, the poetic use of symbolic elements, and the addition of Finnish vernacular details" came to be seen as a key in modifying modernist idiom (Trencher 1996:19). It is important to

highlight that in terms of form, programmatic and formal typology; are two qualities that characterized best overall Aalto's architecture (Terncher 1996:18).

3.3.1 PAIMIO SANATORIUM

Beyond its distinct achievement in terms of the architectural design, Paimio Sanatorium considered the first national archetype of modern creative expression that put Finland on the modern architectural map (Richards1966:78). The project was made by Aalto between 1928 and 1933[18] as masterpiece winning competition design, which did not only serve as a representation of early twentieth century modern architecture but was designed deep enough that it could become a "literary sitting too" (Worpole 2000:56). One of the major characteristics of the Paimio Sanatorium was the procedure of making of functional architecture out of ideological myth and particularly important achievement of this project, which was "successful synthesis of clarity and durability, with a strong aesthetic statement declared" (Worpole 2000:56).
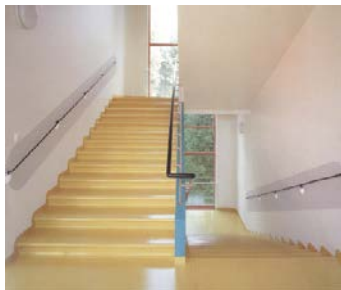
Figure 3.15 **An illustration showing the main stair case of hospital (Aalto et al. 1998: 23)**

Figure 3.16 **An illustration showing the 'non-splash' washbasins and spittoons -- the hospital room with its original furniture(Ehrström et al. 2005)**
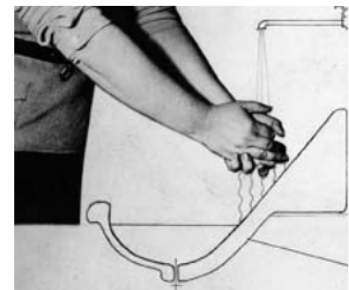
Figure3.17. **An illustration showing the principle of the 'non-splash' wash basin in the patients' room(Ehrström et al. 2005)**

The architectural analysis of Paimio Sanatorium has been identified as the most complex yet clearest typologies that serves as a base of inspiration for other architects within modernism as it is defined as the complex combination of "nautical, organic and nordic aesthetic; the white brilliant Sanatorium set on pine

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[18]The project designed in 1928 by Aalto and was built between 1929-1933 in South –West Finland (Richards, J.M 1966:78).

strewn slope" based magical mechanism (Jencks et al.2010:74). Moreover, Aalto stated that it is essential for architects and interior designs to recognize and define the qualities of materials that have high effect in terms of tangibility of built form. This realization reflected in Aalto's endeavor to express the relationship between humanization and built form in his design for Sanatorium's furniture as well. He

emphasized on a type of approach to design warmer laminated wood veneers chairs in effort to provide healthier environment for patients rather than steel chairs that were beginning to arise in German in 1930s (Postell et al. 2011:10). On the other hand, it is interesting that the analysis of the Paimio Sanatorium provides a possibility for thinking about the interaction of structural orientation and nature as well as its contribution to the production of "tranquil

Figure 3.18 The Paimio Chair, laminated birch frame and lacquered plywood seat (Ehrström et al. 2005).

atmosphere" for patients through creating direct contact with mountain air and views (Solomon 2008: 283; Barragan 2008: 88).
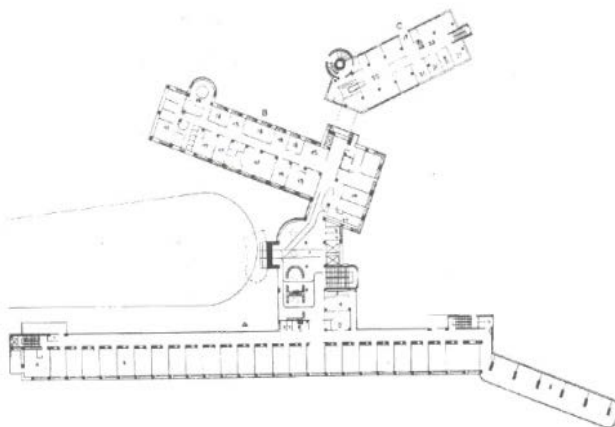
Figure 3.19 Paimio Sanatorium: competition drawing: grounded-floor plan (Aaltoet al. 1998: 13)
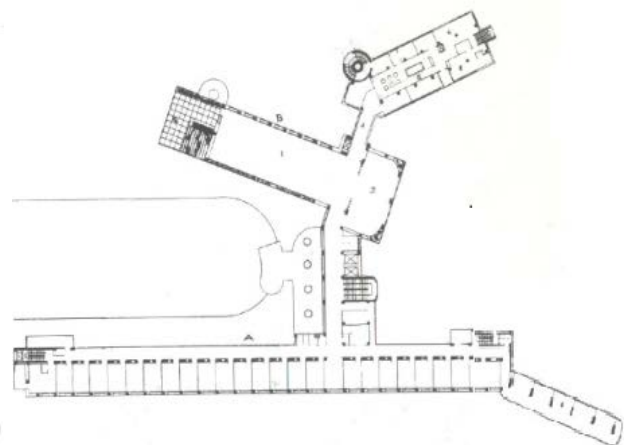
Figure 3.20 Paimio Sanatorium: competition drawing: First-floor plan (Aaltoet al. 1998: 13)

Figure 3.21 Paimio Sanatorium site plan, Finland, by Alvar Aalto 1929-1933 (Aalto et al. 1998: 12)

Figure 3.22 The main building in the middle of the forest landscape (Ehrström et al. 2005)

Figure 3.23.The end facade of the patients' sun balcony wing (Ehrström et al. 2005).

3.3.2 VILLA MAIREA

In adding realistic substance to Aalto's perception of Finnish architecture, understanding the conceptuality of Villa Mairea creates new opportunity to grasp a particular aspect of the Finnish architecture. As an exemplary case, the architecture of Villa Mairea[19] that had been designed by Aalto in 1939 on the rural site in western Finland highlights the multidimensionality of nature formation as a symbol of freedom, including the free development and movement of human beings and opposing dictator paradigms in Europe (Nerdinger 1999:18; Ray 2005:88). In this project which has been based on three perceptions and purposes: "A family home, a gallery for a growing art collection, and a meeting place for cultural gathering" (Donnelly 1992:318), Aalto derived from a blending between the human and nature on appropriate aesthetic framing in which rooted in subtle relationships (Unwin2010:208). It allowed the order and the logic of the international style to develop freer form with the main emphasis being on sensitivity on finding ways to use natural materials almost under the romantic pattern (Pile2004:344).

More broadly, Ray (2005:88) asserts that "Villa Mairea is probably Aalto's most personal work, a masterpiece that fused together numerous influences in a remarkable coherent whole". Aalto emphasized that "the spirit of the modern age and technology underscores the constructed sphere of timeless themes and his architecture in the Villa Mairea, is a return to the impure world of sensual nature, but has utter confidence in the wisdom of centuries without writing" (Poole 1997:27). Moreover, Aalto translated the typically Finnish architecture that often inspired by the lake and forest architecture rather than of city and factory in novel districts, the vision of the Villa Mairea manifested modernist perceptions of how architecture should be constructed and function (Davies 2006). Villa Mairea has been focused on as symbolic measurement to assert the modern and harmonic

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[19] "This is one of the most famous recent examples of a collaboration between architect and client. The villa was built for HrryGullichesn, head of the Ahlstrom industrial group, to which the Sunlia factory belongs. Named for MaireaGullichesn, it is the third residence on the Ashlstrom estate, which includes the old sawmill"(Donnelly 1992:318).

linkage mechanism between art and society based on the varieties of proposals offered to Aalto by the owner of Villa Mairea (Menin 2003:135). Moreover, Canizaro (2007:77) emphasises that:

> "Villa Mairea is part Nordic sod-roofed hut, part vernacular cabin with gutters hewn from tree trunks, part reinterpreted board-and batten- clad volumes. However, it is also part Scandinavian Functionalism that had developed quickly in the decade of the 1930s and part new industrial Finland with its emerging ceramics and wood-products manufacturing. The Villa Mairea is rugged crafty and relaxed like Finland, but it is also clean and orderly and precise like Finland. The regionalism here is not a one-liner. It draws on the shapes of local topography and textures of the landscape as well as on building traditions and social customs".

In another sense, Aalto's perception conversely reflected the fact of the growing interest of modern man in being detached from the sensuous memory, which has become a modern model of lives based on "self-consciousness of perpetual invention"(Poole1997:26). What is the essential relation between the world and human soul? In addition, how did Villa Mairea represent architecture as infinite repetition? Although these questions permit no easy answers, Poole (1997:25-26) makes clear that "Aalto recalls in the Villa Mairea, times of infinite repetition when the life of an archetype had the confidence of a thousand deaths" and at the same time provided the context for a sense of authenticity. Indeed the international reputation of Finnish design derived from quotations of Aalto's perceptions of Finnish architecture in association with architectural conceptions of other prominent Finnish designers like Eliel Saarinen and ReimaPietila (Ibid).
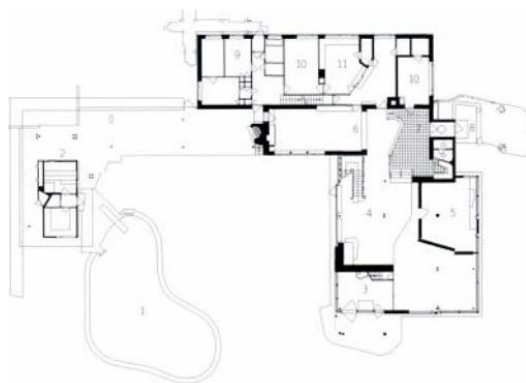
Figure 3.24 Villa Mairea: Ground floor plan (Weston 2004:87)

Figure 3.25Villa Mairea: First floor plan (Weston 2004:87)
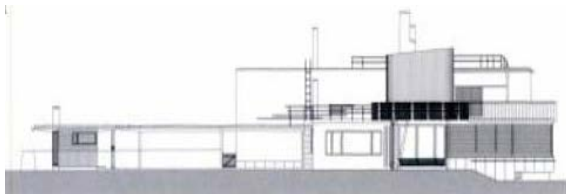
Figure 3.26Villa Mairea: Southeast elevation (Weston 2004:87)

Figure 3.27Villa Mairea: Southwest elevation (Weston 2004:87)
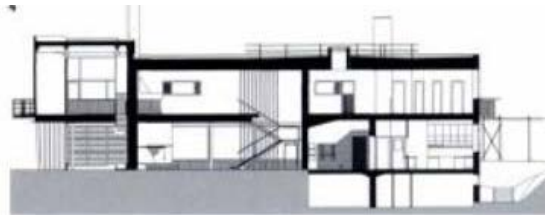
Figure 3.28Villa Mairea: Section (Weston 2004:87)

Figure 3.29 Aalto‟s Villa MaireaPerspective - Noormarkku, Finland: photo 2002(Hunter 2009)

3.3.3 BAKER HOUSE

In adding more realistic substance to Aalto's perception of Finnish architecture, understanding the conceptuality of Baker House: A dormitory that was designed by Aalto in 1946 for the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) creates new opportunity to grasp a particular aspect of Finnish architecture (although it has been constructed in USA). The main concept that identifies this project as Aalto's architectural identity has been defined by "social convictions and formal policies". Since, the nature has been the main source of inspiration for Aalto, the relation between humanity and nature had been clearly emphasized in Baker House through the form and functionality of building, for example by seeking a maximum view of the Charles River for every student through curving the façade of building in plan to avoid the parallel lining-up of windows on the street (Leatherbarrow 2002:54-56). Baker House is mainly praised as an example of the significant landmark in the history of building and design of Scandinavian international style aesthetic (Tucci 2000: 265) and a significant contribution to the development of architecture in USA by Finnish architecture. As Safdie (2009:29) states that "although Aalto designed buildings in several countries, there were no question that the man, like his building, was anything but Finnish".
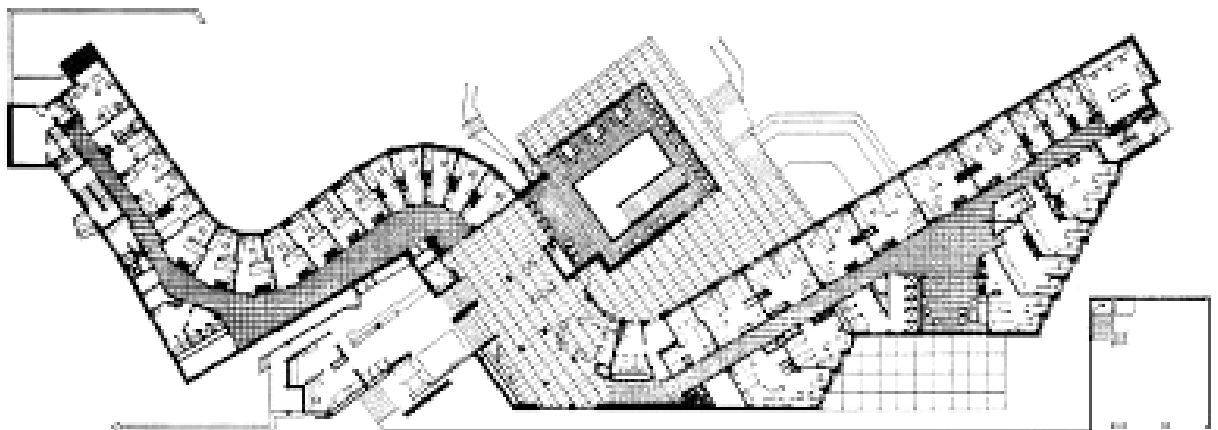
Figure 330 Baker House Plan by Aalto 1946 (Weston 2004: 85).

Figure 3.31 Perspective Pencil on tracing paper (48.5x82.3cm) Alvar Aalto Foundation, Helsinki(Aalto et al 1998:187)
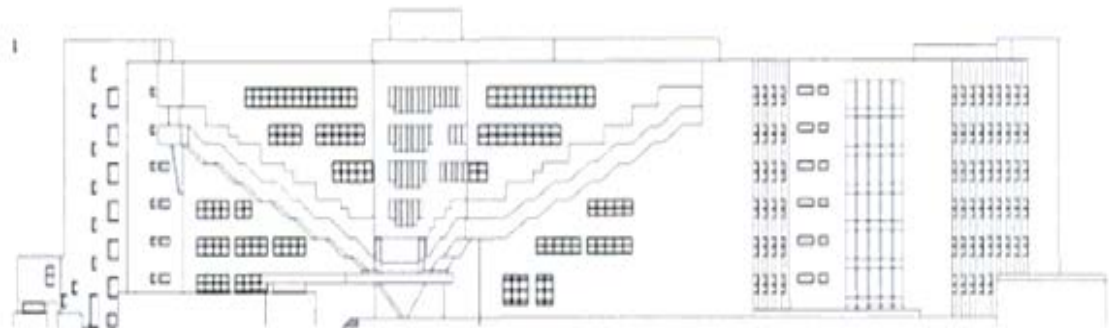
Figure 3.32 Baker House: Northwest elevation by Aalto 1946 (Weston 2004: 85).

Figure 3.33 Distant view of Baker House, showing the prominent diagonal lines of staircase (Ray2005).

3.3.4 NATIONAL PENSIONS INSTITUTE.

The study of Finnish architecture as a paradigm of constructing Finnish brand essence is further deepened through the architectural analysis of the National Pensions Institute. A winning competition design was made by Aalto's office in 1948 -1956[20] and located on the triangular site in the northern part of Helsinki (Sharp 1991:205). Moreover, the National Pensions Institute experience serves as a useful example of the relationship between nature and Finnish aesthetic. The central part of this project concentrated on providing a high standard of facilities for the staff, including "a theatre and gymnasium along with the library and restaurants" (Ray 2005:120). The project mainly focused on vehicular and pedestrian traffic division in order to replace the old Toolontori square building, which was not sufficient in terms of traffic (Ibid). The importance of architectural design had been stressed asymmetrically through grouping the project as monumental administrative buildings around an "internal courtyard and podium" (Watkin 2000:655). In the institute's design policy, new architectural arrangements were introduced that should be able to transform the purpose of being a national center for Finnish social security and to be a place of public interaction (Ray 2005:121).

Such a powerful framework of the National Pensions Institute from "the overall parts down to the smallest detail" makes it possible to think about the effect of the architecture not only its form, but also its evident concern representations on the ordinary person and the production of Finnish image as welfare state and socially responsible society (Ray 2005:128). In fact, the sense of hierarchy has been increasingly regarded as fundamental source to plan for the development of the sense of dignity. For example:

> "The main boardroom has seats for a board of ten members of the pensions
> Institute and twelve attendant Members of Parliament. The simple
> rectangular space attains its proper sense of dignity not by the application of

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[20]The project designed in 1948 by Aalto and was built between 1952-1956.

conventional motifs of office, but by the judicious placing of tables, furniture and light fittings specifically designed for this room. The lights are variations, slightly enlarged to subtly symbolize the hierarchy of the participants in the meeting" (Ibid).

Moreover, the National Pensions Institute was of major importance in developing the language of modernism because of its new ideas to deal with spaces and private characters. It is an example of Aalto's effort to the development of frontal entrance façade in which "both floats over a recessed ground floor and is thus disengaged from its base and, by the use of the granite plinth and its association with the immediate topography, reinforces the connection to the ground in an apparently pre modern way" (Ibid).

Aalto's architecture is the narrative of Finland. Finnishness was very fundamental and essential to his architecture, and he narrated aspects and dimensions of his architecture. However, to reach this purpose as mentioned above the creative integration of international and national cultural forces on the one hand and the integration of democratic, social and aesthetic features to promote how to be Finnish on the other hand, were Aalto's special approach and strategy.

Figure 3.34 National Pensions Institute Ground floor Plan (Aalto et al. 1998:82)

Figure 3.35National Pensions InstituteFirst floor Plan (Aalto et al. 1998:82)

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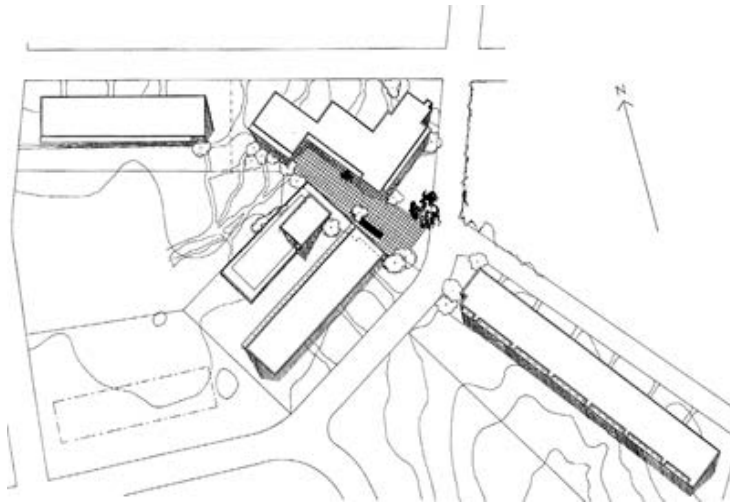
Figure 3.36 National Pensions Institute site plan by Alvar Aalto 1948-1954 (Quantrill 1995:115).

Figure 3.37 The main reading room of the National Pensions Institute (Quantrill 1995:115).

Figure 3.38 The six story south elevation of the National Pensions Institute. The main entrance is beneath the canopy on the right; the granite steps lead to the raised garden(Ray 2005:120)

However, three points in the analysis of perceptions that have been attached to the design and the construction of the above analysed projects have been identified. The first point is concerned with the interrelation of the Finnish identity in architecture that was configured directly in the architectural constructions and the

international style based on the Finnish values. Second, the logic of constructing Finnishness (Finnish nation brand) based on architecture that produced Finnish modernist built environment, led to positive characteristics in terms of place identity and authenticity. Third, since the representation of Finnish architecture has come with expectations of capturing the essence of Finnish identity; they are significant projects that have consequences on understanding the Finnish narrative as an expression of its ethos and representing Finnish society as whole. These ideas allow for a strong dialogue between the work of architecture and the nation brand where it is defined as "the unique, multi-dimensional blend of elements that provide the nation with culturally grounded differentiation" (Dinnie2008:15).

3.4 NATION BRAND IDENTITY AND IMAGE LEGITIMATING AND ITS RELATION TO FINNISH ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY

Architecture affecting politics is a feature in almost every dimension spatially of "the small countries, for poor countries, for many who had little, such thinking associated with architecture, could not fail to offer improvement over the traditional, backward way of life whether it is associated with planning and development" (Connah 2005:8-9).

Historically, Finland has utilized the mythological and propagandistic combined with architecture to raise a distinctive Finnish character. For example the Finnish Pavilion in 1900 which was called "the new spirit of the time" brought Finland to the world attention and stood as a cultural and political image (Ibid:24). However, unlike any other 'professionals', Finnish architects soon entered programmatic position of architecture that could shape a nation's identity and create a new mode of society in the context of radical social and political change. The most general thing that can be said about Finnish architecture in its early stage spatially is that the Finnish Pavilion in Paris did not only confirm the independent demand of small country, but also confirmed "how architecture could nurture and steer the modern development of the country and technological progress implied by the 'modern' gesture that would keep architecture at the forefront of this development" (Ibid: 25).

Figure 3.39 Finnish Pavilion, Paris World Fair (Connah 2005: 32)

Since the end of the civil war in 1918 and the instability of Finnish political background, the reinforcement of the sense of collective belonging via coordinated and structured urban spatial patterns became the most important space of negotiation among political elites, administrative experts, and urban planning department over what it regarded as the systematic approach of a culturized planning model specifically in Helsinki, the capital of Finland (Othengrafen 2009). Although the Finnish urban planning department has had a key role in developing commitments towards public rules and norms, the efficiency planning process had been affected by the lack of collaborative and communicative process compared to the planning process for example in Sweden (Ibid).

To understand the complex issues related to Finnish identity and its frequent emphasise on the agrarian background, it is important to look at Finnish short history of the urban culture, its quick transformation from an agrarian into an industrial society after Second World War, which resulted in massive migration from countryside to towns and cities of the south, in particular into Helsinki. Moreover, such a deep change in the Finnish society affected the physical form and dwelling patterns since Finland became an urbanised and industrialised nation (Saarikangas 2006). Keeping up with a political situation and reflecting on society's need in each stage are the characteristics that Finnish architects are

famous of, for example, the growing urge of having symbolic architecture that interact with the cultural and national needs after 1917: Finland's independence was replaced with National Romantic phase and after World War I the phase began with the rational styles of design that articulated the need to advocate modern urban civilization and the aesthetic ideals that occurred in many parts in Europe (Richards1978:138). Salokorpi (1970:6) argues that:

"In a small country like Finland internationalism and nationalism have naturally played an important part, they have been the subject of much controversy and in the controversy they have come to represent very complex questions about the spiritual content of architecture. Nationalism was linked to the romanticism and the growing longing for independence that characterized the national romantic period at the beginning of the 20th century; the short sighted admiration of internationalism became apparent as functionalism began to break through".

However, consensus on the controversy in architecture between romantics and the rationalists was achieved mainly in 1917 by the declaration of Finnish independence (Connah 2005:50).

During the years post World War I distinctive models were considered to encourage the building of a competitive structure: A sophisticated sense of architecture's social responsibilities of deep understanding the growing problems at the end of war in terms of housing (similar issues) and growing awareness of the need to create a new conception of construction design (Richards 1978:138). However, architecture in Finland has been employed to serve the aims of an independent nation and has been a reflection of socio economic, cultural, and political phases of Finland. One of the main characteristics of Finnish architecture can be seen in a creation of a good living environment and in a high quality of architectural form that has a great function as part of the national culture (meaning the social, cultural and economic values) (Connah2005:32).

Focusing on Finnish architects, the strategic structures they have used in expressing the political, economic and cultural changes in their work and in the

extent in which their attempts to construct the visual identity of Finland have responded to the pressure of socio political and economic predicaments, for example: it is argued that the international scene and Finnish architecture were inextricably linked through works of the first established figure of Finnish architecture Alvar Aalto (Richards1978:152).In terms of architectural position in relation to the state structure in Finland, Richards (166:17) argues that the foundation of the national style in architecture around 1900 and a radical attempt to adopt a modern architecture with a modern national identity in 1930s reveal the identical process of trying by Finns to secure the coherence of their own identity as an essential source reflecting the dour self-reliant qualities of a nation and its task to fight for what it has achieved. Moreover, Richards (1966:17) adds that:

> "Finland's situation as a political –and for a large part of her history an actual –battleground has not only been responsible for the fragmentary nature of her architectural story over centuries, but has coloured her architectural aspirations right up to modern times".

However, in Finland the planning strategy still approaches to represent the nation with the regional integration and nationwide comprehensive public policy based on equal living conditions (Othengrafen 2009). In terms of national development beyond architecture,"Finnish independence implied a new relationship to nationhood and existence" (Connah 2005:50).

Paasi (1996) states that the link between both the local and the global scales and the micro and macro spheres needs to be examined more systematically, based on a composition of structural and ethnographic approaches in order to gain closer understanding to the concept of national identity, collective identity and regional formation in Finland. Accordingly, there was a conscious attempt to create an environment based on strong relation with international space through successful stories of Finland's architectural competitions, which have been an "important channel for promoting Finnish know-how and culture" (Kazemian et al. 2009).

Although a change towards marketing and image building as a more vibrant language started to occur in the beginning of the 1970s in Finland, the importance of the perceptual tourism marketing stressed and kept its position since the early 1900s. It involved the physical environment as one of the fundamental elements that has been directed to such mission both as a concrete and an abstract image (Pitkanen et al. 2003). In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the appreciation of the cultural and the political autonomy became a central aspect of the Finnish elites practice and of central importance towards a course of self-determination and building the Finnish image that carried implications for cultural dominance including "the Finnish language, folklore and myth, as well as Finnish styles in art and architecture" (McMahon 2004:60-61). Thus, architecture is one of the important elements in forming a strong part in shaping the essence of the Finnish independence, which is considered as the base of the Finnish brand identity and image up to today.

However, architecturally, the role played by Finnish architectural narratives in the national name-recognition is currently of much scholarly interest. For example Myntti (2007) believes that "the well-housed nation"− the Finnish housing policy approached by Ministry of the Environment in 2002 can be interpreted as an important means of constructing Finnish brand image in terms of understanding the value of society arising from good housing and living environments embedded in political will to enhance the Finnish system.

 Maintaining unique cultural characteristics as a central component of a young country, Finland's strategies towards developing its place on the global map characterize the best overall concept and image of Finland. Interestingly, it has been stated "continuing the nineteenth century tradition of political expression in the arts, architecture remained an essential and universally accepted way of manifesting cultural character" (Trencher 1996:13-14). From this perspective as the dominant reflections of symbolic space and culture, Finnish architecture has played an influential role in the formation of Finnish identity and image. Indeed, in the case of Finland, in the early phase of gaining its own identity, much has been made by the Finnish architects in particular Aalto of using architecture as a

symbolic medium for building a strong sense of national pride in Finland, while in a sense also performed on the international stage (Ray 2005:4). Alvar Aalto made much the same point, "architecture is not merely national but clearly has local ties in that it is rooted in the earth through its forms it can achieve an international influence" (Poole1997:8). Finlandisation of the built environment was a central feature of Aalto's architecture in attempt to reflect his love for Finland and the cultural characteristics of a given region and World's fair pavilions in Paris and New Yorkare examples of "manifestos of a specific Finnishness" (Schildt 1991:13).

In a sense, Finnish architecture, and its dimensions have acted as a core of Finnish identity and physically has attached to the form of Finnish image (Finlandisation). In this context, architecturally, Finland as legitimate model of independent state has important consequences in re-evaluating architecture and its impact on nation brand identity and image issues that are still being debated today. Finnish architecture is a vivid example in this respect: A frame of nation brand conceptualization from Finnish identity as a core component of architecture transferred to the nation brand image "to accommodate the geopolitical context of international exchange" (Aronczyk 2008).

3.5 CONCLUSION: FINNISH NATION BRANDING FROM THE ARCHITECTURAL PERSPECTIVE

In the analytical process of the Finnish nation brand (Finnishness), architecture, identity and independence process are the factors that illustrate how the national identity construction of Finland has been reinforced physically through the built environment. Several key themes are important in the equation of Finland's nation brand. In this study, the focus is on Finnish architecture and the extent in which it has been found to be successful in narrating and reflecting the important events of Finnish history so that the sustainability of visual collective memory and identity has been achieved.

Looking at Finland's memory represented mainly by architecture, this study argues how the physical layers of built environment through time shaped the successful identity of Finland and the extent to which the Finnish nation brand is solidified by the construction of the legend of Finnish architecture. Architecture has been grounded in the Finnish community in a way that not only helped Finland achieve its goal of modernization, which became both "Myth and Reality", but also built a strong reputation of the country from a tradition (Connah 2005:7-9).

In the construction process of Finnish nation brand, tangible or physical achievements of well-known heroes of Finnish architecture such as Saarinenet, Aalto, Pietila, Leiviska et al. are considered an indispensable factor in the emerging of Finland as an independent country in 1917, for constructing Finland as a modern advanced state, and for redefining of Finland identity (Connah 2005:10). The importance of Finnish identity in architecture as an essence of the Finnish nation brand (Finnishness), is the characteristic of architectural identity referred to as "natural, regional, civilized, human and Finnish" (Ibid). Such characteristics of Finnish architecture as the foundation of Finnish identity is what Dinnie (2008:1015) meant by the nation brand "as the unique, multi-dimensional blend of elements that provide the nation with culturally grounded differentiation and relevance for all its target audience".

Based on navigating through Finnish architectural layers, and the "spatial prestige attached to it", it is easy to understand why and how such "a small, geographically remote nation, with limited resources became a leading nation of the world, to which the architects of the other nations look up and to whose buildings they make respectful pilgrimage" (Richards 1978:153).How is the nation brand essence, old and new, abstracted and grafted from modern Finnish architecture? Finland, it seems as a "country in which the architecture of modern movement has been developed without challenge and come to maturity as if it is in its natural habitat. For Finns, modernism has so matured that it has achieved the depth of perspective proper to a tradition of its own" (Poole 1992: 11).

Believing in history and future are two faces of one coin, Libeskind (1999:127 cited in Leach 1999) states that history should be responded and resisted from erasure and the future should be opened up. Architecturally, in terms of Finland, there is a statement by Richards (1966:17) that the political situation of Finland, besides being a battleground for a large part of her history, has coloured her architectural aspirations right up to modern time in addition to its being responsible for the fragmentary nature of her architectural story over the centuries. Actually, one of the basic problems that faces the modern movement is the absence of "historical dimension of human existence" where a few leading architects like Aalto attached architectural references into their architectural works (Nerdinger 1999:11). Interestingly, Aalto as one of the heroes of Finnish architecture, many spectrums can be refracted and generated from Aalto's individual buildings, a source of idea and form, matter and myth, function and structure in which they are made sensible and touchable at different levels (Aalto et al.1998a:132). However, individual architects like Alvar Aalto linked fate and national destiny of the young republic to their own person and work republic (Connah2005:10). The myth is that, the specific Finnish styles of architecture systematically became an important part of the different cultural devices that have been employed in defending the Finnish national identity (Salokorpi 1970:7). Unraveling the importance of Aalto's architectural characteristic, however, is far reaching aim; a special lane is needed to cross beyond its anatomy of thought and feeling to the realm of specifically architectonic ideas (Aalto et al. 1998a:132).

The question which has been raised here is the extent in which the Finnish architecture plays role in the core of the Finnish nation brand. It is argued provocatively that the identity and the way of life are logically represented and reflected via architecture as contrary to today's architecture that is free of such representation of any real authentic way of life (Pallasmaa 2000). This dilemma of the value representation is clearly observed in Finnish architecture by which in the 1950s, "the banquet years", Finnish architecture started celebrating this observation internationally as a unique value of "whole culture: pure, honest, and direct" of Finnishness (Connah 2005:8).

The copy-cut policy of the architectural styles has not been evident ever since the Middle Ages in the Finnish built environment, unless it passed through simplification process and adaptation to local conditions. This policy resulted in the Finnish architectural identity that has been based on Finnish identity as an independent nation. In this matter, Salokorpi (1970:8) argues that this approach:

"Gave birth to much refreshing primitivism: the simple basic form of the medieval churches and their rough walls, constructed of irregularly shaped boulders, were far removed from the Gothic tradition. Nevertheless, forming a plastic whole, an effect heightened by the naive but monumental interior wall paintings; the styles of renaissance and baroque periods which were translated into wood in the hands of skilful local borders, gave birth to an entirely new architecture. Even neoclassicism (also known as Empire style) had a simplified 'Finnish' aspect in the works of Carl Ludving Engel (1778-1840), who, though born and trained in Berlin, gained his most important experience of architecture in St. Petersburg".

In terms of assessing Finnish architecture, it is an obligation to go back to its genius in such assessment, as it is an approach in resolving the bewildering conflicts that face architects of almost every other nation (Richards 1966:85). Later being in comparison with other kinds of art or factors, architecture is a history, which links today, yesterday and tomorrow. Accordingly, this will result in a deeper-rooted brand essence. It has been theorized by Dinnie (2008:127) that although a set of competitive nation brand values identifies the guidance of any nation–branding campaign, the most appropriate value works as a foundation of the nation brand- strategy.

This study argues that although Finnish architecture was developed in the early 20th century, its value as a physical story of Finland is a powerful tool to which it can rely and base its identity on, and plays an important role as a sustainable and competitive national focal point compared to other occupied nations who paid loose interest in developing their own identity in architecture after their independence. Interestingly, within Finland's context, against the mainstream of modern conception, Aalto emphasised that architectural form is more than an act

of construction and usage. Today and now it is important in signifying the form, but there is a most significant need for yesterday and then, and the ability of form to work as a connection tool to link the 'then' with the 'now' (Porphyrios 1982:26). Aalto also emphasises that:

> "Architecture gains wisdom only in relation to the series of varied particularizations the type assumes through history. Architecture bases its meaningfulness, intelligibility –and by extension its authority as agreeable and truthful –not on novelty or individual expressionism but on the affinities, allusions or sympathies the type is capable of establishing" (Porphyrios 1982:26).

This study provides a case study of Finnish architecture and discussed the principles used to develop it. Through an extensive review of the literature in the field of Finnish identity in architecture, the findings illustrate that identity is a challengeable factor in interpreting the Finnish brand essence. The role of Finnish architecture as a mixture of Finnish nation is transferring the values of the nation as a core brand and encapsulating its potential offers a powerful factor in creating Finnish nation brand (Finnishness). Moreover, Finnish architectural formula is characterized by latent seat of potential, describing various aspects of Finland: its people, its culture, its economy, memory and collective identities. Within analysing the impact of Finnish architecture on Finnishness in a historical context; a clear shift has been detected from achieving national goals to international goals

Based on the above findings, the Finnish form of nation branding based on architectural identity-led agenda can be classified as described in table (3.1)

	Finnish architecture: The physical layers of built environment-based political dimension analysis	The definition of Finnish nation brand based- Finnish architecture	Finnish nation's brand identity and image from the architectural perspective	
National level	Finnish Architecture: Is both "Myth and Reality"(Connah 2005:7-9)	A spirit of Finnish nationhood	**International level**	A symbolic medium for building a strong sense of national pride, while in a sense also performing on the international stage.
	The myth is that, the specific Finnish styles of architecture systematically became an important part of the different cultural devices that have been employed in defending the Finnish national identity (Salokorpi 1970:7)			
	Finnish architecture: Is natural, human and Finnish			
	Finnish architecture: As a unique value of "whole culture: pure, honest, and direct" of Finnishness (Connah 2005:8)	A successful tool in narrating and reflecting the important events of Finnish history		
	Finnish architecture: "For the Finns Modernism has so matured that it has achieved the depth of perspective proper to a tradition of its own" (Poole 1992: 11).			
	The architectural achievements of well-known heroes of Finnish architecture are considered an indispensable factor in the emerging of Finland as an independent country.			
	The political situation of Finland, besides being a battleground for a large part of her history, has coloured her architectural aspirations right up to modern time Richards (1966:17).			

Table 3.1.The Finnish form of nation branding based on architectural identity-led-agenda.

CHAPTER FOUR

POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF CASE STUDIES SUPPORTING THE IMPACT OF ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY ON NATION BRANDING

4. CASE STUDY OF ISRAEL

4.1. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ISRAEL CASE FOR THE RESEARCH

The second case study is Israel, which has been chosen to evaluate Israeli politics in relation to Israeli architecture and its impact on the visual image of the Israeli-nation brand. According to Misselwitz (2006:103):

> "The most significant aspect of both Israeli traditions: Architecture and adrikhalut[21], overt and covert, are their political dimensions. In Israel, architecture just like war is a continuation of politics by other means. Every architectural act executed by Jews in Israel is a Zionist act, be it calculated or not. The political program of "building the land of Israel" is a fundamental component of every building in Israel, and the political facts they create are more dominant and conclusive than any stylistic aesthetic, experiential, or sensual impact they may have".

Moreover, the cultural heterogeneity, which the region has undergone, reveals additional complexity in Israeli history for example the Ancient period, the Hasmonean period, the Roman period(63BCE-324CE), the Byzantine Period (324-638), the Early Muslim Period (638-1099), the Crusader Period(1099-1187),the Ayyubid and Mamluk Period (1187-1250), the Ottoman period(1250 - 1917), the British Mandate period (1917-1948) and the Israeli period (1948-perent).

A detailed analysis of the relationship between Israeli identity and architecture reveals different forms of nation branding based on architectural identity-led agenda. In this research Israel is observed as an ambiguous framework to the complex architectural effect on nation brand where Israeli architecture is considered as a framework differs in intensity (quantity) rather than in essence

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[21] Israeli adrikhalut is an architectural tradition of Hebrew-speaking Jews in the State of Israel and the Palestinian Occupied territories after the declaration of the State of Israel (Misselwitz2006:102).

(quality) from other architectural practices around the world (Segal 2003:25). Moreover, within the context of Israeli architecture Misselwitz (2006:102) states that "the architectural dimension of architecture-that cultural or spiritual aura of the built object and surplus value of the building act- served at its best as a mere accessory, and at its worst as pure camouflage".

In fact, the academic sector of Israeli architecture has paid sufficient attention to all aspects of its principle characteristics. Unfortunately, still the ruling elites and politicians miscalculate its value and the significance of Israeli identity in architecture to the very act of constructing visual brand has been generally neglected. According to Misselwitz:

> "Having forsaken the would-be universal viewpoint held by Western architects(and Eretz Israeli architects)[22] rooted in the dialectics of theory and practice, Israeli adrikhalut[23] is rooted in the dialectics of politics and architecture; this is where its dilemmas, blind spots, and paradoxes are to be found. Israeli adrikhalut produces impressive architectural projects but lacks a critical, comprehensive view of itself; mobilized by political ideologies, it sets facts in concrete that are inherently political, but lack political awareness" (2006:103).

Thus, a definition of Israeli architecture, its history, and its social meaning have remained vague in the physical environment. As is apparent from literature review, major gaps exist in understanding between decision makers and architectural producers in providing a clear vision of the impact issues of Israeli identity in architecture in shaping visual brand image of Israeli nation; or in developing an appropriate strategy for collective meaning of a sustainable system to include the sense of place, sense of identity, nation brand essence, national identity, beliefs, recognition, competitiveness, and cultural references. For example, 'Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty' is a statement that has been

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[22]EertzIsaerli architecture refers to architecture made by Jews in Eretz Israel (The Land of Israel), aka "Palestine"(Misselwitz 2006:102)

proclaimed by Ariel Sharon upon visiting the bitterly contested Temple Mountasa political message "by playing upon the ambiguity of a sacred site in civil space" (Burgess 2004).His aim was:

> "To create apolitical meaning, a political effect, by penetrating a sacred space, itself part of the political organized sovereign space. According to the principles of modern civil society, no civil space has privileged status" (Burgess2004).

However, such action by Sharon had not passed peacefully without any opposition in spite of the site being under Israeli sovereignty. Different policies have been approached by Israeli elites and architects to produce Israeli architecture. Accordingly, the investigation of those strategies and their consequences will provide an understanding of the political meaning that has long history of being part of the equation of built environment and continues right through the present to be a matter for architects and politicians across Israel. Thus, it provides information for the assessment process of Kurdish architecture and its reflection on Kurdish identity.

4.2. INTRODUCTION: IN SEARCH OF ARCHITECTURAL BACKGROUND THROUGH POLITICS

As a brief introduction to Israel;

> "First was known as Canaan, then Judea, then Palestine, and finally Israel. It lies on the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea. Israel's neighbours include Syria on the northeast and Jordan on the east. Lebanon lies along its northern borders. Egypt's Sinai Peninsula lies on its south-western border. Israel is slightly smaller than the U.S. state of New Jersey. It covers only 8,019 square miles (20,770 square Kilometres). Israel's population has soared to 6,369,300 after existing only 51 years as a country. Israel is holy to three of the World's major religions-Judaism, Islam, and Christianity"(Boraas2003:6).

The main languages in Israel are Hebrew, Arabic, and English. The capital of Israel is Jerusalem. The Israel-Palestine conflict dates back generations in spite of the many attempts to evolve from international actions such as Oslo Accords in1993, Camp David Summit in2000, Taba Summit in2001, Road Map for Peace in2002, and the Annapolis conference November 2007.The pressure over global international legitimacy and global recognition has reached the climax since the early 20th century. It is still one the most complex political issue that Middle East faces today[24].

Figure 4.1 Geopolitical map (Boraas 2003: 6)

This chapter discusses the interaction between Israeli identity and its relation to Israeli architecture as a political pivot of the constructing of nation brand. In effect of structural analysis, theoretical research, and insights of literature on Israeli architecture, identity, and image legitimating, the following questions are studied: What is the background of Israeli architecture? To what extent has built environment reinforced state sovereignty and self-determination in terms of being

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[24]"United Nations General Assembly resolution 181 was adopted after months of work by the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine. Its majority report proposed the partition of Palestine into two states, one Jewish and one Arab, and an international area comprising the 205,000 people who lived in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. While much has been made of the fact that the UN plan allocated more land area to the Jewish state than to the Arab state (54 percent to 44 percent)" (Tilly 2005:77).

a product of physical planning solidified by cultural references and the spirit of Israeli nation? In other words, to what extent does the reconstruction of the collective memories of the historical architectural sites in Israel come to be used as the collective identity for the Israeli nation? How is it translated into a new construction of national identity? Has Israeli identity been taken as a central point in the design of a culturally responsible built environment? Finally, how has the built environment comprehended by architects and decision makers on promoting nation brand of Israel?

Since so much has already been written about Israel history and while the goal is to focus on the relationship between the Israeli identity and architecture and its impact on Israeli brand, it is not in the scope of this study to cover all aspects involving Israeli history. An introduction to the historical roots of Israel evaluates empirical evidence to validate that the ambiguity in Israeli architecture plays a significant role in regulating Israel's space on the global map as contested land. The analysis illustrates how Israeli architecture is used as a weapon by disputed territories to retain collective memory in their fabric and architectural built environment. For example "an ambiguity of sacred site in civil space" always has been considered by Israeli political elites as an integration in making political gesture via adding political meaning and political impact into architectural site and presenting it as "politically organized sovereign space" (Burgess 2004). This study argues that the ambiguous nested sphere around Israeli identity in architecture is resulted in an ambiguous nation brand and an ambiguous strategy to redefine and reconstruct Israeli collective identity. To give an example concerning the reconstruction of Israeli collective identity Harris (2008:30-32) argues that:

> "This is behind the need for Israel to hold on to Jerusalem, they want to see
> themselves, not as invaders and occupiers but as the rightful custodians. The
> symbolic power of the Al- Aqsa mosque is used to make the occupying
> force stronger. It has been incorporated into the creation of an Israeli
> national identity. They have not put it within the walls of an Israeli Museum
> but have literally built a wall around everything they wish to claim as
> Israeli. By the way this has nothing to do with the preservation of Jewish

identity, which has always been a defining issue of the Jewish diaspora but of the creation of an Israeli national identity".

The political power of architecture and the physical cultural structure enable the nation brand (Israelite) to solidify and act as a physical configuration of national story. Nevertheless, discussions within historically and politically based architecture aspects reveal Israeli scene in full.

| Zionist demands at the Peace Conference of 1919 | The UN partition plan of 1947 | Israel's borders in 1949 following the war of independence | The Allon Plan for the Israeli withdrawal following the 1967 war | Palestinian controlled areas A, B under the Oslo Accords, 1993–1999 | Barak plan for permanent status, 2000 |

| Jewish settlements in 1914 | Jewish settlements in 1929 | Jewish settlements in 1939 | Jewish settlements in 1948 | Israeli settlements within the 1967 borders | Jewish settlements in the Occupied Territories, 2002 |

Figure 4.2 Israel 1919-2000 (Segal 2000: 30-31).

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4.2.1 SOCIO-POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL DIMENSIONS IN RELATION TO ISRAELI ARCHITECTURE

4.2.1.1 ISRAEL BEFORE 1948 FROM THE ARCHITECTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Israeli history is complex and involves many aspects. Thus, it is not in the scope of this study to cover all aspects involving Israeli history, it is limited to the main periods that Israel has undergone in order to give an overview of its identity and image background from an architectural perspective. Since history is attached to architecture and place, understanding the layers of Israeli history is integral for further understanding the concept and background of Israeli identity in architecture.

Although "Israelites" has been considered one of the oldest entity characterized by part from the first books of the Bible and classical history, the origin of Israelis viewed as vaguely. There are many controversial views about the history of early Israel and also many questions have been raised concerning the emergence of Israel and Judah as states (Finkelstein et al. 2007).While the literature on the historical background of the Israelites is extensive, it has failed to fully explore the origin of Israel and the main cause as Lemche (1998:165-166) states that:

> "The Israelite nation as explained by the biblical writers has little way of a historical background. It is a highly ideological construct created by ancient scholars of Jewish tradition in order to legitimize their own religious community and its religio-political claims on land and religious exclusivity".

The ambiguity in interpreting the origin of Israelites has also been complicated by Israelites' multi-religious character. According to Dowty (2004:105), "this is a much more problem for Israel that legally is a multi-ethnic and multi religious state, but that simultaneously asserts a "Jewish" character whose exact content is unspecified and much debated". Moreover, the cultural heterogeneity that the region has undergone reveals additional complexity in Israeli history for example

The Persian Period; The Hellenstic period; The Hasmonean period; The Roman period; The Byzantine Period Early Muslim Period; The Crusader Period; The Ayyubid and Mamluk Period; The Ottoman period; The British Mandate period. The effects of this cultural heterogeneity and its reflection on Israeli built environment have been a subject of controversy. For example, although Persian-period architecture is "relatively rare, enough towns have been excavated that typical Persian-era town designs and even favourite building plans, albeit for areas outside of Judah, are able to be delineated" (Moore and Kelle 2011:426).

To elaborate such negotiation on heterogeneity in a wider context, analysing examples of architectural constructions during Hellenistic period is also of help to clarify the fact that part of the visual past in Israel is basically part of its complexity. As such during the years:

> "Under Greek rule the world of the Jewish people would begin a process of change that would arguably be the most radical yet. The clear influence of Greek values, architecture, commerce, and language can be seen beginning in this period even in Judea. Many people began to give their children Greek names, and local styles of art and architecture began to imitate Greek models. Even some of the Jewish High Priests took Greek names"(Palmer 2002).

Jerusalem, Masada, and Jericho are examples of Hellenistic architecture. During this period, the usage of ashlars in building was considered the main criterion (Fischer 2010). For the Hellenistic period, builders of Hellenistic Palestine used an improved technique continuing the older traditions approach, employing new elements from Asia Minor or Greece in addition to the implement of stucco for covering and decorating walls in a pseudo- architectural style (Fischer 2010). Furthermore, to give more details to the visibility of cultural heterogeneity in Israel, after the Roman conquest of the Greek Empire, the Romans continue to foster Greek culture known as 'Hellenism[i]' which is "a blend of (1) Greek education and emphasis on the arts with (2) elements from the oriental cultures which Alexander conquered" (Palmer 2002).

Additionally, to add more evidence to such a heterogeneity there are many sites which date back to the different Roman political strata such as the construction of Hasmonean estate and winter palace at Jericho (Eshel 2008:75). Moreover, with reference to the Byzantine period, the influence of Byzantine style on architectural productions can be most clearly seen in synagogues, decorated with mosaics whose iconography, often representational and narrative in character, was highly evolved. Under Byzantine rule, every town with a Jewish community had a synagogue (Cohick and Kee 1999). In keeping with this analysis, politically during this period, "the Jews living in Palestine were treated as aliens, even though it was their homeland" (Scharfstein 1994:86).

In the early Muslim Period (638-1099), the Dome of the Rock is an example of the ways in which the political achievement of Islam was expressed. It was built by the caliph Abd al-malik in 691 and according to Petersen (1996:135), "the significance of this building extends beyond its immediate architectural design to its symbolic function of demonstrating the presence of Islam and its status as a major religion in Jerusalem, home to both Christianity and Judaism". However, during the Crusader period the Dome of the Rock was converted to Augustinian church as a Crusader's overall influence on the appearance of the country[25] (Petersen1996:131). The architecture of the Dome of the Rock continued to be part of the political achievements of each political stratum. During Ayyubid and Mamluk period[26], "the Haram was cleared of its Christian accretions and reconsecrated as a Muslim sanctuary. The cross was removed from the top of the Dome of the Rock and replaced with a golden crescent and a wooden screen was placed around the rock below" (Petersen 1996:135).

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[25]According (Petersen 1996: 131) in the countryside numerous castles, tower houses and churches testify to the Crusader presence.

[26] In"1188 Jerusalem was recaptured by Salah al –Din and reconverted into Muslim city"(Petersen 1996: 135).

The reflection of political achievement in architecture has continued as during the Ottoman period new projects were initiated. For example, "the covering of the outside of the Dome of the Rock with Iznik tiles. This took a period at least seven years during which several techniques of tiling were used, including cut tile work, cuerdaseca, polychrome under-glaze, and blue and white underglaze" (Petersen 1996:136). As the usage of polychrome, glazed tiles as wall decoration, one of the most distinctive features of imperial Ottoman architecture (Ibid:217). Still the Dome of the Rock is continuously of symbolic significance, as currently it is under the administration of Islamic authority and under the control of Israel, however it is believed to be the subject of contention between Israeli and Palestinians today (Price 2012:116).

Figure 4.3 The Haram al-Sharif today, with the large Aqsa Mosque to the south and a variety of buildings from many periods scattered around (from Rosovsky, City of the Great King) (Grabar 2006:9)

Figure 4.4 Schematic plan and section of the Dome of the Rock(K.A.C. Creawell; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. cited in (Grabar 2006:3)
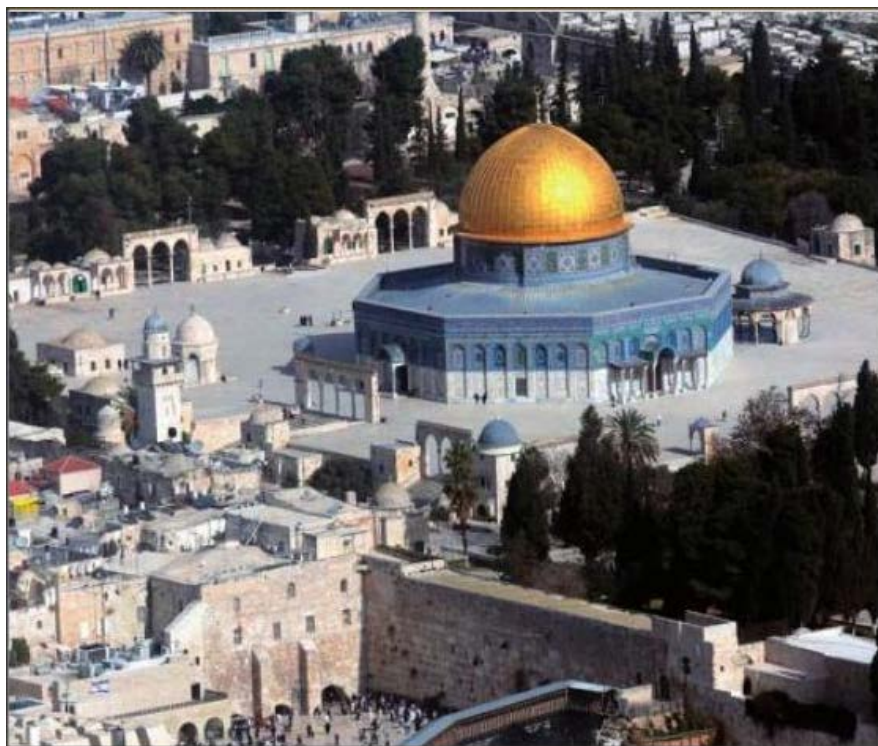
Figure 4.5. Dome of the Rock with upper platform of the Harem al-Sharif, view from the west. (Photo: Yossi Zamir/Corbis cited in (Bailey et al 2008:18)

Moreover, during the Ottoman period another political phase was initiated in which the Palestine region was divided into districts and attached administratively to the province of Damascus. However, what was achieved during this period

until the death of Ottoman sultan Suleiman were relative improvements and stimulation of Jewish immigration where by the mid-16th century, the Jewish population had grown to about 10,000 (the majority went to Safed and some newcomers settled in Jerusalem) compared to 2000 Jewish families which lived in the region at the outset of the Ottoman era (Reich 2008:12).The decline of the Ottoman Empire by the end of 18th century was the beginning of the Western progress in the region (Napoleon Bonaparte's Middle Eastern foray) and the beginning of Israel's modern history before statehood, "with the migration of Jews to Palestine (as the area was called) in the 19th century from eastern Europe, primarily Russia and Poland, and with the embellishment of the modern political Zionist movement" (Reich 2008:12-13).

In1897, Herzl initiated the first World Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland as the congress established the World Zionist Organization (WZO) and founded a Jewish national movement with the aim of the establishment of a home in Palestine for Jewish people(Reich 2008:15). In the arena of architecture in particular, "two basic periods characterize Israeli architecture: A prestate, Palestine and Islamic period and the contemporary Israeli periods. The prestate period can be further divided into consideration of the indigenous Palestinian architectural styles and styles introduced by the Jewish immigrants who settle in the country in the late nineteenth century" (Torstrick2004:97). However, in the 1880s; through most of its pre-statehood period, the Jewish settlement in Palestine was conducted under the ideological banner of Labor Zionism (Peled 1992).

4.2.1.1.1THE SUSTAINABILITY OF THE EUROPEAN CULTURE

In order to Israelize (branding) a contested land with architectural forms of the conquered nation, Israeli architects have attempted to separate the Palestine vernacular architecture from the culture that produced it so as to make it constitutive of an Israeli architecture (Sufian and LeVine 2007:224). Many approaches have been developed to shape Israeli architecture. For example with

reference to the question of Israeli architecture produced by Jewish architects in Palestine at the beginning of the twentieth century, it involved the misconceptions of oriental architecture in terms of, "housing construction comprised of an assembly of cells, their density within the space, and their suitability to the climate through the creation of a variety of internal outdoor spaces" (Shadar 2004). As a response to these misconceptions and the sustainability of the European culture of Jewish settlers, Shadar (2004) has argued that in many cases the general plan of pseudo-Oriental structure acquired fully Western characteristics; "it began as European and remained European, without absorbing any 'local' influences". He adds that, in particular with Hitler's rise to power, the international style became the quasi-formal Jewish style on one hand as a result of Jewish immigrations that included many modern architects. Moreover, Cohen (2003:9) states that for example:

"The styles that were widely employed in the early years of Tel Aviv used a combination of oriental elements such as arches and domes and some Jewish motifs including the seven-branched menorah and the Star of David. Eclectic mixtures which borrowed elements from East and West were popular-the architects Alexander Bervad and Joseph Berlin, were chief perpetrators. Other well-known architects of the period Joseph Berlin, who was influenced by neo-classicism; Tabachink, influenced by art nouveau; and Yehuda Megidovitz, whose many ideas came from a mixture of sources. The architecture inflicted on Tel Aviv was far from carrying a new message".

Figure 4.6. Oriental decorations in a pseudo-baroque house: Kabelkin house,1924,architect Y. Magidovitch,Tel Aviv. Based on a photograph in G. Duvshani, Yehuda Magidovitch, Architect (Ministry of Defence publishers 1993:73 in Hebrew cited in Shadar 2010)

It is also stressed by Heinze-Greenberg (1994:36-39 cited in Peleg 2002) that "the buildings designed by these young architects in Tel-Aviv and all over the country were not appropriate to the country and its inhabitants, but a direct application of what they had studied in Europe".

Figure 4.7 European idyllic models of settlement – the settlement of MazkeretBatya. Based on a photograph from 1927 taken by Kahn in: Z. Anner (ed.) SipuriMoshavot – the Story of 52 villages (Ministry of Defence publishing 1996: 127 in Hebrew cited in Shadar 2004).

On the other hand, according to Betser (1984 cited in Shadar 2004), to establish a new, healthy and free of old traditions Jewish society in Palestine, the international style as new utopian style-based free tradition considered to be the best option for such utopian Zionist aspiration. Although the early utopian Zionist texts strongly emphasize the role of architecture and planning in "constructing a sense of place, a sense of national identity and a notion of a collective home" (Yacobi 2002), the ruling elites, and politicians miscalculated its value. For example, while the form of "national home" that was approached by the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and – legally more significant – the League of Nations Mandate approved in 1922, ratified in 192), was as a construction obligation

towards Jews Mandate Palestine in 1917 and corresponded to the Zionist architectural and agricultural communities, replaced with modern house in 1930s (Nitzan and Shiftan 2005; Strawson 2005). Such production of modernist build environment led to new challenges in terms of place identity and authenticity. Thus "Sabra architects claimed that the resulting international architecture- by then identified with the Israeli State-disregarded the Zionist promise of a national home" (AlSayyad 2004:233).

Politically, between 1922 and 1948, Israel was under the British Mandate and thepolitical culture and constitutional arrangements of Israel were rooted in the experiences of the Yishuv (the Jewish community in Palestine) (Peled 1992). Architecturally, during this period:

> "Anew school of architecture developed, represented by Areih Sharon, ZeevRechter, DovKarmi, and Joseph Nefeld, among other. This group consisted of architects, both local and new immigrants arriving from Germany in the 1930s, who had studied in Europe and assimilated the architectural theory of LeCorbuseir Walter Adolph Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, and the Bauhaus. Bauhaus buildings were functionally simple, with irregular forms flat roofs, glazed stairwells, pillars, and pergolas, made of steel and concrete. Sometimes the ground floor had columns or concrete trellises that adorned the building. Some buildings had massive, rounded corners; others had concrete teeth edging the stairwell" (Torstrick 2004: 101)".

In the context of Israel, there are three basic elements of the international style, which are the column, the roof, and the curve. Moreover, the derivation of the formal elements from the machine aesthetics and the use of new materials are additional important characteristics. As it has been believed by Nitzan-Shiftan that during 1920 and 1930s Zionism and Modernism were still debating their final frameworks, both were redefined as a form of official story of the myth of statehood (1996:147).

As also Rieniets (2006:102-103) emphasises that;

"The new architecture, new house, new town have both site and means for realizing Jewish settlement. Building Eretz Israel is the central value and key metaphor of the new national ethos: We came to this land to build and be built"-sang the pioneers of the 1920s."

Nevertheless, in 1930s the architect's indications to change the architectural aspects towards nationality, in which such indications included "copying local models or even attempts to adapt their principles, have all failed" (Sosnovsky1992 cited in Peleg 2002). In this context, the 1930's Modern architecture formulated a theoretical tool for better understanding the Zionist narrative as an expression of its ethos. As can be observed, the western European character has been a significant part of Israeli modern architecture that political and cultural elites have used to flag the Jewish society in Palestine (Peleg2002). It has also been emphasized by LeVine (2007) that using negation of anything Palestinian as a strategic tool in 1930s for ending the conflict between the two communities extended the range of international style to be the prevailing architectural language. Moreover, during this period:

"Although dated from the period of Eretz Israeli architectural tradition, the Homa Umigdal (Wall and Tower) settlement of the 1930s were a first expression of Jewish native architectural tradition, i.e. adrikhalut. As an architectural phenomenon initiated and executed almost entirely" without architects" in the service of political objectives, Wall and Tower was a true realization of the concept of adrikhalut, and certainly a direct response to the demands of the palace" (Rieniets 2006:103)

Zionist history merged modern utopias with changing architectural and urban trend and grounded them in the context of national territorial conflict. Moreover, according to Cohen (2003:6), the international style, in particular, the Bauhaus school has an extraordinary impact on the development of Israeli architecture in 1930s. As it was acclimatized to the local conditions through using various methods of modification.
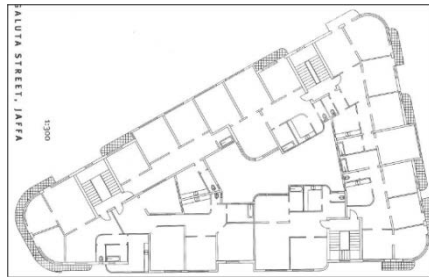
Figure 4.8 Ground floor plan of Rothschild Boulevard building (Cohen 2003:246)

Figure 4.9 The perspective of Rothschild Boulevard building (Cohen 2003:92)

Figure 4.10 Rothschild Boulevard building based Bauhaus characteristics such as the tall glass of stairwell and the horizontal strips of windows and balconies: Joseph and Zeev 1932(Cohen 2003:92)

Moreover, during the 1940's,due to the political and military upheavals, first of World War II and then of the Zionist struggle against the British and the 1948 war, the construction process was much more limited. No new trends were introduced, however, elements were refined by Israeli architects, and new techniques were developed such as: "More attention was given to balconies, which were enlarged and made more private so that could be used as extra rooms. In rural and suburban areas, cottages with gabled roofs and red tile began to appear as the

Swiss style began to replace the concrete boxes of the Bauhaus movement" (Torstrick 2004:101).Interestingly, in what follows, this research intend to investigate the extent in which the Israeli identity is defined and understood in relation to architecture, which encompasses the base of the Israeli nation branding project based on architectural identity -led- agenda .

4.2.1.2 ISRAEL 1948 FROM THE ARCHITECTURAL PERSPECTIVE

At a turning point in the history of the Jewish people, Israel declared independence on May 14, 1948 (Tessler 2009: 269). It is believed that Israel's independence was a turning point in many ways. According to Smooha (1987:60):

> "The plural society of Palestine in which Jews were a minority under indirect colonial rule was succeeded by a new state which is also plural, with Jews constituting the dominant majority. It is also a Jewish sectarian state as institutionalized in the Law of Return and in the legal separation in matters of personal status among religious communities. The Yishuv institutions, with appropriate adaptations, became the institutions of new state, and understandably, those who controlled the Yishuv came to power upon its creation. The practical significance of this continuity was the Ashkenazi- modelled institutions and Ashkenazi domination of Yishuv were simply carried over to the state".

Also architecturally, the turning point for Jewish independence is one of the most challenging periods as Israeli architecture has been openly mobilized (Misselwitz 2006:102). It dealt with issues around collective memory, place identity and sense of place by considering the impact of the dialectic of remembering and forgetting the 1948 war on architecture. As according to Sufian and LeVine (2007:58):

> "From its embellishment, the Israeli state has been actively involved in forgetting and making forgotten the non-Jewish past of the land of Israel-Palestine as well as the more recent course of events during the 1948 war in which over 750,000 Palestinians were made refugees from their homeland.

This dialectic of remembering and forgetting the 1948 war reflects a reality in which a complex of official and unofficial Israeli institutions was mobilized to dig a memory hole in which things once known were deposited and rendered acknowledge for the vast majority of Israeli Jews. The memories of Palestinian citizens of Israel remains similarly marginalized in the Israeli public sphere. Since they ipso facto contradict the dominant Israeli-Jewish collective memory, they are assumed to be both hostile and incorrect".

Moreover, Misselwitz (2006:103) states that conquer frontiers, occupy territories, distribute populations, and house immigrants were among the political issues that needed to be resolved by the Israeli adrikhalut (The New Hebrew speaking, "native" tradition). He adds that an analysis of the layers of built environment during this period reveals much about the relationship between Israeli adrikhals and politics as true servants of the palace, serving the Zionist project to varying degrees of integrity, humility, dedication, and responsibility. As they tried to legitimate the political achievement through architectural forms, "simultaneously, enable architectural doctrines to express themselves through programs inspired or dictated by politics" (Ibid).

The uprooting and dispossession mechanism has long been among the basic issues associated with the Israel-Palestine problem as scholars consider the uprooting of the holy sites from their urban life-world reached its climax during this period (Ibid). The nation has different strategies and tools to reach the ultimate aim; for example in the name of high-minded conservation, a deeply political project of uprooting the holy sites from their urban life-world was carried out (Pullan et al. 2007-2012). Since 1948, such a key mechanism has been entirely reinforced by the political aspirations of a major ideological movement, Zionism, which depends on factors such as heritage, religion, culture, and tradition (Halpern 1969 in Bar- Tal 1990), rather than drawing inspiration from political events such as Jewish persecution in Europe. It is approached to bring scattered Jews from among nations around the world and unite them all together by fusing them with Jewish population in Palestine (Hadawi 1991:8)

Bar- Tal (1990) states that to have a Jewish state, there is to be an ultimate aim of the branched chain Zionist movement, the modern Zionism, and the milieu of nineteenth century European nationalism to live as a nation free of "anti-Semitism". Architecturally, according to Rieniets (2006:102-103); the modern architecture based Westernness and modernity has been used by the Zionist movement as a strategic tool to create its place. Within this context, Ertez Israeli architecture had succeeded at both reconstructing new place and maintaining the appearance of a normal, Western, modern architectural tradition.

Arguably, the rapid political transition in 1948 of Israel's external border in mandate Palestine has been considered as one of the main factors in the radical changes of Zionist architectural production. After statehood, according to Torstrick (2004:101):

"There was an immediate shortage of housing in the country as immigrants from Europe and then North Africa streamed into the country. Between May 1948 and December 1951, the country's Jewish population doubled as 684,000 new immigrants entered the country. New immigrants and veteran residents were first settled in the vacant homes of Palestinians made refugees by the war and the declaration of the Israeli state (which refused to allow them to return). As the immigrants continued to stream in, they were housed in vast temporary tent cities (ma'abarot) throughout the country. There was tremendous pressure on the government to provide housing, so prefabricated buildings that could be constructed cheaply and quickly became the fashion of the day".

Occupying architecture is not as easy as occupying territory and using architecture as a tool of occupation is not as easy as using military troops. Although the renewal and the construction of Jewish settlements are used to achieve political objectives of the Zionist movement (Rieniets 2006:102-103), Segal et al. (2003:21) states that using settlement outside Israel's international border as a tool of settling the land and for strategic and political purposes is failed to fulfil its objectives as the Israeli architectural language and its essence is not representing the Zionist identity thus, resulted in jumbled "DNA".

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Under the name of localization Israeli architecture, sabra architects[27] launched a campaign in the late 1950s.The primary aim of the campaign was to raise awareness of international architecture: "They saw in the territory of the decade-old Israeli State a homeland that was fundamentally different from what had been envisioned by the presiding generation, the founder of Labor Zionism" (Alsayyad2004:234). Moreover, in support of the political objectives, using architecture as new strategy was suggested by sabra generation to socialize new immigrants into a national community, and at the same time to connect this imagined community to its place, i.e., the land of Israel. Alsayyad (2004:238) adds that "new immigrants, the sabra generation posited, could not and should not comply with a modernist immigrants idea that is imposed on them in the form of a utopia built in white. The sabra generation wanted instead to transform the Diaspora Jew into a man growing out of the Land, a man whose identity develops as a result of his organic ties to the territory rather than his adherence to an idea foreign to him. Only architecture of the place could therefore identify Israelis with the territory to which they wanted to belong, as well as to possess". According to Sela[28] During 1950s-1960s, as part of the architectural trend of exposed concrete, the brutalist character based strong coloring of the shelters was widely approached. However, "the act of painting/camouflage does not only fail to obscure their existence but intensifies it, turning them into an environmental nuisance without charm-emphasizing their presence".

During the 1960s and 1970s Israeli- born architects, sabra, faced twofold crises in challenging the modernization project. As Alsayyad (2004:233) noted, "at the same time that architects worldwide were questioning the premises of Modern Movement in architecture, Israelis were becoming more vocal in challenging the modernization project of Labor Zionism, which had campaigned for decades for progress and development".

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[27]Israeli- born architects, the first natives of the Israeli state.
[28] Sela, R. The Mechanism of Camouflage. Series, Orit Ishay's Public Domain

Given the fact that by the year 1970, against the wish of the Israeli administration (in particular Elinoar Barzaki the former head of Jerusalem Region in the Ministry of housing) of its predominately modernist practices, a young generation of architects became increasingly active in an attempt to shape a coherent architectural image and to find inspirational models of Jewish architecture, their work coming forth through active exchanges with readily available Palestinian vernacular. In response to this tendency, Barzakistates that "a culture looks for the symbols of its heroic periods and assimilates them in its local architecture, as Italy, for example, relates to the Roman Empire. In Jerusalem, however, the post-1967 architecture of power absorbed the symbols of conquered rather than those of the conqueror" (Alsayyad 2004: 232-247).

Figure 4.11David Anatol Bruzkos, Upper lifta, 1960s. Reprinted from Israel build IsraeliMinistry of Housing 1965) (Isenstadt 2008:162)

Figure 4.12 Salo Hershman, Gilo,Cluster 11,1970s. Reprinted from Israel Builds, Israel(Israel Ministry of Housing 1988s,112)(Isenstadt 2008:162)

It is important to note that the existing body of knowledge indicated that Israeli architecture has been constructed by means of many of styles and cultural transitions. According to Nitzan-Shiftan (2009):

"In stylistic terms, these are typically depicted as a series of transitions: from early-twentieth-century romantic Orientalism to the strict white modernism of the interwar period; from the bare, mass-produced buildings of early statehood to the exposed sculptural concrete of the 1960s; and from these periods of abstract formalism to the stone-clad neo-vernacular of the 1970s and 1980s. All of these well-meaning but schizophrenic efforts have

made it enormously difficult for cultural critics, intellectuals, and even architects themselves to decide what constitutes Israeli architecture".

Despite the extensive academic discourse mentioned above, the significance of Israeli architecture to the very act of constructing Israeli identity has been generally neglected. According to (Alsayyad 2004:240), "the sabra approach, however, turning to the local vernacular in order to build from bottom up, was no less confusing. A genuine national architecture required an unmediated expression of the place, but the search for authentic expression yielded perplexing results: native architecture was mostly Arab".

The period from 1980s to 1990swas dominated by postmodernism (disjointed structural elements and multiple layers of meaning). Many significance building were built in this period and new types of building came into being. For example, the Supreme Court Building in Jerusalem that was designed by Ram Karmi and Ada Karmi-Melamede in 1992. The style that was employed in the Supreme Court design used a combination of borrowed elements such as courtyards, arches and water channels from different layers of history Roman, Hellenistic, Crusades, Greek, and British buildings, as well as reflecting biblical symbols (Nocke and ebrary 2010:113). The pupose of such combination was to link old and new Jerusalem and relgious and secular tradtions in addtion to the vernacular architecture that serves to reinforce the sense of identity by emphsaising the locality of Jerusalem through ornamentation apart ofbuilding's position in the city that was used metaphoriclly (Ibid). Morevore, the Western Wall, also known as the wall of justice, which was constructed from stone found in archaeological excavations extnded upward through all three floors of the building to emphsaise a point made by Alberti:

> " The most capacious of cities… is the circular one; the best defended, that protected by a wall of undulating bays, as Jerusalem bad been, according to Tacitus: within the bays the enemy will not go unchallenged, and against the curtains he will not employ his war machines with any sure sign of success" (Ibid:131-132)

Currently, steel and glass towers of Eastern European cities are the key influential mechanisms by which they have become the 21st century Azraeli symbols of the built environment.

4.3 ISRAELI ARCHITECTURE: SPIRIT OF POLITICAL AIMS

To support the aforementioned body of knowledge in regards to Israeli architecture this study has sought to critically analyse four selected architectural productions within the context of the Israeli national system. The characteristics of Israeli architecture as the proclaimed architecture of the new nation-state, introduced by leading architects and Israeli authorities will necessarily bring different and more precise arguments to evaluate, and enables the examination of nation branding (Israelites) based on architectural identity-led agenda.

Accordingly, this study raises the question of how such interaction between architecture and identity is understood not only for the explanation of the architectural influence on Israel national brand, but also for the definition of Israeli identity for researching specific subjects within the field of Israeli architecture. Thus in order to answer this question, giving an analytical description of the core quality concept of four selected architectural productions, credibility can support the above mentioned knowledge about Israeli architecture that has been increasingly treated as a political tool in the formation of the Israeli place on the global stage.

It was during the last decades of 20th century that the term Israeli architecture emerged as the subject of discussions by a few selective Israeli architects. One of its major proponents was the architect Moshe Safdie, an outstanding architectural figure, who argued that accommodating with a wide variety of opinions of political and religious leaders were the most difficulties he faced in relation to his projects in Jerusalem (Dent et al. 1996:18-19). The Safdie conception of Israeli architecture can be understood from using the required stone (gold-yellow Jerusalem limestone) in massive walls (1996:19). Safdie believes that "indigenous buildings make clever use of spaces. Very often the sum of the parts

is greater than the whole" (Dent et al. 1996:18-19).In adding a theoretical point to the aspects of architectural conception, Safdie has made important statements about the need of society for architecture and the modern movement, as in Safdie's opinion such needs were not defined by building that have been erected in the postmodern era. In this light the cultural productions of the last twenty years is illustrated by Safdie as "an escapist world of personal indulgence" (Philip et al. 1982:2-6 cited in Dent et al. 1996:21). However, for society today, modern technology is considered by Safdie to have an important role in implementing design process based on precise evaluation of all aspects of the environment (Dent et al. 1996:22). In the light of his personal style, the interplay of past and present between civilization and the natural world formed the most fundamental desire of Safdie along with the relation between the different parts of a building itself (Irena 1996:23). In describing a series of long four-story apartment structures built in the late fifties, Sadie states that" they are foreign, as if imported from some rainy, cool European suburb" (Alsayyad 2004 :231)

politics and architectural issues. In safdie's view, issues such as "identity, scale, and public space that is both conductive to social life and contemporary to topography, as the human qualities that would make the Arab village of Sillwan a better living Focusing on Israeli architecture as a paradigm of constructing political aims, the work of Safdie has been the focus of this examination and the reasons for choosing the architectural productions of Safdie as a field of study are as follows:

➢ To study the relationship between the architecture of Israeli environment than contemporary Israeli modernist housing. All these merits depended on a longstanding heritage that the Zionist movement either ignored or erased" (Alsayyad 2004:240).

➢ To study the relationship between the architecture of Israeli politics and what Safdie's believe in terms of the physical and spiritual needs of individuals in societies in relation to the built environment.

- To show to what extent Safdie is able to narrate the essence of Israeli narrative and concretize his sub-narratives towards Israeli culture. For example in this direction, he states that the "experience of working in Israel had a profound effect on me as I faced the steep Nordic copper roofs and domers of Quebec City, and the theatrical and exuberant neo-Gothic Parliament and Cathedral of Ottawa. As I designed the National Gallery, I wondered what is the essence of Gothic? What is the essence of neo Gothic structure built in the nineteenth century? What are the rhythms, proportions, and geometries that one might draw upon to evoke a counterpoint? Time and again I found myself fascinated by the versatility and diversity of geometric manipulation, the adaptation of building elements that resulted in deliberate dialogue with the surrounding buildings" (Dent et al. 1996:23).

- Safdie's works provides the best materials that reveals different form of nation branding based on architectural identity-led agenda.

4.3.1 YADVASHEM CHILDREN'S HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL

Among the early works of Safdie, the YadVashem children's holocaust memorial, built in YadVashem site Jerusalem, Israel in 1976-1987. Pointing to the project as a symbolic structure of reflection of the main museum that is located at the same site may serve as a key to understanding the collective memory of Israel. Originally, the project was viewed as a memorial in the service of displaying the documents and artifacts of victims of the holocaust, which aims to balance the spiritual and materialistic aspects, thus, holding prospective for symbolizing the soul of children[29] (Dent et al. 1996:122). Such a project provides a context for a discussion of Israeli national space within the architectural sphere that undergoes "the journey into darkness begins through a natural rock archway, onto a descending ramp, and into an underground chamber carved into the hill overlooking the mountain of Judea" (Dent et al. 1996:122). The documents:

[29]Practically, on day bases each morning, for nine hours four candle are lit and are continuously burning (Den et al. 1996:122).

names, birth dates and birthplaces of the lost children have been expressed as a recorded voice reading out through the arch entrance that accompany a dark octagonal room veneered with mirrors and centralized by hexagonal shaft that formed by large semi-reflective planes. In addition, the reflexive glow on all the geometrical surfaces that radiated from candle attached to another triangular shaft is another metaphorical characteristic of the project (Dent et al. 1996:122). It can be observed that YadVashem children's holocaust museum is one of the ambitious memorial projects that explore the representational metaphors of the Israeli collective memory by expressing unexpected end of many young lives via a "series of monolithic stone pillars rise from the ground" (Ibid). Additionally, the journey through the memorial project is ends up on the north of the octagonal room by an amphitheater built over the memorial by which "seven double row of cypress trees are planted echoing the octagonal space below" (Ibid).

A. Plan

C. Interior of the chamber

B. Concept development sketches

D. Entry
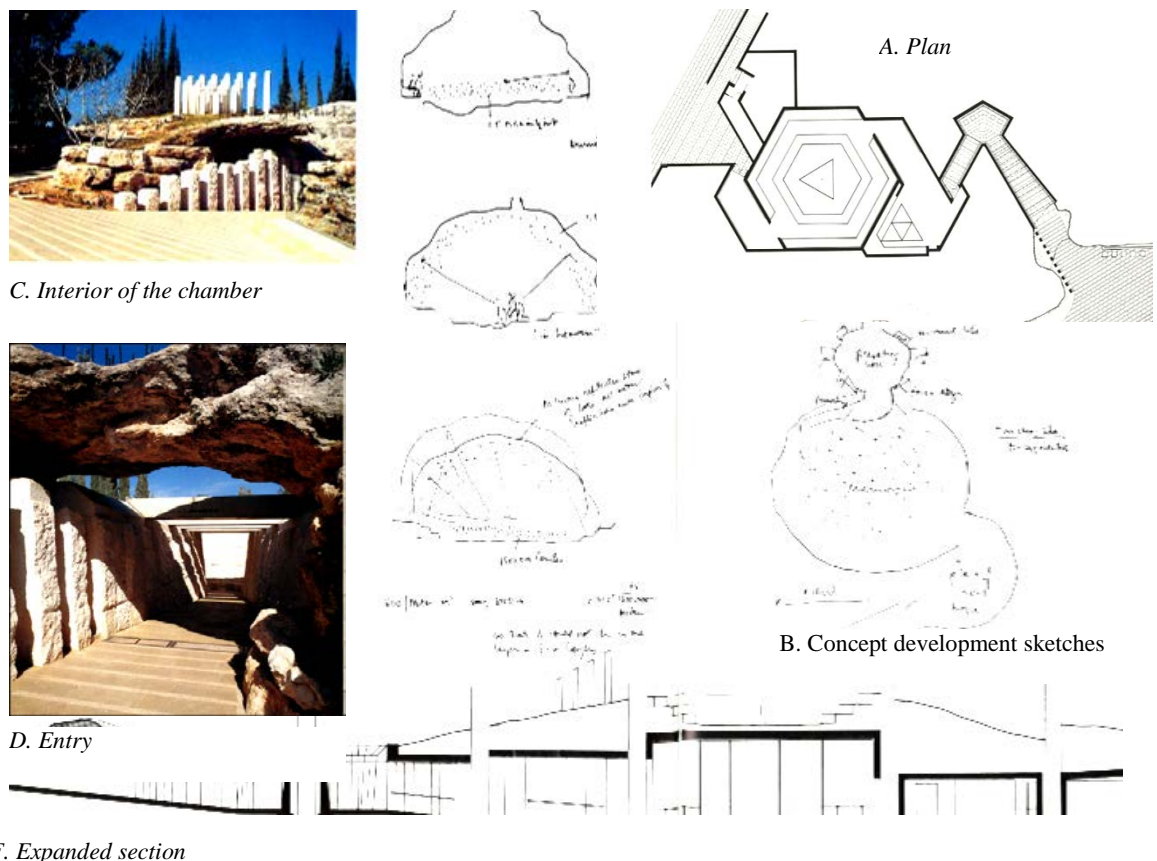
F. Expanded section

Figure 4.13 Concept development sketches, Expanded section, plan and perspectives (Kohn 1996: 128-129)

4.3.2 YADVASHEM CHILDREN AND THE TRANSPORT MEMORIAL (1991-1994)

The integration projects of YadVashem children and the transport memorial (1991-1994) are also influential buildings designed by Safdie. The project was commissioned by YadVashem. As cultural and memorial models, the projects dedicated to the victims of the holocaust who were transported by railway car to the death camps. It is located also in the YadVashemsite basically on a hillside. It has long extended cantilevers to the Wadi, which gives a "scenic view of BeitHakerm" (Dent et al. 1996:198-99). One of the main characteristics of the design can be seen in a simplified geometric form that metaphorically has historical references. Such as an authentic railway car used to deport victims to the death camps, donated to YadVashem by the government of Poland. Safdie perched this car precariously on the tip of the replicated remains of a bridges after an explosion-life hanging on the thread. This remaining bundle of mangled steel beams is cantilevered from the hillside, supported by a concrete retaining wall. A survivor's account of the conditions on this wall "is inscribed in such railway cars on their fateful journey" (Ibid). Architecturally, the simplification of architectural forms has been related primarily to the abstraction of the international contemporary style.

A. site Plan
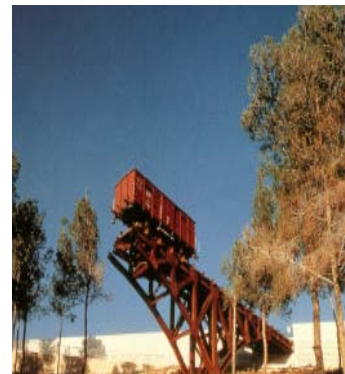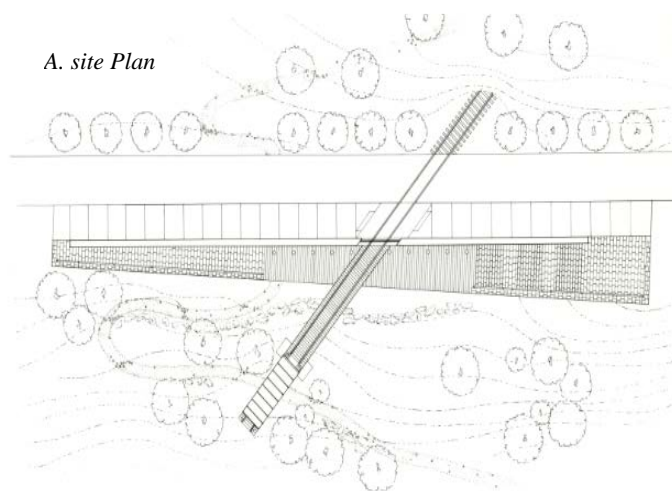
**Figure 4.14 Yad Vashem: The transport memorial (Kohn 1996:135*)*   187

4.3.3 YADVASHEM: THE HOLOCAUST MUSEUM

YadVashem: The Holocaust museum that has been designed by Safdie in Jerusalem, Israel, 1997-2005 is referred to as the most distinctive model of Israeli architecture. As according to Zuckerman et al. (2013:73), "both the museum and its architect are Israeli, adding a third dimension to the picture. The client in this case is the entire nation of Israel, and even more broadly, the Worldwide Jewish people- for YadVashem was designed to be the central site of Holocaust memory, the Holocaust being unquestionably an event of monumental significance to Jews around the world".

Actually, it is located within the Israeli fifty-acre national memorial to the holocaust. The construction of the museum is based merely on triangular concrete tunnel of 650 foot long, piercing the crest of a Jerusalem hilltop. Moreover, the linear construction that opens as a curvilinear unfolding and revealing a vista of landscape can be defined metaphorically as an emotional relationship between the Holocaust and the State of Israel. In an effort to preserve historical memory of European anti-Semitism, depicting the development of Nazism and the heroes of the holocaust through conducting research on a victim's life has been interpreted architecturally as a hall of the names, which occupies the central part of the museum. As it has been described by Albercht et al. (2010:72), "it is a conical structure extending more than thirty feet high that houses the personal records of the Holocaust's known victims". Architecturally, it has no connotation with Israeli cultural references and is merely based on the modernist characteristic that has played an important role for the wide spread of such international style all over Israel.
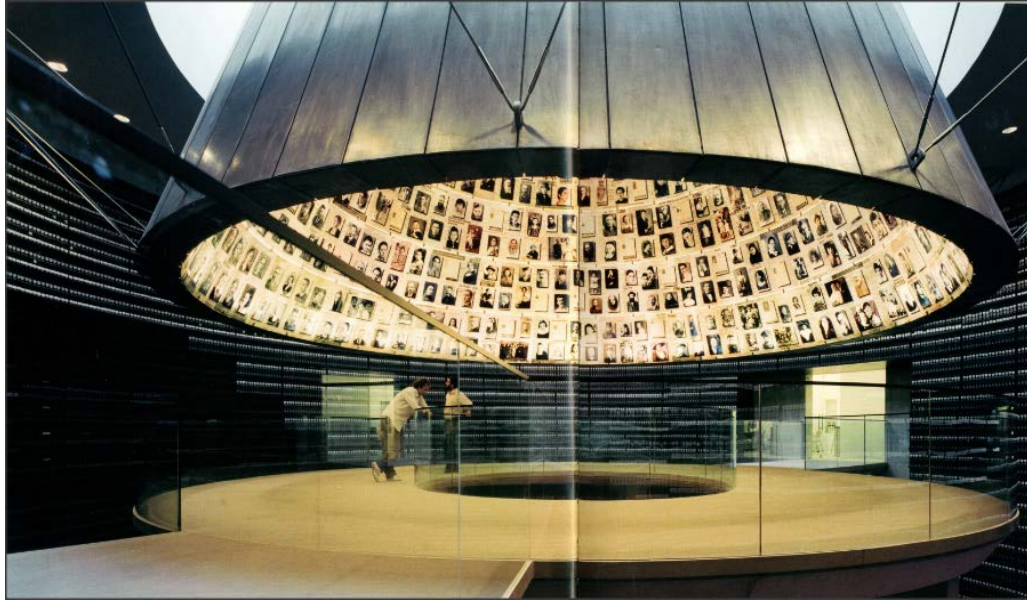
figure 4.15 Yadvashem: the holocaust museum: Interior design of the hall of the names(Albrecht 2010:70-71)
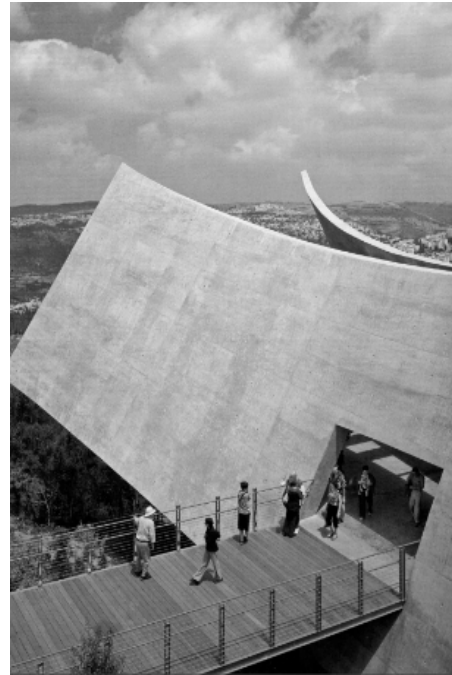
Figure 4.16 YadVashem; Holocaust Museum Safdie in Jerusalem, Israel, 1997-2005(Albrecht 2010:70-71).

4.3.4 NEVEOFER COMMUNITY CENTER

NeveOfer community center (1989-1995), designed building within an overall plan by Safdie in Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Israel. The project has played an important role as a symbol and support in the birth of the community's aspiration. The stylistic tendency of the project is the result of a complex interplay of sedate form of heavy exterior concrete walls banded with local limestone. The main structure of the center is defined by the central place as a focal point for internal activities connected to an adjacent park, defined by the continuous colonnade based on modernist principles as a conjunction point linking the four functionally divided areas: "A library, an auditorium wing with a 280-seat theatre, and the two wings of workshops…. Each wing is lit naturally, with daylight filtered through the arcade and horizontal slots in the heavy exterior wall. The upper workshops are roofed with vaulted skylight" (Kohn 1996:249). The center is envisioned as collective tool by making an explicit connection between different sectors of the neighborhood and the heart of the community center (Kohn 1996: 249). Metaphorically, the center acts as a space in which Israeli collective identity is to an extent formulated as architecturally it should consider architectural identity as a medium of building collective memory.
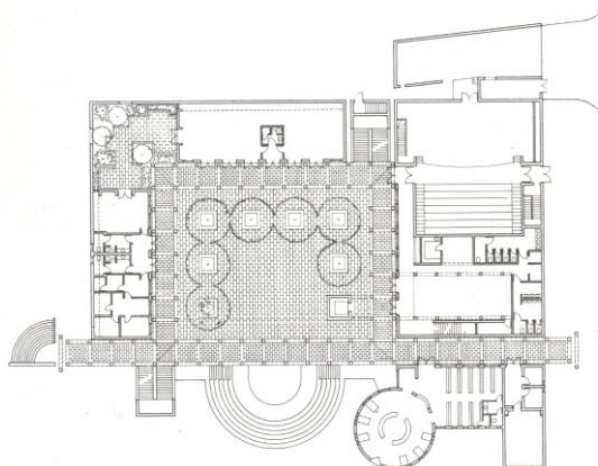
Figure 4.17Lower level plan of NeveOfer Community Center (Kohn 1996:250)
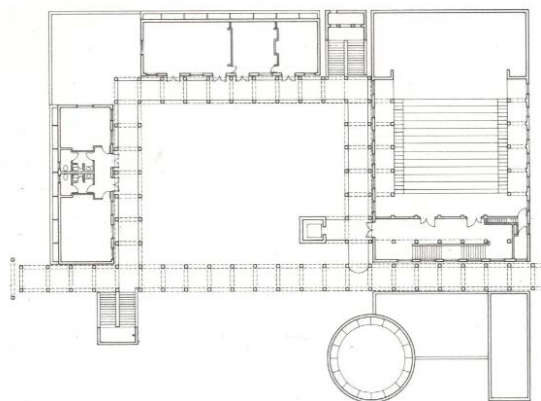
Figure 4.18 Upper level plan of NeveOfer Community Center (Kohn 1996:250)

Figure 4.19 Expanded section of Neve Ofer Community Center (Kohn 1996:249)
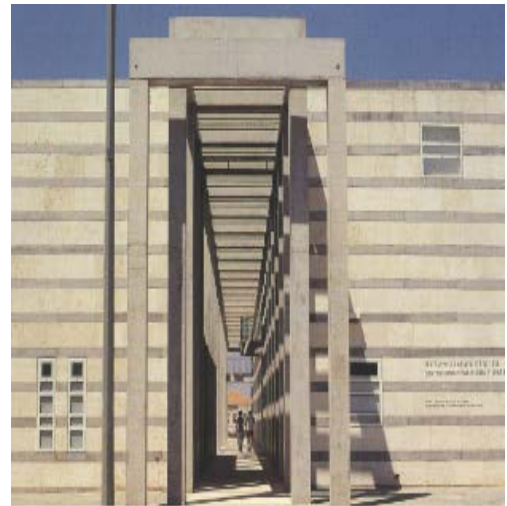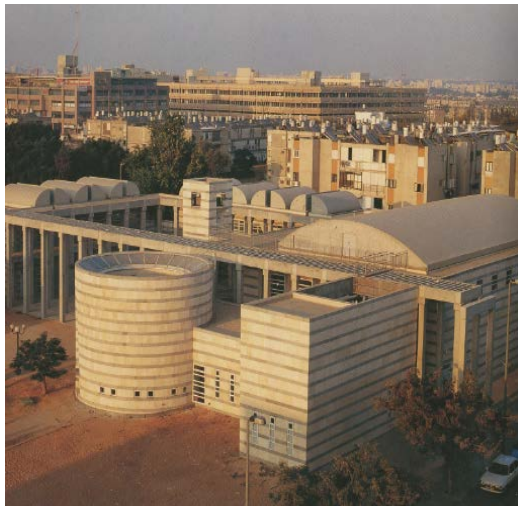
Figure 4.20 Neve Ofer Community Center (Kohn 1996: 248-249)

Three points in the analysis of perceptions that have been attached to the design and construction of these buildings have been identified. The first is concerned with the interrelation of the Israeli identity in architecture that has been configured metaphorically in architectural constructions and the International style. Second, the paradoxical problem of constructing Israelness based on architecture that produced a modernist build environment based Western value, which led to new challenges in terms of place identity and authenticity. Third, however, while the representation of Israeli architecture does not come with expectations of capturing the Israeli identity in architecture, they are significant projects that have consequences on understanding the Zionist narrative as an

expression of its ethos and promoting Jewish society as a whole.In other words, in terms of conclusions that can be drawn from the discussed examples and the interpretations of its architectural structure, in general the ultimate aims beyond the projects have been conceived and reflected metaphorically rather than being architecturally crafted within the context of cultural references based on clear Israeli architectural vocabularies. The true impact of the physical configurations of those tragic memories emerges in nation brand based architecture as it has been supported by the aforementioned body of knowledge. These ideas allow for a strong dialogue between the work of architecture and the nation brand where it is defined as sustainable stories in the context of nation brand – are central to any form of this connection that the nation brand is based on, whether the brand value is of a nation, country, region, a story should be identified, recognizable and constructed (Hannigan 2003).

4.4 ISRAEL BRAND IDENTITY AND IMAGE LEGITIMATING INRELATION TO ISRAEL ARCHITECTURE

This study explores the concepts of Israeli brand identity and image intertwined with the Israeli built environment from an architectural perspective. This study argues that for a fully recognized identity and competitive image, a strong sense of physical connection between architecture, identity is essential and must be interwoven into the fabric of nation as system. According to Aronczyk (2008) "the nation [of Israel] is behind this defensive wall, and they've got to come out of that and think long-term – and long-term planning in Israel is about two years. So they've got to come to terms with these issues, but I think if they can, national brand strategy could offer them a way of thinking about what's Israel's future offer to the world".

The questions raised in this research extended the Israeli debate far beyond the realm of politics: To what extent has the Israeli built environment accomplished the main aims in terms of being "a physical representation of thought and aspiration, a record of the beliefs and values of the culture that produces it" (Roth

1994:141)? To what extent has it reinforced state sovereignty and self-determination in terms of being a product of architectural planning solidified by cultural references? Has sustainable national identity been taken as a central point in the design of socially responsible architectural environment, beginning to explore the ever-changing framework of Israeli political map? How has Israeli architectural policy maintained the consistency with Israeli national development policy? Finally, how has the architectural environment been comprehended promoting the Israeli brand? In this reflection, this study explores new thinking on architecture and nation' identity and image. Kawash (2003) provocatively argues that, "the play between stone and house, between raw material and building, between natural barren land and peopled settlement, has always been the terrain over which discursive and material struggles over Israeli occupation, settlement, and sovereignty have taken place". Actually, with regards to the current Israeli nation brand identity and image, and although it is strategic ideology that is adopted by politicians, normal citizens, planners and architects, traditionalist, socialist, and "assimilationist trends", and also within Zionism, "sharp divisions along ideological and practical lines" can be identified (Neeman 1996).

By means of this reinterpretation, although the Israeli strategists have intended to elevate the Israeli image in the eyes of both Israelis and non-Israelis via different policies, architecturally, the Israeli image is identified by Israeli architecture as a spirit of politics. As in terms of physical legitimacy, Israeli architecture, which has assembled from the physical perspective and the representation of Israeli value, has simultaneously affected negatively the overall perception of Israeli image. This doctrine has been put forward by revaluating and analysing the component of Israeli nation brand essence to find out the right mixture for a strong core that leads to strong identity and image. In order to realize that aim Leshem and Shuval et al. (1998:437) argue that "to put an end to this disgraceful situation, we must be united on a common cultural basis, and if there is no such basis on the surface, we must dig it up from our historical depths and revive it".

like many other Western systems[30], the heterogeneous relationship between the formal top-down statutory planning and the actual bottom-up dynamics of planning and decision-making and the lack of coordination between the official structure and the existing situation has strongly controlled the Israeli (architectural)0 planning system (Alfasi 2006:553). The gap between reactants in such a heterogeneous system has widened dramatically, which influenced the overall result of the nation as Israeli brand identity and image (that is stereotyped and preserved by many other nations and semi recognized states especially in the absence of a catalyst to provide a suitable operational approach) for normal interaction among the components of Israeli planning system. Confronting the political crisis of Israel, Israeli architects, the government and the municipality of Jerusalem have proactively initiated the creation of national image and brand visions has been done materially as a physical language with two different accents. First, in terms of the uprooting approach, Makdisi (2010) presented such a concept of the governmental approach as a deconstruction policy. He adds that "multicultural, multi confessional Palestine was deliberately uprooted in order to clear the space for the creation of a state with an exclusively Jewish identity, to be populated, that is, once most of the Muslim and Christian Palestinians had been driven away largely by newly arrived European Jewish colonists and settlers". Second, with reference to the architectural approach, the construction policy: Israeli architects have approached different strategies that can provide Israeli physical identity which comprehend a nation brand image. Within this context Nitzan and Shiftan (2005) argue that, unlike political activists or executives, architects spoke in a language that those in power could not decipher, yet could not resist, because of its cultural and symbolic assets. This was the language architects used for the production of master plans and outline schemes that constituted ''top-down'' attempts to Israelize Jerusalem— to inscribe on the built landscape of the city not only demographic and territorial ''facts'' but more

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[30]"The British influence remained strong in Israeli planning circles, and it is not surprising that after the Israeli conquest of East Jerusalem in 1967, a plan by Ariel Sharon of the Old City and Environs is now called the, special zone" (Sharon 1973: chapter 8 cited in Pullan et al. 2007-2012).

explicitly, a physical image bespeaking a set of national values". During the early phase of building the state spatially in Jerusalem, such desire of physical unification of Israel national image has soon collided with Israeli modernist building program (Nitzan-Shiftan. 2005).

However, with the characteristics of a modernizing vision, the Israeli community created a visual image that was closely clashed with their national vision, preferring a language without identity. In an answer to the invited world luminaries to participate in the Jerusalem Committee an advisory body supervising the Israelization of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek[31] stated, "you would like to drive up in big cars but you want us in Jerusalem riding on donkeys. No matter how charming and picturesque that might be, the rest of the world forges ahead into the 21st century" (Meier 1971:57 in Isenstadtand Rizvi 2008:169). Moreover, in line with the planning policy, as a reaction based on protecting the city from modernization that oriented the city in a particular way because of its political importance, the physical representation of the heart of Israel entered new phase and challenge in 1970s. The conflict between two modernism doctrines: The International committee as a representatives of "cultural world" was first organized as political initiative by Teddy Kollek who had taken the primary role in analysing the predicament as masterful administrator stating that, 'the problem is not ours alone, as residents of the city; it belongs, in a sense, to the entire world, to all those people who are Jerusalemites in their hearts and minds'' (The Jerusalem Committee 1969:13). The international committee, which comprised world experts, approached a different policy aimed for a new way to gain legitimization in Jerusalem in the name of universal values, putting emphasis on fulfilling a professional rather than political mandate or given a clue to an "aspiration" (Rabinovich 1970:20 cited inIsenstadtand Rizvi 2008:169). As an output, the committee emphasized to free the design from any political background and generalize the planning issues to all people regardless of race and or creed (Avrahami 1971:209), creating a visual image for all as the overwhelming symbol of the city.

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[31]According to (Nitzan-Shiftan ,A. 2005) , Teddy Kollek is "Jerusalem's legendary mayor— invited world luminaries to participate in the Jerusalem Committee—an advisory body supervising the Israelization of Jerusalem"

Architecture in Israeli built environment has been employed to serve an ambiguous strategic and political agenda rather than been reflective of socio economic, cultural, and political power of the Israeli state. For example, Segal (2003:19) writes, "an environment where architecture and planning are systematically instrumentalized as the executive arms of Israeli state, planning decisions do not often follow criteria of economic sustainability, ecology or efficiency of services, but are rather employed to serve strategic and political agendas".

Figure 4.21: Jerusalem Town Planning scheme L Ashbee based on Geddees (1922 cited in Pullan 2007)

Figure 4.22: Old City Rampart Open Space:Ashbee (1921:20 cited in Pullan 2007)

In order to have a coherent understanding of the Israeli architecture in this study, the focus is on the critical analysis of contexts, challenges and meanings of the contested architectural sites. Consequently, one question to be answered is how did these meanings reflect the political process of Israeli identity? In this case, Jerusalem's sacred character is the best example of an architectural site of different meanings to different groups: Christianity, Islam and Judaism, in addition to the extra meanings that have been attached to the sites via "myriad representations, re-imagining and physical reconfigurations" over centuries up to date and especially from the mid-nineteenth century onwards by western colonial (Pullan et al. 2007-2012).

The "Holy Basin" is an example of unacceptable legal and political framework for Palestinians since the failed talks in 2000 which was first being moulded as a cornerstone for farther agreement within the context of a two-state solution during the Camp David peace summit (Klein 2003: 55-56; Eldar 2009 in Pullan et al. 2007-2012). Further negotiation on the progression of the Camp David summit held in 2001 at the Egyptian seaside resort of Taba was based on the Clinton parameters, regarding the terms of sovereignty and representation of Israel over Israeli settlements in East Jerusalem and parts of the old city and Palestinian sovereignty over areas "up to the 1967 border line" in which the idea of Jerusalem would be the capital of the two states and negotiation about the Holy Basin strongly supported by both sides , but resulted in a zero sum gain (Dumper 2009).

Although, negotiation about the "Holy Basin" has been suspended, and in spite of its political sensitivity and unencrypted of its historical layers, a $400 million Israeli development plan for the Holy Basin, drawn up in 2005 and involving the establishment of an extended series of national parks around the Old City, is "becoming a reality, and at an accelerated pace"(Ir-Amim2008). In order to accumulate Israel's continuing national significance, the change of cultural and national features of a disputed landmark in which its identity is still an outstanding issue and its historical layers are not yet deciphered, may result in a negative impact. It has been emphasized by Monk (2002:xviii) that, "there is a significant conceptual difference between writing a history that assumes we understand, prima facie, the workings of monuments and holy sites in the perpetuation of a conflict, and one that examines how the conflict itself has fashioned and refashioned its own explanation of the monument's political role, in the process disclosing its own understanding of history", as ambiguous variables in any equation lead to an ambiguous result. Alsayyad (2004:238) argues that,

> "Makom (Hebrew of place) refers to' the encounter between man and place
> where he is' The notion of Makom is fundamental to sabra art and
> architectural discourse because, as a Gurevitz and Aran have argued, Israeli

Jews did not succeed in resolving the ambiguities of their place: the tension between the text and the territory. The land of Israel, according to this argument, has always been an abstract homeland, an idea, an aspiration the Zionist movement inherited from the Jewish religion".

Although more than 60 solutions have been presented to the issue of sovereignty over East Jerusalem, including the old city and many more unsolved difficulties which considered the main obstacles to ending conflict between Palestine and Israel are not yet over (Khamaisi 2001), the role of architectural identity - led nation branding has been largely ignored. Building a nation brand identity of Israel is more than just applying the political control techniques and acts like barbed wire fences and concrete dividing walls(Efrat2006:144), or Israeli planning and development policy based on universal values, putting an emphasis on fulfilling a modern civic place (Isenstadt2008:169) that reinforced the presence of Israel as a vague entity[32].It is also emphasised by Alsayyad that:

"After the 1967 War (Israel seized East Jerusalem from Jordan)," Israeli planners were asked to cover the recently occupied land with built' facts on the ground' in order to foster the desired unity of the city under Israeli rule. Jerusalem's unity became a primary national goal because it symbolized for Israelis the return of Jews to their mythical biblical origins. But neither Israel's modernist planners nor the politicians who guided them knew how to express such powerful symbolism architecturally. The Minister of Housing simply advised his planners to give the unified city an original character. The prefabricated concrete arches that were soon after superimposed on the completed design for the first neighbourhood in East Jerusalem illustrated the confusion".

Some recent literature has shown that three arguments have been taken as a foundation by Israeli and Palestine sides to convince the international community to support their legislation of sovereignty over Jerusalem:"justice and morality; UN resolutions and international law; current conditions in the city" (Efrat et al. 2006). Based on the situation, any peace agreement that is approved

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[32] For example, Luis Kahn protested at the 1970 meeting and he emphasised that the master plan of Jerusalem had " no vision, spirit, theme, or charter"(Isenstadt 2008:169)

internationally might not be stable or suitable. The development policies, which regenerated Jerusalem without any coordination with Israeli political background, missed obvious objectives in terms of nation brand, initiating development strategies which are in conflict with its political targets, missing the proper consistency with its visual identity and messages that have played major roles in shaping the vague Israeli identity in architecture. The base of nation brand should be a fact of 'aspirational, inspirational, challenging and most importantly to be 'translatable' for the various audiences as well (Gilmore 2002). According to (Harris 2008), "the Zionist settlers needed land and this fact underlies the construction of an Israeli identity from the beginning. The myth of identity of land was created. The important point for the Zionist leaders was that people believed in this myth".

A Jewish-national state in a territory that, unluckily, already held an ancient and politicized indigenous Arab society, the formula was always unworkable, as Zionism's earliest architects recognized. Zionism's success was always understood as to require the Arab's mass transfer or exit – a goal twice sought by force (in 1948 and 1967) but not achieved (Tilley 2005:180-81).In spite of the Israeli government effort to improve the quality of the new settlements and the residential neighbourhoods by meeting the security, social, economic and cultural challenges of the young country, such efforts resulted in "the Jewish settlements as a modern European place. The State of Israel is an immigrant state" (Shadar 2004).The problem is complicated by the fact that the whole notion of settlements to be new Jewish community is rather an engineered construction of a political mess. The nature of this confused political investment is further described by Segal and Weizman (2003:336) as a mere project lack of professional analyses or assessment with immediate decisions that sterilized Israeli policy –making in recent years. Additional aspects have been negatively affected by new settlements and architectural projects such as (1) Arab-Jewish relations, in effect, the on-going discrimination against Palestinian Bedouins in the South under a variety of arguments, (2) " Israel security": a key theme of the Zionist consensus that almost been penetrated in conflict time, (3) "new settlements deepen social disparities": As according to Segal Israeli settlements (consider the largest in the world per

person), usually built under a national slogan with a lack of infrastructure and lack of economical cavities which resulted in unemployment , poverty and alienation and widens the gap between centre and periphery as most settlements are peripheral (Segal and Weizman 2003:336),(4) "new settlements generate massive waste of public resources": Professional experts recommended an end to building in new settlements because of the great investment needed to construct new infrastructure to establish such settlements including water, road, electricity, education, health and housing (2003: 33-36). Moreover, Shadar (2004) states that "the ideology that brought Jews to Palestine in 1882 determined the manner of their settlement. Zionist national ideology that sanctified the affinity of the people to their land directed the agricultural and rural character of the new Jewish settlements. The Eastern European origin of the settlers shaped the formation of their villages as idyllic European settlements despite the Mediterranean climate of the immigrant country of Palestine".

A strategic planning of Israeli architectural projects and built environment encompass a mere replica of the real political life of uprooting and occupation. Makdisi (2010) offers a clear perspective about Israeli architecture reflected in the Museum of Tolerance, Jerusalem, claiming that:

> "The museum resemble nothing so much as the slabs of the wall; the wall surrounding the entire complex; and the wall that seems to hang, suspended, in front of the visitor center. It makes perfect sense not only that walls should feature so prominently in Gehry's design but that in the museum design the wall is repeatedly summoned forth and echoed back across Jerusalem. At the entrance to the visitor information center, what looks so much like a scale replica of a section of Israel's West Bank wall seems to hover in mid-air. What is so politically laden out there (that is, a few hundred meters away) is here so relieved of its burden that it actually floats, its shabby concrete transformed by the alchemy of Gehry's design into the pure essence of separation, so that the hovering wall is freed of the mud, dirt, and graffiti contaminating its real-world counterpart".

Figure 4.23The wall under constructional-Ram, East Jerusalem (Makdisi 2010)

Figure 4.24 Visitor Information Center and Store, Museum of Tolerance Jerusalem (Makdisi 2010)

Focusing on the spatial linkage between Israeli identity and Israeli architecture and between the political target; the sense of rationality, and the urban complex or the pattern of urban development, which conflict in the Israeli built environment allows us to become more specific in the construction process between political choice and architecture. As in the word of Billig (1995:69);

> "identity is not merely a thing rather it is an explanation for ways of speaking about self in addition to the community, and accordingly it doesn't improve in void but rather in accordance with obvious forms of existence, 'identity is a form of life".

The interchangeable dynamic reaction, between socio political dimension and architectural built environment can achieve improvement and the intended growth for the society in the stable conditions. Therefore, analysing architectural identity of each nation to consider how it reflects the spirit as well as the political, social and cultural development and background of the compared nations will bring to light the overall conception, significance and use of the architectural identities in their original context.

However, this study enables us to prepare a general view to state: While the concept of Israeli architecture as a cultural production is well documented in Israeli architectural studies, there is less analysis and studies of how this has been implicated in Israel's ambiguous geographical pattern on a contemporary political term and thus, has a shifting and ambiguous brand based architectural identity. The results of the differences between the architectural planning structures and what occurs in practice in a disputed physical built environment may be explained in the following points. Most planning systems are controversial with the political targets that seek a recognized state as an independent country. In spite of considerable differences between these planning systems, they all produce an ambiguous brand identity and image of Israeli nation based architecture. For example, Louis Kahn emphasises with reference to the master plan of the city of

Jerusalem "we were not given a clue to an aspiration … we were given a problem analysis" (Rabinovich 1970: 20 cited in Isenstadt and Rizvi 2008:169).

4.5   CONCLUSION: ISRAEL-NATION BRANDING FROM AN ARCHITECTURAL PERSPECTIVE

In the analytical process of the Israeli nation, architectural identity, war and independence process are also the factors that illustrate how the national identity construction of Israel has been reinforced physically through the built environment. As the previous case study of Finland, several key themes are important in the equation of Israel's nation branding. In this study, the focus is on Israeli architecture and the extent in which it has been found to be successful in narrating and reflecting the important events of Israeli history so that the visual collective memory and nation identity is achieved. Architecture is grounded in the Israeli community in a way which led to new challenges in terms of place identity and authenticity (Nitzan-Shiftan 2005). As for example, "Sabra architects claimed that the resulting international architecture- by then identified with the Israeli State-disregarded the Zionist promise of a national home" (AlSayyad 2004:233).

In the construction of the Israeli nation brand, looking at Israel's memory represented mainly by architecture, this study argues how the physical layers of the built environment through time shaped an ambiguous identity of Israel and the extent to which Israeli brand lucks authentic expression as according to Alsayyad (2004:240), "the sabra approach, however, turning to the local vernacular in order to build from bottom up, was no less confusing. A genuine national architecture required an unmediated expression of the place, but the search for authentic expression yielded perplexing results: native architecture was mostly Arab". Overall, there seems to be to some extent a continuing seam or paradox between theoretical frameworks or mainstream historians, planners or architects and the Israeli project. Thus, a definition of Israeli identity in architecture, its history, and its social meaning have remained vague in the physical environment.

Architecturally, in terms of Israel, this study states that the cultural heterogeneity that the region has undergone revealed additional complexity in Israeli history. The political situations for a large part of her history has lacked his architectural aspirations right up to modern time, in addition to its being responsible for the fragmentary nature of its collective memory over the centuries. Actually, one of the basic problems that face modern movement is: Architecturally,

> "The Zionist movement used modem architecture to create its place. It was a marriage of convenience, as both sought a new place: the former needed one, and the latter strove to create one. As an extension of the European modern architectural debate, Ertez Israeli architecture managed to maintain the appearance of a normal, Western, modern architectural tradition. One must remember that normality, Westernness and modernity have always been the Zionist movement's most powerful strategic weapons" (Rieniets 2006: 102-103).

It was during the last decades of 20th century that the term Israeli architecture emerged as the subject of discussions by a few selective Israeli architects. One of its major proponents was the architect Moshe Safdie, an outstanding architectural figure, who argued that accommodating with a wide variety of opinions of political and religious leaders were the major difficulties he faced in relation to his projects in Jerusalem (Dent 1996:18-19). In adding a theoretical point to the aspects of architectural conception, Safdie makes important statements about the needs of society to architecture and modern movement, as in Safdie's opinion such needs were not defined by buildings that have been erected in postmodern era. In this light, the cultural productions of the last twenty years are illustrated by Safdie as "an escapist world of personal indulgence" (Philip et al. 1982:2-6 cited in Dent 1996:21). However, still the ruling elites and politicians miscalculate its value.

It was apparent from literature review that major gaps exist in understanding between decision makers and architects in respect of providing clear vision of issues related to the impact of place, authenticity of architecture in shaping Israeli image and identity and in developing appropriate strategies for collective

meaning of a sustainable system (comprising sense of place, sense of identity, national value, sustainable national identity, beliefs, recognition, competitiveness, and cultural references of Israeli architectural identity of the built environment).

Since Dinnie (2008:15) defines nation brand "as the unique, multi-dimensional blend of elements that provide the nation with culturally grounded differentiation and relevance for all its target audiences", A detailed analysis Israeli identity in architecture reveals different form of nation branding based on architectural identity-led agenda. In this research, Israel is ob0served as an ambiguous/ fluctuated framework to the complex architectural effect on nation brand identity where Israeli architecture is considered as a framework "differ in intensity (quantity) rather than in essence (quality) from other architectural practices around the world (Segal 2003:25). Moreover, within the context of Israeli architecture Misselwitz (2006:102) states that, "the architectural dimension of architecture-that cultural or spiritual aura of the built object and surplus value of the building act- served at its best as a mere accessory, and at its worst as pure camouflage".

This study goes further by providing a case study of Israeli identity and discussing the principles used to develop it. Through an extensive literature in the field of Israel identity and its relation to architecture, the findings illustrate that Israeli architecture is a challengeable factor in misinterpreting the Israeli brand. In the course of this theoretical analysis, this study attempted to indicate that the case of architecture in Israel is one of the cases of having ambiguous impact on Israeli- nation brand. Moreover, this study is concerned with nation brand based architectural identity in the broad context of the Israeli nation-state. It suggests that the potency of nation brand is on the decline in terms of physical transformation, although, it has been stated that the role of architects and planners is considered to be very important in highlighting spatial dimension of Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Segal 2003:20). On the other hand, albeit the interweaving of Israeli architecture and politics and the assumption of architecture as an extension of politics (Segal et al. 2003:20), as a result state strategy has not been affected positively by such interaction which has been considered readily to be the main

pillar that affects political goals of Israel. People with the same religious view can be from different cultural and national background. Accordingly, nation brand cannot be represented by religious architecture; it can be rather the representation of religious brand. Within Israeli context, "civil religions are undermined by the division of society into numerous interest groups (based on occupation, class, race, religion, ethnic origin, or ideology) that share few collective purposes and common visions. Meanwhile, it is undermined by the increased concern with self and the belief that ultimate meanings can only be found in one's private emotional life" (Neeman 1996). Thus, this resulted in a confused Israeli architecture and affected negatively nation brand: Szondi (2008) has emphasized the core of nation branding, when he stated: "nation branding is successful when the brand is lived by the citizens".

In this research, the issue of Israeli identity in architecture has been addressed. Moreover, this study argues that while the concept of Israeli architecture is well documented in Israeli architectural studies, there is less analysis and studies of how this has been implicated in Israel ambiguous geographical pattern on a contemporary political term and thus, in shifting an ambiguous brand of Israel based architectural identity led agenda.

Based on the above findings, the Israeli form of nation branding based on architectural identity-led-agenda can be classified as described in table (4.1).

Israeli architecture: The physical layers of built environment-based political dimension analysis		The definition of Israeli nation brand based- Israeli architecture	Israeli nation's brand identity and image from the architectural perspective	
National level	Israeli architecture: As according to Alsayyad (2004:240), "the sabra approach, however, turning to the local vernacular in order to build from bottom up, was no less confusing. A genuine national architecture required an unmediated expression of the place, but the search for authentic expression yielded perplexing results: native architecture was mostly Arab".	As a spirit of political aims	**International level**	An ambiguous geographical pattern in contemporary political terms and thus, a shifting and ambiguous brand for architectural identity -led - agenda for Israel.
	Sabra architects claimed that the resulting international architecture- by then identified with the Israeli State-disregarded the Zionist promise of a national home" (AlSayyad 2004:233).			
	" Westernness and modernity have always been the Zionist movement's most powerful strategic weapons" (Rieniets 2006: 102-103).			
	The paradoxical problem of constructing Israelness based on architecture that produced a modernist build environment based Western value, which led to new challenges in terms of place identity and authenticity	An ambiguous tool in narrating and reflecting the important events of Israeli history		
	Israeli architecture based on a wide variety of opinions of political and religious leaders			
	Israeli architecture: As a framework differs in intensity (quantity) rather than in essence (quality) from other architectural practices around the world (Segal 2003:25)			

Table 4.1. The Israeli form of nation branding based on architectural identity-led-agenda.

CHAPTER FIVE

TOWARD A DEVELOPMENTAL NATION BRAND OF IRAQI KURDISTAN: THE DESIGN OF KURDISH IDENTITY FROM AN ARCHITECTURAL PERSPECTIVE

5. WHY KURDISTAN?

5.1 A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE QUEST OF KURDISH IDENTITY

The debates surrounding the historical meanings of "Kurd" have a long history as there is no single true version of Kurds, but rather there are different versions of Arab, Turk, or Persian each with a highly nationalistic bias[33]. Although Wynn et al. (2012:15) believes that the history of Kurdistan can be traced back more than 50,000 years; however, there are different views on the history and origin of the Kurdish nation. Theoretically, on one hand, the Kurds themselves assert that they are of Medes in origin, who helped overthrow the Assyrian Empire in 612 BC (Gunter 2004). Likewise, there is a scientifically unproven thesis recited also by Kurds about their origins such from King Solomon, Jinn and other magical roots (Collins 1997). On the other hand, several historians have arrived at the conclusion that Kurds are Mountainan Turks (Meho 1997:139; Pettersson 2006:36). For example, in 1934 based on the official ideology in Turkey, "the law on resettlement, no. 2510" officially recognized the Kurds as mountain Turks (Landis 2012:246). Meanwhile, according to some of Arabic sources, Kurds are mainly regarded as "Bedouins or Pastoral nomads of Iran, who inhabited the pastures of the Zagros Mountains in the summer and the lowland plains of eastern Baghdad in the winter" (Ozoglu 2004:26). Within the same context, according to some Persian philologists and historians, Kurds are Iranian and their language is

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[33]According to (Limbert 1968), "the derivation of the word Kurd is not certain. The word itself is Iranian and appears in the Sassanian epic Karnamk-e-Ardashir-e-Papakan. It also appears among the Arabs at the time of the conquests of the seventh century A.D. with its Arabic plural akrad. Some scholars have suggested that the word comes from the name of Guti, a people mentioned in Sumerian tablets as early as the twenty-fourth century B.C., or in kar-da-ka (or Qar-da-ka) in Sumerian inscriptions of about 2000 B.C. Xnophon uses the name of Kardukhoifor the people living in present – day Iraqi Kurdestan whom his army fought on is retreat in 401 B.C. According to Xeonophon, these Kardukhoi lived as far north as the Centrites (Bohtan) River. The khending of their name is apparently an Armenian plural ending of kardu, for Xenophon writes that he learned the name of tribe from an Armenian. In later sources the name Kyrtiaeappears—Polybius and Livy mention them fighting as mercenaries, first for enemy of Rome around 190 B.C., the Seleucid Antiochus 111, and later for an ally of Rome around 170 B.C. Eumenes of Pergamum. Strabo mentions Kyrtiae in media Atropatane (Azarbaijan) and in Persis (Fars). He also uses the name Cordueneor Gordiaea for the area that is now Turkish Kurdistan".

one of the Persian dialects (Gunter 2004). From the above explanation, the origin of the Kurds is still vague and such clear misinterpretations relating to the subject of Kurdish identity, which is necessary to be critically pointed out.

Linguistically, it is to be stated that the Kurdish language comes after Turkish, Arabic, and Persian in the number of speakers in the Middle East (Bruinessen 1999). Historical studies indicate that the Kurdish language is an Indo –European language belonging to Iranian branch (Izady 1992:167). It falls into two basic variants, Kurmanji (or Bahdiniani), spoken chiefly in northwest Kurdistan (Turky and Bahdinani or Barzani region of northwest Iraqi Kurdistan), and Sorani, spoken essentially in southeast Kurdistan (Gunter 2004). Furthermore, Domell (Zaza)[34] is also spoken in some areas of Turkish Kurdistan (Meho 1997:168:262), and Gurani is spoken in different regions of Iraqi and Iranian Kurdistan. Nevertheless, there are great numbers of Sub-dialects of each of the four basic dialects, that is, a situation that leads to more divisions within Kurdish society (Gunter 2004).

In terms of the historical background of Kurdish politics, Aziz (2011:47) believes that "from the fifth century BC to the sixth century AD would be the homogenization and consolidation of modern Kurdish national identity and the term Kurds was established during this time". In the seventh century, the conquering Arabs called the mountainous people, those who converted to Islam in the region, Kurds. Latter, so many Kurdish figures and personalities played significant roles in the history of Islam but this was not observed since their ethnic origins did not let them explicitly identify themselves; when they expressed themselves in writing they usually relied on one (or more) of the three neighbour languages (Bruinessen 1999). However, for a period from 1258 to

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[34]According to Meho (2001:762), "the existence of Kurdish- Zaza speaking Alevi tribes, who almost exclusively use Turkish as their ritual language, and many of which even have Turkish tribal names, is a fact that has exercised the explanatory imagination of many authors. Both Turkish and Kurdish nationalists have had some difficulty in coming to terms with the ambiguous identity of these groups, and have attempted to explain embarrassing details away".

1509, the Kurds did not take part in any basic exploits in the region (Entessar 2010:4). Hence, the Kurdish inhabited regions were viewed by both the Persians and Ottoman Empires as buffer zones between their rival empires. This let the Kurds become more politically confident as they became more aware of their strategic significance in southwest Asia. Consequently, a number of semi-independents Kurdish principalities appeared and flourished, and many of them survived into the first half of the nineteenth century for instance Botan, Hakkari, Badinan, Soran, Baban, and Mukriyan are among such principalities (Entessar 2010:4), however, no independent Kurdistan has existed in the modern sense of state.

Furthermore, from the early 16th century[35], the Ottoman Empire controlled most of Kurdistan, a turbulent period followed during which control had been altered between successive nomadic empires, from Karakoyunlu to Akkoyunlu to the nascent Safavid state of the charismatic ShaykhIsma`il (Bruinessen 1999). Notably, 1880 witnessed the first representation of modern Kurdish nationalism, though others regard it little more than tribal-religious disturbance (Gunter 2004). As according to Natali (2005:1), "Islam differentiated populations according to religious affiliation, Muslim and non-Muslim, giving most Kurds a favoured position in politics and society. The political space that elevated the traditional stratum also benefited Kurdish landowners, tribesman, and warriors, reinforcing tribal, provincial, and religious identities over nationalism".

Many Kurds have the desire for statehood, or at least for the cultural autonomy within the states that now inhabit which resulted in an almost permanent series of Kurdish revolts since the existence of the modern Middle East following World War I, and this makes up the Kurdish problem or question (Gunter 2004). It is to be stated that the Kurds strengthen their efforts and struggles for the sake of self-determination after the conquest and eventual collapse of the Ottoman Empire during World War I (Entessar 2010:4) as a result of Sykes–Picot Agreement in 1916 between the governments of the United Kingdom and France with the assent of Russia. Later in 1920 the stillborn treaty of Severs, signed in August 1920

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[35]In 1596, Sharaf Khan Bitlisi completed the Sharaf -Nama, an erudite history of the ruling families of the Kurdish emirates (Gunter 2004).

provided local autonomy for predominantly Kurdish area (Article 62), and in (Article 64) even looked forward to the possibility that the Kurdish people might be granted "independence from Turkey. Turkey's quick revival under Ataturk, Ironically enough, with considerable Kurdish help, because the Turks promoted the theme of Islamic unity –altered the entire situation. Subsequently, the treaty of Lausanne, signed on July 24, 1923, recognized the modern republic of Turkey without any clearly defined provisions for the Turkish Kurds"(Gunter 2004). Due to the Lausanne peace treaty within the applications for the new post-Ottoman political order, Kurdistan has been divided among four different regions (Iran, Syria, Turkey, and Iraq) by international border. This is so since Turkey has the largest portion 43% then Iran 31%, Iraq 18%, Syria 6%, and Armenia and Azerbaijan 2%), however, before World War I, it was divided between the Ottoman and the Persian Empires (Gunter 2004).

Figure 5.1. The map of Kurdistan (divided among four different regions)
Institute of the study conflict, London (Sim 1980:13)

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The Ataturk's declaration of a secular and purely Turkish state has played an important role in pushing Kurds towards revolting against repressive regimes in the different parts of Kurdish regions. Many studies of modern Kurdish revolutions tended to concentrate on revolutionary leaders such as the King of Southern Kurdistan Sheikh Mahmood Hafid; Sulaimani 1919-1924, General Ihsan Nouri Pasha, leader of Northern Kurdistan revolution 1927-1930, President of Kurdistan Republic Qazi Muhammad in Eastern Kurdistan; Mahabad 1946, the Kurdish leader Mustafa Barzani; Southern Kurdistan 1903-1969, and the Kurdish leader Apo Osman Sabri, Western Kurdistan 1905-1993, mostly ended in a total Kurdish defeat (Gunter 2004; Mulla 2004). Although the main aim behind these revolutions was the unification of the Kurds into a politically and administratively integrated nation state, today the division of Kurdistan is deepened and the non-achievement of independence of Kurdistan up to now is the consequence of these revolutions.

Figure 5.2 Map showing the Kurdish uprisings and nationalist movements, 1880-1939 (Izady1992:63)

Socio-politically, tribalism also played a role in preventing Kurdish unity. In fact, there is a probability to say that it is true there is more loyalty to the tribe than to the Kurdish state (Gunter 2004). Traditionally, very few Kurds practice the lifestyle of nomads today though many of them were historically nomadic. There is a change; although many Kurds are now farming and raising livestock and animal husbandry which is a mainstay in rural activities, the recent wars lead many Kurds to live in urban areas (Ibid). It is worth mentioning that Kurdistan economically and geo-strategically is a very important place in the Middle East. Furthermore, Kurdistan has been blessed with large reserves of water in the Turkish and Iraqi parts in addition to a great amount of oil in the Iraqi section. Compared to other adjacent non-Kurdish areas of Turkey, Iran and Syria Kurdistan has been economically underdeveloped. Nevertheless, Iraqi Kurdistan has witnessed recently a huge amount of economic, political, and social modernization during the second half of twentieth century. In particular, the economic sector of Iraqi Kurdistan surpassed that of the rest of Iraq in the late 1990s in virtue of the oil- for- food program of the United Nations (Gunter 2004).

Kurdistan, according to the modern political history that goes back to the post-First World War (Romano 2004), is a term which implies the historical site of Kurds occurring in small Asia, is in a strategic site extends from the north-western Zagros and the eastern Taurus mountain ranges, and includes small portions of Armenia. Nevertheless, Kurdistan's terrain is rugged and mountainous which contributes heavily to the lack of Kurdish unity, but the mountains have also been identified with Kurdish history and culture and have guarded the Kurds from being fully overcome or assimilated by the Turks to the north, Iranians to the east, and the Arabs to the south and west (Gunter 2004).

Kurdistan always was, like much of the Middle East, "an ethnic and religious mosaic, in which nomads, peasants and townspeople, speakers of various languages and numerous dialects, adherents of Islam, Christianity and Judaism and a plethora of syncretistic religious communities lived side by side" (Bruiessen 1999). Despite having no accurate figures, "the vast Kurdish

homeland consists of about 200,000 square miles of territory. Its area is roughly equal to that of France or of the states of California and New York combined" (Izady 1992:1). Actually, the division is not only a geographical one but it is political, linguistic, tribal, and ideological.

Whatever is their precise origin, according to Gunter (2004) it is the racism, which makes Kurds today become a mixture of various groups suffering from earlier invasions and migrations. Furthermore, the political situation is not the same in Turkey, Iran, Syria, and Iraq respectively. That is, this uncertainty and differentiation has its reflection and effect on the ambiguity of Kurdish national identity as well (Natali 2005:xvii). Consequently, Kurdistan is regarded to be an uncertain pattern of as a current political term.

However, it is not in the scope of this study to cover all aspects involving Kurdish political history, by choosing Iraqi Kurdistan as a study area the aim is to examine the misinterpretations of Kurdish identity from an architectural perspective. Moreover, to question how and why architecturally the Kurdish nation brand (Kurdishness) did or did not catch on rather than with the efforts made by the Kurdish elites to construct a national value of Kurdish nation. In other words, the author's main concern is to identify how the Kurdish nation architecturally was constructed and represented, and how it was evolved, over time. This chapter intends to analyze the complex signs that are underlying the political power of architectural identity in the development process of a visual image of Kurdish nation. Moreover, this chapter discusses the interaction between Kurdish identity and architecture and its relation to nation brand as a political pivot of the nation-state, constructing a culturally architectural production based on aesthetic meanings embodied in a nexus of sense of belonging.

5.2 STUDY AREA: IRAQI KURDISTAN

Iraqi Kurdistan, which is our main case study is located in the north of Iraq, it extends from the lowest elevation in Kifri at 140 meters above sea level to Mount

Hasarost at 3,607 meters above sea level (Abdullah 2008: 63). Iraqi Kurdistan has a specific location surrounded by the central Iraq government on one side, and countries of Syria, Iran, and Turkey on the other sides, and it is inhabited by 5,200,000 million people (KRG 2008). According to Kurdish Regional Government report (2008), the land mass of Iraqi Kurdistan is (80,000 km/ 30,888 sq. m., roughly twice the size of the American state of Vermont).

Iraqi Kurdistan, as other parts of Kurdistan, has always been a focus of geopolitical questions. Previous Iraqi regimes had strong control on the region only after First World War as a result of the Lausanne Treaty (920-1923). The Kurdish conflicts date back generations and are the result of regional-political changes, Kurdish revolutions, and international agendas, but the pressure over global international legitimacy has passed through dramatic transformations during the second half of the twentieth century. Unfortunately, the Kurdish issue continues to be one of the most complex political issues that Middle East faces today.

Figure 5.3 The Map showing Kurdistan Autonomy Region (Iranian Refugees 2000)

However, after living for decades in unstable conditions, the three northern governorates of Iraqi Kurdistan (Dohuk, Erbil, Sulaymaniyah) experienced semi

liberation for the first time in 1991 as a consequence of the successful uprising of Iraqi Kurds and the removal of Saddam's regime from Iraqi Kurdistan (Stansfield 2003:132). In a period of 1991-2003, in spite of the establishment of the no fly-zone (Mufti 2008) provided by the US, the UK and France, the formulation of an emerging democratic region faced challenges in implementation. After 1994, the civil war between the two dominant parties KDP and PUK concluded in 1998 by dividing the region into two different political, social and economic systems belonging to two different governments led by the KDP in Erbil and Dohuk and the PUK in Sulaymaniyah (Chorev 2007).

Figure 5.4…Save havens line 1991

Figure 5.5 Internal political division of Iraqi Kurdistan
(Kelly 2010 –source CIA 2003)

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With the collapse of the Saddam regime in 2003, and the region's independence, however a new phase of Kurdish history was activated. The Kurdistan Regional Government has a unified representation in the national Assembly in 2006 with the exception of some ministries such as Finance, Peshmerga Affairs, Justice, and Interior (Chorev 2007) a structure that has recently been resolved in 2012. As the first step toward redevelopment: "Rural areas have been recovered from the deprivations of the Anfal[36] and the economic assaults of the 1990s" (Stansfield 2008). Interestingly, repopulating the destroyed villages and revitalizing agriculture has been the main mission of the government strategic plan. Establishing diplomatic relations and trade networks, re-constructing the physical infrastructure of the region "enriching the rural economies through diversifying sources of income, through crop rotations, village tourism, and arts and handicraft" is the region's long term plan (Abdulla 2008:63). In addition, after the overthrow of Saddam Hussein's regime in 2003, new potential reserves of oil were discovered and invested in as a new source of sustained economic development based on the Article (141) for petroleum contracts in the Iraqi Constitution (Morrow 2008:130). Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that the recognition, borders, resource rights, control of Kirkuk, and many other factors are key remaining issues.
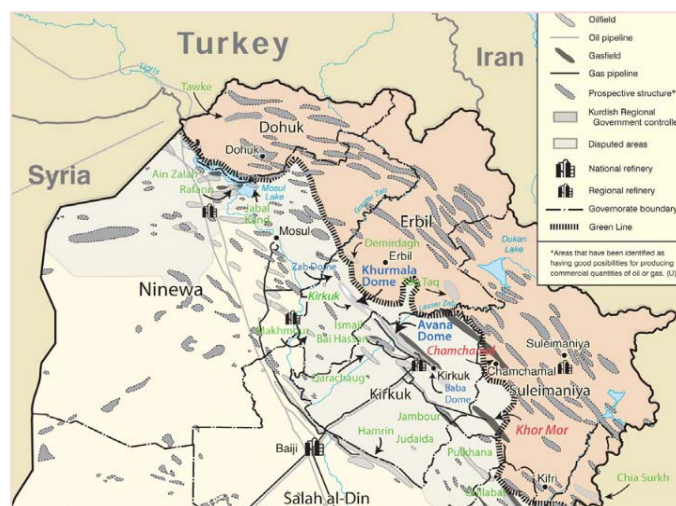
Figure 5.6 The up to date map of Iraqi Kurdistan region (Patten et al. 2009)

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[36]Anfal: The Anfal genocide campaign in 1988 led by saddam's regime, which resulted in the disappearance of approximately 182,000 Kurds and the destruction of around 4000 Kurdish villages

According to a KRG report in 2008, "private companies registered with the Iraqi Ministry of Trade have increased from 8,000 to over 30,000 companies, and Iraqis participating in commerce supported delegations to regional and US trade events have increased tenfold year-on-year from 2005 through 2007". However, despite self-government, the planning of new architectural projects has been influenced by the modes and strategies of planning borrowed from other cultures and introduced through design patterns. Iraqi Kurdistan has made extensive efforts to find its social, economic, and political place on the global map since 2003. It is unfortunate that the built environment, which has to be the physical icon of Kurdish history, is difficult to identify. As in its effort of the reconstruction process, the Kurdish government has not defined the vitality and uniqueness of Kurdish cultural elements to be the foundation of the Kurdish architectural policy.
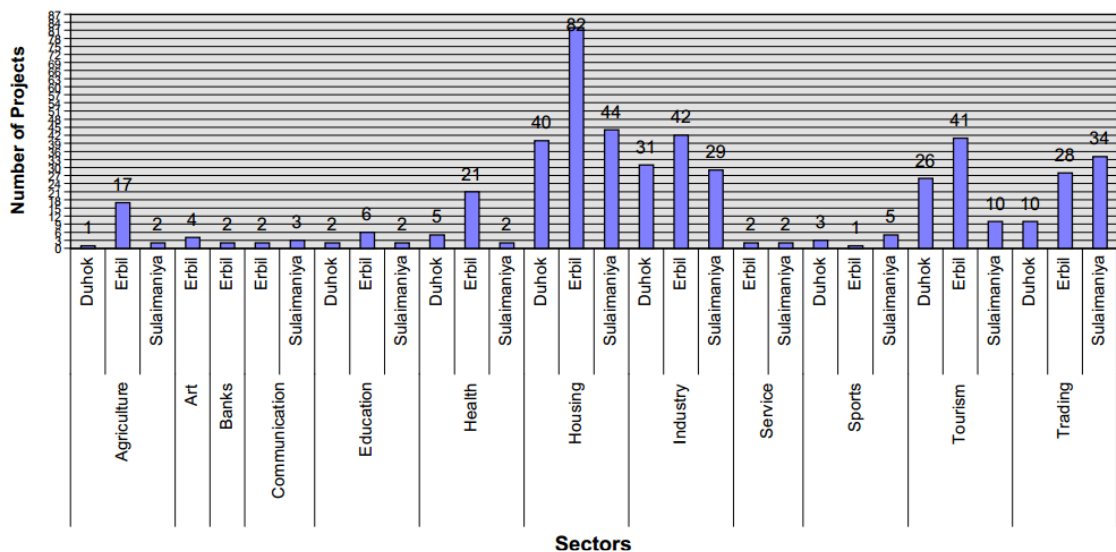
Diagram 5.1 Number of licensed projects by sectors according: BOI &governorates DGs resolution from 2006/08/01 to 2012/12/04 (KRG 2012)

Unfortunately, during the second half of the twentieth century in southern Kurdistan, architecture has passed through dramatic changes as the result of economic and geopolitical changes on one hand, and the absence of the role of

Kurdish architects on the other hand; the changes in the region are visible and evident. Accordingly, how geopolitics influences architectural planning, has been translated into a spatial Kurdish nation brand, and how the capacity of the architectural identity observes the tension of political transformations that occurred in Iraqi Kurdistan (during history in general and the second half of 20th century and the beginning of 21st century in particular) are difficult questions that have multiple answers. Although many studies have examined the Kurdish identity crises, many more studies are needed from different disciplines to address these complex issues more precisely from different angles. Accordingly, this study has been outlined to add architectural dimension to the analytical study of Kurdish identity in which another form of nation branding emerges from the architectural perspective. In this research, the Kurdish identity in architecture is transformed into other forms of power in the political process.

5.2.1 THE BACKGROUND OF KURDISH NATION BRAND (KURDISHNESS) FROM THE ARCHITECTURAL PERSPECTIVE

As a result of the Kurdish quest to be an integrated nation having its own geographical border, questions have seldom been raised about the Kurdish identity in architecture, much less about: To what extent the reconstruction of the collective memories of the disputed historical architectural sites can be the collective identity of Kurdish nation? Simultaneously, there is a surprising amount of available research on Kurdish identity, history and regional politics. Thus, this study offers a new theoretical horizon for better understanding the powerful force of architecture as central in transforming the nation brand and opening new direction for empirical inquiry and theorization of current efforts of Kurdish independence. It questions the architect's ability to investigate the power of political message of architecture, compared to the architecture of Kurdish political message over the Kurdish identity. Identifying characteristic principles of Kurdish architecture as a true meaning of the spirit of Kurdish nation and its relation to the national value of Kurdish nation is an alternative approach that is largely ignored by Kurdish geopolitical approaches. The possibility for improving the complexity of the Kurdish nation brand through a framework of architectural analysis based on political strata has been approached in this research.

In effect with structural analysis, theoretical research and insights from the literature on architecture in Iraqi Kurdistan, identity and image legitimisation, the following questions are studied: What is the background of Kurdish architecture? To what extent could the Kurdish built environment reinforce state sovereignty and self-determination in terms of being a product of physical planning solidified by cultural references and the spirit of the Kurdish nation? Has the Kurdish identity been taken as a central point to design a culturally responsible built environment? How has Kurdish architectural policy maintained the consistency with Kurdish national development policy? Finally, how has the architectural identity comprehended promoting Kurdish nation brand (Kurdishness)? Within this context, this study is an effort to identify and understand the meaning of Kurdish identity through architecture. Moreover, in this study, the theoretical

gaps that face politicians, architects and urban planners have been addressed to formulate the new architecture for a new Kurdistan. Drawing upon the role of architectural identity as a fundamental factor for the negotiation of (Kurdishness), this research provides the first evidence of the empirical beliefs in the impact of architectural identity on nation branding.

5.2.1.1 POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL DIMENSIONS IN RELATION TO ARCHITECTURE

5.2.1.1.1 IN SEARCH OF KURDISH ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY BETWEEN HISTORICAL LAYERS: THE CONTINUITY OF THE COLONIZED ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY

In this sub-section, the complex issues of identity and architecture have emerged as critical themes within the heritage debate in Iraqi Kurdistan. While the literature on the historical background of the Kurdish nation is extensive, the origin of Kurds is still viewed with vague suspicion (Ozoglu 2004:25). As mentioned above, the ambiguity in interpreting the origin of Kurds has been complicated by many factors, this study explores Kurdish identity from an architectural perspective and an introduction to the historical roots of the Kurdish built environment evaluates empirical evidence to validate that architecturally, the lack of Kurdish architectural identity plays a significant role in regulating the ambiguous space of the Kurdish nation on the global map.

The political power of architecture in Iraqi Kurdistan, the physical cultural structure prevents the nation brand to solidify and to act as a physical configuration of the Kurdish national story, thus, it offers citizens less space for maintaining their national sense of belonging to one nation. Despite the fact that Iraqi Kurdistan has numerous unique historical and heritage sites estimated at 1,307 (KRG 2008), the Kurds have failed to fully explore its origin in architecture in order to legitimize their national identity and visual image. These historical sites were formulated mostly in different political phases according to the addition of successive regions that had been under distinct occupations for centuries. Such a cultural heterogeneity reveals additional complexity in Kurdish

history. The effects of this cultural heterogeneity and its reflection on the Kurdish built environment is a subject of controversyas "sharing a common history does not mean that people have shared a common experience of that history" (McNiven and Russell 2005:211-231 cited in Mcguire 2008:23). This, in fact, raises considerable debate over the issues of belonging of such contested heritage, namely among Kurds and occupiers on one hand, and the universal value on the other hand. It carries profound political effects and implications as they are arenas of ideological, political, and identity struggle. According to Ashworth (1999:73), "if all heritages, by being someone's, must disinherit someone else (Tubnbridge and Ashworsh 1996) then a world heritage is not a happy summation of local and national heritage, but a denial of them". It is in this sense that the historical architectural sites in Southern Kurdistan carry a conceptual inconsistency which has arguably resulted in the tensions between the national, regional and the universal at a number of heritage sites since the World Heritage Concept "ignores the strong link between heritage and national identity" (Rakic et al. 2007). Thus, the archaeological sites in Iraqi Kurdistan reveal a contested space over national gain, authenticity, and identity. Accordingly, this study demonstrates the complexity of the political contexts of the archaeological practice. According to McGuire (2008:20) "if archaeologists create knowledge without critically examining the political nature of that knowledge, we will naively reproduce ideologies. These ideologies may or may not be ones we agree with". This complexity points to the importance of the critical examination of the political aspect of these archaeological sites.

Currently, the ruins of historical sites in Southern Kurdistan functions as part of the national evolution under the topic of tourism. In fact, a clear distinction of architectural identity based on Kurdish vocabularies can hardly be perceived since it is fused with the occupied patterns. Although the ruins of these historical sites are of great importance to historians, archaeologists and anthropologists to identify and preserve them as areas of outstanding value to humanity, the question that remains is the role architectural ruins in southern Kurdistan play in forming Kurdish architectural identity? In addition, to the question that needs to be answered far beyond the realm of tourism is whether the historical sites in

southern Kurdistan should be seen as visual national symbols in order to incorporate in the ideology of the new nation? Though, a number of scholars have criticized the various approaches of using archaeology in nationalism, this study will not attempt a comprehensive review of this literature, but architecturally, it will use observations and examples from archaeological sites in Iraqi Kurdistan to point out the importance of "nationalism as political action through archaeology" (McGuire 2008:20).

The case studies of this discussion are largely based on the archaeological sites which are nominated as a representative of a specific political stratum and this status was the main criterion of selection here. The architectural analysis of historical sites, in its morphological and physical aspects, is the method chosen to describe the elements and parts of complex architectural heritages (see Chapter 1). Archaeological site analysis is the necessary starting investigation tool to approach the problem of defining the characteristic of Kurdish identity in architecture in its politicized historical context. Thus, this analysis has been carried out focusing on specific case studies as representatives of different political conditions in different areas of southern Kurdistan. As it has been emphasized by Rosado et al. (2011) that:

> "The importance of architectural typology to give continuity is in its possibilities, in the functional analysis to understand the form, and the formal analysis to comprehend the styles and the aesthetic trends, or in its critical evaluation that locates it in its cultural and historical context. There is its significance, furthermore, not only in defining and describing a type in particular, but also in situating them as ideal models to compare architectures, creativities, forms and functions, procedures and materials, elements and ornaments, utopias and nostalgia".

Though, geographically the historical architectural sites are distant from each other those that belong to the same political series share the same political myths and aesthetic characteristics, the aim behind the method is to find Kurdish architectural details (vocabularies) based on the relationship between the morphological structure of the archaeological sites and its political structure.

Rosado et al. (2011) state that "the empiric verification results are not only factual, but also necessary in terms of proving that the colonial influence survives strongly even in our architecture and therefore must be restudied, recognized and reconsidered as a source of creativity and rescue, respect and conservation of our heritage". Accordingly, the analytically comparative approach of architectural identity has been in the case studies. On one hand, the study aims at raising awareness of the value of the cultural heritage on a local scale, and on the other hand, to elaborate negotiation on the cultural heterogeneity in a wider context. The historical evidences of the complex architectural morphology of political stratum- based archaeological sites have been analysed through historical documents, the physical reading of the historical sites in nature, photo reportages, and records in accordance with the proposed study principles and criteria (see Chapter 1). Analysing examples of architectural constructions during different periods of history is conducted to clarify the fact that the visual past in Kurdish region is basically part of its complexity. Five examples of the archaeological sites have been chosen for in-depth investigation to represent a wide spectrum of architectural productions of different political strata as follows:

5.2.1.1.1.1 MUDHAFARIA MINARET

Mudhafaria Minaret[37], (also known as Erbil minaret) is located in the city of Erbil, approximately 1 km far off Erbil Castle. The origin of the minaret goes back to the king Muzaffar Al-Din Abu Sa'eed Al-Kawkaboori, who ruled the city of Erbil and its suburbs in (1190-1232AD) (Ziad 2007:22). The associated archaeological remains of the Minaret constitute an exceptional testimony to the power and quality of the Alatopkyh civilization that dominated the region in the 12th and 13th centuries. Thus, here is a complex question: Can the innovative architecture and decoration of the Minaret of Mudhafaria be a representative of

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[37] The first appearance of a tower -like structure "used as a minaret occurred in Damascus where one of the towers set at the corners of the Roman temenos, wherein the Great Mosque was built, served this purpose. Utilized during Muawiya's reign, evidently these towers were the prototypes of those, which were commonly built after the reign of al-Walid in the early eighth century. Tow additional words used to denote minaret are Midhana and Manar. The former refers only to its function, adhan whereas the latter, which more commonly used, refers also to a lighthouse, watchtower...etc"(Kuban 1974:6)

the ways in which the political achievement of Alatopkyh civilization was expressed, play a role in the development of the arts and architecture of the Kurdish nation? Several previous studies have examined these particular tensions of identity, some in a broad context and others in a more site-specific sense. Architecturally, it is thought to have had a direct inspiration from the al-Hadba minaret in Mosul in northern Iraq (Petersen 2006:189), which was also built by Nurad-Din Zangi in (1172-1173AD). Its formal presentation has a striking similarity to minaret forms belong to an Alatopkyh group which were originally developed by architects in neighbouring Iran and Central Asia and those built in northern Iraq as in Mardin, Sinjar between the 11th and the 12th centuries (Petersen 2006:189).

Originally, hazarbaf[38] in style (highly decorated with complex brick pattern), the cylindrical minaret rests on an octagonal base: The base of the Mudhafaria Minaret takes the form of an octagon, enclosing approximately 14.5 meters of space, and surrounded with two entrances orientated to the east and west sides of the base. The east courtyard entrance has the shape of a rectangle surmounted by a semicircle, which leads to the internal staircase (140 steps) of minaret. The external entrance on the west side has the shape of a rectangle as well as of (1.10) meters width leads to the external staircase (128 steps) of minaret. Since the staircases are spiral, the dimensions of raised height and tread range from 13x 23cm and 23x23cm and 90cm in length. The octagonal base is divided into two parts according to the ornaments: in the bottom tier (1.9m) of the first part, no decoration was used to embellish this part of the base. However, the second tier of the first part consists of five rectangular niches of similar size approximately (1.75x3m) with pointed arches. The second part of the base takes the shape of an octagon as well. Each face of the octagon encompasses of niches with pointed arches perpendicular to the niches in the first part of base and both parts are divided by a decorative band.

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[38]Hazarbaf: Iranian term for decorative brickwork
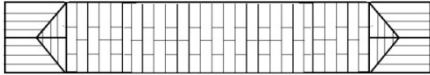
Figure 5.7 Al-Sinjar minaret in northern Iraq: Photograph Date1907-1908,Sarre Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library

Figure 5.8Al-Hadbaminaret in Mosul in northern Iraq(Tadgell 2008:163)

However most of the niches of the first part of the base are smaller to the niches of the second part of base, which ends with two decorative bands one of them similar to the decorative band that divides the upper and lower parts of the base and the other band was made solely with plain brick without ornamentation topped by a row of niches distributed equally among the faces of the octagon and leads to the first balcony which was used for the call to prayer (adhan). Although "only one balcony is required and is usual for the minarets of Iran and Central Asia, the number was sometimes increased for aesthetic reasons in later Mamluk, Ottoman, and Indo-Muslim architectures" (Kuban 1974:7). The shaft of the minaret was of height 20.80 meters to the uppermost ruined fragment, with a diameter at the top of 2.80 meters.

A Visual Representative of Specific Political Stratum	Architectural Status	Original Function	Minaret / Religious
		Existing Function	Cultural and tourist facilities

-King Muzaffar Al-Din Abu Sa'eed Al-Kawkaboori 1190-1232AD. -Power and quality of the Alatopkyh civilization.	Overall Visual Character of the Minaret
	Belongs to a group of Alatopkyh: Architecturally, it is thought to have had a direct inspiration from the Al-Hadba minaret in Mosul in northern Iraq, which was also built by Nur ad-Din Zangi in (1172-1173AD). Its formal presentation has a striking similarity to the Minaret forms belong to a group of Alatopkya, which were originally developed in neighbouring Iran and Central Asia and those built in northern Iraq as in Mardin, Sinjar between the 11th and the 12th centuries.

Political Status of Alatopkyh	
Power and quality of the Alatopkyh civilization/Turkman and Abbasid Caliphate	**Features or Elements that Give the Minaret its Visual Characters (Architectural Details)**

Unknown	**Features or elements that give the Kurdish identity in Mudhafaria Minaret its visual characters**

Table 5.1 Summary Data Sheet: Overall visual characters of the Mudhafaria Minaret

5.2.1.1.1.2 AMIDIKA KHRAP CASTLE (قلعة اميديكاخراب)

It is most likely that this castle dates to the Bahdinan period, one of the Kurdish principalities in (1376–1843) where it was centred in the town of Amadiya, which is in the present-day known as Dahuk province in Iraqi Kurdistan. The castle is located at a distance of approximately 6 km to the east of Sarsang block north of the Dohuk city. Historically, there is no historical evidence that indicates the original name of the castle, locally the current name "Amidika Khrap" according to its Kurdish name rather refers to "the ruins of Amadia". Architecturally, the castle is an irregular circle in plan, which covers an area of about 7000 square meters, and is built on a mound of sandy rocks capped by thick layers of soil. The emplacement of the castle is divided naturally into varying levels, an upper north level in which there is gradually lowering to the south and the different in height between all levels is (2.5cm). The whole castle takes the form of a rough oval with the entrance orientated to the east side of the castle. The main entrance of the castle is situated on its northern side; however, it is currently standing as ruins. The remnants of two rows of opposite rooms can be found on the upper side and each row consists of five rooms in different sizes and there are also the remnants of four adjacent rooms in different sizes on the lower side. Although, the rocks acted as a natural fortification of the castle, unfortunately due to lack of maintenance and deliberate acts of destruction it is difficult to identify features or elements that give the castle its visual character since its tangible elements both on the exterior and interior have not been preserved and the available historical evidences are not of help to piece together an overall visual character of the castle and thus the questions to be answered here is to what extent the use of architectural value of the castle can be part of future development of Kurdish architectural identity?

However, in addition to Amidika Khrap castle, it should be noted that the early Bahdinan period was architecturally rich, as many major buildings were erected under Bahdinan reign in different types of residential, religious, administrative, and educational complexes where they were influenced mostly by

Umayyad, Abbasid and Ottoman style. Nevertheless, one of the remaining physical evidences of this period as well is:
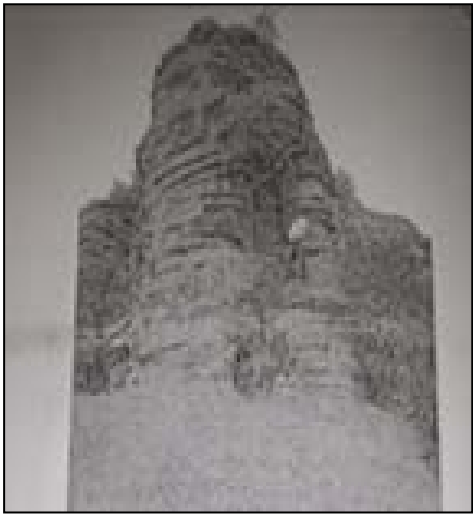
A visual Representative of Specific Political Stratum		Architectural status	Original Function	Castle / Fortification
			Existing Function	Ruin
Kurdish principality of Bahdinan 1376–1843		**Overall Visual Character of the Castle**		
Political Principality Status of Bahdinan		**Note:** Unfortunately due to lack of maintenance and deliberate acts of destruction it is difficult to identify features or elements that give the castle its visual character since its tangible elements both on the exterior and interior have not been preserved and the available historical evidences are not of help to piece together an overall visual characters of the castle		
Independence	Conflict/Dispute			
Semi-independent Kurdish entity - Arab Abbasid Caliphate	With Ottoman and Safavid -Internal dispute with Kurdish principality of Soran			
Features or elements that give the Kurdish identity in the Amidika Khrap Castle its visual characters (Kurdish Architectural Details)				Unknown

Table 5.2 Summary Data Sheet: Overall visual characters of the AmidikaKhrapcastle

5.2.1.1.1.3 THE GATE OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE HOUSE OF BAHDINAN EMIRATE

The house is a ruined administrative building, situated to the north east of the town of Amadiya in Iraqi Kurdistan. Historically, there is no evidence to indicate the original date of the house; it was during the Bahdinan period that the house began to take a recognisable shape roughly (1534-1576). In addition to being a focal point of political power of the ruler and the ruling elite, it has been described as the symbolic representation of the political power of the state itself. According to Ross (1902:109), the house contained only two main floors. It is believed that the ground floor was used as the service area and the first floor had been divided into two equal parts: the external part was used for administrative purposes with a balcony overlooking the town and the second part was designated for women and royal guests and consisted of many balconies overlooking the valley. It is obvious that the house takes the shape of square; the form that has characterized most of the mosques and administrative buildings during Rashidun and Umayyad periods like the administrative houses of Kufa and Basra in the south of Iraq. In addition to the massive entrance, it consists of a very large door set into a massive frame surmounted by semicircular niches. The Ottoman architectural characteristics such as the rectangular windows, was especially obvious from the exterior with larger windows of the first floor than those on the ground. Moreover, it had a flat roof of soil with a very slight slope, supported by beams of roots of trees and surmounted by layers of mate such as most houses in the Middle Eastern countries, which were mainly influenced by the climate and the available roofing materials in the region. Unfortunately, due lack of maintenance and deliberate acts of destruction in 1951[39], the entire house has been ruined apart from the main entrance, considered as one of the few preserved features of the period as a physical evidence of Bahdinan power.

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[39]According to Qader, A. (Assistant Lecturer in the Department of Archaeology, University of Salahaddin).

The gate features stylized animals including snakes as a symbol of wisdom and the phoenix, a symbolism associated closely with the tenderness. Although the entrance gate is defined as a representation of the emblem of Bahdinan power, however, the phoenix symbolism was used by the Mesopotamian civilizations and continued to prosper in Islamic arts as well. Moreover, it is believed that the origin of the Bahdinan gate' features date back to the Sumerian civilization, or absorbed influences of the art of Sumerian civilizations. It is similar to the famous Talisman Gate in Baghdad, which erected in 1221(Grabar 1989:113). In describing the ornamentations shown in (Fig 5.10), Grabar (1989:113) writes that:

"A crowned haloed figure is shown seated in cross legged, frontal position, grasping the tongues of two dragons, which have entwined and knotted snake-like bodies, wings and feline forelegs. This image, known to the people of Mesopotamia since the times of Sumer and Akkad in many representations that were iconographically very similar, has most likely magical and astrological connotations"

Figure 5-9. Talisman Gate in Baghdad,
http://ica.princeton.edu/index.php

Figure 5.11 Bahdinan Gate:Administrative house of Bahdinan Emirate (Author 2012 taken from a video documentary by Kurdish TV)

Figure 5-10. Detail of Talisman Gate in Baghdad, dated 1221. (From Sarre etal.1905 in Grabar1989: 113)

A Visual Representative of Specific Political Stratum	Architectural Status	Original function	Administrative house of Bahdinan Emirate
		Existing function	Ruin

A Visual Representative of Specific Political Stratum	Overall Visual Characteristics of the House	
Kurdish principality of Bahdinan (1376–1843)	(Eclecticism) mostly of Umayyad , Abbasid and Ottoman style	
	Ottoman style	Umayyad, Abbasid style

Political Principality Status of Bahdinan		The Ottoman architectural characteristics such as the rectangular windows, was especially obvious from the exterior with larger windows of the first floor than those on the ground	The house took the shape of square, the form that had characterized most of the mosques and administrative buildings during Umayyad period
Independence	**Conflict/ Dispute**		
Semi-independent Kurdish entity/ Arab Abbasid Caliphate	*With Ottoman and Safavid *Internal dispute with Kurdish principality of Soran		
Note: Unfortunately due to lack of maintenance and deliberate acts of destruction, the entire house is in ruin except the main entrance of the house			

Features or elements that give the Kurdish identity in the administrative house of Bahdinan Emirate its visual character (Kurdish architectural details)	Uknown

Table 5.3: Summary Data Sheet: Overall visual characteristics of the Administrative House of Bahdinan Emirate

5.2.1.1.1.4 DWEEN CASTLE (قلعةدوین)

Dween Castle is a ruined defensive castle, situated on the strategic site, close to the small village of Dween (40km) to the north of the city of Erbil. It was founded in the 16th century and has been described as one of the most important castles of the Soran Emirate due to its defensive significance. It was during the reign of Ali Beg Suliman Beg that the castle began to take recognisable shape. The castles during this period served a range of purposes, the most important of which were military (defensive structure and offensive tool), administrative, and domestic. When the Civil War broke out between the Soran and Baban emirates, Dween was impacted and after the end of Soran power, Baban managed to gain control over most of Soran area including Dween. Thus, Ali Beg decided to move the capital of Soran emirate from Dween to the Harir sub-district and then to the Khalifan sub-district. However, the castle did not stay under Baban's control for long: in 17th century Oghez Beg, who was the new leader of the Soran emirate and the son of Ali Beg, regained control over the castle as well as the whole region again and its traditions revived[40].

Architecturally, the castle forms an irregular rectangular in plan 25 metres north side and 30 metres from south, and almost 12 metres east side, projecting a triangular shape on the west corner. The remains of the castle consist of just one storey with two wings surrounded by curtain wall flanked by five round towers of 2 metres diameter and in different sizes due to its natural location on the top of Dween Mountain. However, today a portion of the curtain wall is visible: the remaining portion from the eastern side is about 12.95mlength x 70cm widths between two of the castle towers. However, the remaining portion of northern side was entirely ruined. The first wing of the castle consisted of the central square courtyard (9x9m) surrounded by architectural units of seven rooms in different dimensions {(3.5x4.30m), (2,6x6.6m), (2.7x7.6m), (3x7.8m), (3.3x7.8m)}, and an entrance to the east. There were two rooms including extra

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[40]According to The Directorate General of Antiquities / Dween castle Dossier No. 517/36

entrances leading to the adjacent towers. Moreover, the second wing of the castle was separated from the first wing by the central courtyard (10.5x14.7m) and surrounded by architectural units of nine rooms from different dimensions {(3x4.9m), (2.5x5.8m), (3.6x3.5m), (3x3.7m), (4x4.2m), (2x2.7m), (5.5x4.8m)[41]. However, it is believed that the second wing of castle was used for storage and stabling as such as those found at other castles of Soran emirate like Khanzad castle. Actually, the castle was on two levels: The ground floor was used for storage or stabling and the first floor was originally used for castle administration and mainly as a residence for guards who defended the castle. However, today the features or elements that give the castle its visual characteristics are entirely ruined. Unfortunately, as the previous cases, due to the lack of maintenance, the deliberate acts of destruction, the lack of historical evidences are not of help to piece together the overall visual characteristic of the castle.

A visual Representative of Specific Political Stratum		Architectural status	Original Function	Castle
			Existing Function	Ruin
Kurdish principality of Soran (1816–1838)		Overall Visual Character of the Dween Castle		
		Note Unfortunately due to lack of maintenance and deliberate acts of destruction, it is difficult to identify features or elements that give the castle its visual character since its tangible elements both on the exterior and interior have not been preserved and the available historical evidences are not of help to piece together an overall visual characteristics of the castle		
Political status of Kurdish principality of Soran				
independence	Conflict/Dispute			
Unstable	*With Ottoman and Safavid *Internal dispute with Kurdish principality of Baban 1834			
Features or elements that give the Kurdish identity in Dween castle its visual characteristics (Kurdish architectural details)			Uknown	

Table 5.4 Summary Data Sheet: overall visual characteristics of the Dween castle

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[41]According to Qader, A. (Assistant Lecturer in the Department of Archaeology, University of Salahaddin).

5.2.1.1.1.5 TRADITIONAL HOUSE (SHEKH JAMIL AFANDI HOUSE) INSIDE ERBIL CITADEL CITY

Shekh Jamil Afandi House is a historic courtyard[42] house located in the old historic neighbourhood of Saraie in the citadel of Erbil, Iraqi Kurdistan. The house was designed by architect Osta Ismail and a group of architects from a Persian town (Sena), who participated in building many other houses and the main entrance of Erbil citadel. The house was built between 1899 and 1909 of brick in the Ottoman style[43]. It consists of a central rectangular courtyard (14.8 x 8.80m) surrounded by architectural unites of two floors[44]. In plan, the ground floor consists of four wings built around the rectangular court. The northern wing looks on the courtyard next to the main central entrance of the house.
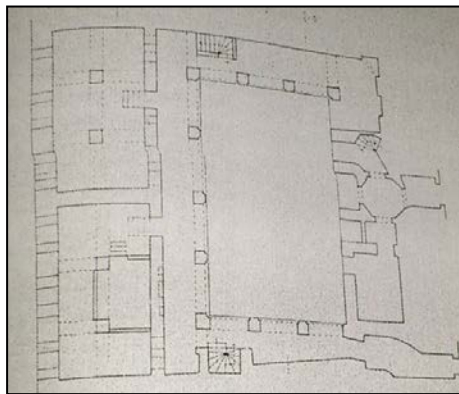
Figure 5.12 The ground floor / basement plan of ShekhJamilAfandi house.
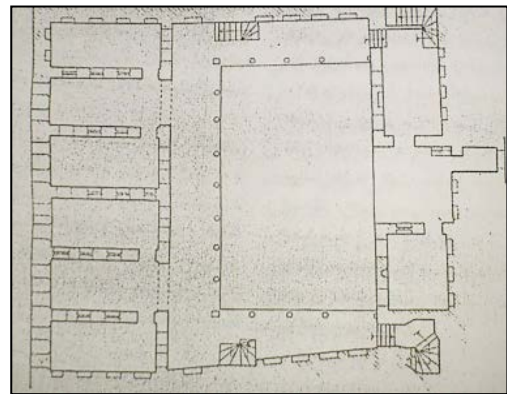
Figure 5.13 The first floor plan of ShekhJamil Afandi House.

An original heavy wooden door studded with massive nails giving entrance to the house through a vestibule (passage way) which is divided into two spaces; the first takes the shape of a rectangle and the second space is given the shape of an octagon, covered by a dome in the classical Ottoman style, giving entrances to the main unit of house. On the right side of the entrance, there is a corridor, which in turn leads to the curved corridor which serves as a cross point of two parts as well. That is, in the first part, there is staircase that leads to the first floor and the

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[42] "Up to about the middle of the Twentieth Century, indigenous courtyard houses formed a major part of the housing stock and of the architectural heritage of many towns and cities in the regions of the hot- dry climates"(AI-Azzawi 1994).

[43] According to The Directorate General of Antiquities / Baghdad

[44] Documentation of Shekh Jamil Afandi House inside Erbil Citadel Source: Conservation Master Plan-Erbil City, 2007

second part ends with the courtyard. The left side of the entrance gives access to a rectangular corridor of (1.40x2.20m) ends with a door of (1.20x2m) that leads to a rectangular room of (3.20x4.30m) and has a door of (0.90x1.85m) surmounted by a semicircle. On the opposite of the entrance, there a space of (1.10x2m) leads to the courtyard, usually covered by a mashrabiyeh[45], a lattice screen made of small wooden rods to provide privacy. The southern wing consists of two basements with the minimum ceiling height of (90cm) protected by a portico of (21.40x2.80m) while a semicircle of niches decorate its four elevations. There is a small staircase of four steps that leads to the first basement which is located on the west half of the south side, and takes the shape of a rectangle of (10,20x5.20m), mediated with two square columns of bricks as a base of semicircle niches and as a ceiling support. The internal walls of the basements are decorated with windows, five of them of (0.60x1.60m) surmounted by semicircle niches, which open onto the outer side of the city and the other five windows of different dimensions are close to the internal door of the basement and surmounted by semicircle niches as well.

Figure 5.13 Different perspectives of Shekh Jamil Afandi House from different angles (Author 2013)

The second basement is located on the southern side of the house similar to the first basement with little differentiation in dimensions, decorations and the numbers of windows. The eastern wing of the house consists of a portico (11.40m x2.10m on the northern side, 1.90m on southern side, and 2.30m on the middle), given the shape of a half-cylinder dome supported by semicircle niches of bricks.

[45]Mashrabiyeh:" is a screened wooden device used instead of a window and found particularly in Cairo, Egypt and Jedda, Western Saudi Arabia, where a hot and humid climate predomninates"(Goswami 2008: 2513)
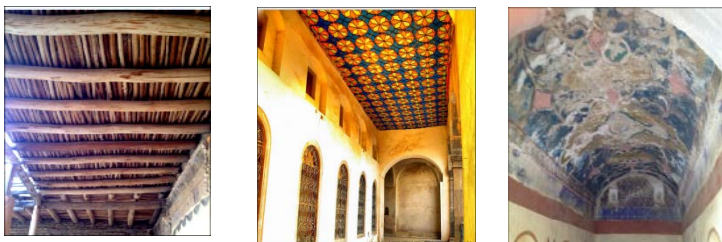
In addition to the portico, this wing consists of other elements like the curved corridor, which ends with another entrance, staircase in South-eastern corner, and some other decorations on the walls. Moreover, the western wing is similar to the eastern wing of the house in terms of the presence of a portico and staircases with a little differentiation in the dimensions and the decorations as an overall. The second floor consists of the entire major aspects of residential units; the rooms of the house are organized basically on the southern and northern sides, built on Al Hīrastyle, and decorated by floral & geometric ornaments. The southern wing consists of two residential units: The first unit on the west half of the southern wing is provided with its iwan (3x7m), two rooms in rectangle shapes of (3x6.4m). The second unit on the east half of the southern wing is similar to the first unit with a little differentiation in the dimensions and the provided decorations. Moreover, the portico is one of the essential architectural elements of the wing as well, represented with many kind of columns such as the wooden muqarnas columns which were common in Iraq and Iran in the 17th century palaces known as the Ali Qapu and Chihil Sutun (Bloom 2009:353). In addition to the cylindrical and gypsum spiral columns.

The northern wing of the first floor represents one of the most important residential units of the house, which is totally different from the previous units of southern wing. However, it consists of two rooms in the shape of rectangular of (3.30x5.3m) and (3.30x4.40m), small staircases of 4 steps and iwan. The eastern wing of the first floor is free of any residential units, a part of stair case, and a portico of (11.80m x 3.30m) on northern side, 15.2m on southern side), consisting of a wooden roof supported by spiral columns. The western wing of the first floor is similar to the previous wing with a little differentiation in the dimensions and the decorations as an overall.

Figure 5.14 Different perspectives of Shekh Jamil Afandi House (Author 2013)

A Visual Representative Of Specific Political Stratum	Architectural status	Original function	Traditional House
		Existing Function	Cultural and tourist facilities
-Ottoman Empire 1534 and 1920	**Overall Visual Characteristics of the House**		
Political status of the Ottoman Empire in the region	(Eclecticism) mostly of Persian, and Ottoman and Arab style		
Occupier			
Features or elements that give the house its visual character			

	Openings
	Arches and portico
	Ornaments
	Columns
Features or elements that give the Kurdish identity its visual characteristics (Kurdish architectural details)	**Unknown**

Table 5.5 Summary Data Sheet: Overall visual character of the Traditional House of ShekhJamilAfandi Inside Erbil Citadel City

5.1.1.1.6 IN CONCLUSION: Hereby, "the ideology of the nation-state is grounded in an essentialist notion of a people (a nation) who share a common language and culture, heritage, and territory, which define the nation" (Hamilakis 1996:977; Thomas 2004:109–110 cited in McGuire 2008:23). Since history is attached to architecture and place, understanding the layers of Kurdish history is integral to further understanding the larger concept of the impact of architecture on Kurdish nation as a brand. Political meaning has a long history of being part of the equation of built environment as "archaeology has been put to overt political use". Attempts to develop a clear definition for the Kurdish architectural identity have consumed much time and energy, yet no acceptable definition of Kurdish architectural identity as a spirit of Kurdish nation has been obtained. However, our conclusion is driven from three premises: First, unfortunately as mentioned above due to the problematic of identifying features or elements that give the archaeological sites its visual character, its tangible elements both on the exterior and interior have not been preserved and the available historical evidences are not of help to piece together an overall visual character of the historical sites. Second, when social and political aspects are included, quite different visions on architectural identities will arise. Thus, the architectural characteristics of the archaeological sites in southern Kurdistan vary depending on the geopolitical dimension and the historical period of each architectural site origin. The case in point, as AlSayyad (2004:12) described in his book 'The end of tradition' is the Sabra approach to define an Israeli identity in architecture: "Turning to the local vernacular in order to build from bottom up, was no less confusing. A genuine national architecture required an unmediated expression of the place, but the search for authentic expression yielded perplexing results: Native architecture was mostly Arab". Likewise in Iraqi Kurdistan most archaeological sites have been constructed according to the specific cultural and political conditions (foreign occupations) and therefore its architecture can be classified as the continuity of the colonized architectural identity and thus the visual past in Kurdish region is basically part of its complexity.

Third, "the appreciation of collective memory is a central aspect of urban planning practice and is of central importance to the constitution of identity" (Ghorashi 2012). In Southern Kurdistan, the symbolic and aesthetic characteristics of archaeological sites that belonged to particular semi-independent Kurdish principalities are the representations of literally anti-national designs according to the political period of their implementations. However, national identity is created, but rather contested and fragile. "The struggle over heritage among groups with different experiences of history both flows from and contributes to the instability and conflict of national identity" (Kampschror 2007 cited in McGuire 2008:23). The internal disputes among a number of semi-independent Kurdish principalities like Badinan, Soran and Baban diversified the term Kurdish on the national scale. As "memory battles are waged through the political control of memorials, museums, commemorations and archaeological sites" (Pullan et al. 2012). Moreover, the growing impact of such internal conflicts on the national and political interactions extends to what was hitherto internally a very heterogeneous region and has kept many issues (collective memory, collective identity, and sense of place) shrouded in uncertainty. Taken together collective identity and collective memory characterize a deep cultural and national challenges, as King (2011:6) summarizes, we are connected to our histories and our collective memories via our cultural heritage, which fastens our sense of being, and can supplies us with a source of insight to be of help to face the future. Moreover, Poole (1999:17 cited in McGuire 2008:23) notes that:

> "Every nation has its own history of triumphs and tragedies, victories and defeats, but these events are never the sum total of all that the people of the nation have experienced. The chosen events are usually tied to the territory of the nation. National heritages typically favor those events that relate to how the people of the nation acquired their rightful territory or how they defended it from usurpers. National heritages also tend to glorify the death and suffering of the heroes of the nation; they favor martyrs rather than conquerors. Those who have suffered and sacrificed their lives for the nation demonstrate that the worth of the nation transcends other values".

Accordingly, from an architectural perspective, with reference to the question of Kurdish identity those details and vocabularies that relate to how the people of the Kurdish nation acquire their rightful territory or how they defended it from usurpers, architectural details as a spirit of the Kurdish nation rather than a conqueror can best explain the visual brand of Kurdish nation (Kurdishness). According to Lowenthal (1985:37), the selection events of history create a heritage.

5.2.1.1.2 IN SEARCH OF KURDISH ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY: TOTAL REPRESSION 1970 -1991

INTRODUCTION

Although, the agreement between Kurdish opposition and the Iraqi government in March 1970 concluded by defining northern Iraq as an autonomous region of Kurdish nation, in fact the region remained part of central Iraq practically. With regard to the architectural aspect, the architectural productions of Southern Kurdistan up to roughly the start of the 1990s followed and interpreted styles developed largely in Iraq. To achieve social stability between the two different nations Kurds and Iraqi Arabs, previous Iraqi regimes during the second half of 20th century attempted to construct architecture as an Iraqi cultural production typically shared between two dominant nationalities, the Iraqi Arab nationality and the Kurdish nationality.

In Iraqi Kurdistan, the relationship between architecture and Kurdish identity is complex. To examine this relationship and question the Iraqi government's architectural strategy in misinterpretation of Kurdish architectural identity requires the following steps: First, studying Iraqi architectural modernism, the discourse that dominated Iraqi built environment during second half of 20th century (Romano 2004), is an important means of understanding how architectural identity in northern Iraq was produced and was legitimized by Iraqi state policies. Consequently, it is essential to understand the construction and maintenance of Kurdish nation from an architectural perspective. Second, since, the research is limited to evaluating the Kurdish identity in architecture, the

question: Is their architectural vocabularies that are "psychologically, culturally, territorially, historically and politically" acknowledged by all Kurds has been explored through analysing 110 samples of the architectural projects, based on data collected within archive departments of Ministry of Municipalities of Iraqi Kurdistan in (2011-2013) (see Chapter 1).

5.2.1.1.2.1KURDISH ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY: MODERNISM AND THE REPRESENTATION OF IRAQI NATIONAL IDENTITY

The movement toward modernization in Iraq began around 1921 (Pieri 2008). Nevertheless, the architectural constructions and building design policy had significantly changed in Iraq after First World War up to 1952, and this shift was called the first stage of Iraqi modernization (Isenstadt 2008:91). Due to the lack of Iraq architects up to 1936, the interaction of international architects played influential role in defining the characteristics of the modern Iraqi style. It was introduced mainly by leading English architects following World War I, with the country's transformation from destruction to construction process since the government funded large infrastructure projects during this period like airports, governmental buildings, cinemas, and many more projects (Ibid).With reference to the question of Iraqi architecture in Iraq in 1940s-1950 Mehdi (2008) states that "one of the most important structural development in Baghdad in 1940s-1950 was the introduction and extensive use of reinforced concrete, whether for skeleton structure or for various individual elements".

Figure 5.15 The Rafidain bank with its tower in Baghdad 1945-1957 by Philip. Hirst's (Mehdi 2008)

Although expressing Iraqi national and cultural identity was the dominant characteristic direction in Iraqi architecture (1921-1952) due to the national trends that had prevailed in Iraq since achieving independence in 1932[46], whilst the motivation and objectives of its applications had not been configured until the 1950s-60s of the last century (Razzouqi 2005). Iraq underwent political transformation processes in 1958[47] and changed the direction of cultivating modernism in Iraqi architecture quite distinctly to become self-conscious in their anti-Western conceptions (Pyla 2008). As a result many projects that were led by international architects had been cancelled (Mehdi 2008). Interestingly, "in 1959, the Department of Engineering of the University of Baghdad marked the birth of the first Iraqi school of architecture" (Ibid). Moreover, as a response to anti-Western conceptions, the concept of 'sculpture in the environment' was approached by many Iraqi architects to develop Iraqi culture in architecture and thus a number of architectural revivalist movements in Iraq during this period arose (Hiwaish 1988:231).

In the centre of Baghdad,"public urban space is punctuated with three symbolic monumental « statements » carrying a new iconography as a synthesis between the "national" repertory and a « modern » style: On Tahrir[48] Square, the bas-relief of Liberty (1961), is a huge « banner » conceived by Jawad Selim and built by Rifat Chadirji; on Tayyaran Square, a Fresco by Faik Hassan (1960); and on Firdaous Square, the monument to the Unknown Soldier, July 14th 1959, by Rifat Chardirji, which was explicitly claimed as a symbol of the Iraqi past by referring to the Arch of Ctesiphon, but also implicitly assimilated contemporary references such as arches by Le Corbusier or Niemeyer" (Pieri 2008).

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[46] "In 1932, Iraq became independent, but after a series of tribal and ethnic revolts, military coups, and countercoups, it was reoccupied by the British who installed a pro-Western government headed by Nuri al-Saiid in 1941" (Pyla 2008).

[47] "A military coup in July 1958, led by General Abd al-Karim al-Qasim, brought the brutal deposition of the Hashimite monarchy and its replacement by a revolutionary republic with socialist leanings (until eventually, a series of coups d'etat would establish the Baath as the only legitimate party)" (Pyla 2008).

[48]Tahrir: Meaning ' libraelation'

Figure 5.16Unknown soldier monument 1958http://chadirjifoundation.org/iqc-projects/

Figure 5.17 Nasb al-Hurriyya(the freedom Monument),bronze on traveline. Stab lifted 6 meters off the ground. Jewed Salim,1961(Khalil 1991:83).

Additionally, with the increasing numbers of Iraqi architects, rapid urbanization, the change of the economic basis due to oil production along with global change, Iraqi architecture started a new phase of modernization during the second half of 20th century (Ibid). "The Baathists adopted the ideology of Baathism, which was based on pan-Arabism, expansionism, and ethnic nationalism; they followed a systematic assimilation, Arabization, and ethnic cleansing policy against the Kurds in the Kurdish territory" (CHAK 2007).

The notion of expressing cultural identity became influential and social phenomena were supported by leading elites during 1960s-70s, which aimed at protecting the political and ideological motives and Iraqi national identity in architecture to serve socio economic, cultural, and political power of Iraqi state based revolutionary Ba'ath mission (Khalil 1991:17-70). Accordingly, the notion of searching for international Iraqi values and principles was to prevail and became the basis for architectural decisions. In general, two directions were acceptable to employ the cultural elements in contemporary Iraqi architecture: The first direction took into account the selection of the style, form or cultural element (Fig 5.20), and the second direction took into account the modality of its usage to produce contemporary national elements (Fig 5.21) or features (Baathists 2008:81-90). However, the characteristics of the modern Iraqi style, which was introduced by leading architects following Second World War, remain an ongoing problem for architects seeking to realize the cultural and historic background and sustain the issue of identity while designing for present-day expectations.

Figure 5.18 Federation of industries building 1966 *http://chadirjifoundation.org/iqc-projects/*

Figure 5.19 Post-modern buildings of the 1980s mindlessly repeated in the worst tradtions of 1950s town planning. The windows are supposed to have been derived from the mashrabiyya, a traditional lattice box-like screen usually projected from an upper story (Khalil199125)

However, up to 1980s-1990s, the implementation of modern Iraqi identity in architecture can be summarized in three directions: The first direction was regionalism: Kenneth Frampton's conception of regionalism mainly "focuses on the relationship of a building to its site and location in a sociological context" (1985:20). In contrast, Chris Abel stated that "it is in the countries of the Third World, where the effects of Modernism's break with the past have been compounded by a drastically speeded-up rate of development, that regionalism has a special meaning" (Abel 2000). The second direction was critical regionalism: Subsequently defined by Frampton (1985) "is to mediate the impact of universal civilization with elements derived indirectly from peculiarities of a particular place". Moreover, the third direction was the architecture that did not respect the socio-cultural characteristics, without any root in the past, functionalist and Modern machinery that takes into account western influence associated with technology, Brutalist architecture.

During this period, since administratively the Kurdistan region was part of central Iraqi region, attempts at visualizing Iraqi identity through the formulation of living cultural identity, were the dominant parts in Kurdish architectural scene. The architectural strategy of the area, proposed by Iraqi policy, on the one hand,

was radically archetypal to the rest of Iraqi provenance in an attempt to generate Kurdish contemporary built environments that were capable of maintaining a sense of continuity with Iraq and avoiding the socio-cultural characteristics of Kurdish region, which was totally different in all aspects[49].

(A) (B) (B1)
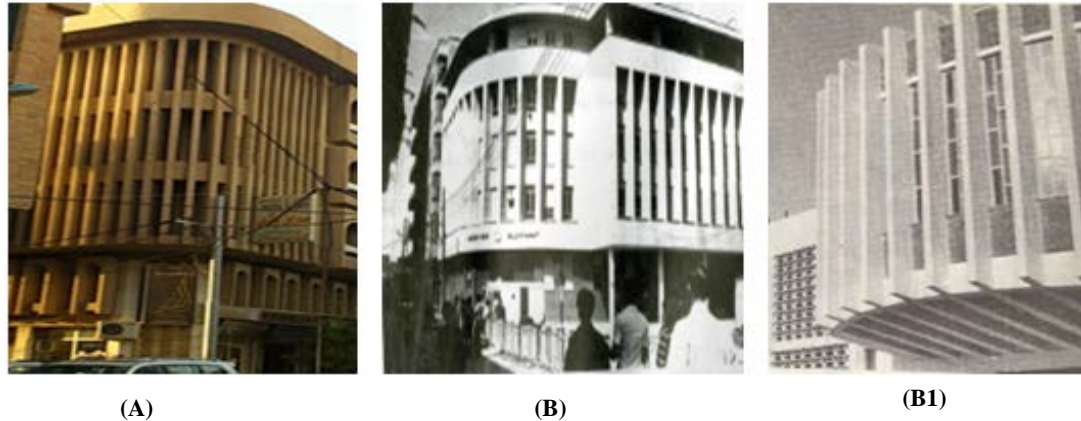
Figure 5.20 Radically archetypal architecture in Erbil A (Author 2012) and Baghdad B-B1 (Hiwaidh 1988:233 and Author 2012).

Moreover, the notion of visualizing Kurdish memory that can threaten Iraqi identity emerged as one of the most influential policies in Iraq and provided the basis for architectural and political strategy of resistance against the architecture as a Kurdish cultural production. However, the lack of sense of Kurdish identity was the dominant characteristic of the architecture in the Kurdish region and it is constantly being refabricated through emphasizing sameness with other parts of Iraq spatially by producing typical architectural projects in attempts to erase the

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[49]"The Baathists adopted the ideology of Baathism, which was based on pan-Arabism, expansionism and ethnic nationalism; they followed a systematic assimilation, Arabization and ethnic cleansing policy against the Kurds in the Kurdish territory. During the 35 years of the Baath regime, many brutal atrocities and mass killings took place. More specifically, Saddam Hussein and his regime carried out the Arabization of the Kurd-Arab border areas from 1968 onward; the cleansing of the Faili Kurds in the 1970s and 1980s; the Arabization and cleansing of Yazidi Kurds; the bombardment of Qalladze in 1974, which killed around 400 civilian Kurds; the mass deportations of border villagers close to the Iranian and Turkish borders in 1975-77; the mass killings of around 8000 Barzani Kurds in 1983; the bombardment of Kurdish villages from 1983 onwards; the chemical bombardment of Kurdish villages in 1987-1988; the chemical attacks on Serdasht in 1987; the chemical attacks on Halabja in 1988, which killed 5000 people; and the ethnic cleansing attacks culminating during the Anfal genocidal campaign in 1988, which resulted in the disappearance of approximately 182,000 Kurds and the destruction of around 4000 Kurdish villages"(CHAK 2007).

Kurdish collective identity. As Khalaf (1993:17 cited in Charlesworth 2006:56) states, "it is easier to recreate a state than to reassemble a society"

Such a policy conceptualized as a danger to the Kurdish nation, has the function of weakening Kurdish national identity, and has resulted in a very complicated concept of hybridity, which has been defined by AlSayyad (2001) as the "interbreeding or mixing of different people, cultures and societies". Thus, the physical cohesion of the architectural built environment of Kurdish fabric strengthened the loyalty of Kurdish areas to the center and promoted strong collective identity and social interaction between the Kurdish region and the rest of Iraq rather than with Kurdish community identity.

5.2.1.1.2.2 THE SYSTEMATIC DESTRUCTION OF PARTICULAR BUILDING TYPES OR ARCHITECTURAL TRADITIONS: ERASURE OF MEMORIES, HISTORY, AND IDENTITY

On the other hand, many remaining traces, which are expected to be historical sites of Iraqi Kurdistan, have been destroyed in the last century by the Iraqi regimes (Youssef 2005) in an effort to eradicate the Kurdish identity in the built environment. Likewise, in describing such action in general, Bevan (2006:6-8) argues that:

> "This is the active and often systematic destruction of particular building types or architectural traditions … happens in conflicts where the erasure of memories, history and identity attached to architecture and place -enforced forgetting –is the goal itself….but rebuilding can be as symbolic as the destruction that necessitates it…and can serve to mask the past; to erase the gaps, the voids, the ruinations that bear witness…… These buildings are attacked not because they are the path of a military objective: to their destroyers they are the objective".

This can be considered obvious evidence showing that architecture is a weapon of which the regimes are aware.

Figure 5.21the destroyed castle in Kirkuk by Iraqi regime in 1980s (Youssef 2005)

Moreover, Herscher (2008) defines such kind of suppression-toward architecture, as "this destruction comprised both violence against architecture and violence against those who inhabited architecture". The repression narratives of modern time up to 1991 of Southern Kurdistan, tells us independent and unique Kurdish "influenced design and creativity" were limited because of the oppressive control of the central regime despite being completely two different cultures. Unlike the uniquely Kurdish influence in other kinds of arts within suppression experience, architecture as it has been described by Dutton (1996:202), "was much too visible, public and permanent to allow clear motifs and references to be expressed". The built environment during this period provides significant form of resisting Kurdish cultural practice that politicized an architectural space in which Kurdish identity was removed and replaced by Iraqi identity.

The Kurds, during this period, though lived in restricted areas of the cities or urban areas, and therefore, a Kurdish architect would have a little opportunity to stage an indirect interplay with the built environment of a Kurdish neighborhood. It has been stated by Owen (2009:129) that "for an architect, the chief problem with working for a corrupt, oppressive, or dangerous regime is preserving integrity. That problem, though not easy to solve, is not necessarily insoluble". During the mid and late 1970s, the Iraqi regime destroyed around 4,006 Kurdish

villages out of the original 4,655 villages and forcibly displaced hundreds of thousands of ethnic Kurds living close to the borders with Iran and Turkey, relocating them in settlements controlled by army (Hampton 2002; 173 Romano 2004).

However, the Kurdish villages are a vernacular construction in response to climate of the regions and have an organic interaction with natural environment that have led to construct different patterns of climate-based architecture. For example, the mountainous villages which are similar to the Iranian Villages:

"Is a precious form of climatic and natural architecture which can be seen as an extreme use of solar energy and fossil fuel conservation. The fabric and spatial structure of villages is generally formed by a set of neighborhood units / footpath and public open and recloses spaces which are on a high slope in the middle of the mountains by a close relation of each other and an organic interaction with natural environment. Severe shortage of land to be developed, cold climate and mountainous area are the leading causes of a dense complex settlement in the middle of mountains which provides a combination of positive and negative surfaces. In this pattern of mountainous architecture, the roof of each building is the yard of the building above or a part of public footpath. The connection and coheres on public texture image and serial juxtaposition method toward South in order to prepare the light and heat are features of this architectures"(Shaghaghi et al. 2012).
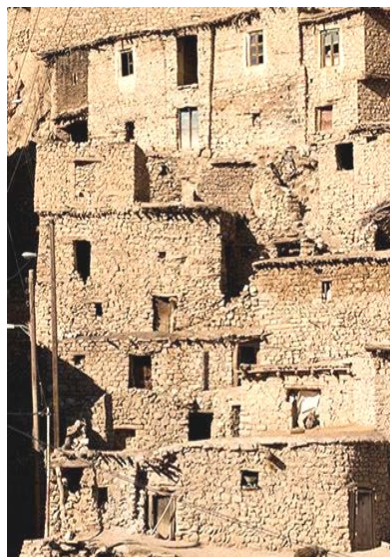
Figure 5.22 Traditional houses in Iraqi Kurdistan (KRG Achieve)
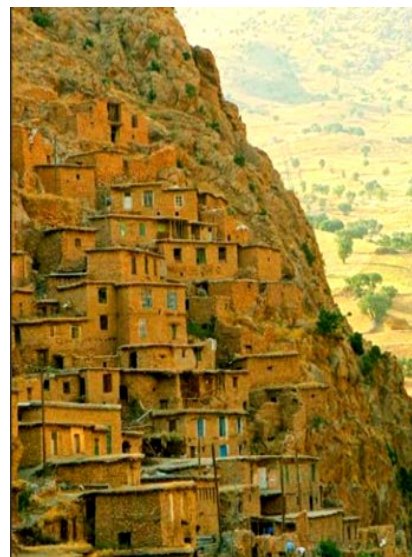
Figure 5.23 Traditional Hawramane -Takht Texture in Iran Shaghaghi (2012)

251

Figure 5.24 the remnant of the destroyed kurdish village by Saddam regime
http://fanack.com/ar/countries/iraq/history/iraq-iran-war/genocide-in-kurdistan/

A huge number of neighborhoods for the Kurdish displaced people were developed at the edge of urban areas of the provinces of (Dohuk, Erbil, and Sulaymaniyah) based on Iraqi principles and depriving the Kurds of cultural, regional and national identity. The most prominent characteristics of such neighborhoods were the dense morphology with minimal access from the outside and the clustering of residential areas. The architecture and planning of repression and replacement reveals plainly the impacts of the elimination of architectural identity as a powerful strategy used by dictatorships to eradicate the identity of a repressed nation. The physical and architectural domain is an indispensable factor in understanding how attitudes toward physical suppression have removed opportunities for strengthening the sense of imagined community and collective identity, resulting in a scattered nation based non-place identity. Thus, the most prominent characteristics of the architectural built environment of southern Kurdistan until the year 1991 was a total reflection of the complex social and political framework that have been the result of the Iraqi state system created after the First World War and the discontinuity of meaning of Kurdish identity and value.

Political meaning has a long history of being part of the equation of the built environment and continues right through the present to be a matter for architects and politicians across the world (Vale 1992:125). For example, "the slave homes or cabins (the Black environment) were often arranged clusters, away from but in view of the big house (the White environment). The slave cabins and related areas then became the first Black environment (ghettos)" (Dutton at el. 1996:206). Within the context of Iraqi Kurdistan, the issue of community identity was and still is one of the central challenges have faced the Kurdish region. The study of the complex relationship between Kurdish architectural environment and resistance leads to understanding new forms of cultural suppression. During this period, the political power of architecture and the physical cultural structure prevented Kurdish nation brand to solidify and to act as a physical configuration of Kurdish national story, thus preventing citizens, politicians, and architects the space for maintaining their national sense of belonging as one nation and by that to alter the nation's basis for collective memory.

5.2.1.1.2.3 ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY 1980-1991: A VEHICLE OF AMBIGUOUS MESSAGES OF KURDISH VALUES AND IDENTITY.

If one were to focus on the architectural identity case in southern Kurdistan, a number of additional questions would need to be raised: Did architectural identity work to distance the Kurdish area from Iraqi regional modernity? Is Kurdish architectural identity something that joins Southern Kurdistan to the ranks of other Iraqi regions or is it what sets it apart? An interesting and insightful step in the direction of exploring these issues draws on the experience within Iraqi Kurdistan Ministry of Municipalities archival records, using a range of case studies to highlight how architectural policy of the Iraqi regime embraced the concept of architectural identity in the Kurdish region as vehicles of ambiguous messages of Kurdish values and identity. Hence, the study concerns the overall visual character of buildings to discover the component elements that have come together to produce Kurdish identity in architecture. The study looks at the

architectural identity in the Kurdish area and specifically focuses on how the characteristics of form design elements were influenced by Iraqi nationalism and the project of abstraction of the sense of Kurdish identity.

To question the Iraqi government's architectural strategy in misinterpretation of Kurdish identity in architecture, this analysis has been carried out focusing on 100 samples of building licenses from the archive departments of Ministry of Municipalities of Iraqi Kurdistan to highlight the concrete problems addressed by the research and the impact of architectural policy-making mechanisms on the production of architectural identity during this period. Over 300 licenses files of the architectural projects were mapped and identified from 1980 to 1991 and then 110 of these were short-listed. The archival record holds samples only of building licenses for the period after 1970s, as most files were destroyed (see Chapter 1).
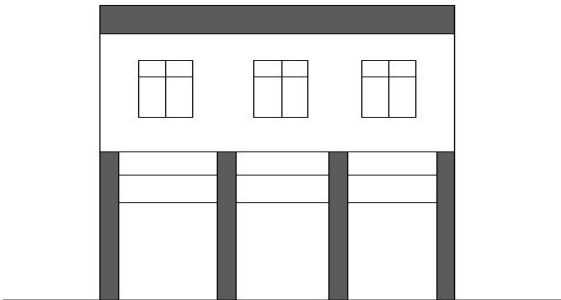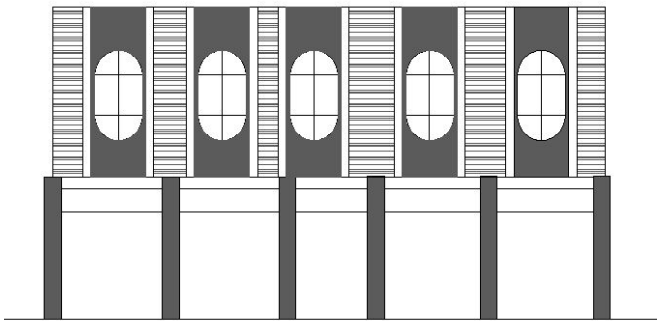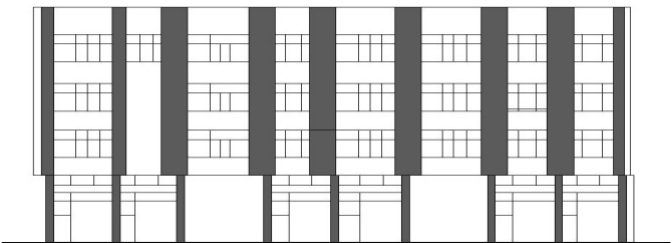
This study uses qualitative analytical approach to analyse features and elements that give the architectural productions during this period its visual characteristics. It discusses the negative impact of the Modernism that was approached instrumentally by Iraqi Republican elites in the service of their goal of reaching an ambiguous Kurdish identity in architecture. As a result, based on the document analysis (archival records) of 110 projects as representative examples, the objective of this study was to identify the factors, which shaped the Kurdish architectural identity perspectives during this period, in which documents are interpreted by the researcher to give voice and meaning around the assessment topic based on the theoretical proposed framework (Chapter 1,2,3,4), comprises Identity as:
.

➢ Identity as a spirit of nation, political aim, or the continuity of occupied identity: According to the qualitative documentations and observation results, (100%) of cases show that Kurdish identity as spirit of Kurdish nation was absent in the architecture during this period. Moreover, (100%) of cases shows the absence of any features or elements that give the Kurdish identity its visual characteristics (Kurdish architectural details).
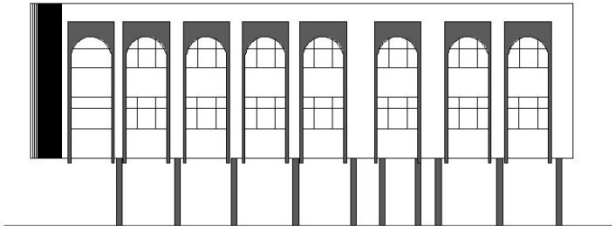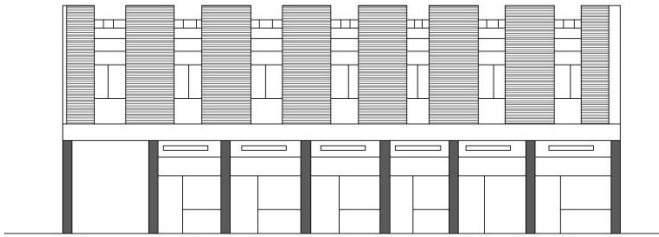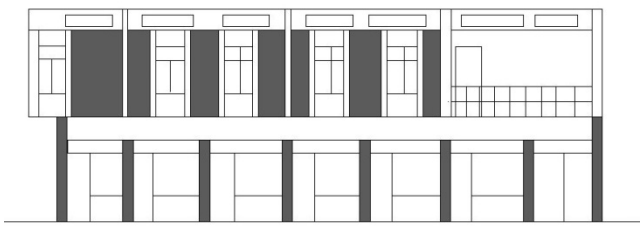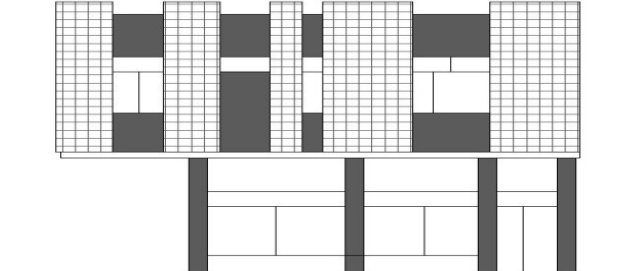
➢ The Modernism as a new style-based free tradition considered the best option for Iraqi regime aspiration. As such, the production of modernist build environment led to new challenges in terms of identity. Complex characteristic features from adding mixed pre-existing and imported element into the architectural expressions resulted in hybrid identity. Hybrid architecture, as a result of jumbled importing styles and languages, caused encrypted physical memory, encrypted entity, and the deconstructive architecture to exist.

➢ The aim of modernist Iraqi nationalists in the Kurdish region was not limited to modernization development, but included the creation of the "Arabized built environment. Thus, Kurdish identity was abstracted to the project of modernity (understood as Arabization).
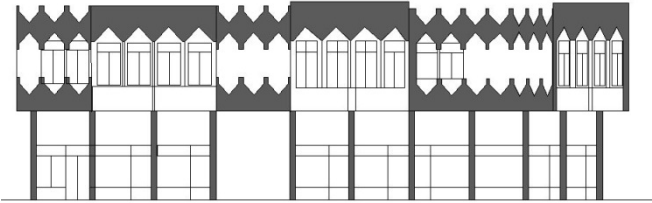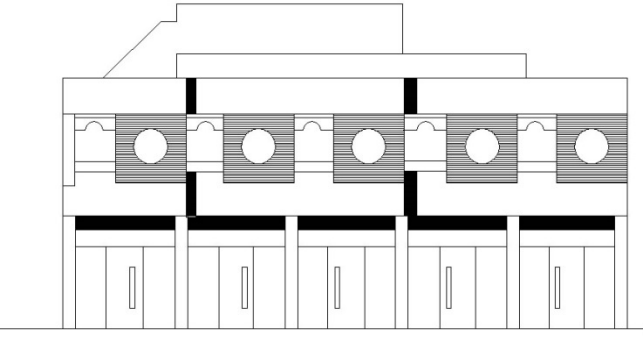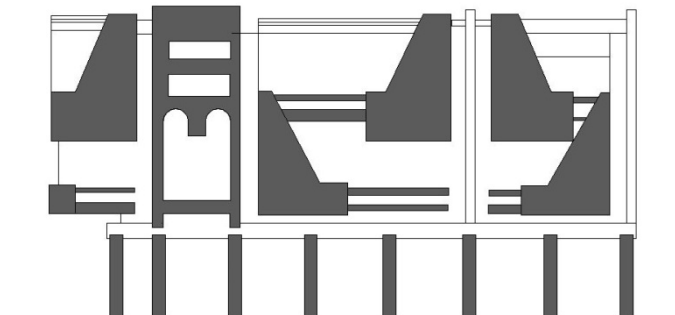
Therefore, the previous Iraqi regime models are embedded in the spirit of Kurdish nation is rejected. Merging vague values within contemporary architecture, a new version of architectural identity becomes visible

In the following examples, original images of the representative projects from the archives departments of the Iraqi Kurdistan Ministry of Municipalities have been redrawn by the author due to the poor quality of the documents to emphasize the principal architectural elements for this period (1980-1991).

Architectural Category	Political Layer	Number of Samples of Architectural Projects	Total
	1980-1991	10 Examples Per Year	110 cases
Kurdish Architectural Identity: Total Repression	Architectural Status	**Original Function**	Residential &Commercial
A Visual Representative of Specific Political Stratum		**Existing Function**	Residential &Commercial
Autonomous Status of Northern Iraq			
Political Status of Northern Iraq	**Features or Elements that Give the Examples its Visual Character (Architectural Details)**		
Total Repression			
A representative example of 10 cases in 1980			
A representative example of 10 cases in 1981			
A representative example of 10 cases in 1982			

A representative example of 10 cases in 1983	
A representative example of 10 cases in 1984	
A representative example of 10 cases in 1985	
A representative example of 10 cases in 1986	
A representative example of 10 cases in 1987	

A representative example of 10 cases in 1988	
A representative example of 10 cases in 1989	
A representative example of 10 cases in 1990	
Unknown	**The characteristic of Kurdish identity in the architectural productions during this period**

Table 5.6 Summary Data Sheet: Overall visual character of the Representative Examples of architecture- total repression period in Iraqi Kurdistan (Author 2013 based on the KRG Ministry of Municipalities-Archive departments -dossiers 1980-1991)

5.2.1.1.3 IN SEARCH OF KURDISH ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY: TOWARD SEMI-INDEPENDENCE 1991-2003

In this section, this study focuses on the KRG dependency on the architectural productions of the modernist Iraqi nationalists in order to define Kurdish architecture or visceral ties to the place. The Kurdish desire to continue the modernist Iraqi nationalists's nativeness in architecture, which was seen as the ultimate expression of locality, sheds new light on a subject seldom frequented by Kurdish scholarship. The suspension of suppression marked the beginning of the political effort to establish legal difference between the two cultures and nations: Iraqi Arabs and Kurds. Following the 1991 Kurdish exoduses in the Northern Iraq uprising against the regime, a brief period ensured in which semi autonomy was given to the Kurdish region, with Kurds elected to the state government in 1992 (Clwyd 2008). The Kurdish council of ministries and parliament and other institutions were created by a semi-independent government, at the beginning of Kurdish reconstruction, to legislate the region internationally and assist the Kurds towards independence. During this period, the major Kurdish social, religious, and educational structure began or was expanded as a response to the continuing institutionalization of the segregated society based on the Kurdish flag and Kurdish language as a sign of independent region from Iraq[50]. Nevertheless, Kurdish architectural identity has not been taken as an important component of the development and the advancement of Kurdish culture. This period is considered as an undefined transformation in terms of institutionalizing the new unique form of the built environment of Kurdistan, although, the new political situation provided a great stimulus to accelerate the Kurdish architectural identity, as a recognized medium through which the national value of Kurdish brand (Kurdishness) was to be constructed.

Regional leaders continue embracing the old mode of urban governance, using the same regulations in terms of architectural design and style, despite some of

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[50]According to O'Leary (2008:33) "when Iraq became formally independent in 1932, Arab-dominated governments in Baghdad preferred to divide Kurdistan in Iraq into separate governorates (provinces) and districts, and refused to make Kurdish an official language, or regularly to appoint Kurdish officials in Kurdistan, despite the fact that Kurds comprised at least one fifth and up to a quarter of Iraq's population"

the monumental urbanism aspects having served as propaganda for oppressive Iraqi regimes as had been relied on by Napoleon III to Stalin and Mao as "profuse displays of theatricality and excess to uplift and emotionally engage their followers and to legitimize their position as the dominant force in society" (Broudehoux 2010). A common theme in these monuments was the Kurdish genocide that served as the myth of the rebirth of the Kurdish nation. Unfortunately, most of these monuments metaphorically represented the essence of Kurdish nation. Thus in terms of expressing the emergence of Kurdish physical memories as a reflection of late twentieth century political changes limited the opportunities to unify the Kurdish society based on cultural references. For example,

> "The Monument was established on a piece of land 1,600 meters square. It is built in the shape of a circle with a central tower forming joined Hands reaching toward the sky. At the top, sixteen fingers hold a steel globe. This is supposed to represent the tragedy of Halabja is also a tragedy for the world. The unequal heights of the fingers are a representation of all the different parts of Kurdistan in geographical terms. Surrounding the base of the tower on the roof of the Monument are several discolored balls. These represent the clouds of chemical gas that engulfed the city" (Mahmood, M.[51]).

However, on March 16, 2006[52], the memorial was set on fire, presumably by a thousand of Halabja residents who objected to what they perceived as the lack of sufficient living space and viewed the memorial as a symbol of the government's persistent inaction, and corruption rather than as a symbol that honors Kurdish tragedy. These debates can be characterized as the contest between political approaches emphasizing an independent society and strategies of resistance versus politics, race, and nationality reflected on the built environment.

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[51] Report by Mahmood Hama Amin Mahmood-halabjah Monument and peace museum

[52]http://www.kurdishgenocide.com/Halbaja-monument.html

Figure 5.25 Halabja Monument of Kurdish Victims of gas massacre 3003

Figure 5.26 Halabja Monument on Fire 2006
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/4812128.stm

On the other level, during the civil war (1994-1997) between the KDP and PUK, the Kurdish built environment experienced a new phase of urban and architectural change as separate government zones between the two dominant Kurdish political parties. Thus, the architectural production in this period was affiliated to the culture and views of the KDP in Erbil and Dohuk, and to PUK in Sulaymaniyah. Architecture was used to clarify control and power of specific political views that attempted to create challenging realities in one (divided) region space. As Eder (2009) stated, "collective identity can equally refer to cities, to regions, or to groups such as political parties or even social movements". Within the context of Iraqi Kurdistan, in this period, collective identity referred to political parties rather than a unified region. The weakening of the Kurdish collective identity that has been reconfigured by heterogeneous political concepts controlled architectural planning and development as two different meanings attached to the Kurdish physical form and contributed to construct a sense of political group rather than sense of community and sense of collective identity. The constitution of Kurdish identity in terms of physical space represented complex political meanings and therefore added new challenges to reshape Kurdish national identity.

Figure 5.27 architectural productions that affiliated to PUK in Sulaymaniyah (1991-2003)

In general, the architecture, a guiding principle of urban planning, and environmental design was characteristically inadequate for the political confusion that the region passed through. In addition, Kurdish School of Architecture and Urban Planning (started in 1996) which has to be a focal point had been in its infancy stage of establishment with the first post suppression architects graduated in 2001. The lack of educating Kurdish culture as a base for new design projects to reflect the new phases the region passed through, lack of professional experience among the teaching staff in architectural department on how to deal with the new political situation resulted in problematic skyline that continues today to be on-going issue. As within the realm of architectural education, Leach (1999: 170-171) clarifies that the problem "lies in the type of education that now exists in the region, with its subconscious cultural –psychological orientation does cover the problems of politically unsettled region .in response to this situation, a new architectural school is emerging based on an inspired not by the ambition to couch the globalization, but by the desire to work at the level of environmental organization in a decent way". Thus, despite the fact that numerous Kurdish architects had gained access to the architecture profession and became directors of urban planning and strategic projects in councils and institutes of the Kurdistan regional environment, the cultural production of two

decades is not vital in contributing to the basis of the Kurdistan as the 'other Iraq' brand campaign led by KRG in terms of Kurdish architectural identity.

In an attempt to clarify, the characteristics of the modern Kurdish architectural identity following the quasi independence from 1991, it can be considered as a direct citation of the policy approached by previous Iraqi regime to achieve the modernist Iraqi nationalists's nativeness in architecture. The pursuit of architecture as the product of themodernist Iraqi nationalists is an ongoing problem for Kurdish nation that seeks politically overcome invasion problems while designing for present-day architectural constructions.

5.2.1.1.3.1 ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY 1991-2003: A VEHICLE OF THE CONTINUITY OF IRAQI NATIONALISTS'S MESSAGES OF NATIVENESS
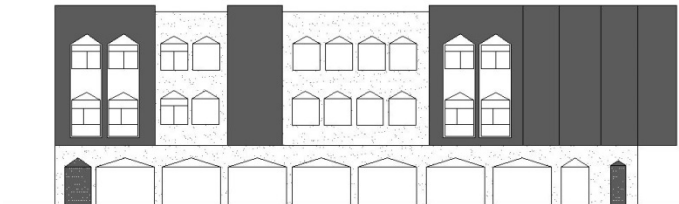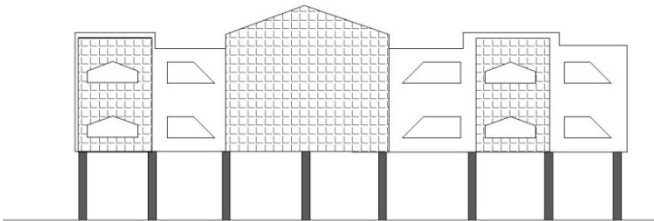
This study uses qualitative approach to analyse features and elements that give the architectural productions during this period its characteristics. It discusses the negative impact of continuity of the policy approached by previous regime to achieve the modernist Iraqi nationalists's nativeness in architecture. As a result, based on the document analysis (archival records) of 130 projects as the representative examples, the objective of this study was to identify the factors which have shaped the Kurdish identity in architecture during this period, in which documents are interpreted by the researcher to give voice and meaning around the assessment topic based on the theoretical framework (Chapter 1, 2,3,4), comprises Identity as:
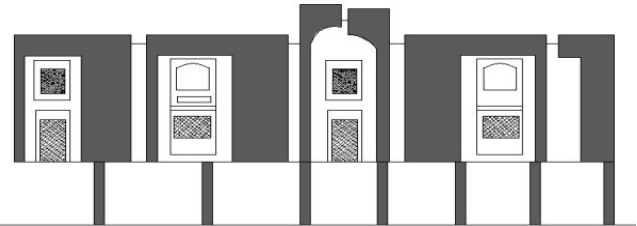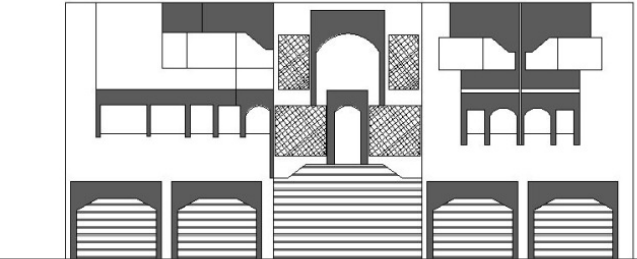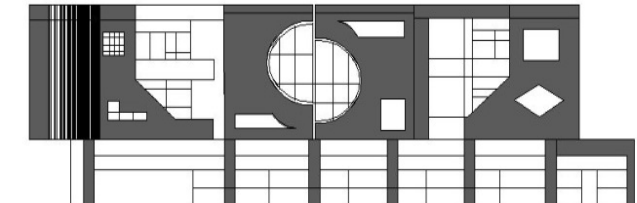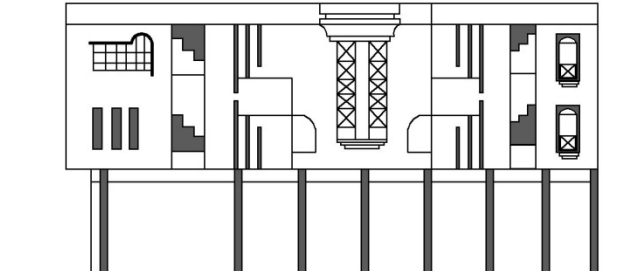
➢ Identity as a spirit of nation, political aim, or the continuity of occupier's identity: Although, the new political situation provided a great stimulus to accelerate the Kurdish identity in architecture to be a recognized medium, according to the qualitative documentation and observation results, (100%) of chosen cases (1991-2003) show that the Kurdish identity as the spirit of Kurdish nation was absent in the architecture during this period. Moreover, (100%) shows the absence of any features, elements, or motifs that give the Kurdish identity in architecture its visual character (Kurdish architectural details).

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> The observation and the visual characteristics documentation results show that in spite of the architectural languages that were widely employed during this period used a jumbled combination of new geometrical forms as a rate of 38.46%., undefined Kurdish identity in architecture dominated the overall cases. Thus within this context of Iraqi Kurdistan during 1991 and 2003, hybrid architecture as a result of basic successive features or elements of Iraqi Baathists architecture blended hierarchy with the combination of new geometrical forms that led to the continuity of Iraqi nationalists' messages of nativeness in architecture .

In the following examples, original images of the representative projects from the archives departments of the Iraqi Kurdistan Ministry of Municipalities have been redrawn by the author due to the poor quality of the documents to emphasize the principal architectural elements for this period (1991-2003).

Architectural Category	Political Layer	Number of Samples of Architectural Project	Total
Kurdish Architectural Identity: Semi independence period	1991-2003	10 examples per year	130 cases
A Visual Representative of Specific Political Stratum		**Original Function**	Residential &Commercial
*The civil war between the KDP and PUK *No fly zone **Political status of Northern Iraq** Toward Semi-Independence of Iraqi Kurdistan	**Architecture Status**	**Existing Function**	Residential &Commercial
Representative Examples of Total Repression Period	**Features or Elements that Give the Examples its Visual Character (Architectural Details)**		
A representative example of 10 cases in 1991			
A representative example of 10 cases in 1992			

A representative example of 10 cases in 1993	
A representative example of 10 cases in 1994	
A representative example of 10 cases in 1995	
A representative example of 10 cases in 1996	

A representative example of 10 cases in 1997	
A representative example of 10 cases in 1998	
A representative example of 10 cases in 1999	
A representative example of 10 cases in 2000	
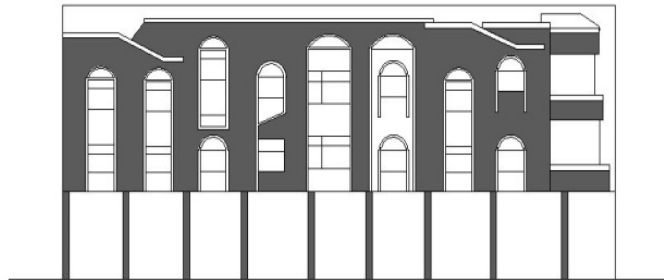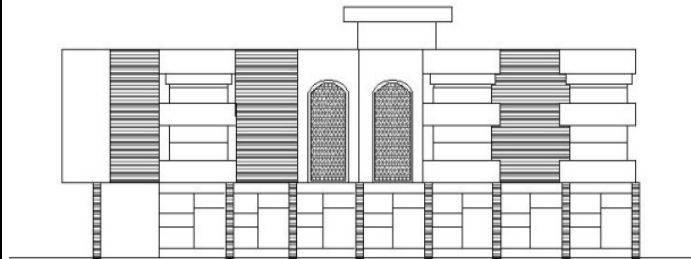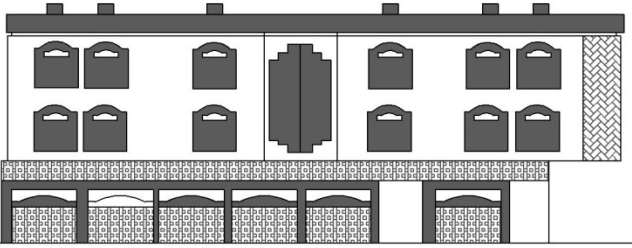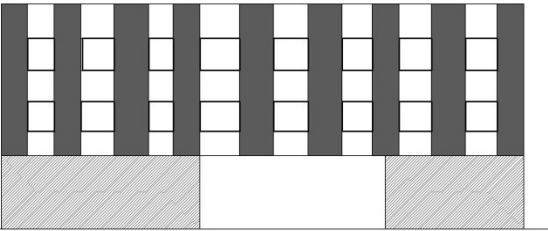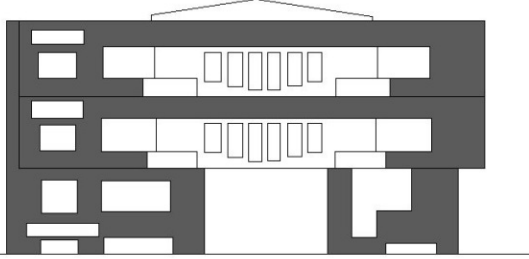
A representative example of 10 cases in 2001	
A representative example of 10 cases in 2002	
A representative example of 10 cases in 2003	
Unknown	**The characteristic of Kurdish identity in architectural productions during this period**

Table 5.7 Summary Data Sheet: Overall visual characters of the representative examples of architectural productions − toward Semi-Independence architectural identity in Iraqi Kurdistan (Author 2013 based Ministry of Municipalities-dossiers 1991-2003)

5.2.1.1.4 IN SEARCH OF KURDISH ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY: AUTONOMY 2003-PRESENT

This period started during 2003, following the Iraqi liberation war and the establishment of an autonomous Kurdistan. The Kurdistan Regional Government makes its own laws, controls its own army and decides its own pace of economic development (KRG 2008); the region manifested major activism during 2005, and realized real estate investment policies in 2007 and 2010. Southern Kurdistan is presently engaged in a major re-invention quest to shape an identity that can position the region as an independent nation on the global stage. As vehicles to achieve this goal of self-actualization, Iraqi Kurdistan has chosen real estate and spectacular architecture over historic narratives.

The analysis illustrates that the period since 2003 brought about another shift in the evolution of Kurdish politics and nationality from an architectural perspective. In 2003-2012, during the foundation of the autonomous region, nation-branding efforts have been made to catch up with other rapidly developing countries in the Middle East. However, despite the significance of the politics of architectural identity for the nation as a recognized brand (see Chapter 2), there is roughly no place for Kurdish architectural vocabularies in the current construction industry. As an influence on environmental design, it is possible to describe the 22 years of the development of Kurdish architecture as what has been defined by Leach (1999:166) as a "period of anarchy". The discrimination and the repression practiced by previous regimes help explain the marginalization of Kurdish architectural vocabularies and its role in Kurdish identity recognition, but for the time being fully independent since 2003 it is a kind of hard task to explore the policies that have been approached by quasi- Kurdish government continuing to marginalize efforts to define Kurdish architectural identity. KRG depends on architectural companies from neighboring countries for most of strategic projects in the region like large-scale governmental buildings, gates, symbols, office buildings, restoration of historical sites, hotels and so on. In adding realistic substance to the symbolic expression of architectural identity during this period, understanding the conceptuality of large-scale governmental

buildings creates new opportunity to grasp particular aspect of architecture in post semi-independent Iraqi Kurdistan.

Even though, Kurds of southern Kurdistan since 2003 have reached semi-independence politically and it is a self-governed region, it is dependent physically. It is clear that during recent history, Kurdistan has been divided among four countries, Kurds have not had the opportunity to express their identity architecturally; even so, it has been demolished mainly as a military tool to destroy its iconography and culture.

The reconstruction of the built environment in Kurdistan has undeniably enjoyed prolonged, rapid growth in many areas of the region during the post-semi-independence period. However, there are also a number of common problems that have been linked to the lack of architectural references and architectural identity, which call into question its usefulness as a component of competitiveness, and sustainable national identity. These include foreign domination and dependence on neighboring countries, socioeconomic and spatial loss of national value, environmental decay in terms of the loss of collective memory as a main component of social control and identity among communities. An analysis of these problems will explore ways in which they may be overcome by introducing a hierarchy of the indispensable factors that nation branding needs for national value. If the architect succeeds in retaining the essence of the national pride and its traditional frame even in creating a modern urban complex while, the sustained efforts and commitment of professionals and decision makers toward the creation of Kurdish architectural identity can play a key role in the continuation of the sustained and competitive Kurdish identity. The question to be raised here is to what extent is it necessary to regulate architecture in Kurdistan, for example with licensing and building codes, with professional ethics, or with improved education? It is interesting to note that a high amount of construction of Kurdistan is being done without Kurdish architects, using old adapted projects. In many countries although, there is no licensing at all, professionalism itself serves as a license. "Licensing as it is accepted in the USA is actually an examination of the knowledge of laws and norms, acting on the territory of a certain state" Leach

1999:170-171). Kurdish institutional clients have slipped away from Kurdish architects, opening themselves up to a larger mainstream of international firms. The threat of this strategy, if successful in occupying the region architecturally, would upgrade the opportunity for the region to be segregated more deeply and dependent more realistically on the neighboring countries. In sum, there is no debate that the Kurdish government has certainly stepped forward towards development and reconstruction, with the Kurdish architectural identity again in question.

The opportunity of Kurdish architects and decision makers in the construction of Kurdish identity in architecture has increased since 1991 due to the fundamental changes in political, economic, or social conditions, as part of an increased presence of political freedom. Although, the Kurdish political struggle became visible for their history of resistance, the role of architects remained anonymous in reaching toward independence through architectural identity and the physical built environment. In reflecting on the period of suppression in terms of the architectural built environment, it can be concluded that the impact of Kurdish architects in shaping Kurdish identity in architecture to represent a sign of independence and a communication place for Kurds among "the architecture of confinement" to act as a form of resistance, was invisible.

Although, there are no doubts that architecture can do a lot for Kurdish nation brand, still the Kurdish nation misunderstands its significance. Indeed, architecture has the potential to improve the sustainability of a complex, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic nation, and in return defines a whole new national entity and sustain a sense of collective identity. In parallel with fulfilling purely constructional goals, the political objectives of architecture can be realized if architects evolved as political analysts with productive roles in the political sphere. Architects can influence the creation and evolution of physical environments.

Through questions arise of the role of architects in the politics of Kurdish local atmosphere, in this study, the challenges of Kurdish identity in architecture is

highlighted, arguing that architectural identity is both powerful and powerless, depending on the contexts in which it is planned, created, and received in the built environment. How architectural imaginations and political futures intersect, and with what spatial and cultural effects, must continue to be an area of further reflection. In his book Dutton (1996:212) states that:

> "We practice, we teach, we write, we serve the profession and the community at large, we are leaders, we are team players, we have philosophies and theories, we exist. Through our designs and teaching, we transfer our knowledge and vision and bring joy and enlightenment to our clients, students and society. We do not ask for special quarter and we expect none. We are architects! We design. We build" (Howard et al, 1992 in Dutton at el. 1996: 212).

Physically, politics refers to the power of the architectural environment arising from the links between architects in general and politicians. Site -specific works with national/local and architectural inputs and identities are what Kurdistan aspires to. Therefore, Kurdistan and its inhabitants benefit when the built environment not only lend modernization or mere trivial architecture to the public network, but also provides visual icons of Kurdish history and identity, as well as a showcase for cultural references which work as alive border to replace the vanished geographical borders of the regions. Such architecture recognize who or what a nation is all about, and transforms the physical environment into a specific expression of political debates and interests. The question for meaning and identity in architecture for national expression is therefore an ongoing issue.

5.2.1.1.4.1 KURDISH ARCHITECTS VS. POLITICIANS

As a reaction to the sweeping tendency that have been used throughout history to eradicate Kurdish roots, the phenomenon of expressing cultural identity in architecture is rare to observe in all parts of southern Kurdistan. Accordingly, it is worth investigating how cultural identity is being repressed architecturally in the past and how it is being expressed in contemporary architecture in the context

of autonomy region. Focusing on architects, and the strategic structures they use in expressing layers of frequent political, economic and cultural change in their work and the extent in which their attempts response to the pressure of socio political and economic predicaments, such a collectivity would have played a great role in formulating a sense of belonging and collective identity.

Currently, in Iraqi Kurdistan, the education is in a problematic position, as it has totally distanced itself from the national and cultural problems that the nation faces today. In the architectural departments of engineering universities, meaningless facades in unreal scale can be observed, projects in which Kurdish identity crisis is totally absent. That is why there is very little opportunity that Iraqi Kurdistan will soon see a new generation of Kurdish architects, brought up according to modern cultural standards - a generation the Kurdish nation needs so much.

The movement toward revitalization expresses the pressure of globalization and cultural identity in the Kurdish built environment is in its infancy. It started from 2003 with attempts by foreign and local direct investments in architecture by designing different kinds of buildings: The presidency building (2005), the council of ministries (2007), the capital governorate building (2012) and many more projects. These are examples of international architectural companies commissioned to design such a dominant projects and making development of contemporary architecture in Kurdistan. The question to be raised here is what architectural identity is expected to be used by a semi occupying force in creating uniqueness for a semi occupied region? Accordingly the appearance of architecture by neighboring countries' architects that attempts to reflect their cultural identity is a different phenomenon. For example among the large-scale governmental buildings is

ERBIL NEW GOVERNORATE BUILDING

As part of the reconstruction process, the Kurdish Government announced details of the Erbil new governorate building. The construction site lies on Erbil's 60-meter road on an area of 1800 meter square of 5 floors and 200 rooms. Turkish company "Esken Construction Company" won the subsequent competition for the construction of the governorate in 2012 at a cost of (36.036.551) Iraqi Dinars (KRG 2012)[53].

Figure 5.28 Site plan of the Erbil New Governorate Building (KRG 2012)

Figure 5.29 Basement plan of the Erbil New Governorate Building (KRG 2012)

Figure 5.30 Typical plan of the Erbil New Governorate Building (KRG 2012)

The building has been designed in the Erbil castle Revival style, which emulated classical Ottoman architecture fused with international style. Although the external architecture of the Erbil new governorate building has been designed to reflect the purpose of the building and to forge the spirit and idea of city branding, searching for a contemporaneous Kurdish architecture and the importance of understanding the value of Kurdish identity in architecture can hardly be perceived. The design of the architectural vocabularies borrowed from ancient Erbil castle has been fused with the international pattern.

Figure 5.31Vocabularies of ancient Erbil castle (Author 2013)

This is an example of the post semi-independence architecture and reflects the absence of sense of independence in architecture. In buildings in Iraqi Kurdistan, on one hand, political elites have played a crucial role in the formation of this architectural confusion towards both a Kurdish national style and international modernism. On the other hand, through a census conducted by this study in 2012, in which there are approximately (1100) registered Kurdish architects in Kurdish engineers' syndicate, the built environment's lack of cultural references is still part of the profession today. The usage of materials, the inclusion of anti-Kurdish historical typological references, and the chaos use of symbolic element came to be seen as a key in the construction process of these buildings. Since there are no symbolic and aesthetic vocabularies identified to be the main source of inspiration for Kurdish nation, the relation between Kurdish identity and architecture was not defined in an overall visual characteristic of Kurdish large-scale governmental buildings

Figure 5.32The perspective of Erbil New Governorate Building (KRG 2012)

In general, in the age of globalization, territorial elites depend on architecture as a means to deal with national identity and show its aspirational state. The global architectural language to rebrand nations has been adopted more and more by politicians and bureaucrats. For example, McNeill (2000) tries to test the effect of globalization on European territorial politics via studying the discussions regarding the opening of the Frank Gehry-designed Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao. According to McNeill (2000), is not only an economic advantage to refresh and renew. Bilbao's deindustrialized urban economy, but also is part of the political movement and planned action of the ruling party in the Basque region by which they are involved in a race with other oppositional institutions and strengthen its relative enhancement within Spain. It is of help to follow the same procedures in this research as an effort to study the influence architecture has with nation brand in the Kurdistan context. Actually, the Kurdish identity has seldom been studied through theKurdish architect's eyes and perspectives. Kurdish identity has always remained invisible in physical design and the Kurdish built environment. In fact, architecture in this context, cannot be "color-blind" or culturally neutral (Dutton at el. 1996:202).

Although, Southern Kurdistan is experiencing independency since 2003 and beginning to explore the ever-changing framework of economical and Kurdish social-map, but such issues and the plan for sustainable and competitive identity have not been taken as a central focal point to design socially responsible physical environment. Thus, such a continuous ignorance to the Kurdish architectural identity by Kurdish ruling elites and architects has resulted in the current isolation and partisan division of all parts of semi –independent Southern Kurdistan and affected an overall sense of collective identity.

In fact, politicians and architects together can provide visible brand recognition to the Kurdish nation serves as arch-graphical border and can be the national icon of Kurdish history offering "great value" for the Kurds as architecture opens the door in front of international consciousness to have physical impression about the history and culture of Kurdish nation. The works of Kurdish architecture also allow Kurds to project themselves in the sphere of cultural spaces, and thus lend a rare branding approach to a nation's quest for global recognition.

> "The question, then, is never whether architecture should be a business or profession, but whether it should be a mere business, having no standards beyond what law, market, ordinary morality, and public opinion demand. For a hundred years now, in the US at least, architects have generally answered that they do not want to be thought of as mere business people" (Owen 2009:128).

Within the context of Southern Kurdistan, currently, architecture is evidently closer to being thought of as a mere production of business people, however the debate on global versus cultural continues is ongoing. Moreover, the built environment is considered the main factor in such happenings of confusion recorded every part of Kurdistan.

It has become increasingly difficult to find a language for the reconstruction and the renewal process in the recent past. Actually, there has been a growing general

dissatisfaction with the recent built projects (see Appendix). This way of construction encapsulated in the modernisation in the wrong way, is problematic. Perhaps the approach of built new society, inclusive and interpretive of neighboring countries, can offer them a new language for occupation that is a "deformation" of urban memories of Kurdistan. The most desirable way to secure an appropriate yet critical identity for Kurdish architects is to position oneself in the area of "cultural politics of difference".

The character of the urban form of Kurdistan needs a deciphering mechanism, starting with hybrid historical architecture of huge civilization stories that make an ambiguous Kurdish place on the global map and hereby representing ambiguous entity. Moving on from an abrogated Kurdish architect's role, presently, the Kurdish architect professionally experiences the same conspiracy of marginalization by the current government. The contributions of the Kurdish architects as cultural producers are plainly hidden. Aesthetically, the works by Kurdish architects, which lack cultural references, are barely understandable. On the other side, Kurdish architects seldom have their right position with governmental committees and are always assumed sub architects or collaborators.

Since 1991, within the current Kurdish governmental institutes, Kurdish architects have the same invisibility. As has been experienced to African American architects by segregation to make their roles hidden and invisible (Dutton at el. 1996:212); but within the context of Kurdistan the regional government directs such invisibility. The architectural discipline in the Kurdish region needs revolution and reconstructing to free Kurdish architects' role from being hidden and anonymous, to reflect positively on the recognition of Kurdish entity and the visibility of Kurdish identity. As such, a reciprocal relation can be observed between the anonymity of the architect as Kurdish citizen and the nation as Kurdish entity.

5.2.1.1.4.1ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY 2003-2013: A VEHICLE OF THE MERE PRODUCTION OF BUSINESS PEOPLE AND POLITICAL ELITE'S MESSAGES

To question the Kurdish government's architectural strategy in misinterpretation of the Kurdish identity in architecture, this analysis has been carried out focusing on 100 samples of building licenses documents from the archive departments of the Ministry of Municipalities of Iraqi Kurdistan. It highlights the concrete problems addressed by the research and the impact of architectural policy-making mechanisms on the production of Kurdish identity in architecture during this period. Over 300 licenses files of the architectural projects were mapped and identified from (2003 -2013) and then 100 of these were shortlisted.

This study uses qualitative approach to analyse features and elements that give the architectural productions during this period its visual characteristics. It discusses the negative impact of the international style that is approached instrumentally by Kurdish elites in the service of their goal of reaching self-actualization in architecture. As a result, based on the document analysis (archival records) of 100 projects as the representative examples, the objective of this study was to identify the factors, which shape the Kurdish identity in architecture during this period, in which documents are interpreted by the researcher to give voice and meaning around the assessment topic based on the theoretical proposed framework (Chapter 1,2,3,4), comprises that identity as:
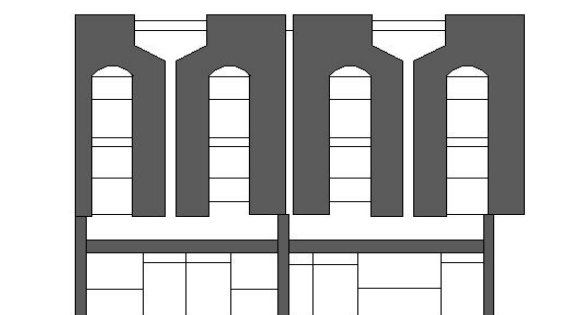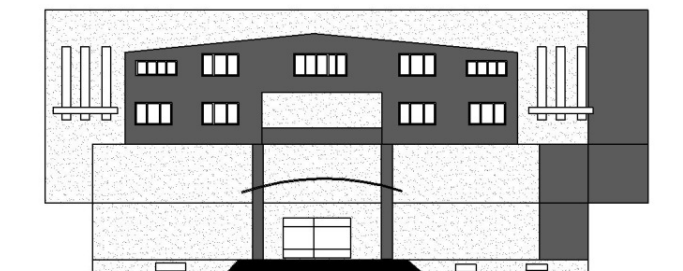
➢ Identity as a spirit of nation, political aim, or the continuity of occupier's identity: The qualitative documentation and observation results reveal that the degree of change from the previous periods is very slight in terms of the reflection of Kurdish identity in architecture. The concept of sustainability can be noticed in the absence of the role of Kurdish architects as a cultural producers. The architecture during this period is evidently closer to being thought of as a mere production of the business people and the political elites. However, the debate on Kurdish identity continues to be ongoing
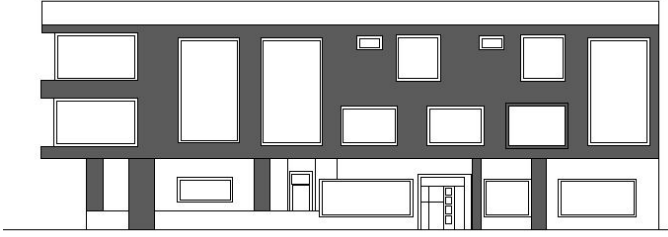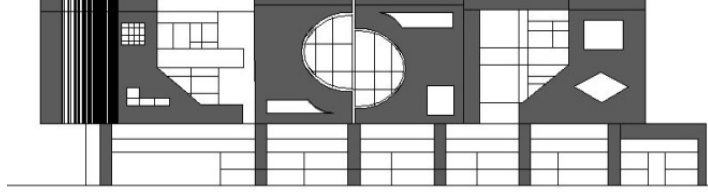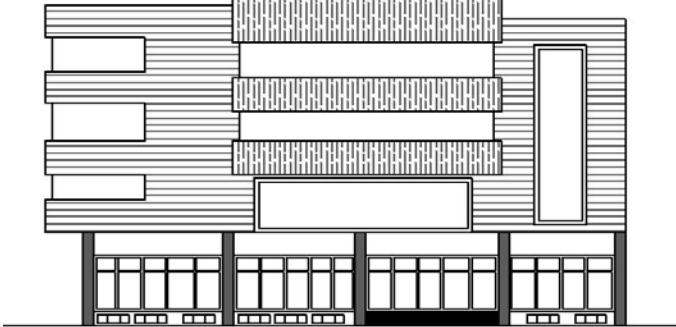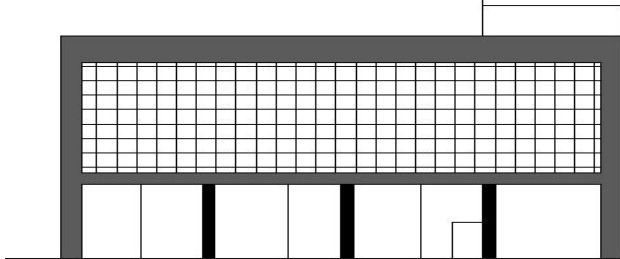
debate. (100%) of cases show that Kurdish identity as the spirit of Kurdish nation was absent in the architecture during this period. Moreover, (100%) of case shows as well the absence of any features or elements that give the Kurdish identity its visual character (Kurdish architectural details).
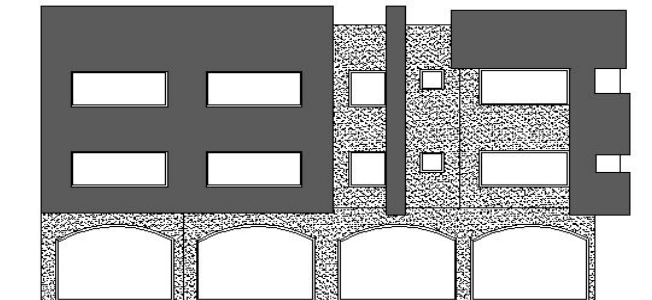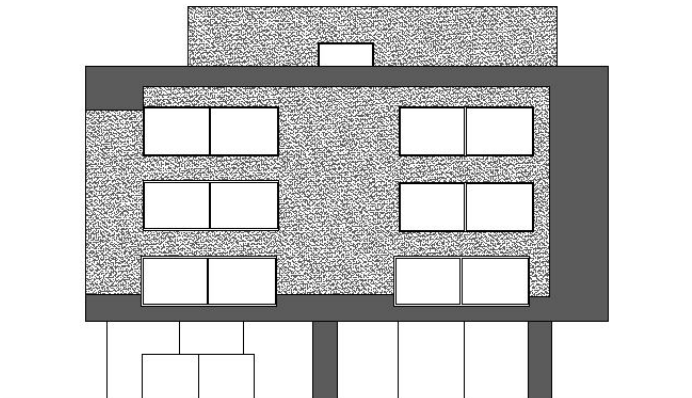
➢ The observation and visual characteristics documentation results shows that in spite of the architectural languages that have widely employed during this period used a new eclectic mixture of elements which have been borrowed from east and west as a rate of 65%, undefined Kurdish identity in architecture dominated the overall cases. Thus with this context in Iraqi Kurdistan during 2003 and 20013, hybrid architecture as the fusion of different elements was the main tool used by Kurdish elites to brand the Kurdish region as "another Iraq"

In the following examples, original images of the representative projects from the archives departments of the Iraqi Kurdistan Ministry of Municipalities have been redrawn by the author due to the poor quality of the documents to emphasize the principal architectural elements for this period (2003-2013).

Architectural Category	Political Layer	Number of Samples of Architectural Project	Total
Kurdish architectural identity: Autonomy	2003-2013	10 examples per year	100 cases
A Visual Representative of Specific Political Stratum	**Architectural Status**	**Original Function**	Residential &Commercial
Kurds: Autonomy		**Existing Function**	Residential &Commercial
Political Status of Northern Iraq			
Autonomy of KRG	**Features or Elements that Give the Examples its Visual Character (Architectural Details)**		
Representative Examples of Total Repression Period			
A representative example of 10 cases in 2004			
A representative example of 10 cases in 2005			
A representative example of 10 cases in 2006			

A representative example of 10 cases in 2007	
A representative example of 10 cases in 2008	
A representative example of 10 cases in 2009	
A representative example of 10 cases in 2010	

A representative example of 10 cases in 2011	
A representative example of 10 cases in 2012	
A representative example of 10 cases in 2013	
Unknown	**The characteristic of Kurdish identity in architectural productions during this period**

Table 5.8 Summary Data Sheet: Overall visual characters of the representative examples - autonomy 2003-present architectural identity in Iraqi Kurdistan (Author 2013 based on Ministry of Municipalities-dossiers 2003-2013)

5.3 KURISH IDENTITY AND IMAGE LEGITIMATING AND ITS RELATION TO ARCHITECTURAL BUILT ENVIRONMENT

This study offers a conceptual frame for understanding the phenomenon of Kurdish identity and image within the implementation of architectural policy in Iraqi Kurdistan. Central to the argument is therefore about how ambiguous architectural approaches produced chaotic visual form. Within the Kurdish sphere, the political transformations clash with the lack of its implementation in terms of Kurdish visual identity and image. In spite of the experiencing of sociopolitical changes and the modernity that the region passed through, the Kurdish architects have not developed ways of culturally absorbing these changes since architects has the opportunity "to work more effectively as social reformers and political mediators" (Charlesworth 2006:129). In Iraqi Kurdistan, the visual identity is simply an ill-fitting import from outside and most architectural projects are primarily intended as money –making projects. Nevertheless, "three preconditions must be met for the making of an architectural masterpiece. The first is a need for it within the society that must pay for it. The second is having the right person to do it. The third is that the timing should be right; in other words, psychological and economic factors must be favourable. This harsh preconditions set architecture apart from other forms of human endeavor" (Schildt 1991:88).
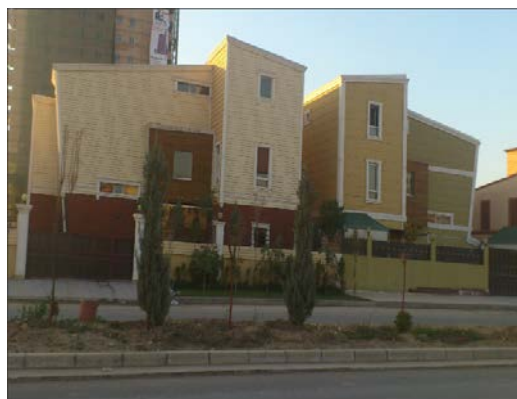
Figure 5.33 Vital Village in Erbil: Joint-venture housing project by ARC Construction and DOSKO Construction companies from Turkey (Author 2013)

Figure 5.34American Khanzad Village for Housing-Licensed 2007 Erbil- joint venture 1raq/USA. http://www.americanvillage.info/overview.asp

Moreover, exploring the concepts of Kurdish brand identity and image intertwined with Kurdish built environment from the architectural perspective is new to Kurdish society. For nations with limited recognition like the Kurds who have struggled towards recognition, using most amicable and non-amicable ways, and have not reached its aim yet, it is possible to view the lack of Kurdish identity in architecture as a relative factor, which potentially has affected such phenomena. Since the relationship between nation brand image and national identity is longitudinal, which is an abstraction of both culture and politics (Skinner et al. 2007). Additionally, as Simonin (2008) indicates that "country's image is a reflection, sometimes distorted, of its fundamental being, a measure of its health, and a mirror to its soul". Nevertheless, an overall visual view of Southern Kurdistan constitutes a peculiar phenomenology in which the ideas of hybridity and global effect play an important role in the production of architecture."The global effect of which is a systematic subversion of the principle of territoriality on which states, local cultures and collective identities rest" (Berking 2003:250).

The Kurdish architectural history is complex: Observations about the reactionary nature of the modern Kurdish built environment reveal that the configuration of

the Kurdish history has not been taken as an essence or slogan, for presenting Kurdish national identity and image. This study argues that for a fully recognized Kurdish identity and competitive image, a strong sense of physical connection between architecture and the spirit of nation is essential and must be interwoven into the fabric of the nation as a system. As according to Ozkan (1996:22),"the sense of place that such architecture generates is challenging to both residents and visitors; it reflects a sense of boundaries, physical and psychological. The architecture seeks to express the boundaries between the public and private, and between the transition zones in a physical sense of space, just as the behaviour is articulated in that same gradation of demeanour".

The questions to be answered go far beyond the realm of Kurdish politics: To what extent has Kurdish built environment accomplish the main aims in terms of being "a physical representation of thought and aspiration, a record of the beliefs and values of the culture that produces it" (Roth 1994:141)? Has Kurdish architectural built environment reinforced state sovereignty and self-determination in terms of being a product of physical planning solidified by cultural references? Has sustainable and competitive identity been taken as a central point to design a socially responsible architectural environment, beginning to explore the ever-changing framework of the Kurdish social-map? How has Kurdish architectural policy maintained the consistency with Kurdish national development policy?

Concerning the currently Kurdish nation brand identity and image based architectural identity; this study provocatively argues that, Kurdistan is encountering the physical colonization of the built environment. For example, these projects, which began appearing on the Kurdish scope after the second half of the 2000s, are examples of the aforementioned pluralism in Kurdistan. Although developers have already completed work on several projects, the most of these projects lack cultural references and dimensions. Actually, the image that Kurdish ruling elites are trying to build is "Kurdistan is another Iraq". Kurdish political skyline is inversed to the Kurdish physical skyline in terms of basic mechanism of their struggling toward independency and achieving sustainable

national identity for their nation. Politically, the Kurdish nation is struggling for the liberation of its terrain from neighboring countries occupation. Architecturally, the Kurdish ruling elites offer international companies from the neighboring countries to occupy the region physically by constructing massive and strategic projects, which represent Kurdistan sovereignty with their own architectural identity.

Figure 5.35 Bilkent Plaza B1 block Ankara Turkey: http://invescotr.com/references.php

Figure 5.36 Zakaria Luxus apartment- Naz City Erbil-Iraqi Kurdistan (Author 2012)

Thus, the brand image of Kurdish nation is strongly identified by the lack of the Kurdish built environment in terms of physical legitimacy that has affected negatively the overall perception of Kurdish recognition. According to Simonin (2008),based on the theoretical perspective of nation branding, it is believed that nation/country image is a matter of the mental depiction of a country, and of the total beliefs and impressions held by people in regard of a particular place. Consequently, Kurdish strategists "must unite on a common cultural basis, and if there is no such basis on the surface, we must dig it up from our historical depths and revive it" (Leshem and Shuval et al. 1998: 437).

However, as fieldwork shows, architectural identity is about playing a role in unifying Kurds, which is divided among four countries across international borders. There seems to be an explicit mismatching in the procedure of achieving sustainability in national identity as imagined through the built environment based political dimension. The range and depth of these ongoing processes of physical reconfiguration are extremely controversial. However, to perceive the

sense of "Kurdishness", Kurdish architects and decision makers need only to take into consideration that, in relation to the 'cultural', the 'collective' and the 'national' identity, the 'architectural identity' is a conjoined scale of nation. According to Glendinning (2010:19), "the higher values of architecture were usually emphatically integrated and collective in character, and were pervaded by ethical values intended to give a strong sense of authenticity and performance".

This study calls in some measure to reconstruct the Kurdish identity -related physical reconfiguration of built environment, in particular, as far as a modernization of local space is concerned. The consequences of the idea of independency of Kurdistan and Kurdish identity can best be studied with reference to the Kurdish architectural identity. The central line of argument concerning the decline of the Kurdish identity and its territorial sovereignty refer to former and new trends towards modernization, and producing an architectural environment that lacks of Kurdish cultural references attached with neighboring countries' architectural policies. However, currently, there are great attempts by neighboring countries in particular Turkey to affiliate the region physically through architecture under the pretext of taking part in the process of reconstruction the region and under the economic dimensions of foreign direct investment (FDI) that is sponsored by Kurdish leading elites.
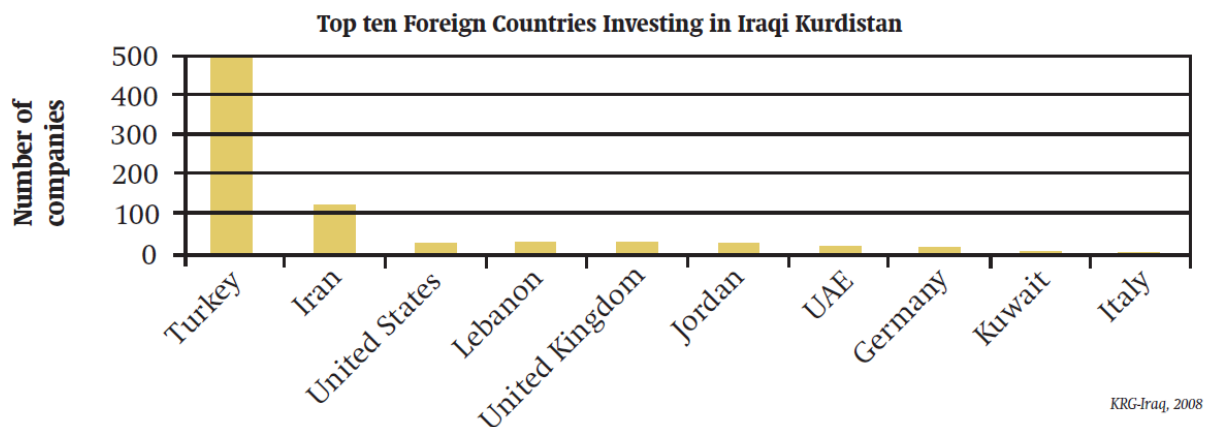
Figure 5.37 Top ten Foreign countries investing in Iraqi Kurdistan (KRG 2008)

While the political dimensions of architecture are extremely important in terms of national loyalty and brand image, the relation between architecture and Kurdish identity is extremely neglected by the Kurdish ruling elites. Peter Marcuse, in 'reflections on Berlin' examines the role that architecture plays in the construction of image through building sites (Marcuse 1998). The case in point, Marcuse (1998:333) examined in his book 'reflections on Berlin' the role that architecture plays in the construction of national image through building sites: He states that "the ultimate landscape of power – not because of its form but because of its construction". He adds that the focus of power is in who controls what is built. However, several key themes are important in the equation of Kurdish nation brand (Kurdishness), in this study the focus was on architectural productions and the extent in which it is found to be successful in narrating and reflecting the important events of Kurdish history.

The integration of the architectural and political mechanism towards independence is important to fully realize the extent of such a mechanism of the structural improvement of the sustainability of Kurdish national identity or the invention of new way and procedure in the form of improving and enhancing Kurdish image from the architectural perspective. To understand this reconfiguration of architectural spaces within the political atmosphere, taking a historical look at four shifts (reading between historical layers, from total repression toward semi-independence and autonomy), provides a precise answer to regulate and control these architectural spaces in Iraqi Kurdistan(Chapter 5: Section 1& 2).

That all dimensions of political messages of architecture described here affect the form of the territorial image is beyond doubt. However, architecture functions as both representative symbol and unifying medium of political discourse. In fact, the architectural preferences contribute to the formation of selling the ideas of a political cue. This should be the conclusion that what we are faced with here is a significant reconfiguration process of the relation between architecture, nation brand, sovereignty and identity. This policy of political power in architecture is comprehensive and yet not applied with the Kurdish efforts toward its

independence and sustainability of Kurdish national identity. This approach could be an integral tool of Kurdish identity and Kurdish architectural identity and between the political target; and the sense of rationality. This policy necessitates exploring the importance of the political message of architecture in strengthening and charting the Kurdish nation on the global stage with respect to national identity. Thus, the new policy of power lies neither completely outside nor below the architectural identity, even though in Kurdistan, the latter is increasingly losing its national and cultural meaning and it is turning from the mere architecture that had been produced by modernist Iraqi nationalists previously to the architecture as the fusion of different elements that has been produced by Kurdish elites currently.

5.3.1 KURDISHNESS THROUGH THE EYES OF ARCHITECTS AND DECISION MAKERS

In terms of defining and evaluating Kurdish identity in architecture, its absence or presence and defining the visualization strategy of Kurdish brand and its impact on (Kurdishness), a random sample of 50 Kurdish architects and 50 of decision makers were chosen from different areas of southern Kurdistan working in different departments of ministries at different level of councils to compare the differences and commonalities in such evaluation. Thus, for the purpose of this comparative study, a structured questionnaire was used based on the research's theoretical framework to collect broad-based information to develop an understanding of an area, which has so far received minimal attention in the literature and to serve as a principle of reliability. The interview questions took place during December 2011 and January 2013 following the questionnaire that had been determined based on the impact of architectural identity on nation branding (the interview questions used to direct the interview process and the findings are available in the Appendix). In terms of content, interview questions that were suggested by the data and the literature has been determined systematically to ascertain the role which architectural identity plays in the branding process of Kurdish nation. The objectives of this interview questions were as follows: The first part of the structured questionnaire schedule was to

evaluate the extend in which Kurdish architectural identity is defined and viewed to be the collection of the main features of identity construction and nation recognition. Second, the research sought to determine the extent to which Southern Kurdistan has a visualization nation brand and, how that strategy reflected the spirit of nation. For credibility of the research to across different domains like social, political, economic, thirdly, the research tried to identify if Kurdish architects are involved in building a so-called Kurdish brand and how Kurdish architectural policy maintained the consistency with political targets of the region (see Appendix for the result and Findings).

The study revealed that there are similarities and differences between the views of Kurdish architects and decision makers regarding the absence of Kurdish identity in architecture and its importance. However, there is a general consensus regarding the effectiveness of nation branding strategy based Kurdish architectural identity measured. In addition to the general agreement in regards to the process of identifying the brand for the scattered Kurdish nation and its comparability to the search for the Kurdish architectural identity. According to the respondents, Iraqi Kurdistan should investigate its identity more scientifically. The results of this research questions support a suggestion proposed by this study, which considers relationship building as a central paradigm of architectural identity and nation branding as two fields upon which it is possible to interplay more effectively in the future. The output of the research questions further confirm the issues raised in the literature regarding the importance of architectural identity as an essence of the nation or state. As has been mentioned earlier in this research that the character of architecture is a physical representation of human thought and aspiration, a record of the beliefs and values of the culture that produces it (Roth 2007:141). Since Country or nation's brand conceptualized by Gilmore (2002) that "the core of a country's brand must capture the spirit of the people of that nation and their shared purpose. The spirit of the people and the spirit of their place are deeply connected". Thus, the impact of architecture as a spirit of nation is essential for understanding the nation as a brand. However, in terms of Kurdish architectural identity as a spirit of nation

most respondents agreed that it has not been taken in planning nation brand or the development strategy.

In referring to identity as a field of query, Joo (1983:7) suggests that "a quest for identity implies that discernible characteristics have not emerged; yet such a search has to be defined the definition may take into account a preference for an identity for the region as a whole". In Iraqi Kurdistan in contrary, it is confirmed totally by respondents that the Kurdish built environment has not been viewed to be the collection of the main features of identity construction and nation recognition. Moreover, we may find our identity via understanding ourselves and reacting with our environment (Correa 1983:10). It is to be stated that there are others like Charles Correa (1983) who regards identity to be a process not an object. Further, he confirms that looking for identity plays an obvious role in giving much more sensitivity not only to our settings but also to us and our society. Through these ideas , the search for identity is " a by- product of looking at our real problems, rather than self-consciously trying to find identity as an end in itself, without worrying about the issues we face" (Ibid). In this research question, Kurdish identity is viewed by respondents to be problematic and absence in the equation of Kurdish architecture and there is an agreement among architects and decision makers that the continuous ignorance to the pure Kurdish architectural skyline by Kurdish ruling elites and architects has impacts on the current isolation and partisan division of all parts of semi –independency southern Kurdistan and affected an overall sense of collective identity.

However, identity comprises many complicated characteristics and variant features. It consequently has taken into account history, heritage, culture, religion, ethnicity, language, and consciousness (Jana 2003). In this research question, roughly, more than half of respondents believed that sustainable and competitiveness of Kurdish national identity can be reflected in Kurdish brand identity if it has been reinforced basically by the Kurdish built environment as main component. Which places do or do not become part of heritage and what transformations places undergo in this process of recognition is a key arena for combative struggles of identity and power. It is not simply that heritage places

symbolize certain values and beliefs, but that the very transition of these places into heritage is a process whereby identity is defined, debated and contested and where social values are challenged or reproduced (Jacobs 1992:35). Such a theoretical perspective is totally confirmed by the respondents of my research questions that the rehabilitation the old historical sites that the Kurdistan region is rich of, maintained region' brand value rather the Kurdish nation brand value. Much has been written about how the destruction of architecture and cultural heritage is used to physically erase the memory of a people and a community having existed; the eradication of Jewish synagogues by the Germans, of Muslim heritage by the Serbians, of Armenian architecture by the Turks, of Tibetan architecture by the Chinese. On contrary, the dilemma of erecting architectural identity as a total reflection of the memory of people is the main component in forming the essence of nation, however, unfortunately, in terms of forming sustainability and competitiveness of Kurdish brand value, most of respondents believed that the current architectural built environment comprehended weakness of nation.

5.4 CONCLUSION

Within the context of Kurdistan, up to the present time, there is a lack of attention to various aspects of Kurdish architecture by both academics and practitioners, its full scope is yet to be thoroughly unearthed. Notably, the Kurdish nation has suffered from identity elimination over centuries. The reasons for its lack of identity are complex.

Kurdistan has made extensive efforts to find its social, economic and political place on the global map since 2003. It is unfortunate that the built environment, which has to be the physical icon of Kurdish history, is difficult to identify. Within this context, this study attempts to identify the principal characteristics of an architectural identity of Kurdistan. This has been done in order to understand the meaning of the Kurdish brand since architecture has all the potentials to improve the sustainability of a complex multi-cultural and multi-ethnic nation and in return define Kurdish as a new entity and to sustain a sense of a Kurdish collective identity. Methodologically, the specific statuses of architecture in Kurdistan have been investigated and analyzed critically at different levels and periods by considering the research questions. By taking a far-reaching historical look at four shifts in political, historical, and cultural representations which affected the architecture, the study aimed to explore the importance of the political message of architecture in strengthening and charting the Kurdish nation on the global stage. The task of creating Kurdish brand-based Kurdish architectural identity in the interests of quality and sustainability of national identity is complex. It requires important shifts in how Kurdish architectural identity and its developments will be valued and advanced by integrating architectural policy and the nation-branding framework (see Chapter Six).

Based on the above findings, the Kurdish form of nation branding based on architectural identity-led-agenda can classified as described in table (5.9).

Kurdish architecture: The physical layers of built environment-based political dimension analysis		The definition of Kurdish nation brand based- Kurdish architecture	Kurdish nation's brand identity and image from the architectural perspective	
National level	Kurdish architecture: As the continuity of colonized architectural identity	As a spirit of the continuity of the colonized identity	**International level**	paradoxical pattern of the political independency in the dependent architectural environment
	Kurdish architecture: As a vehicle of ambiguous messages of Kurdish values and identity			
	Kurdish architecture: As a vehicle of the continuity of Iraqi messages of nativeness			
	Kurdish architecture: As a vehicle of the mere products of business people and the political elite's messages	An unsuccessful tool in narrating and reflecting the important events of Kurdish history		

Table 5.9. The Kurdish form of nation branding based on architectural identity-led-agenda.

CHAPTER SIX

IRAQI KURDISTAN AS A CASE STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY ON NATION BRANDING

6. CONCLUSION: KURDISTAN AS A CASE STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY ON NATION BRANDING

CONCLUSION 6.1 NATION BRANDING FROM THE ARCHITECTURAL PERSPECTIVE

To assess the impact of architectural identity on nation branding, the study has addressed the following questions: How does a nation brand project itself in architecture? Can the existing architectural theories be adapted to explain this relationship effectively? Consequently, this study has pointed out broad implications of architectural influence on nation branding; for understanding the dynamics of its political message and discourses on its symbolic power in the context of national recognition. In order to get insight to the central phenomenon "within single settings", in this study a multi-case studies were presented for analyzing the interplay between the perceptions of identity, architecture and nation brand. Accordingly, the selected case studies of Finland and Israel have been explored respectively in relation to the main case study of Iraqi Kurdistan to exemplify the major design concept of developing the impact of architectural identity on Kurdish nation brand.

This concept has been based on the variations in architectural built environment of the case studies with regard to the physical, socio economic, political, and the sustainable and recognizable national identity of the selected entities to further prioritize the field investigations. According to Stake (2005:23), "an important reason for doing the multi-case study is to examine how the program or phenomenon performs in different environments. When cases are selected carefully, the design of a study can incorporate a diversity of contexts". Moreover, according to Groat and Wang(2001:356) case studies are a "real laboratory environment", that provide the research with theoretical replication logic. Testing "the impact of architectural identity on nation branding" has been done through comparative analysis on the selected cases of Finland and Israel. This testing has

provided sufficient empirical evidences to throw light on the complex relationship between Kurdish identity in architecture and Kurdish nation brand. Moreover, focusing on empirical findings, this research allows for comparisons and contrasts between nations as recognized, semi-recognized and non-recognized states by examining the historical, socio–political, and cultural dimensions of each nation in relation to its built environment. The study of the different built environments as well as the nation brand, identity and image background and development of the compared nations has brought to light what was hidden as an overall conception from the architectural perspective. This also has disclosed the significance of the architectural identity in context with their original objects. Valuable conclusions have been derived on the similarities and the differences in the polices maintaining the nation brand in architecture, which is used in this research as a foundation to help the development of the best management practice of sustainable and competitive national identity in Iraqi Kurdistan. It is an exploration of Kurdish identity in architecture as a reflection and a third dimension of political subjectivity.

This research aimed at the inclusion of three kinds of case studies in which architectural identity had positive, negative and fluctuated impacts in addition of being with different geopolitical and socioeconomically layouts. However, Finland was chosen to analyze the politics of architecture and its impact on nation brand and the second case, which is Israel, was chosen to evaluate the architecture of politics in relation to the built environment and its impact on nation brand.

Interestingly, the empirical finding about Finland shows that Finnish architecture as a spirit of the Finnish people has become a key component of Finnish brand that has affected the sustainable competitiveness of Finnish national identity and thereby regulated Finland's space on the global map. Linking Finnish architecture to the international architectural senses has been the core of architectural ideas and practices of most leading Finnish architects. By looking at Finland's memory, represented mainly by architectural environment, the physical layers of built environment through time shaped the successful story of Finland. The copycat

policy of architectural styles had not been approached ever since the middle ages in the Finnish built environment, unless to be passed through a samplification process and adaptation to local conditions. This policy resulted in an architecture based on Finnish identity as an independent nation. Finland has utilized architecture as new spirit of the time, gained efficiencies in cultural and political image, and raised a distinctive Finnish character, which supported Finland as an independent country in 1917. The Finnish brand's origin and Finnish identity and image can be traced back to discussions on the configuration of Finnish architecture. Despite exploration on Finnish architecture, what relevance it has in sustainable and competitive identity of Finland is still in its infancy. As such, one is encouraged to search within Finnish architectural discipline for the connection points with Finnish nation brand (Finnishness) and Finnish architecture. Richard (1966:17) described a logical process of shaping Finland herself –her history, and designing a unique brand of Finland so that each sub brands base and benefit from the essence that has been reflected through architecture.

The second case (Israel) was chosen to evaluate the architecture of Israeli politics in relation to Israeli architecture and its impact on nation brand. A detailed analysis of the relationship between Israeli nation brand and Israeli architectural identity reveals different forms of nation branding based on an architectural, identity-led agenda. In this research, Israel is observed as a fluctuated framework to the complex architectural effect on Israeli nation brand where Israeli architecture is considered as a framework "differs in intensity (quantity) rather than in essence (quality) from other architectural practices around the world" (Segal 2003:25). Moreover, within the context of Israeli architecture, Misselwitz (2006:102) states that, "the architectural dimension of architecture – that cultural or spiritual aura of the built object and surplus value of the building act – served at its best as a mere accessory, and at its worst as pure camouflage". In fact, the academic sector of Israeli architecture has paid sufficient attention to all aspects of the principle characteristics of architecture. Unfortunately, the ruling elites and politicians still miscalculate the value and significance of Israeli architectural identity to the very act of constructing a visual brand that has been generally neglected. "Having forsaken the would-be universal viewpoint held by Western

architects (and Eretz Israeli architects) rooted in the dialectics of theory and practice, Israeli adrikhalut is rooted in the dialectics of politics and architecture; this is where its dilemmas, blind spots, and paradoxes are to be found. Israeli adrikhalut produces impressive architectural projects but lacks a critical, comprehensive view of itself; mobilized by political ideologies, it sets facts in concrete that are inherently political, but lack political awareness"(Misselwitz 2006:103). Thus, a definition of Israeli architecture, its history, and its social meaning have remained vague in the physical environment. As was important from the literature review major gaps exists in understanding between decision makers and architectural producers in providing clear vision of issues of the impact of architectural identity as a spirit of Israeli nation rather than as a spirit of political aims in shaping Israeli nation brand from the architectural perspective. However, different policies are approached by Israeli elites and architects to produce Israeli architecture. Accordingly, the investigation of those strategies and their consequences have provided an understanding of the political meaning that has a long history of being part of the equation of the built environment and continues right through to the present to be a matter for architects and politicians across Israel. Thus, it provides information for the assessment of the Iraqi Kurdistan architecture and its reflection on Kurdish identity.

Moreover, within the context of Iraqi Kurdistan, the observed findings shows that, the Kurdish goal to be an independent nation provides a context to explore the role of architectural identity as detrimental to the nation brand vision. More recently, architectural reconstruction has been given greater prominence in the region since 2003 and new architecture has been installed. However, the Kurdish quest to be an integrated nation having its own geographical border, seldom have questions about the unified Kurdish architectural identity been raised, much less the effects on the process of unifying the scattered Kurdish nation around the world in terms of the Kurdish sense of place and place identity. Simultaneously, there is a surprising amount of available research on the Kurdish identity, history and regional politics. Thus, this study offered new theoretical horizon for better understanding the powerful force of architectural identity as central in transforming the value of nation brand and opening a new direction for empirical

inquiry and theorization of the current efforts of Kurdish independence. Central to the argument was therefore how ambiguous architectural approaches produced chaotic visual identity of nation brand. Within the Kurdish sphere, the political transformations clash with the lack of its implementation in terms of Kurdish visual identity and image. In spite of the experiencing of sociopolitical changes and the modernity that the region has passed through, the Kurdish architects have not developed ways of culturally absorbing these changes, since architects have the opportunity "to work more effectively as social reformers and political mediators" (Charlesworth 2006:129).

Moreover, exploring the concepts of the Kurdish identity in architecture intertwined with Kurdish nation brand from the architectural perspective is new to the Kurdish society. The Kurdish nation is struggling for the liberation of its terrain from neighboring countries occupation. Architecturally, the Kurdish ruling elites offer to international companies from the neighboring countries to occupy the region physically by constructing massive and strategic projects, represent Kurdistan sovereignty with their own architectural identity. Thus, the Kurdish image has been strongly identified by a lack of Kurdish architectural identity in terms of physical legitimacy, which has assembled the physical perspective and the representation of Kurdish identity and simultaneously has affected negatively the overall perception of Kurdish recognition. There seems to be an explicit mismatching in the procedure of achieving sustainability in national identity as imagined through the built environment relating it to the other side of coin, the political dimension. The range and depth of these ongoing processes of physical reconfiguration are extremely controversial. Based on selected criteria of analysis, the implantation of architectural policy in Iraqi Kurdistan and the cultural production offour studies layers of Kurdish history have been found to be in conflict with Kurdish national development campaign of the Kurdistan as the "other Iraq". Additionally, it has been found that there is no spatial linkage between Kurdish identity and Kurdish architectural identity and between the political target; and the sense of rationality.

Finally, architectural identity has been found to be one of the main important

elements in forming a strong part in shaping the essence of national independence. Maintaining unique cultural characteristics as a central component of the nation, national strategies towards developing its place on the global map characterize best the overall concept and the image of semi-recognized nation. In a sense, architectural identity can act as a core value of nation brand and physically attach it to the form of its identity and image. For the case of Iraqi Kurdistan, through the empirical findings, it has been found that the architectural identity has the power to work as a solid foundation of sustainable brand or the core of brand of nation. Unlike the other tools that offer a soft branding approach to re-imaging the nation, its people, and their goals, sensing political message via clear architecture with clear "DNA" serves the objective of sustainable national identity. The study revealed the need for a great cooperation and involvement between the Kurdish architects, political elites, and the Kurdish municipalities. This is needed in order to initiate proactively a strategic framework in creation national image and brand visions is done materially through a clear architectural identity in confronting the Kurdish political crisis and the architectural design that deals with cultural and heritage issues, and the development of sustainable strategies for the Kurdish nation branding.

In general, it might be possible, at some future point, to map scientifically the nation brand index with the development of architectural policy.

CONCLUSION 6.2: THE DEFINITION OF KURDISH ARCHITECTURE: PARADOXICAL PARADIGM OF POLITICAL INDEPENDENCY IN DEPENDENT ARCHITECTURAL ENVIRONMENT

While Southern Kurdistan is characterised by numerous historical architectural and archaeological sites, estimated as1,307 sites (KRG 2008), there is an absence of knowledge about Kurdish architectural identity and roughly there is no place for Kurdish architectural vocabularies in shaping the contemporary history of Southern Kurdistan. Moreover, up to the present time, there is a lack of attention to various aspects of Kurdish architecture by both academics and practitioners of the art and science of architecture; its full scope is yet to be thoroughly unearthed.

Thus, this study focuses on the discourse of Kurdish identity in architecture and examines the ways it has been politicized.

Within this academic concern, the study aims to examine the merits of a commonly asked question: what is Kurdish architecture? In Southern Kurdistan, architecture passed through dramatic transformations, which were the result of geopolitical and global changes. Thus, studying historical layers, the discourses that dominated Southern Kurdistan built environment is an important means of understanding how Kurdish architectural identity was produced. In this study, attempts to develop a clear definition for the Kurdish architectural identity have consumed much time and energy, yet no acceptable definition of Kurdish architectural identity as a spirit of Kurdish nation has been obtained. However, our conclusion is driven from three premises: First, unfortunately as mentioned above due to the problematic of identifying features or elements that give the archaeological sites its visual character, its tangible elements both on the exterior and interior have not been preserved and the available historical evidences are not of help to piece together an overall visual character of the historical sites. Second, when social and political aspects are included, quite different visions on architectural identities will arise. Thus, the architectural characteristics of the archaeological sites in southern Kurdistan vary depending on the geopolitical dimension and the historical period of each architectural site origin. In Iraqi Kurdistan most archaeological sites have been constructed according to the specific cultural and political conditions (foreign occupations) and therefore its architecture can be classified as the continuity of the colonized architectural identity and thus the visual past in Kurdish region is basically part of its complexity.

In Southern Kurdistan, the symbolic and aesthetic characteristics of archaeological sites that belonged to particular semi-independent Kurdish principalities are the representations of literally anti-national designs according to the political period of their implementations. However, national identity is created, but rather contested and fragile. "The struggle over heritage among groups with different experiences of history both flows from and contributes to

the instability and conflict of national identity" (Kampschror 2007 cited in McGuire 2008:23). The internal disputes among a number of semi-independent Kurdish principalities like Badinan, Soran and Baban diversified the term Kurdish on the national scale. As "memory battles are waged through the political control of memorials, museums, commemorations and archaeological sites" (Pullan et al. 2012). Moreover, the growing impact of such internal conflicts on the national and political interactions extends to what was hitherto internally a very heterogeneous region and has kept many issues (collective memory, collective identity, and sense of place) shrouded in uncertainty.

The repression narratives in modern time up to 1991 of Southern Kurdistan, tells us independent and unique Kurdish "influenced design and creativity" were limited because of the oppressive control of the central Iraqi regime.This study used triangulation approach to analyze features and elements that give the architectural productions during this period its visual characteristics. It discussed the negative impact of the Modernism that was approached instrumentally by Iraqi Republican elites in the service of their goal of reaching an ambiguous Kurdish identity in architecture. As a result, based on the document analysis (archival records), the objective of this study was to identify the factors, which shaped the Kurdish architectural identity perspectives during this period, in which documents are interpreted by the researcher to give voice and meaning around the assessment topic. The study revealed that Kurdish identity as spirit of Kurdish nation was absent in the architecture during this period. Moreover, most cases were showed the absence of any features or elements that give the Kurdish identity its visual character (Kurdish architectural details). The Modernism as new style-based free tradition considered to be the best option for Iraqi regime aspiration. As such, the production of modernist built environment led to new challenges in terms of identity. Complex characteristic features from adding mixed pre-existing and imported element into the architectural expressions resulted in hybrid identity. Hybrid architecture, as a result of jumbled importing styles and languages, caused encrypted physical memory, encrypted entity, and deconstructive architecture to exist. The aim of modernist Iraqi nationalists in the Kurdish region was not limited to modernization development, but included the

creation of the "Arabized" built environment. Thus, Kurdish identity was abstracted to the project of modernity (understood as Arabization). Therefore, the previous Iraqi regime models are embedded in the spirit of Kurdish nation is rejected. Merging vague values within contemporary architecture, a new version of architectural identity becomes visible.

Although, the suspension of suppression between 1991-2003 marked the beginning of the political effort to establish a new phase of Kurdish history, it provided a great stimulus to accelerate the Kurdish architectural identity to be a recognized medium, through which the Kurdish nation brand was to be constructed. Regional leaders continue the old mode of urban governance, using the same regulations in terms of architectural design and style, except some of the monumental urbanism aspects on the contrary served as propaganda for oppressive Iraqi regimes.

As mentioned this study approached qualitative analytical method to analyze features and elements that give the architectural productions during this period its visual characteristics. It discussed the negative impact of continuity of the policy approached by previous regime to achieve the modernist Iraqi nationalists's nativeness in architecture. As a result, based on the document analysis (archival records), the study revealed that although, the new political situation provided a great stimulus to accelerate the Kurdish identity in architecture to be a recognized medium, most cases showed that Kurdish identity as the spirit of Kurdish nation continued to be absent in the architecture. Moreover, most cases showed the absence of any features, elements, or motifs that give the Kurdish identity in architecture its visual character (Kurdish architectural details). The observation and visual characteristics documentation results showed, in spite of the architectural languages that were widely employed during this period used a jumbled combination of new geometrical forms as a rate of 38.46%.,undefined Kurdish identity in architecture dominated the overall cases. Thus with this context of Iraqi Kurdistan during 1991 and 2003, hybrid architecture as a result of basic successive architectural features or elements blended hierarchy with the

combination of new geometrical forms led to the continuity of the modernist Iraqi nationalists's nativeness in architecture.

Southern Kurdistan since 2003 has reached independence politically and it is self-governed region, thus a new shift of contemporary Kurdish history is recorded, unfortunately, presently, the resulting architecture and planning is clear evidence of the lack of interaction between decision maker and architectural professionals. To question the Kurdish government's architectural strategy in misinterpretation of Kurdish identity in architecture, this analysis has been carried out focusing on samples of building licenses documents from the archive departments of Ministry of Municipalities of Iraqi Kurdistan to highlight the concrete problems addressed by the research and the impact of architectural policy-making mechanisms on the production of architectural identity during this period. As a result, based on the document analysis(archival records) of the selected projects as representative examples, the objective of this study was to identify the factors, which shape the Kurdish architectural identity perspectives during this period, in which documents are interpreted by the researcher to give voice and meaning around the assessment topic based on the theoretical proposed framework. The qualitative documentation and observation results revealed that the degree of change from the previous periods is very slight in terms of the reflection of Kurdish identity in architecture. The concept of sustainability can be noticed in the absence of the role of Kurdish architects as a cultural producers. The architecture during this period is evidently closer to being thought of as a mere production of business people and political elites. However, the debate on Kurdish identity continues to be ongoing debate. Most of the cases show that Kurdish identity as the spirit of Kurdish nation was absent in the architecture during this period as well. Moreover, most cases show the absence of any features or elements that give the Kurdish identity its visual character (Kurdish architectural details).

The observation and visual characteristics documentation results show that in spite of the architectural languages that have widely employed during this period used a new eclectic mixture of elements which have been borrowed from east and west, undefined Kurdish identity in architecture dominated the overall cases.

Thus with this context in Iraqi Kurdistan during 2003 and 2013, hybrid architecture as the fusion of different elements was the main tool used by Kurdish elites to brand the Kurdish region as "another Iraq".

6.3 CONCLUSION3: IN SEARCH OF KURDISH NATION BRAND FROM THE ARCHITECTURAL PERSPECTIVE

The task of creating Kurdish nation brand based architectural identity in the interests of quality and sustainability of national identity is complex, and requires important shifts in how Kurdish architectural identity and its developments are valued and will be advanced by integrating architectural policy and nation branding framework. While the Kurdish built environment is a paradoxical paradigm of political independence in a dependent architectural environment, contemporary literature provides only scanty information on the architectural identity and architectural heritage of Kurdistan. Thus, this study develops a policy to explore the role architectural identity could play in shaping the Kurdish nation brand. In this context, the study through this policy seeks to promote awareness and understanding of the contribution of Kurdish architecture value to the sustainability of the Kurdish national identity. To achieve the national stability, the policy establishes action to construct architecture as a spirit of Kurdish nation shared between Kurdish provinces and areas. Thus, the most prominent characteristics of the built environment of Southern Kurdistan will be a total reflection of the complex social and political framework that result from the Kurdish national system and can be realized within the timeframe of the policy. Such issues and the plan for sustainable and competitive identity have not been taken as a central focal point to design of a culturally responsible physical environment, and thus has resulted in the current isolation without an overall sense of collective identity.

Kurdish architecture as a cultural production, whether in the details of the buildings or in the spaces and places that Kurds share socially, should be viewed as an expression of the cultural, aesthetic and social values of the Kurdish nation. It is important that the region continue its investment and appreciation of Kurdish nation brand by supporting the architectural initiatives of visualizing Kurdish identity through the formulation of a living cultural identity, maintaining a sense of continuity with the Kurdish identity to be the "heritage of the future". The notion of visualizing the Kurdish memory as one of the most influential policy in Kurdistan provides the basis for political strategy towards architecture as a Kurdish cultural production. However, the strengthening of sense of Kurdish identity must be the dominant characteristic of the architecture in the Kurdish region according to this policy and constantly has been refabricated through emphasizing dissimilarity with other parts of Iraq spatially by avoiding producing typical architectural projects (see Chapter 5). Such a policy results in a very strong concept of physical cohesion of the built environment, and in promoting strong collective identity and social interaction among Kurds who have unique aspiration that should be reflected in the built environment of their community to construct culturally a physical geographical entity. The political power of architecture, the physical cultural structure enables the nation brand value to solidify and to act as a physical configuration of national history, thus offering citizens the space for maintaining their national sense of belonging to one nation. Therefore, Kurdistan and their inhabitants benefit when the built environment not only lends modernization or mere trivial architecture to the public network, but also provide visual icons of Kurdish history and identity. Such architecture recognize who or what a nation is all about, and transform the physical environment into specific expression of political debates and interests based architecture as a spirit of nation.

In fact, politicians and architects together can provide visible brand recognition to the Kurdish nation which serves as arch-graphical borders and can be the national icon of Kurdish history offering "great value" for the Kurds as architecture, opens the door in front of international consciousness to have a physical impression about the history and culture of the Kurdish nation. The works of Kurdish

architecture also allow Kurds to project themselves in the sphere of cultural spaces, and thus lends a rare branding approach to the nation's quest for global recognition. However, to perceive the sense of place and the sense of collective national identity, we need only to take into consideration that, in relation to the 'cultural, the 'collective' and the 'national' identity, the 'architectural identity' is first of all and foremost a conjoined scale of nation. However, architecture functions as both a representative symbol and unifying medium of political discourse. In fact, the architectural preferences contribute to the formation of selling political ideas. The conclusion is that what we are faced with here is a significant reconfiguration process of the relation between architecture, nation brand, sovereignty and identity. Kurdish architectural identity always kept unbalanced and vague with Kurdish identity in the Kurdish equation. It is clear that this process will bring new challenges in the production of Kurdish nation brand. To do so: Kurdish architecture needs to be defined and validated through procedure that must have a priority of constructing Kurdish brand competing in a wider international setting. The uniqueness of Kurdish culture has to be expressed through architecture to form the basis of the image of Kurdistan in which the importance of cultural policy is reflected. The key statements of the policy on architecture based nation brand for Iraqi Kurdistan: The transformation from the political revolution to the physical revolution) as follows:

➢ Involving Kurdish architects in branding the Kurdish nation architecturally.

➢ The development of Kurdish architectural identity as part of a broad approach to develop the Kurdish nation brand in terms of the visual identity and image status so that sustainable and competitive national identity has to be taken as a central point to design a socially responsible physical environment.

➢ To promote the importance of visual representation through architectural education and documentation of the Kurdish architectural contribution that can affect the Kurdish equation.

> ➢ Promoting Kurdish architecture by Kurdish ruling elites and architects to alter the current isolation and partisan division of all parts of Iraqi Kurdistan for an overall sense of collective identity.

> ➢ Identifying the nation brand for a scattered Kurdish nation is comparable to the search for the Kurdish identity in architecture.

> ➢ Making the Kurdish built environment a physical representation of Kurdish's thought and aspiration, a record of its beliefs and values.

> ➢ Search for local references, and Kurdish vocabularies as a basis of the Kurdish architectural identity to serve as a prop in Kurd's narrative re-design of Kurdistan as a homeland which acts as brand visualization reflecting the essence of the nation.

6.3.1 PROPOSAL: FUTURE WORK

The object of this proposal is to develop a clear definition for Kurdish identity in architecture. This study focuses on providing the framework required to define the Kurdish nation brand through defining characteristic principles of Kurdish architecture. However, this proposal has been driven from the following promises:

Firstly, unfortunately as stated in this research due to the problem of identifying features or elements that give the archaeological sites their visual character, tangible elements both on the exterior and the interior have not been preserved and the available historical evidences are not of help to piece together an overall visual character of the Kurdish architectural vocabularies. Secondly, when the social and the political aspects are included, quite different visions of the architectural identities will arise. Thus, the architectural characteristics of the archaeological sites in the Iraqi Kurdistan vary depending on the geopolitical dimensions and the historical periods of each architectural site origin. On the

other hand, those archaeological sites have been constructed according to the specific cultural and the political conditions resulted from the different periods of foreign occupations and this can be classified as the continuity of occupier's architectural identity survived.

The architecture and the planning of repression and replacement reveal plainly the impacts of the elimination of the architectural identity as a powerful strategy used by dictatorships to eradicate the identity of a repressed nation. The physical and the architectural domain is an indispensable factor in understanding how attitudes toward that physical suppression have removed opportunities for strengthening the sense of imagined community and collective identity, resulting in scattered nation based non-place identity. Thus, the most prominent characteristics of the architectural built environment of the Southern Kurdistan until the year of 1991 was a total reflection of the complex social and political framework that resulted from the Iraqi state system created after the First World War and discontinuity of meaning with the Kurdish national identity and its value.

Through analyzing the projects' archive, although a regular simple geometry has been retained in most cases during this period, the architectural identity was widely perceived to be a mere structure: to possess no sense of symbolic characteristics of the Kurdish nation. Although these objects have been intended to evoke certain meanings, however, first it understood as a mere aesthetic scheme, with no Kurdish elements to affect the way in which buildings have been interpreted symbolically. Secondly, it provides no impressions of the Kurdish norms and values to serve as a collective representation of the Kurdish community. Thirdly, in fact inauthentic and disingenuous of the overall visual character of the buildings in terms of introducing particular vocabularies related to a feeling of national belonging affected the Kurdish political brand value in negative ways. As part of the political maneuver by the ruling elites in the Kurdish region during that time to enhance its relative strength within Iraq, no ideas have been presented for how to create powerful symbols for the Kurdish citizen's sense of place and sense of collective identity . Attention here focuses on how the Kurdish identity has been strapped of symbols and images of overall

characteristics of the architectural designs developed and used by Iraqi regime in the Kurdish contexts. Although, there are no doubts that the architecture can do a lot for the national value of the Kurdish brand, the Kurdish elites are still misunderstanding its significance. In parallel with fulfilling purely constructional goals, the political objectives of the architecture can be realized if the architects are allowed to evolve as political analysts and shape out productive roles in the political sphere. However, from the analysis in chapter five, the Kurdish identity has seldom studied through the Kurdish architect's eyes and perspectives. The Kurdish identity has always remained invisible in physical design and the Kurdish environment. In fact, "architecture in this context, cannot be "color-blind" or culturally neutral" (Dutton at el. 1996: 202).

As can be seen, the key challenge of the definition of the Kurdish architectural identity is the difficulty of defining the nation's identity and its core value in a manner that is widely acceptable to all Kurds. Iraqi Kurdistan is a paradigm of multiple political interest groups with a physical space of multiple contested visions of architectural values. A big challenge to develop the symbolic and aesthetic value of the Kurdish architectural identity thus lies in creating and profiling an identity from diverse values that are not always intangible and that may represent different interests of various social and the political groups in the region. The architectural identity of the Kurdish nation has to be concerned with how a heterogeneous nation in terms of political, linguistic, tribal and ideological background, which has kept many issues such as collective memory, collective identity, and sense of place shrouded in uncertainty. In this manner, it can be combined into a national identity that is acceptable to all Kurds. Guibernau (2007:11) argued, "in referring to the nation as a human group conscious of forming a community, sharing a common culture, attached to a clearly demarcated territory, having a common past and a common project for the future while calming the right to self-determination, I am applying that national identity has five dimensions. These are psychological, cultural, territorial, historical, and political".

Within the context of Iraqi Kurdistan, this study pinpoints the reality that there is a top probability that it is true there is more loyalty to the tribe than to the

Kurdish state (Gunter 2004). The misinterpretations of the Kurdish national identity is inevitably going to lead to disputes over competing representations, understanding, and identification of the symbolic and aesthetic of Kurdish architectural identity. Thus, the development of the core value of the Kurdish architectural identity cannot be merely seen as a neutral statements of political dimension, but must materialize as "claims, justifications and accusations exchanged with a variety of interests". Accordingly, the construction of a core value of the Kurdish identity becomes the most contested aspect of developing the Kurdish architectural identity. The core value of the Kurdish architectural identity can be thought of as a success if it is able to deliver the core value of the Kurdish nation that are deemed valid, distinctive, appealing, durable, and communicable. Since the internal disputes throughout history among number of semi-independent Kurdish principalities like Badinan, Soran and Baban and in recent past between the Kurdish political parties diversified the term Kurdish on the national scale, a strategy of developing the Kurdish visual image is to create unique value as a tool to unify Kurds into a politically and administratively integrated nation state. The growing impact of such internal conflicts on the national and the political interactions extends to what were hitherto a very heterogeneous region and has kept many issues, such as collective memory, collective identity, and sense of place, shrouded in uncertainty. It has been stated that "collective memory is an elaborate network of social mores, values, and ideals that marks out the dimensions of our imaginations according to the attitudes of the social groups to which we relate. It is through the interconnections among these shared images that the social frameworks, (cadres sociaux), of our collective memory are formed, and it is within such settings that individual memories must be sustained if they are to survive" (Hutton 1993:78). Accordingly, it is important to develop a common understanding and to minimize different interpretations of certain issues that generate controversies and disputes over the Kurd's identity and values. The question raised here is disturbingly complex: are there vocabularies, myths, or symbol that are "psychologically, culturally, territorially, historically, and politically" acknowledged by all Kurds?

"The mountains were the Kurds' only friend" (Chaliand 1993:226). Mountains are an inspiring narrative for Kurds and contain a symbolic meaning of freedom for the Kurdish nation. There's obvious consensus among the Kurdish researchers that Mountains serve as an important national symbol and affirm a set of national values as they are part of the Kurdish efforts towards independence. "Mountains are the most prominent geographical characteristic of land-locked Kurdistan" (Gunter 2011:2). Thus, the symbolic meaning of mountains for the Kurdish nation is chosen to be the defining factors that are attributed to the Kurdish uniqueness in the region. An attempt has been initiated through this research to define and construct the symbolic and aesthetic aspect of the Kurdish architectural identity that is shrouded in a confused state. This proposal addresses and reinterprets the symbolic meaning of mountains contextually to construct a distinctive architectural vocabulary that can be "psychologically, culturally, territorially, historically, and politically" acknowledged by all Kurds.

In this research, analysis of the Finnish case (in chapter 3) has been a significant source for the proposal for the Kurdish identity in architecture. Since the Finnish architecture, and its dimensions have acted as a core value of the Finnish identity and physically has been attached to the form of the Finnish image. Finnish architecture is a vivid example in this respect: A frame of the nation brand conceptualization from the architecture as a core component of the Finnish identity is being transferred to the nation brand image "to accommodate the geopolitical context of international exchange" (Aronczyk 2008).

Following the case of Finland, this research proposes the Kurdish architectural identity as a spirit of the Kurdish nation to become a key component of the Kurdish nation brand and thereby regulating the Kurdish' space on the global map. Linking Kurdish architecture to the international architectural sense can be the core of the architectural ideas and practices of most Kurdish architects.

However, unlike any other 'professionals', Kurdish architects can shape the nation's identity and create a new mode of society in the context of a radical social and a political change. Kurdish architecture has to pay sufficient attention

to all aspects of principle characteristic of the Kurdish identity, the reinforcement of the sense of collective belonging via coordinated and structured urban spatial patterns. Keeping up with a political situation and reflecting on the society's need in each stage has to be the principle characteristic of the Kurdish architects.

In addition to the growing urge of having symbolic architecture that interacts with the national identity, cultural and political needs, the Kurdish architecture has to be one of the most important elements in forming a strong part in shaping the essence of the Kurdish independence, which can be the base of the Kurdish brand identity and image. Maintaining unique cultural characteristics as a central component of Kurdish nation, Kurd's strategies towards developing its place on the global map must characterize best the overall concept and the image of Kurdistan. As in the case of Finland, in an effort of gaining Kurdish nation brand (Kurdishness), the Kurdish architecture can be developed as a symbolic medium for building a strong sense of national pride, while in a sense also performing on the international stage.

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: IRAQI KURDISTAN

THE PURPOSE OF THE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

In terms of defining the Kurdish identity in architecture, its absence or presence and evaluating the visualization strategy of Kurdish nation brand (Kurdishness), a sample of fifty Kurdish architects and fifty of decision makers were chosen from different areas of southern Kurdistan working in different departments of ministries at different level of councils to compare the differences and commonalities in such assessment. Thus, for the purpose of this comparative study, a standardised questionnaire; focused interviews were used based on the research's theoretical framework to collect broad-based information to develop an understanding of an area, which has so far received minimal attention in the literature and to serve as a principle of reliability. The interview questions took place during December 2011 and January 2013 following the questionnaire that was determined based on the impact of architectural identity on the nation branding. The questionnaire responses were "statistically analysed and the in-depth interviews were thematically analysed".

The objectives of this interview questions were to investigate and compare the extent to which those architects and decision makers: First, evaluate the presence of Kurdish identity in architecture and its importance in reflecting the Kurdish nation brand (Kurdishness). Second, to find how the effectiveness of the branding strategy based Kurdish architectural identity is measured. Third, the link between the lack of Kurdish identity in architecture and the ambiguity of Kurdish brand and national fragility is perceived. The interview questions used to direct the interview process as follows:

> ➢ Cover letter: The purpose of the interview questions
> ➢ Section 1: Respondent background information
> ➢ Section 2: Questions that measure the impact of architectural identity on Kurdish nation brand (Kurdishness).

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Based on the impact of architectural identity on nation branding study, the interview questions are determined as follows. Although the term questionnaire is used, "the questions are presented as statements" and the architects and decision makers were asked to score the statements on a likert scale which ranges from one to five (Strongly agree, Agree, Neutral Neither agree or Disagree, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree).

1. **THE EVALUATING OF KURDISH IDENTITY IN ARCHITECTURE**

    1.1 The Kurdish identity has been presented in architecture.
       1   2   3 4   5

    1.2 The Kurdish built environment has been viewed to be the collection of the main features of identity construction and nation recognition.
       1   2   3 4   5

    1.3 The Kurdish built environment has accomplished the main aims in terms of being a physical representation of Kurdish thought and aspiration, a record of the beliefs and values of the culture that produces it.
       1   2   3 4   5

    1.4 The Kurdish built environment has reinforced state sovereignty and self-determination in terms of being a product of physical planning solidified by Kurdish cultural references.
       1   2   3 4   5

    1.5 The spatial linkage between Kurdish identity and architectural and between the political target and sense of rationality, has reflected in the built environment.

1 2 3 4 5

1.6 The Kurdish built environment has revealed not only the aesthetic and formal preferences of an architect/client, but also the aspirations, power struggles and material culture of a society.

1 2 3 4 5

1.7 The invasions throughout history have been the major force and process for destruction of Kurdish architecture and superimposing frontier structure.

1 2 3 4 5

1.8 The lack of Kurdish physical "documentation of their historic contribution" has affected Kurdish equation?

1 2 3 4 5

1.9 The continuous ignorance to the Kurdish identity in architectural skyline by Kurdish ruling elites and architects has impact on the current isolation and partisan division of all parts of semi –independency southern Kurdistan and affected an overall sense of collective identity?

1 2 3 4 5

1.10   In the modern age and or even recently one finds architectural scopes in Iraqi Kurdistan that are subject to ill construction and jumbled architectural language.

1 2 3 4 5

2. **IDENTIFYING ARCHITECTURE SCOPE AND VISIONS: CONFIGURATION OF ARCHITECTURAL RESOURCE**

2.1 Southern Kurdistan has a brand visualization.

1 2 3 4 5

2.2 Kurdish architects have involved building so-called Kurdish nation brand.

1   2   3 4   5

2.3 The sustainable and competitive identity has been taken as a central point to design of socially responsible physical environment after your area has been experiencing semi –independency since 2003 and beginning to explore the ever-changing framework of economical and Kurdish social-map.

1   2   3   4   5

2.4 The process of identifying the nation brand for a scattered Kurdish nation comparable to the search for the Kurdish identity in architecture

1   2   3   4   5

2.5 The current political power of Kurdish architecture, the physical cultural structure enables the Kurdish brand to solidify and to act as a physical configuration of national story, offering Kurdish citizens the space for maintaining their national sense of belonging to one nation, and offering politicians, architects to shape the brand identity of a nation and by that alter the nation's basis for collective memory and nation brand image.

1   2   3   4   5

2.6 There is a signs of divergence between the process of Kurdish political struggle to independent from neighboring countries and the current efforts of the semi-independency southern Kurdistan regional government to offer neighboring real estate companies to invest in the region, branding the Kurdish region by their own style and architectural language?

1   2   3   4   5

2.7 In planning strategy of Iraqi Kurdistan, architectural identity has been involved as a fundamental factor.

1 2 3 4 5

2.8 The Kurdish built environment comprehended on promoting Kurdish nation brand and the sustainable Kurdish national identity.

1 2 3 4 5

ANALYSIS AND FINDING

			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The evaluating Kurdish identity in architecture	1.1	The Kurdish identity has been presented in architecture.		8%			92%
	1.2	The Kurdish built environment has been viewed to be the collection of the main features of identity construction and nation recognition.		6%	4%	38%	52%
	1.3	The Kurdish built environment has accomplished the main aims in terms of being a physical representation of Kurdish thought and aspiration, a record of the beliefs and values of the culture that produces it.		12%	2%	45%	41%
	1.4	The Kurdish built environment has reinforced state sovereignty and self-determination in terms of being a product of physical planning solidified by Kurdish cultural references.	4%	7%	4%	55%	30%
	1.5	The spatial linkage between Kurdish identity and architectural and between the political target; sense of rationality, and the urban complex or the pattern of urban development has reflected in the built environment.	2%	8%	8%	22%	60%

	1.6	The Kurdish built environment has revealed not only the aesthetic and formal preferences of an architect/client, but also the aspirations, power struggles and material culture of a society.		5%	15%	10%	70%
	1.7	The invasions throughout history have been the major force and process for destruction of Kurdish architecture and superimposing frontier structure.	45%	18%		37%	
	1.8	The lack of Kurdish physical "documentation of their historic contribution" has affected Kurdish equation	70%	5%	2%	23%	
	1.9	The continuous ignorance to the Kurdish identity in architectural skyline by Kurdish ruling elites and architects has impact on the current isolation and partisan division of all parts of semi –independency southern Kurdistan and affected an overall sense of collective identity.	17%	22%		40%	21%
	1.10	In the modern age and or even recently one finds architectural scopes in Iraqi Kurdistan that are subject to ill construction and jumbled architectural language.	15%	7%	4%	55%	19%

IDENTIFYING ARCHITECTURE SCOPE AND VISIONS: CONFIGURATION OF ARCHITECTURAL RESOURCE	2.1	Southern Kurdistan has brand visualization as a spirit of Kurdish nation		10%	25%	20%	45%
	2.2	Kurdish architects have involved building so-called Kurdish nation brand.	20%	15%		35%	30%
	2.3	The sustainable and competitive Kurdish identity has been taken as a central point to design of socially responsible physical environment after Kurdish area has been experiencing semi –independency since 2003 and beginning to explore the ever-changing framework of economical and Kurdish social-map.	18%	20%	7%	55%	
	2.4	The process of identifying the nation brand for a scattered Kurdish nation comparable to the search for the Kurdish identity in architecture.	20%	32%	20%	9%	19%
	2.5	The current political power of Kurdish architecture, the physical cultural structure enables the Kurdish brand to solidify and to act as a physical configuration of national story, offering Kurdish citizens the space for maintaining their national sense of belonging to one nation, and offering politicians, architects to shape the brand identity of a nation	8%	9%	18%	25%	40%

		and by that alter the nation's basis for collective memory and nation brand image.					
	2.6	There is a signs of divergence between the process of Kurdish political struggle to independent from neighboring countries and the current efforts of the semi-independency southern Kurdistan regional government to offer neighboring real estate companies to invest in the region, branding the Kurdish region by their own style and architectural language.	51%	8%	5%	26%	10%
	2.7	In planning strategy of Iraqi Kurdistan, architectural identity has been involved as a fundamental factor.	7%	15%	4%	65%	9%
	2.8	The Kurdish built environment comprehended on promoting Kurdish nation brand and the sustainable Kurdish national identity.	2%	5%	15%	54%	24%