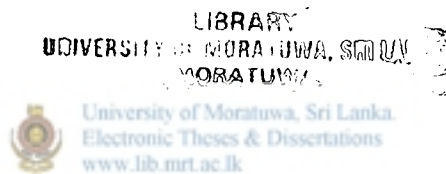


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**EVALUATIVE IMAGE OF CITIES:
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE CITY OF
KANDY**

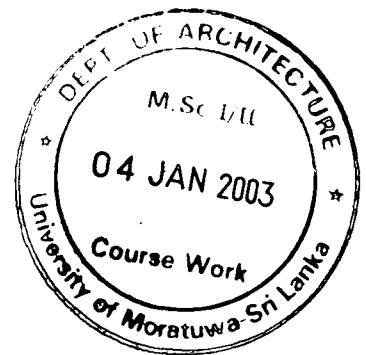


**A dissertation submitted to the Department of Architecture,
University of Moratuwa, in partial fulfillment of the requirement for
the Degree of Master of Science in Architecture.**



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S.R. Rathugama
January 2003



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**EVALUATIVE IMAGE OF CITIES:
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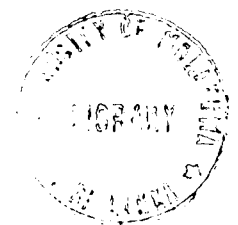
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DECLARATION

“I declare that this dissertation is my own account of my research and contains as its main content work which has not previously been submitted for a degree at any tertiary institution”

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Study Premise

Creating images is fundamental to people. 'Home', 'hometown', 'place of worship', 'grandmother', 'love' etc. provide finest examples. Creating images is also synonymous with evaluating images. This in turn provide for (re) creating images and thereby making physical settings as people's points of references in the process of living.

For evaluation, certain environmental features are used. These are based on social, cultural and economic factors, past experiences, ambitions, aspirations, beliefs, attitudes and value systems. While the environmental features vary and root down essentially to individual levels, they in a broader sense become common to certain social groups.

City inhabitants, as one such social group, have an image on their city. As Lynch (1960), explains, each city contains an imageability of its own, which has its own attributes that facilitate the process of image creation. Irrespective of the way images are created, people evaluate the image of their city. This too, varies in accordance with the factors cited above and, roots down to individual levels. However, city inhabitants as a distinct social group have common set of environmental features to evaluate their city and they are inherent to each city. When people evaluate the city, using these environmental features they identify certain places, buildings and objects as likeable elements and others as dislikeable elements. The totality or the summation of this likeability and dislikeability provide the '**evaluative image**' of the city.

Various studies have been made to identify the features of the environment that are used for evaluating city images. For Appleyard (1967), people are known cities for some combination of their form, visibility, use and significance. Nassar (1997) identifies these environmental features as likeable features, which is grouped into such factors as, historical significance, civility, order, natural features and openness. In doing so, these researchers have taken examples from different contexts and have arrived at different frameworks or groupings of such environmental features. While

these frameworks show similarities as a whole by the factors that are highlighted, they also reveal identifiable differences, by the specific importance placed on each factor due to the distinct socio, cultural, economic, political backgrounds of the city contexts that are taken as examples. Thus the frameworks have different compositions as people evaluate their cities in different ways, suggesting that evaluative images of cities are essentially location based and need to be identified locally.

This provides the premise of this study. It argues that city inhabitants have their own way of evaluating the city image and due to the host of factors cited above, the way the cities are evaluated differ from one place to the other. Taking Kandy as the case study, it reveals that even there could be different environmental features of adding into the already established frame of evaluating city images due to specific characteristics of a city.

1.2 Need of the Study

Architecture is essentially location specific. Accurate consideration of the social factor of the particular setting determines the degree of successfulness of an architectural creation. Therefore it is necessary to examine the nature and aspirations of user category as a preliminary step in the process of architecture. Further, architectural work should cater the nature and aspirations and fulfil the needs of that particular community.

City design is a part of urban architecture, but of a vast scale. Hence, attitudes, expectations and aspirations of city dwellers of the particular city should be considered for the ultimate successfulness when designing, developing, regenerating, rehabilitating or revitalizing cities.

The nature of their interests and attitudes of the city could be best understood through proper investigation of the evaluative image of that particular city. The public evaluative image of a city, which is possessed by the majority of its own inhabitants, is a representation of the likable and dislikeable environmental features, which form the framework for evaluating their living environment.

People having evaluative images of their cities and thus frameworks of environmental features are fundamental to any socio-spatial situation in the act of living and in any city design or exercise of urban architecture, this aspect needs to be identified and given primary importance. However, in most such contemporary ventures this aspect seems to be neglected by architects and other professionals. Further they even seem to be unaware of the way people evaluate their spatial contexts. Thus often solutions are 'imposed' and they are often rejected by people, by city inhabitants.

Thus the need to study and highlight this particular aspect has arisen. Today it becomes particularly important as the cities are continuing to grow and becoming diverse. Urban spatial solutions need to be more and more people-centred and for that first and foremost, it is necessary to identify and be aware of the evaluative image of the city of the city inhabitants. Such an effort help designers, architects, planners and other such professionals take more viable decisions when modifying, expanding, revitalizing and rehabilitating the existing urban spaces. Further development programmes could be planned in a more effective manner by avoiding the dislikeable environmental features and adding likable features to already rejected or criticised places of the city. Such an exercise as a whole, would contribute to broaden the present approaches to city design; a 'paradigm shift' in the current discourses of urban design and architecture.

1.3 Research Questions

This study takes Kandy as the local city for examination of the evaluative image. Thus key research questions raised in this study are,

- "What are the environmental features of Kandy City, which are used by its city inhabitants when evaluating their city of living?"
- "What are the similarities and dissimilarities of likeable features and dislikeable features and thus, the frameworks of between the evaluative image of Kandy and other established frameworks (especially from Western City situations)?"
- "Are there any significant likeable features used by the inhabitants of Kandy to evaluate the city?"

1.4 Method of the Study

The study is case study based. Kandy City is taken as its case study situation.

A survey was conducted to identify the environmental features used by the city inhabitants in evaluating the city image. Three questions were asked from a sample of fifty randomly selected inhabitants of Kandy who have resided in the city for at least ten years in the city. The questions thus asked are,

1. Do you like the city you live? What are the reason/s for the answer?
2. Name five places (or more/or less) of the city you like most? What are the reasons in each case?
3. Name five places (or more/or less) of the city you don't like? What are the reasons in each case?

Naming five places that the people like or dislike was taken only as a basic guide to begin with. Thus the people were allowed to name the places either more or less in number, depending on their own frameworks of evaluating the city image.

The three questions were asked in the form of an informal discussion. Answers from each resident were recorded as written data on separate papers.

1.4.1 Method of Data Analysis

In each case, answer to the first question was a direct representation of their overall evaluative image of the city. These answers emphasised one environmental feature and its influence than other features. Thereafter content analyzed the data collected through the other two questions. Each individual's like/ dislike places were mapped in two different maps- like map and dislike map. After that, it was investigated whether there were major agreements among the sample of some places as like or dislike. Thereafter was possible to calculate the votes for each place in order to obtain a percentage. By checking the boundaries of those places it was checked whether people talk about the same area. After that definitions and boundaries of those places

were found out. There may be were some places of which the entire sample agreed and some places only few residents mentioned. Most agreed places got higher percentage, and they were the places in that city all the people liked or disliked. Other places got fewer votes, but still have some identity as liked or disliked places. These places were represented on a map with suitable graphic technique that represents the ranking order of the highly liked or disliked and less liked or disliked. This was done in two separate maps – liked and disliked places. After that it was possible to map all the places on one map to obtain the evaluative image of the city. Environmental features mentioned for each place as likable features and dislike features were list out. Though, it was possible to categorize those features in to different categories such as openness, natural features, etc. through which it was easy to identify the unique environmental features inherent to the local context. The findings of the research were presented by means of graphs, tables, photos, etc. Further, environmental features of each liked and disliked place were described with the own observations and the support of the likeable and dislikeable features found from the interviews.

1.5 Scope and Limitations



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Many scholars, researchers, architects, etc. have studied various aspects of man-environment interaction over the years. This particular study has concentrated only on one aspect namely environmental evaluation. Environmental evaluation, its mechanisms, and cultural variability are again vastly discussed subjects by many persons. The study only intended to deal more with Evaluative images posses in people's mind as an out come of environmental evaluation and the environmental features consider by them s when evaluating their city images, but not the mechanisms or cultural variability of environmental evaluation.

Since the people have a habit of evaluating their living environment all of them posses evaluative images of the environment they live. But the study pays attention only on the evaluative images posses by city inhabitants and the environmental features, which they consider in evaluating cities. Already existing frame works, which have established by the pioneers of related studies will be discussed in order to establish a framework for this particular study.

Cities could be interpreted related to political, economical and other such themes. Here the city is considered only as an assembly of architecturally interpreted environmental features. Thus the evaluative images based on other aspects such as political, economic, etc. is not considered as important facts in this study.

The study aims to investigate the nature of the evaluative image which city residents of a selected local city possess in their mind through which enables to identify the environmental features which they use as yard sticks for evaluation.

Kandy is been selected for the study as the local city considering its uniqueness of the physical form compared to that of other local cities, historical significance, high integration of natural elements, high concentration of activities, etc. When considering the social context of the city of Kandy reveals that the society comprises of multi ethnic, multi cultural groups of various educational and age levels. But since the study aims to investigate the nature of the public evaluative image the variations cited above consider as less important factors. Thus it is aim to question fifty randomly selected samples irrespective of cultural and other such segregations. Assuming that the high spending duration of a city governs sharp evaluative images, it is intended to give the preference to the residents who have spent at least ten years in the city when selecting samples.



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CHAPTER TWO:
EVALUATIVE IMAGE OF THE CITY:
A BROADER FRAME

CHAPTER TWO: EVALUATIVE IMAGE OF THE CITY

2.1 Image

Every object, place, or even a sense has a particular image. These images arise as a result of the interaction between the perceiver and the object. Objects suggest distinctions and relations, and the observer with great adaptability and in the light of his own purposes, selects, organizes and endows with meaning what he sees. The image so developed now limits and emphasizes what is seen, while the image itself is being tested against the filtered perceptual input in a constant interacting process (Lynch: 1960).

Similar to other objects, segments of the environment also have certain images in perceivers' mind. As Lynch (1960) has explained, these images are a result of a two way process between the man and his environment. Although, due to the variability of tastes, interests, nature and aspirations of individuals' image of a same environment may vary between two different observers. While, describing the nature of the environmental images, Lynch (1960) analyzes them in to three major components: identity, structure and meaning. "It is useful to abstract these for analyses, if it is remembered that in reality they always appear together" (Lynch: 1960).

2.1.1 Identity

It is obvious that images of two different objects are distinct to each other. The image comes to the mind with the word 'tree' is totally different to that of 'house'. A workable image requires first the identification of an object, which implies its distinction from other things, its recognition as a separable entity. This is referred to as identity of an image.

2.1.2 Structure

The image must include the spatial or pattern relation of the object to the observer and to other objects. Two different images could be identified differently because of the distinctiveness of its structure. Describing the structure of the city images, Lynch

(1960) has pointed out that, city images have a structure which is a combination of five imageable elements namely paths, landmarks, nodes, edges, and districts.

2.1.3 Meaning

The object must have some meaning for the observer, whether partial or emotional. All the images may not express meanings of same levels. Some of the images have direct meanings, which could be easily grabbed or understood. Symbolic meanings are the most difficult to comprehend. They are associated with another image or classes of images and phenomenon (Lang: 1994).

2.3 Image of the City

Similar to other objects, cities too, have certain images. Though cultural and other such variations exist, there seems to be a public image of any given city which is the overlap of many individual images (Lynch: 1960) (Figure 2.1). Perhaps there is a series of public images, each held by some significant number of citizens. Such group images are necessary if an individual is to operate successfully within his environment and to cooperate with his fellows. Before investigate the nature of the image of the city and its variations, it is necessary to identify what exactly mean by the term 'city'.

FIG. 5. *The Boston that everyone knows*

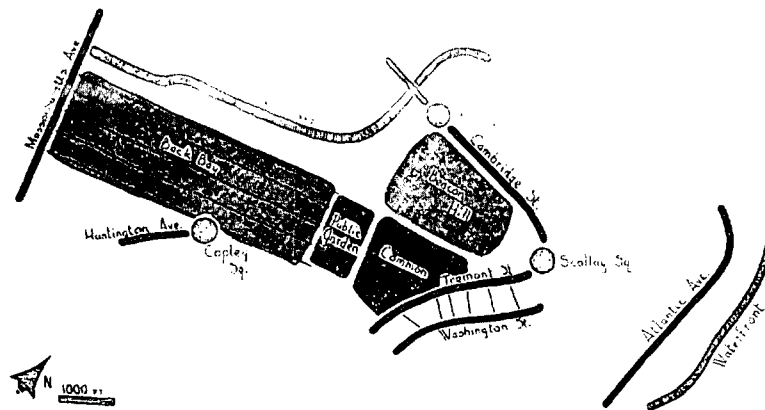


Figure 2.1: Image of Boston (Based on Lynch: 1960)

2.3.1 City

Cities depict the nature of additions, alterations, and modifications, which the humankind has adopted to the natural environment in a higher degree. Even though, natural elements exist, because of the high emphasize of physical components such as buildings, paths, the city could be consider as a man made environment. High density of people and their activities compared to those of other environments further uplifts its quality of man made ness. As Lynch (1960) explains, city is a product of many builders who constantly modifying the structure for reasons of their own. (Figure: 2.2).

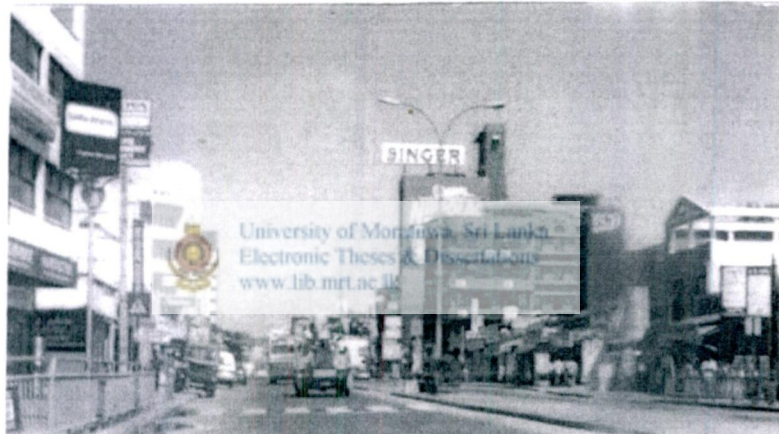


Figure 2.2: City of Colombo –As a product of many constant builders

However, it may be stable in general out lines for some time, but ever changing in detail. City has been an object of curiosity for very long time. Many ways of conceptualizing it have been proposed, analyzed, and described as a social system, an economic system, in political terms, as a work of art, an instrument of communication, a historical artifact, and there have been correspondingly many approaches to its planning and design. The city, it self, is a powerful symbol of a complex society. If visually well set forth, it can also have a strong expressive meaning (Lynch: 1960).

Similar to other environments cities also give certain impressions for their inhabitants in various means. City is a collection of different groups, with different life styles reflecting different cultures and subcultures (Rapoport: 1977).

Apart from all these, similar to other environments city also could be considered as an assembly of meanings. For instance, certain characteristics of a city may depict the social and cultural interests of the particular city inhabitants. A playground at the centre of a city may depict the inhabitants' interest on sports. Contrast to this a playground with few people may express the majority's rejection of sports as a prime activity or busy life of city inhabitants. Although it is, again a matter highly depends on the perceiver's point of view. Before investigate the basis of how inhabitants evaluate the city image, it is essential to study the attributes of the city and its elements, which lead support in making vividly different images.

2.3.2 Attributes of the City

People make certain images of the city mainly because of the familiarity with the buildings and the activities. According to Appleyard (1967), this familiarity occurs mainly for combination of four reasons. The question of why buildings and cities are known by people is being answered interpreting four attributes of the city such as distinctiveness of physical form, visibility, use and significance.

2.3.2.1 Distinctiveness of Physical form

It is a well-known fact that, even the basic form of two elements could be totally different to each other. The basic form of a high-rise apartment building is contrast to that of a single story colonial influenced bungalow. It may not only be the form but also the size, shape, texture of the surface, quality of the materials, etc. which enhances the difference. Different intensity levels of the component attributes of the physical form is described by Appleyard (1969) (Tables 2.1, 2.2).

Component Attributes	Low	Medium	High
Movement	No movement	Potential movement, parked cars, few people.	Many people, moving cars, flags waving, water falling
Contour	Slurred boundaries, hidden by vegetation, attached to other houses	Semidetached corner buildings.	Isolated buildings with sharp contours
Size	Single storey buildings : houses	Two storey buildings: cinema	Over two storey buildings : industrial sheds, apartment buildings
Shape	Simple	Two or three block Buildings	Complex buildings divided in to several parts
Surface	Plain white	coloured	Brightly contrasted colours and textures
Quality	Mud floors, no fences	Modest materials, walls, garden	Landscaped, fenced, expensive materials, clean conditions
Signs	No signs	Small signs	Large signs, readable from a distance

Table 2.1: Intensity Levels of Component Attributes of Physical Form (Verbal Rules) Based on Appleyard (1969)

	Low	Medium	High
MOVEMENT			
CONTOUR			
SIZE			
SHAPE			
SHR FACE			
QUALITY			
SIGNS			

Table 2. 2: Intensity Levels of Component Attributes of Physical Form (Graphic Rules) Based on Appleyard (1969)



Similar to objects and buildings, cities also have various intensity scales in the distinctiveness of the physical form, which help to create vividly different images in perceivers' mind (Figure 2.3, 2.4).

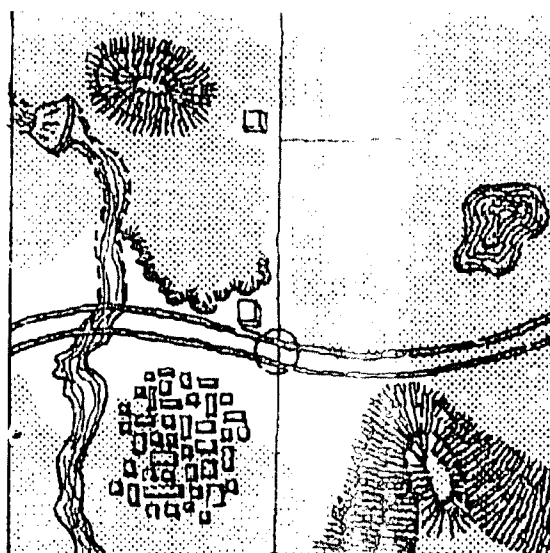


Figure 2.3: Distinctive physical environment of a city – Potential and visible to City resident (Based on Appleyard : 1967)

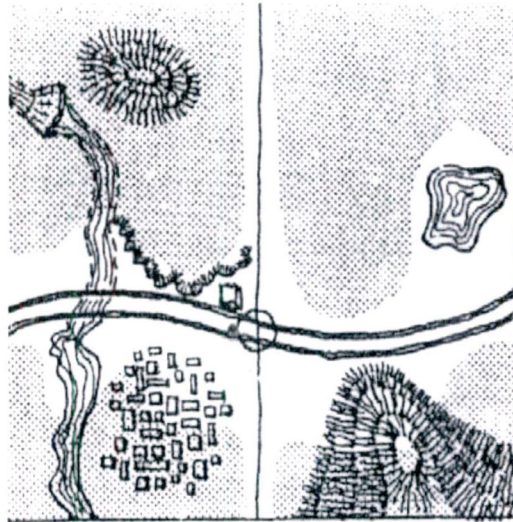


Figure 2.4: Distinctive physical environment of a city – Potential and visible to General public (Based on Appleyard: 1967)



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2.3.2.2 Visibility

Unless a building is seen, it cannot project an image. Visibility is, therefore, a necessary factor that decides the familiarity of environmental elements (Appleyard: 1969). It is a measure that depends on the location of a facility, the visual counterpart of its accessibility, and on the focus of the city inhabitant's actions and vision (Appleyard: 1969). The visibility of each element could be measured by three component attributes, namely view point intensity, view point significance, and immediacy (Appleyard: 1969) (Table 2.3). It is obvious that a supermarket, which is located in the edge of a main road, is known by people than an isolated elderly home located off a main road.



	Low	Medium	High
Viewpoint Intensity	Visible from territory roads	Visible from main roads outside urban area	Visible from main roads and pedestrian centers
Viewpoint significance	Visible at points of no transition	Visible at secondary decision points, bends, etc., on secondary roads.	Visible at major decision points, intersections, bus stops, ferry landings on major roads
Immediacy	Distant objects, poorly seen on major roads, or near objects, off axis on secondary and territory roads,	Near objects off axis, distant objects on axis on major roads, or axial objects on secondary roads.	Near objects on axis, cutting across line of vision on major roads.

Table 2.3: Visibility Scales (Based on Appleyard: 1969)

2.3.2.3 Use Significance



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Every element, building or a place of the environment may not equally use by people. Hence, the familiarity partially depends on the intensity of use of a particular space by each individuals and the community. Further, this is an attribute, which depends on personal needs, attitudes, and nature. For example, bus stop is a place of high user intensity than that of a primary school or a bar (Table: 2. 4).

	Low	Medium	High
Use Intensity	Bars, primary school	Small supermarkets, clinics, small hotels	Commercial zones, warehouses, churches, schools, hospitals, bus terminals, banks
Use Singularity	Local singularity : bar repair shop	Community singularity: primary school, dock	City singularity: police station, hospital, office building,

Table 2. 4: Use Significance Scales Based on Appleyard (1969)

2.3.2.4 Symbolism

People see certain values of environmental elements in various levels. The seeming reason is the consideration of aspects such as economic, aesthetic, historical, etc. (in addition to use intensity and or singularity) (Appleyard: 1969) (Table 2.5). A Buddhist may tell the accurate directions of a temple than a Muslim. Though, it's an attribute, which has a high variation according to cultural, social and personal point of views.

	Low	Medium	High
Symbolism-cultural, economic, aesthetic or historical	High use and high or low symbolism : School, office buildings,	Medium use and high symbolism: Factories, police stations	Low use and High symbolism, or high use and very high symbolism: Hydroelectric dam, statues, Radio Station



Table 2.5: Symbolism Scales Based on Appleyard (1969)

2.4 Imageability of a City

The distinctiveness of the physical form appeared to be the most effective attribute among all the others in making images in city residents' mind. Similar argument is made by Lynch (1960), by interpreting the creation of city images through the concept of Imageability.

The concept of imageability refers to as the quality in a physical object, which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer. It is that shape, colour or arrangement, which facilitates the making of vividly, identified, powerfully structured, highly useful mental images (Lynch: 1960). It might also be called legibility or perhaps visibility in a heightened sense, where objects are not only been seen but are presented sharply and intensely to the senses.

The form of the city itself, itself, expresses certain ideas. A grid pattern city may depict highly ordered environment and high segregation of activities. The trend of modern movement tended to discount the psychological and social complexity of the environment in favour of radial and functional criteria (Bentley, Alcock, Murrain, McGlynn, Smith: 1985). However the form may be a result of a strong philosophical attitude of a single designer. Consideration of geometry as the ultimate expression of the evolution of man's mind and the pure result of scientific revolution and the means created by man kind to perceive the external world, led Le Corbusier to design Ville Radieuse – The Radiant city which is a creation of total negligence of the concept of imageability.

Before the twentieth century, cities worked well in terms of legibility. Places that looked important were important, and places of public relevance could be easily identified (Bentley, Alcock, Murrain, McGlynn, Smith: 1985) (Figure 2.5).

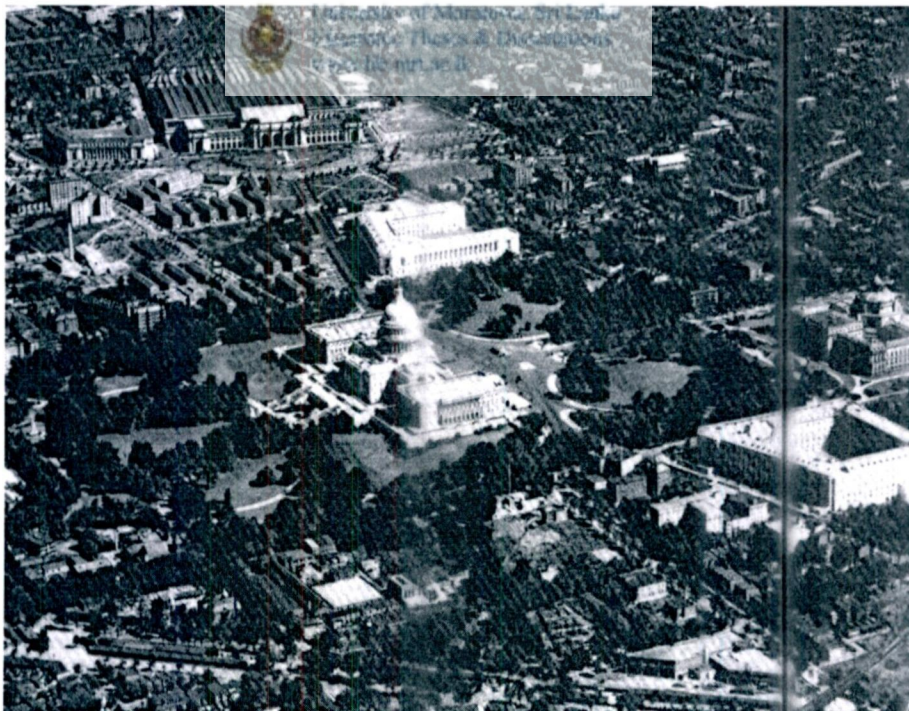


Figure 2.5: Washington 1920: Highly Legible City

The biggest open spaces were related to the most important public facilities. Contrast to this, legibility of modern cities has been reduced due to the visual typicalness of the external appearance (Figure 2.6).

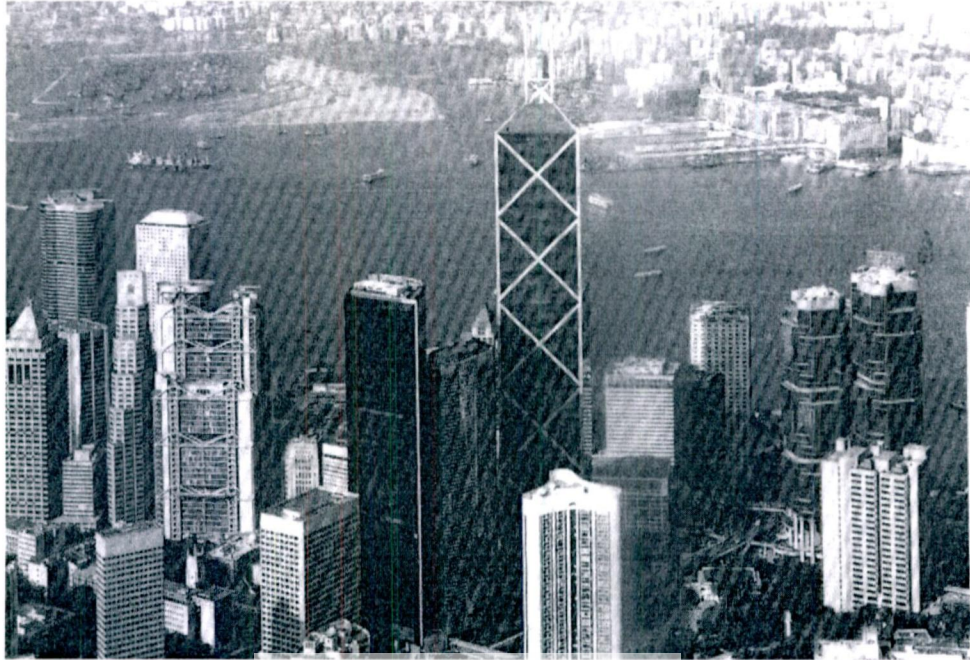


Figure 2.6: Hong Kong 1989- Less Legibility due to similarity

This has mainly occurred through the basic similarities of the form, scale, shapes of simple geometries, and the common materials used. Even the traditional local villages were visually legible due to zoning, the distinct materials of houses use by rulers to that of laymen. As Calthorpe (1986) has pointed out most of the new towns inherently disconnect people from local history and the symbols of their past. Most of the ideas of modern movement city concepts of twentieth century cities have challenged the quality of legibility of the city. Many U.S. cities are the product of ideal design rather than organic growth. As Calthorpe (1986) has pointed out, most of them grew from the surveyor's grid – a kind of unconscious town planning. Reason may be responded to the poverty, urban over crowding, pollution, etc. Ebenezer Howard's proposal of garden city (Figure 2.7), which expresses the ideas of social equity has reduced the quality of legibility. Some of the proposals have attempted to initiate revolutionary images among the city inhabitants. One of the well known examples is the proposal of a new town for 1600 people by Francois Fourier; much like a palace has tried to uplift the sense of community living as well as the proud ness.

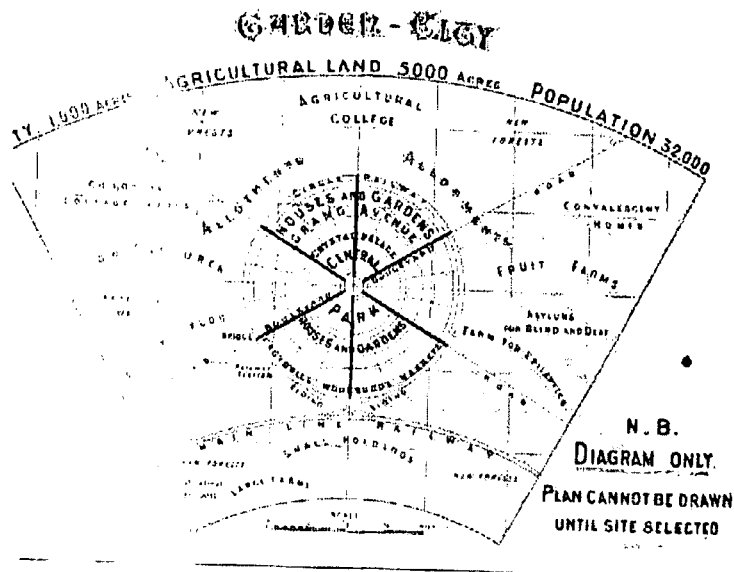


Figure 2.7: Ebenezer Howard's Garden City (Based on Kostoff 1985)

2.4.1 Imageable Elements of a City



Certain sorts of physical features play a key role in the content of environmental images in a city. Most of the studies about city images reveal that they are composites of certain elements of the city. Lynch (1960) has described them, as imageable elements, namely, paths, nodes, landmarks, edges, districts (Figure 2.8). The later will investigate the nature of these elements, their contribution to the images.

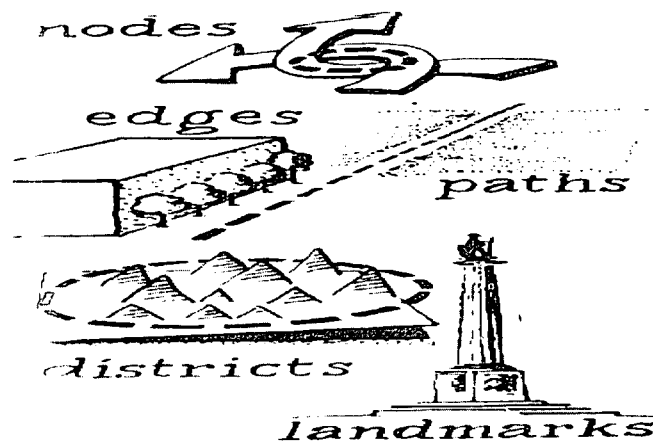


Figure 2.8: Imageable Elements of a city

2.4.1.1 Paths

Roads and streets are generally the means of circulation of any man made environment. As Lynch (1960) has explained, paths are channels along which the city inhabitant customarily, occasionally or potentially moves. They may be streets, walkways, transit lines, canals, railroads, etc. Although the quality differs, the generic form certifies its basic function. Apart from the paths be a part of the image, they help the inhabitants to further strengthen the edges of their images since it deals with the quality of permeability of the city. Also they help to cause the variability of the image. Although paths link the activities, they segregate the physical components visually (Figure 2.9). Concentration of special use or activity along a street may give it prominence in the minds of observers. “Where major paths lack identity, or easily confuse, the entire city image is in difficulty” (Lynch: 1960).



Figure 2.9: Whitehall Road – Birmingham (England)

2.4.1.2 Landmarks

Landmarks are point references which, most people experience from outside. Landmarks direct paths and contribute in way finding in several occasions. Memorable landmark at the centre of a city has given a certain identity to it. Further it also could be a mean of way finding. Through landmarks cities could be identified. It

is been identified that city images are comprise with several landmarks. Similar landmarks may categorize different cities in to one category (Figure 2:10).

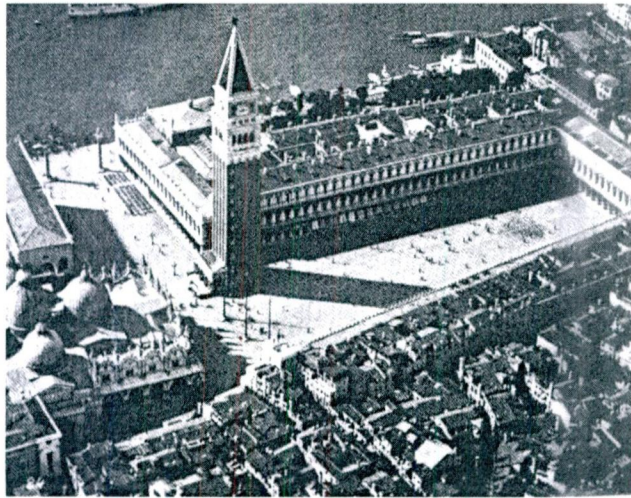


Figure 2.10: The Piazza San Marco, Venice- A Landmark (Based on Lynch: 1960).

2.4.1.3 Nodes



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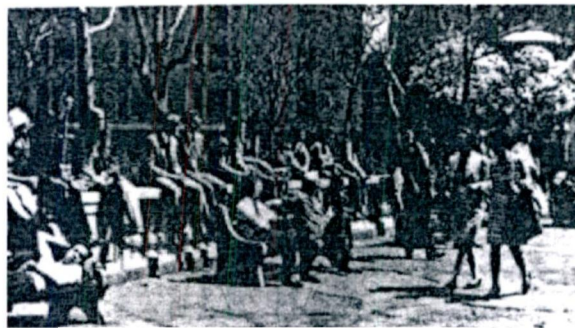
Nodes are focal places such as junctions of paths. One can argue that the nodes as the places of high variability of activities. Some of the cities have gained their identity through a particular node activity (Figure 2.11). Nodes are the conceptual anchor points in cities (Lynch: 1960).



Figure 2.11: Times Square - New York (Based on Lang: 1994)

2.4.1.4 Edges

Edges are the linear elements which are either not used as paths, or which are usually seen from positions where their path nature is obscured. They are boundaries between two phases and linear breaks in continuity: shores, rail road cuts, edges of development, walls, etc. Certain quality inherent to edges may some times be the basis for the city images (Figure 2.12). Edges, some times not only visually prominent, but also, continuous in form and impenetrable to cross movement. They Different edges may give different meanings.



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Figure 2.12: Rittenhouse Square

2.4.1.5 Districts

Paths nodes land marks and edges constitute the skeleton of the urban image, which is fleshed out, with areas of less strongly differentiated urban fabric. In the broad basis different districts demonstrates different activities. “Districts are the medium – to – large sections of the city, conceived of as having two dimensional extent, which the observer mentally enters, “inside of” and which are recognizable as having some common identifying character” (Lynch: 1960).

2.5 Evaluative Image

It is been realized that people make certain images of their living cities. Further they usually evaluate their living environment. Evaluating the living environment means they evaluate the city image they possess in their mind using certain environmental features. According to this evaluation they have a certain image in their mind. This is

referred to as the evaluative image of the environment. Similar to variations in environmental images evaluative images too have variations which root down to the individual level. Cultural variability of environmental evaluation is a vastly discussed subject by many philosophers, architects, and other such professionals.

Although there are innumerable differences a certain group of people in a particular setting like certain places than others and vehemently criticized some of the places. The seeming reason for this is although there are cultural differences and other such differences they have a common evaluative image of heir environment. Though there should be common environmental features, which they use as yardstick for evaluating their environment. The aim of the study is to identify the environmental features of a particular local city, which the city residents use as common yard sticks when making their public evaluative image.

2.5.1 Evaluative image of City

Irrespective of the way images are created, people evaluate them using their own yardsticks. As Rapoport (1977) has explained, people evaluate the same environment differently according to their variations in value systems. As he has further explained, these variations root down to the individual levels.

2.5.2 Likeable Features

Nassar (1997) has introduced the concept of “Likeability” to justify the public evaluative image of cities. According to him, people evaluate a particular city according to certain likable features inherent to that particular city. He has further identified and categorized them under five categories.

2.5.2.1 Openness

People like certain places because of the sense of openness of the setting. This sense of openness may provide to the perceiver through various means. The sense of openness may be a result of the form of buildings. Contrast to this the same sense may

provide through less use of roof and other such coverings. This sense may be an outcome of the ratio between the built and unbuilt. (Figure: 2.13).

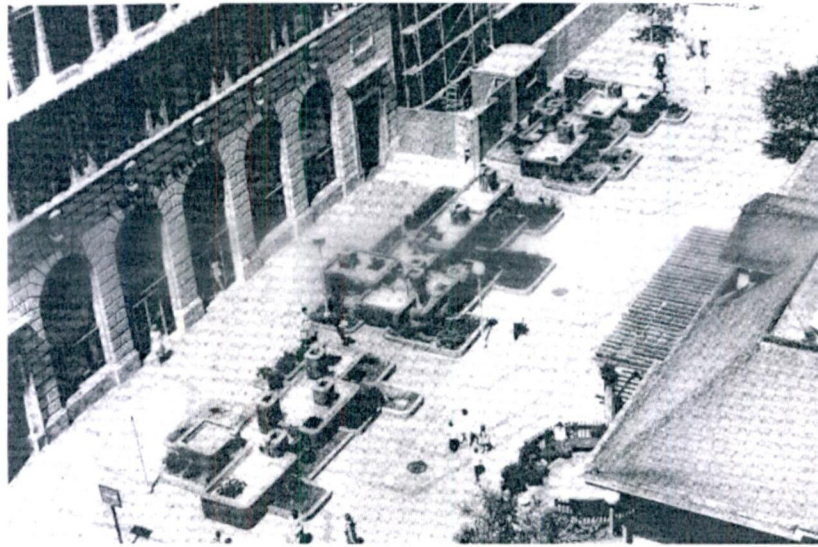


Figure 2.13: Fresno (California), Fulton Mall 1963- Sense of Openness

2.5.2.2 Historical Significance



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Most of the cities are continuations of historical layouts. Though newly added elements exist strong influence by the historical backdrop exist in most cases. As Nassar (1997) explains city residents evaluate their cities in terms of the historical significance of individual places and the city as a whole. The city of Rome, London, Greece is some of the well-known historical cities, which people usually evaluate on their historical significance (Figure 2.14).

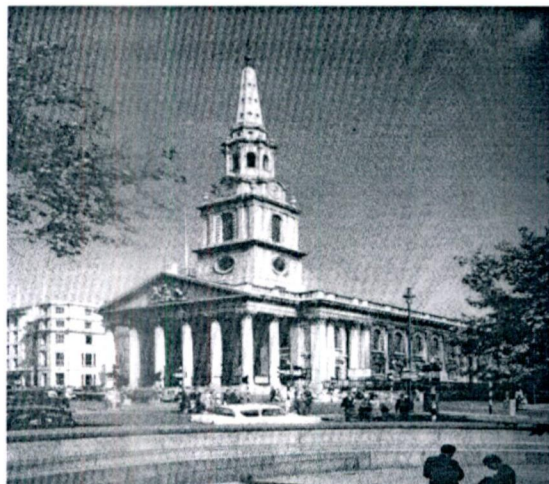
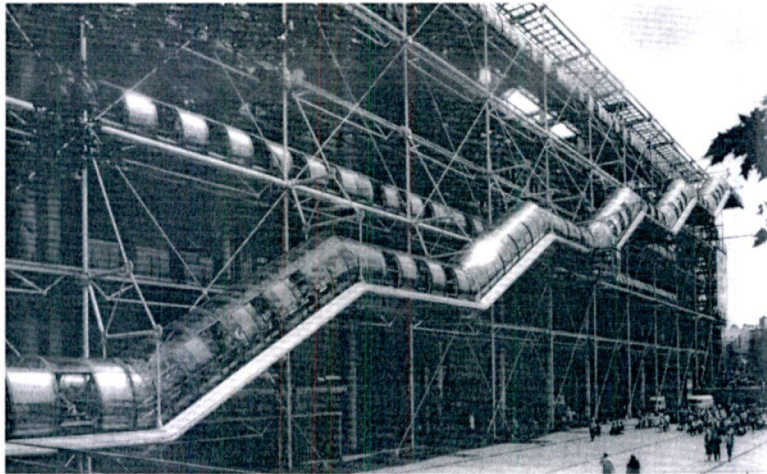


Figure 2.14: London- A City of Historical significance

2.5.2.3 Civility

Civility refers to the politeness of the city environment, which provides its residents various opportunities for recreational, relaxation and gathering. If a city comprises of many public places, which facilitates gathering and recreation people, evaluate the city as a likable place to live (Figure 2.15).



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Figure 2.15: The Centre Pompidou – Place of High Civility

2.5.2.4 Order

Order of a city or a place may occur through many ways. The order may occur through segregation of activities. One may see an order of a grid pattern city than other cities. However this environmental feature is more cultural specific. Highly segregated, well-organized city for a resident, thus be a total confusion for another resident of varying cultural and social values.

2.5.2.5 Natural Features

People genetically prefer the association with the natural elements such as water bodies, mountains, forests, etc. With the high emphasize of the man made ness of cities the amount or the degree of natural elements often vanishes from the city environment. Contrast to this some of the cities have developed based on a strong

water body, mountain or any other such strong natural element. Nassar (1997) has cited 'natural features' of the city as one of the likeable features of city residents (Figure 2.16).

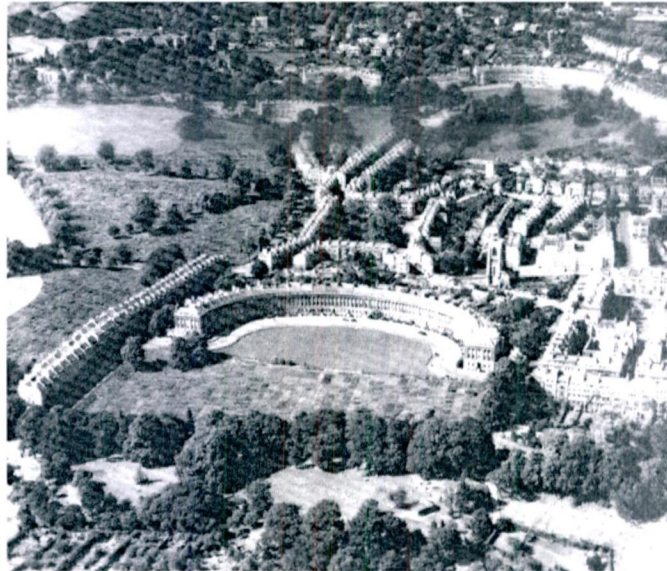


Figure 2.16: Bath, England- High Naturalness



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2.6 Concluding Remarks

Imageability and other attributes of cities, which help to make certain images in residents' mind, were overallly discussed. Thereafter the features of the environment, which city residents consider in evaluating these images, were discussed. It was realized that there is an overall framework for evaluating city images, which was, establish by various scholars, researchers, etc.

Since the aim of the study is to investigate the environmental features, which the residents of Kandy consider in evaluating their image of the city, it is then intended to investigate the attributes of Kandy, which help creating city image in Kandyans' minds.



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CHAPTER THREE: THE IMAGE OF THE CITY OF KANDY

CHAPTER THREE: THE IMAGE OF THE CITY OF KANDY

3.1 Kandy – Historical Background

The city of Kandy, which lies at an altitude of 488.6 meters (1629 feet) above sea level in the centre of the island, surrounded by hills in the valleys of the river Mahaweli, is presently considered as the second major city of Sri Lanka. It was the capital of the Kandyan Kingdom at the seat of political power of the last generation of kings. The name Kandy derives from *Kanda Uda Pasrata*, the Sinhalese name for the mountainous kingdom comprising five countries. The Portuguese shortened its name as Candea and British latterly used the same name to call both the kingdom and its capital (Seneviratne: 1983). The founding of Kandy is attributed to General Siriwardhana, a nephew of Panditha Parackramabahu the forth (A.D. 1302-1326). It was named as Senkadagala Siriwardhanapura. In the eighteenth century, the capital became known as Maha Nuwara, the ‘Great city’, the name used by Sinhalese even to day.



Figure 3.1: The Town and Lake of Kandy: From a drawing by Capt. O' Brien (1864) (based on Senevirathne (1982))

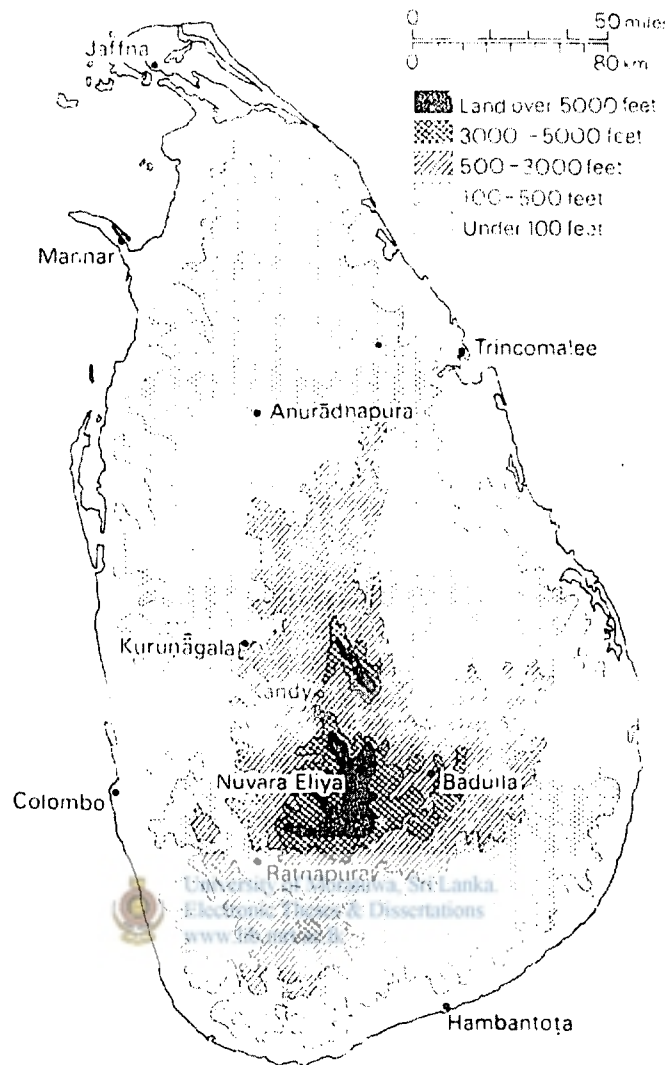


Figure 3.2: Location of Kandy

3.1.1 Development as a City

During its five hundred year history it has been built by citizens, destroyed by foreign armies and rebuilt many times. The architectural monuments, which presently exist in and around the city, including the Temple of tooth, which considered being the most prominent place of Buddhists, depict its past wealth and several influences of developing as a city.

The last king of Kandy Sri Vickremarajasinghe, who after inflicting a crushing defeat on the British in the early part of the nineteenth century embarked on a programme of

building from 1809- 1812. In the last years of Sri Vikrema, Kandy began to manifest a fully developed Sakran landscape (Duncan: 1990).

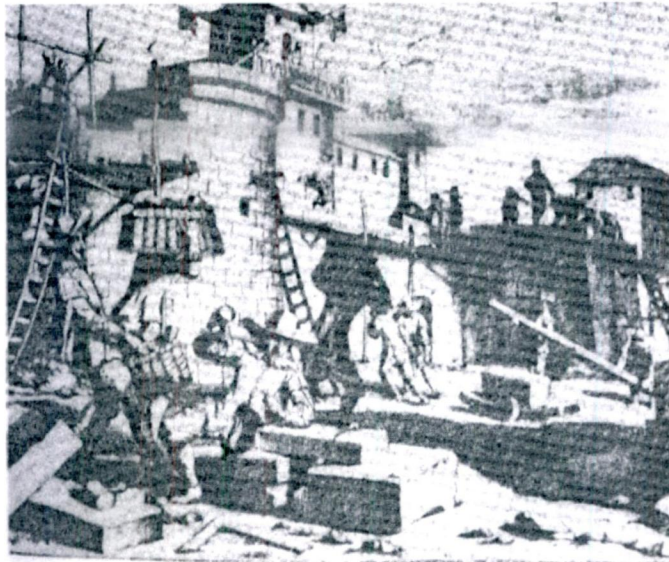


Figure 3.3: The Portuguese captives build fortifications for King Vimala Dharmasooriya I (Based on Senevirathne (1982))



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After the extension of British rule in to the Kandyan Kingdom in 1815, major economic and political changes unfolded. In the plan of Kandy, which was drawn in 1815 by the British, buildings were marked for modification and reuse. One best-known example is the conversion of Queen's bath as a military library. New structures for different purposes were constructed. Even today, in the city of Kandy, the British period buildings dominate the built environment. The much spoken about and recognized character of Kandy of Kandy includes buildings from this period like the Queens hotel, the Former governor's residence, the post office, Cargills, etc. The idea of the British was to develop the city as a commercial and recreational core to the plantation areas of the hill country. Land use patterns were altered. This brought about major road and rail networks, bridges and the construction of Hotels (Railway hotel, Suisse hotel, Queens hotel, Empire hotel, were among the earliest) and clubs (like the Planters club). A hundred foot high way through Kandy was one of the early projects.



Figure 3.4: Historical Backdrop- Enriched by Colonial influences

3.2 Kandy – Present Situation

The city of Kandy presently considers as the second major city of Sri Lanka. Rapid City expansion and urban growth have caused pressures on the historical backdrop and the peaceful environment. Due to the high demand for commercial and residential space, which is limited in Kandy, the land prices have increased. High traffic congestions and pollution due to the overcrowd ness has become seeming problems as a result of high density of people and their activities (Figure 3.5).

The city center comprises of several architectural monuments dated from the fifteenth century to the twentieth century. Most of the buildings of the Kandyan period are situated within the sacred core with some scattered within the grid plan. The



commercial core in the grid, have buildings of colonial influences too as well as constructions from the post independence and modern eras.

The sacred area is in a centralized location of the city, while the grid street pattern have divided the central space in to other small blocks. Most of the commercial activities including wholesale and retail trade, business and banking facilities, restaurants, take place within these blocks. These blocks are filled with average of two storey buildings with a collage of facades.

Land use patterns throughout Kandy have not changed drastically, except for residential developments in the surrounding areas of the city due to lack of space. 'Residence in the city' has become a prestige because of the unaffordable land value for the average people.



Figure 3.5: High-density of activities in the City of Kandy

3.2.1 Social Context

Traditionally the society was highly divided according to the cast. Presently it has become a secondary segregation. But the glimpses of the traditional social values still exist. Middle class business community vastly inhabits the city. Various professionals such as doctors, lawyers, etc. are maintaining their offices in and around the city core. During the evenings most of the public recreational spaces are filled with people. Hierarchy of the social bonds of the community is in a higher level compared to that of other local cities.

3.2.2 Cultural Context

It is evident that the Kandy comprises of a multi cultural society. Several cultural groups could be identified within the highly congested city core. The business community occupied mostly at the blocks of the core has formulated a separate business culture within the city. Even the physical context depicts the similarity of each other. Several cultural events take place during certain months of the year. One of the prime cultural event that take place is the Esala Perahera.

3.3 Imageable Elements of Kandy City

The city of Kandy comprises of many buildings and public places belong to various periods of history and established for various purposes. Observing the physical context reveal that public and private buildings and places are of many categories.

Similar to other cities Kandy too has some identifiable imageable elements that are similar to the elements cited by Lynch (1960).



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3.3.1 Paths

Paths are laid according to a grid pattern in the central core of the city. This grid could be approached from three sides, which radiate outwards. Dalada Veediya runs along a side of the Lake and extends west and southwest. Dalada Veediya runs parallel to the railway in the valley to Peradeniya and extends to cross the river Mahaweli. At right angles to it, D.S. Senanayake Veediya moves north across the river to Matale, Kurunegala and further north. From the grid of the city centre, where the major and oldest development is concentrated, minor roads wind up the slopes to the more expensive residences (Acomas: 1996). Some of these roads lead further up to reach the tea estates above the town, and other to small agricultural valleys.

Most of the streets of the commercial core comprises of two stored structures, with a collage of facades. The haphazard and careless manner in the display and arrangement of signboards, posters, are an eyesore with the range of colours, images and sizes.

Some of the signboards seem to be violating the height regulations, although the actual building structure may be conforming with regulations.

Colombo Street starts at the old Laksala building and runs straight westward up to Kandy – Matale railway line. The street could be subdivided into four sections as three major roads run perpendicular to it, cutting it into three sections.

Part I: Between Old Laksala building and D.S.Senanayake Veediya

Part II: Between D.S.Senanayake Veediya and Kotugodella Veediya

Part III: Between Kotugodella Veediya and Yatinuwara Veediya

Part IV: Between the Railway track and Yatinuwara Veediya

The segment between the Deva Veediya and D.S.Senanayake Veediya, which is named as Raja Veediya, is somewhat desolated because of security reasons. Reason for this is the location of the President's house and Raymond prison (Acomas: 1996). The portion between D.S.Senanayake Veediya and Kotugodella Veediya has less traffic compared to Colombo Street.



The Queens Hotel façade dominates the beginning of the street typical of colonial architecture. This is one of the landmarks in Kandy with great historic value. On the further end of the road, Trinity College is situated and congestion is acute during school hours. During the morning rush hour, The Queens Hotel junction is packed with vehicles coming towards the city.

During the school hours Yatinuwara Veediya is congested because of St.Silvester's College and other government establishments. The railway level crossing is another factor leading to congestion (Figure 3.6).



Figure 3.6: View of Yati Nuwara Weediya



Figure 3.7: Less Parking facilities in the Central Core

3.3.2 Landmarks

Since the city of Kandy has a history of more than five hundred years, it consists of many landmarks, which are more often buildings with unique architectural features and belong to various periods of city history. The most popular and well-known landmark of the city is the Temple of Tooth. Queens hotel is another landmark with great historical value. Clock tower, which situates at the centre of the city, is used by most of the residents as meeting places for them.

The high rise Commercial Bank building that is located in Yatinuwara Veediya seems to be the tallest building of the city and has become a landmark for its high visibility. Bogambara Prison, various schools such as St.Silvester's College, St.Anthony's Cathedral, New Bank of Ceylon building, Railway Station, etc (Figure 3.8 and 3.9).

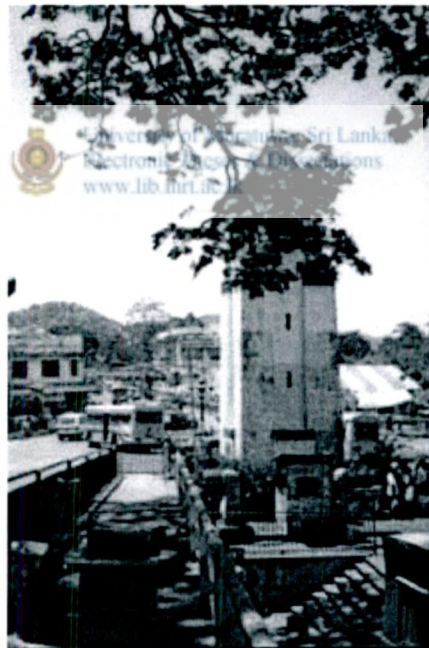


Figure 3.8: Clock Tower- A Land Mark

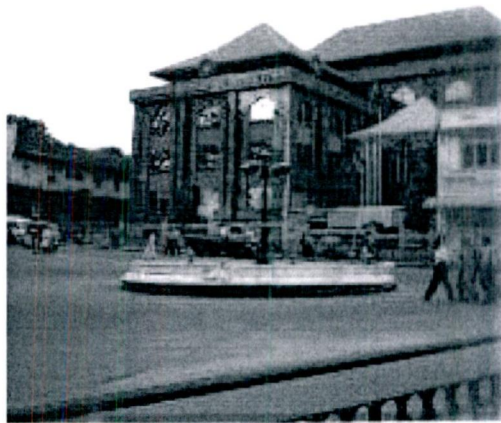


Figure 3.9: Bank of Ceylon- Another Land Mark

3.3.3 Districts

Several districts can be identified within the city limits of Kandy. One of the major districts that could be identified is the sacred area. The Temple of Tooth, i.e. the Maligawa complex, the Devala complex and the palace complex are the major constituents of the sacred area of Kandy city. Apart from the highly religious environment, this has become an attraction of tourists for its name and the historical significance, which partly depict through the architectural monuments. Historically, culturally and architecturally, these monuments are symbolic and significant to Kandy city.

The commercial centre comprising of about sixteen small blocks and which are given access through a grid street pattern. Activities of the commercial zone include wholesale and retail trade, banking, business, restaurants, stores and even shrines. Most of the buildings are two storied structures with a collage of facades.

Some of the districts have activities inherent to them. One well-known example is the Torrington Bus Stand. Some of the districts have become entirely residential.



Figure 3.10: Sacred area – One of the prime districts of the City

3.3.4 Nodes

Since the roads are laid according to a grid pattern most of the four way junctions have become nodes of the city. Apart from the four way junctions, some of the common places of the city have become nodes, which have specific activities. One of the famous examples is the bus stand adjacent to the clock tower premises. Most of the public activities occur adjacent to nodes. Some of the public places have become nodes due to high density of activities.

Kandy market, Good Shed Bus stand, Railway station front, Clock tower premises are some of the identified nodes of the city.



Figure 3.11: Clock Tower Node

3.3.5 Edges

Several edges could be identified within the city limits. One of the best known is the edge along the periphery of Kandy Lake. It has become a prime area for relaxing and gathering. Apart from this several edges adjacent to buildings and streets could be identified. Another example is the edge along the wall of the prison. This has become part of the market and provides places for number of street merchants.



Figure 3.12: Edge of Kandy Lake

3.4 Attributes of Kandy city and its Elements

Since Kandy is a city it also must possess certain attributes similar to other cities. Similar to other cities it also has a certain form. Thus aim of this part of the discussion is to examine the attributes of Kandy city and its elements in terms of Distinctiveness of Physical form, visibility, use and significance.

3.4.1 Distinctiveness of the Physical Form

As described in the early chapter distinctiveness of the physical form supports the imageability of the city. Since the city of Kandy has a unique form that is contrast to



other local cities it is interesting to investigate the varying features of the form of both the city and its elements.

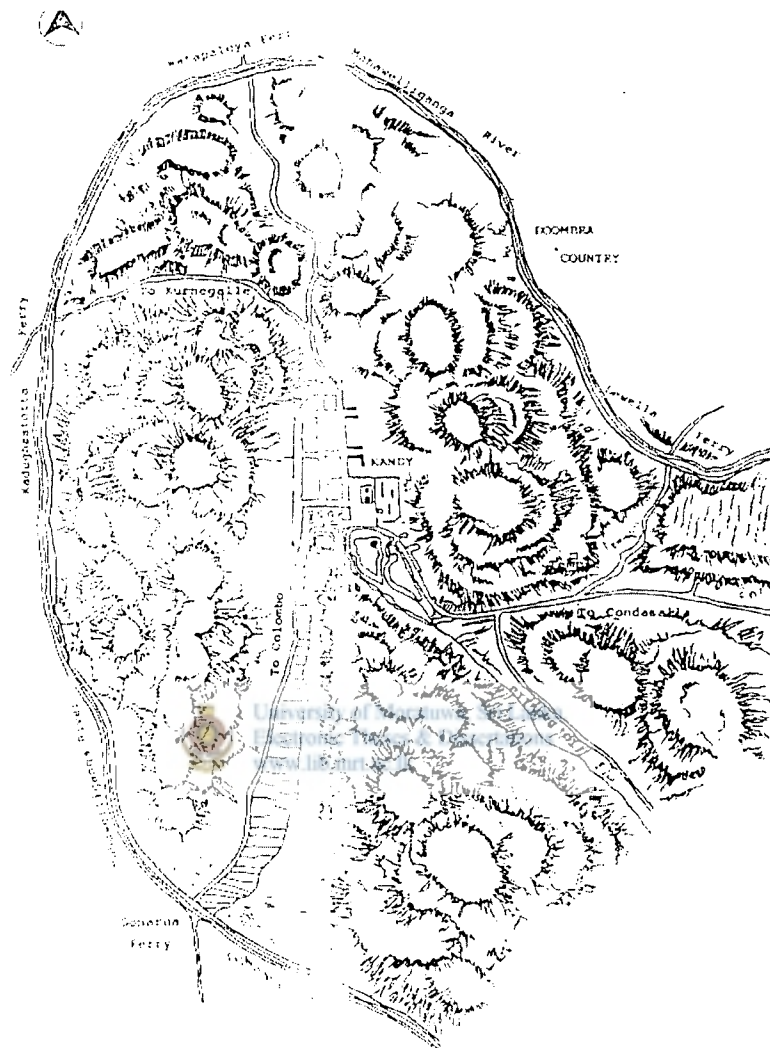


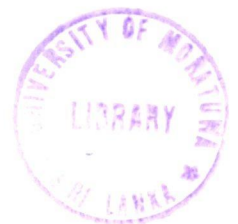
Figure 3.13: Physical Form of Kandy City- 1815AD (Based on ACOMAS: 1996)

3.4.1 Physical Form of the City

The city has a certain regularity. Part of the city comprises of sixteen blocks and the lake has given a uniqueness to the city.



Figure 3.14: City of Kandy (1721)



3.4.1.2 Physical form of buildings

Several historical monuments belong to different periods, within the city limits of Kandy. New buildings have arisen within the gaps of the historical backdrop. It was evident that a certain similarity is maintained in most of the newly built structures as a result of strongly maintained building regulations of the Urban Development Authority. Although innumerable differences are evident in terms of various moment scales, contours, sizes, surfaces, quality and signs.



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Figure 3.15: Distinctiveness of Physical form of buildings

3.4.2 Visibility

Most of the places of the city maintain a high visibility. This is partly occurred through grid street pattern and high permeability. Since most of the important buildings are located in the edges of grid pattern streets, they possess a high visibility.

3.4.3 Use intensity

Some of the places of the city have high intensity levels. For instance God Shed Bus Terminal is a place of high use intensity. Banks, Railway station, Shopping centers, etc are among other places of high use intensity. Apart from the places of essential functions Temple of Tooth, Lake Front, and other such religious and recreational areas seem to be the places of higher intensity.

3.5 Concluding Remarks

Aim of this part of the study was to investigate the attributes of the City of Kandy which help the resident to make vividly different images in their minds almost all the city elements which was cited by Lynch (1960) was found in the context. Further it was revealed the entire city was of a high visibility scale, and several places of high use intensity were identified. Several places could be identified as high historical significance places.

The aim of the next part of the discussion was to investigate the environmental features which the residents of Kandy consider when evaluating the Image of the City of Kandy. It was intended to investigate whether residents of Kandy evaluate their city according to the same likeable features which were cited by Nassar(1997) and to identify the unique likeable features (if any) specific to the selected city.



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CHAPTER FOUR: THE EVALUATIVE IMAGE OF THE CITY OF KANDY

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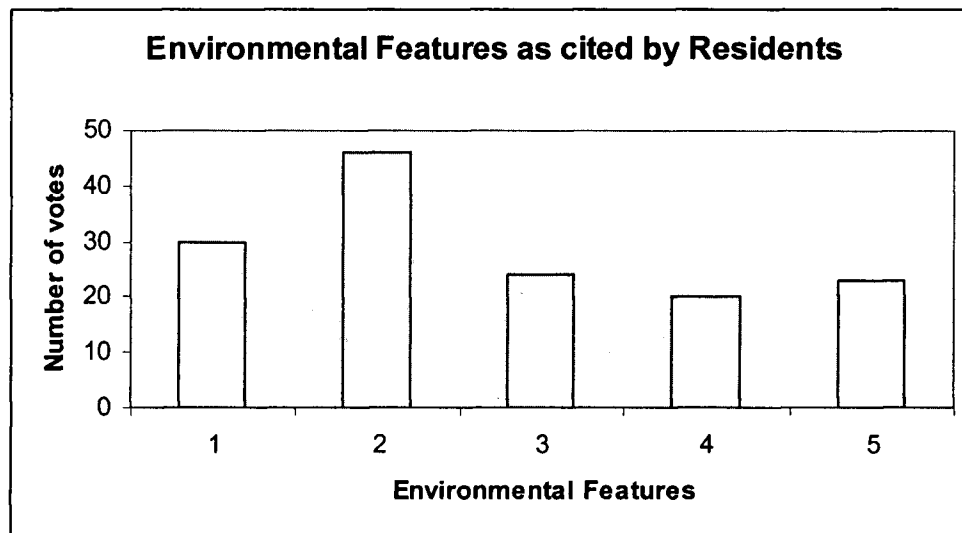
To understand the nature of the evaluative image of Kandy that is common to the majority of its residents and to identify the environmental features, which formulate and facilitate the yardsticks for evaluation, it was intended to question the residents who were very much familiar with the places and the activities of the city. A sample of fifty people were selected and asked to answer three simple questions. These questions were asked in the manner of an informal discussion and recorded in separate sheets.

4.1 Overall Evaluative Image

The question of "Do you like the city you live?" Was the first of three questions, was a direct representation of the overall evaluative image which each individual possess in his mind. Intention of this question is to check whether they have a positive image of their living city and by questioning the reason for the answer it was aimed to investigate the most prominent environmental feature of the city that attracts or distracts the attention of people towards the city. Answer was 'yes' for almost all the people questioned. The next part of the first question, the reason for the likeness had few variations. For approximately fifty percent the reason was the good climate. Most of the answers were comparisons with other leading cities of the context. But since the study pays attention for only the environmental features but not environmental quality or conditions of the climate the responses were ignored. Thus another reason for the likeness was questioned in such cases. Considerable number of residents questioned, preferred the peaceful life they spend in the city. Further expressions in some such cases revealed that they were satisfied with the interrelationships between the people of the community for their politeness, helpfulness, respect to each other, etc. But since the study focuses to identify the likenesses based on environmental features these answers also had less validity. There for another reason was again questioned in these instances.

The evaluations based on environmental features had few variations. For some of the residents questioned the city was a place of several natural elements such as the lake, Udawattakele, Bahirawakanda, Botanical gardens, Wales Park, Hantana Kanda, Prime

rose gardens, etc. They preferred the accessibility and the opportunities they have, to visit and spend a moment of their life, forgetting all the other problems of their lives.



1. Because it's a world heritage city.
2. Because of the inherent religious character of the city.
3. Because of the natural beauty and the surrounded natural elements of the city
4. Because of the facilities including schools, temples, recreational spaces, mosques, supermarkets,
5. Because of the high living standard of the city with high status.

Figure 4.1: Environmental Features of the City as mentioned by Residents

Considerable amount of the answer based on the facilities provided through the setting of the city. For some of the people questioned, city was a place with all the necessary establishments they need to fulfill their day-to-day activities. They talked much about the schools, temples, supermarkets, bus terminals and bus halting places, railway station, banks, which are situated in close proximity to each other. Although they have a positive image they did not forget to criticize the traffic congestion, and scarcity of parking spaces.

However majority of the residents questioned were proud that they live in a world heritage city. In such cases, they mentioned The Temple of Tooth Relic and other historical monuments of the city, which exist within the gaps of highly dense city

setting. For most of them, Kandy was the prime city but not Colombo or any other alternative.

Above all the reasons all of the people interviewed talked about the inherent religious character of the city. Most of them preferred the religiousness of the environment other than all the other factors.

Analyzing the answer for the first question revealed that almost all the people interviewed were liked the city, and four major reasons for the likeness could be identified. For most of them interviewed the likeness was based combination of two or more reasons cited below.

1. Because it's a world heritage city.
2. Because of the inherent religious character of the city.
3. Because of the natural beauty and the surrounded natural elements of the city
4. Because of the facilities including schools, temples, recreational spaces, mosques, supermarkets,
5. Because of the high living standard of the city with high status.

It could be noticed that people of Kandy have evaluated the city for some combination of five reasons. The people, who were proud of living in Kandy because of its world heritage ness, have evaluated the city as a place of historical significance. It could be argued that they partly evaluated the city in terms of the natural features. Some of the evaluations were based on the order of the city which was indirectly mentioned by people by mentioning the facilities provide by the environment. But contrast to the environmental features cited by Nassar (1997), majority evaluated the environment in terms of its inherent religious character. The religiousness of the environment has occurred partly through architectural features of buildings. Since a specific set of regulations is strictly maintained by the Urban Development Authority all the buildings have certain characteristics that have close relationship Kandyan buddhistic architecture that was existed during the past. High emphasize of natural elements compared to other local cities, including Lake, gardens, natural greenery, etc. have given a monastic character to the city.



Figure 4.2: World Heritage ness partly depict through Historical Monuments



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Figure 4.3: Kandy Lake – Sense of Naturalness

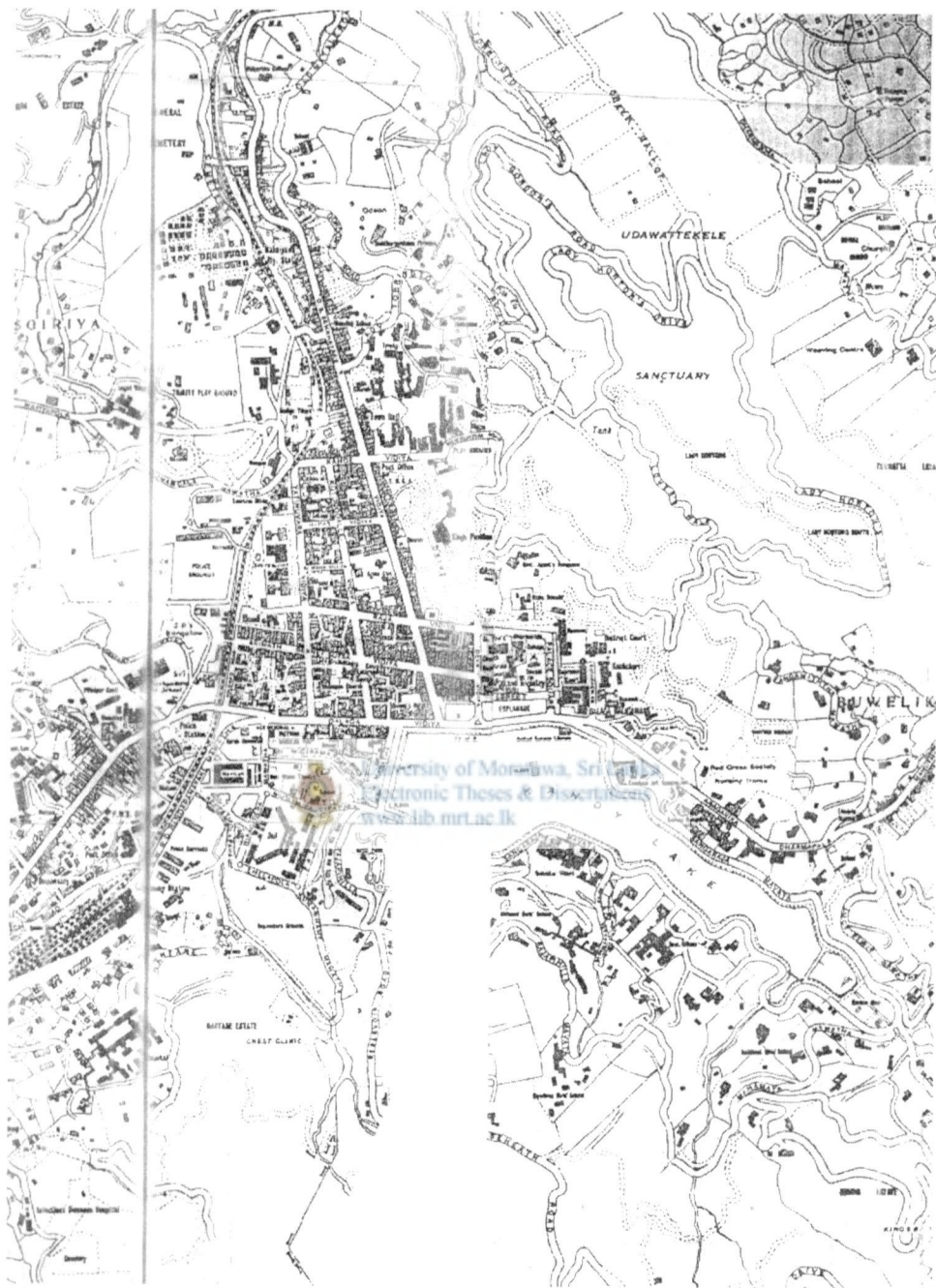


Figure 4.4: Grid street pattern of the Central Core – sense of ‘Order’

4.2 Liked Places

The second question presented to the residents was to name five places of the city, which they like most, and the reasons for likeness in each case. Number of variations could be identified among the places named and the reasons. It was revealed that some of the places were preferred by majority or by all the residents questioned. For instance, The Temple of Tooth was among the first three choices of all the residents irrespective of religion and all such variations. It could be noticed that most of the liked places were not the places or buildings that support the day-to-day activities of the city but the places and buildings, which encourage religious and recreational activities. The map below is a representation of likeable places mentioned by the residents. Votes given for each place was calculated and percentages are indicated below. Agreeable definitions and boundaries were found of most of the places mentioned. Numbers are given for each place according to the ranking order of Preference.

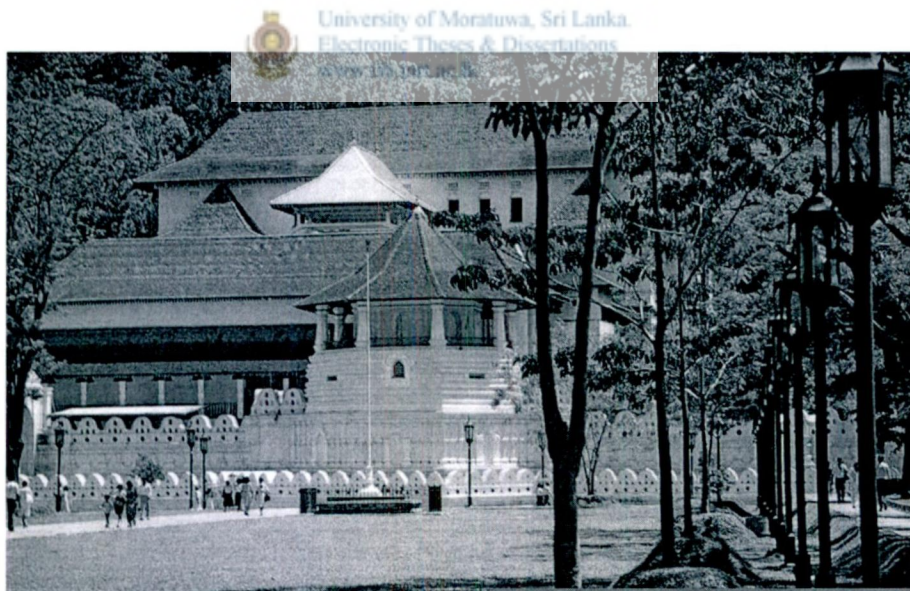


Figure 4.5: Temple of Tooth- Most like place of the majority of the Kandyans



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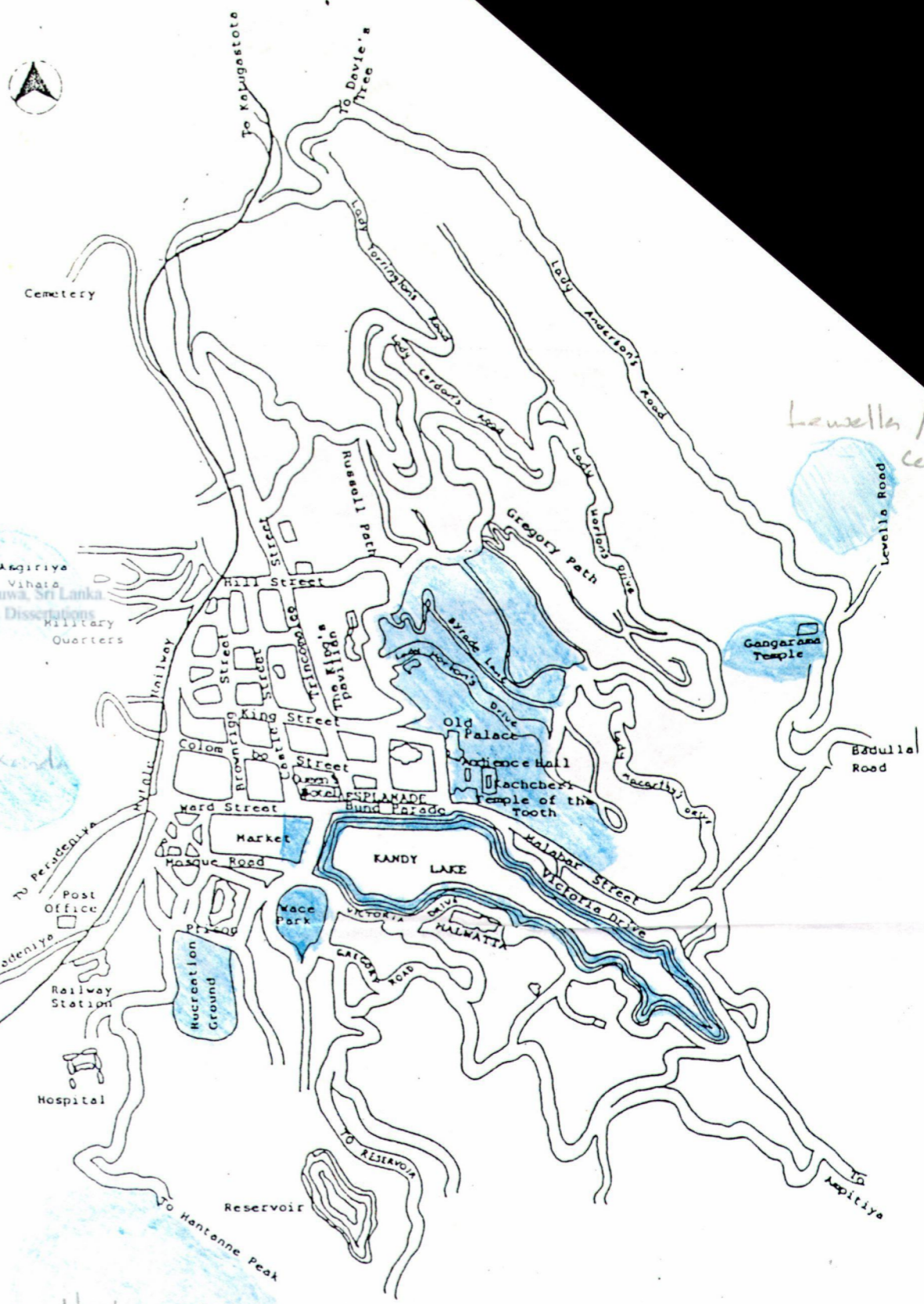


Peradaniya Gardens

Gatambe Temple

Edinawakanda

Lawella Med Centre



Cemetery

Angiriyawa Vihara
Military Quarters

Post Office

Railway Station

Hospital

Reservoir

Hantane

To Kelugastota

To Devle's Tree

Hill Street

Russell Path

Gregory Path

King Street

Colombo Street

Victoria Drive

Malabar Street

Victoria Drive

Victoria Drive

Victoria Drive

Victoria Drive

Victoria Drive

Victoria Drive

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Gatambe Temple

Peradeniya Gardens

Hantane

Choices were quite common to a considerable extent. Contrast to this some of the places were mentioned only by few residents of the city. For instance two residents out of fifty questioned only mentioned the meditation center of Lewella. For most of the people interviewed temple of tooth was the most like place (Figure 4.6).

4.2.1 Environmental Features of liked places

Reasons for the likeness of the mentioned places were carefully note down during the survey. Some of the reasons were quite similar for some places, while significant variations could be identified in some of the reasons. The aim of this part of the discussion is to consider the places, which were liked by the majority, and to investigate the given reasons for the likeness.

The Sacred Area

For the majority of the people interviewed the Temple of Tooth and Devala premises were among the first three choices. The Temple of Tooth was the first preference of approximately ninety percent interviewed. Major environmental feature they were concerned was the religious ness of the premises. Other reasons for the likeness had few variations. But generally people liked the sacred area for some five major reasons.

1. Because of the religiousness of the environment.
2. Because of the historical value of the place.
3. Because of the pleasantness of the environment.
4. Because of the attractiveness of buildings
5. Because it's a place for relaxation with high sense of freedom.

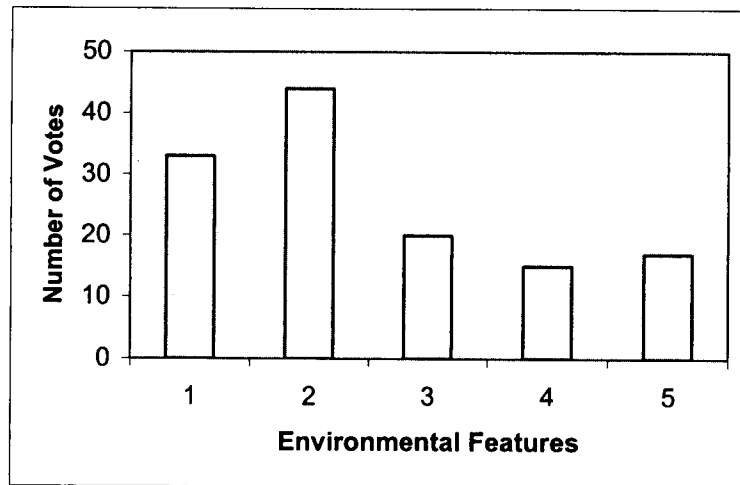


Figure 4.7: Environmental Features of the Sacred Area as mentioned by Residents

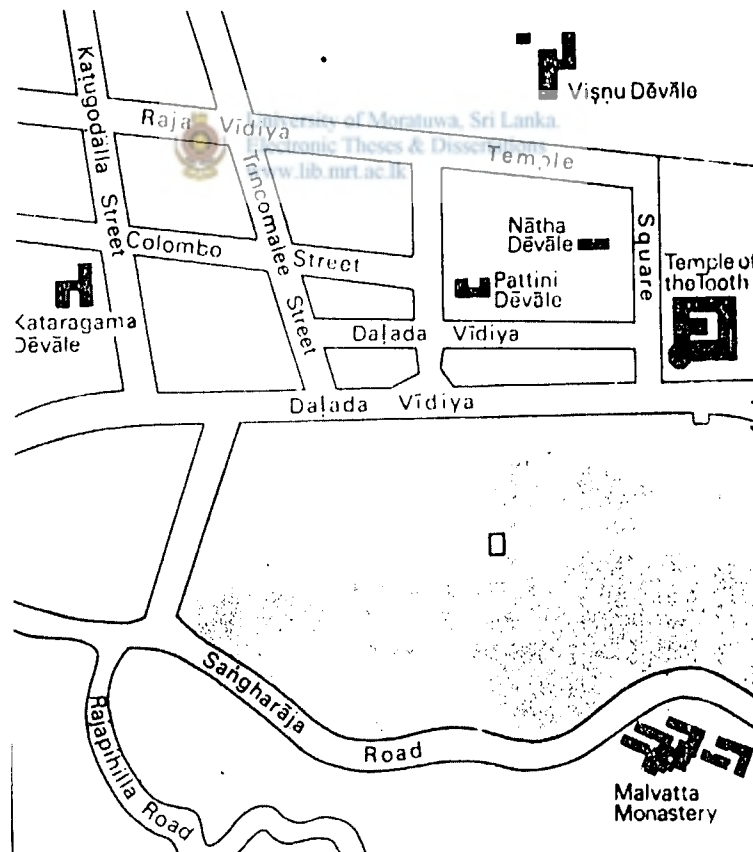


Figure 4.8: Plan of the Sacred Area

Most of the Environmental features of the sacred area mentioned by people could be categorized under the frame work established by Nassar (1997) such as openness, natural features, historical significance, etc. But one environmental feature is identified which is some what different to that of Western experiences – Religiousness.

The sacred area is one of the main districts of the city. It could be noticed that the Temple of Tooth which is the main element of the sacred area is one of the prime landmarks of the city. It is apparently medium in movement. The shape, quality, size, etc. are quite significant to that of majority o other city buildings. When investigating the other attributes of the establishment reveals that, it has a high visibility, and use significance. High visibility is gained mainly through the location while the architectural features symbolizes its past glory, and historical importance.

Front bare land of the premises gives the high sense of freedom that enters to the premises. Since this area is connected with the adjacent lake, the sense of naturalness may obviously occur in one's mind. Further Udawattakele provides a green backdrop to the premises and enhances its organic appearance. It could be noticed that the apparent religiousness has occurred as a combination of all these features of the environment.

Lake Front

The edge of Kandy Lake was one of the favorite places of almost all the residents questioned. For many of them this was the main place of relaxation, as they preferred the windy atmosphere and water. Although there were few variations, all of them seem to be like the place for some combination of six reasons. Similar to other places most of the reasons were combination of two or more reasons cited below.

1. Because of the windy atmosphere
2. Because of the sense of freedom
3. Because of the preference to spend the time close to a water body
4. Because of the shed provided by the surrounded greenery

5. Beauty and the natural sceneries of the place
6. Because it's a Gathering Place for friends, lovers, etc.

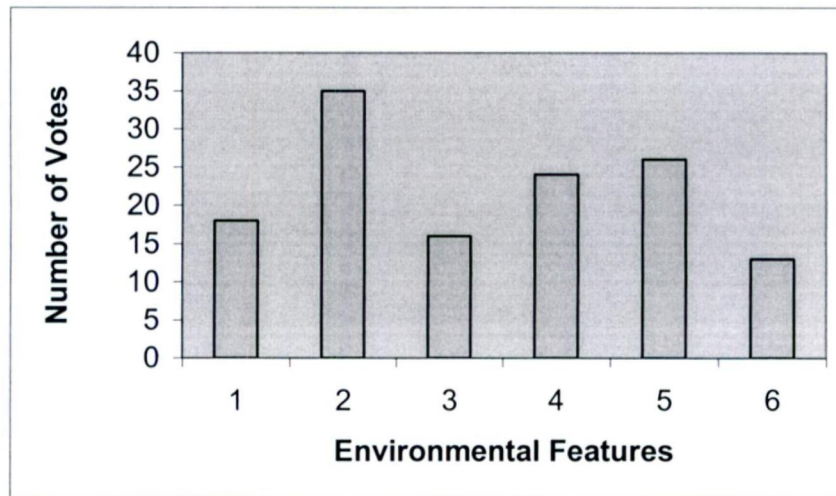
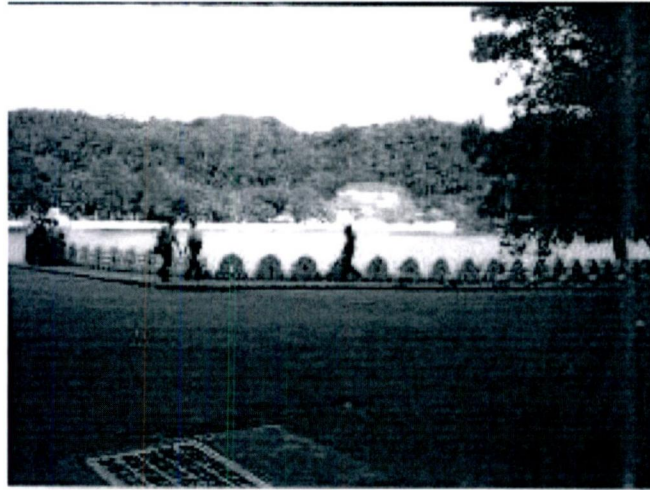


Figure 4.9: Likeable Features of Lake Front as mentioned by Residents

Lake Front could be considered as an edge of the city, which is highly visible and has high use intensity. It could be noticed that environmental features cited by people in this case could be easily categorized under the environmental features such as natural features, openness, and civility which were quite similar to frame works cited by Nassar (1997).



Figure 4.10: Lake Front – a place with high sense of Freedom



**Figure 4.11: Lake Front- A gathering and a meeting place for friends, lovers, etc.
- A place of civility**

Botanical Gardens – Peradeniya



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This is another place of high intensity of likeness by the city residents. The reasons were simple and quite similar to each other. Three major reasons were identified as summation of reasons cited by the residents. In this case also all the people interviewed, mentioned Botanical garden as one of their preferences.

1. Because of the natural beauty and the sceneries of the environment
2. Because of the high freedom of the place
3. Because it's a gathering place for friends, lovers, etc.

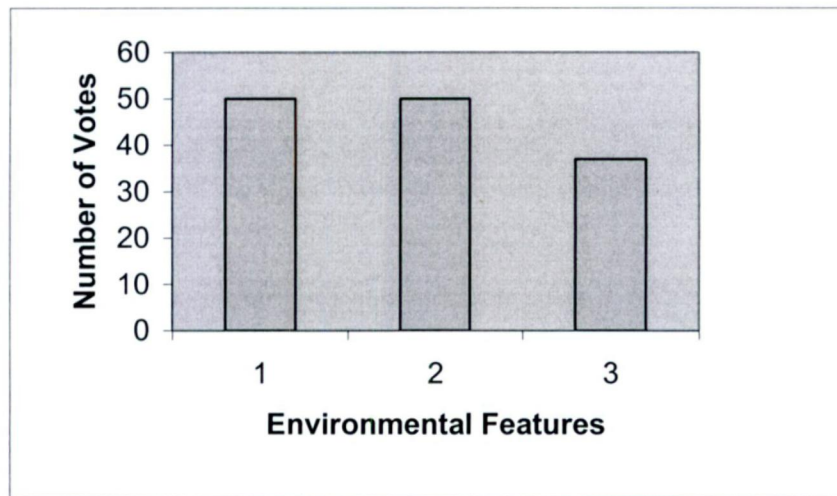


Figure 4.12: Likeable Features of Botanical Gardens as mentioned by Residents

Naturalness is an inherent feature of the city. Apart from that the opportunities given by the environment for gathering, relaxation, etc highlight the civility. Further, the environment seems to be highly ordered because of the daily maintaining landscape.



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Figure 4.13: Botanical Gardens – Sense of Naturalness and Freedom

Wales Park

Forty-two people out of fifty mentioned Wale's Park as one of their favorite places. Most of them preferred the location as the entire city is visually connected to the place. Few variations between reasons for the likeness could be identified.

1. Because of the location- above the level of the rest of the city
2. Sense of high freedom
3. Because the entire city is visible to the place.
4. Because of the greenery and the natural environment
5. Sceneries and the beauty of the place

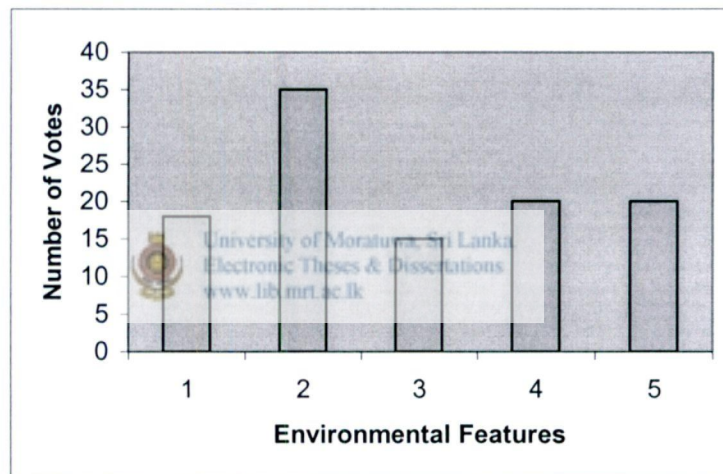


Figure 4.14: Likeable features of Wales Park as mentioned by Residents



Figure 4.15: A view of the City from Wales Park

Bogambara Stadium

Many people mentioned this as a favorite place. For many of them this was a place for relaxation and gathering and meeting place of friends.

1. A Gathering place for friends
2. A Place for relaxation
3. A Place for watch matches

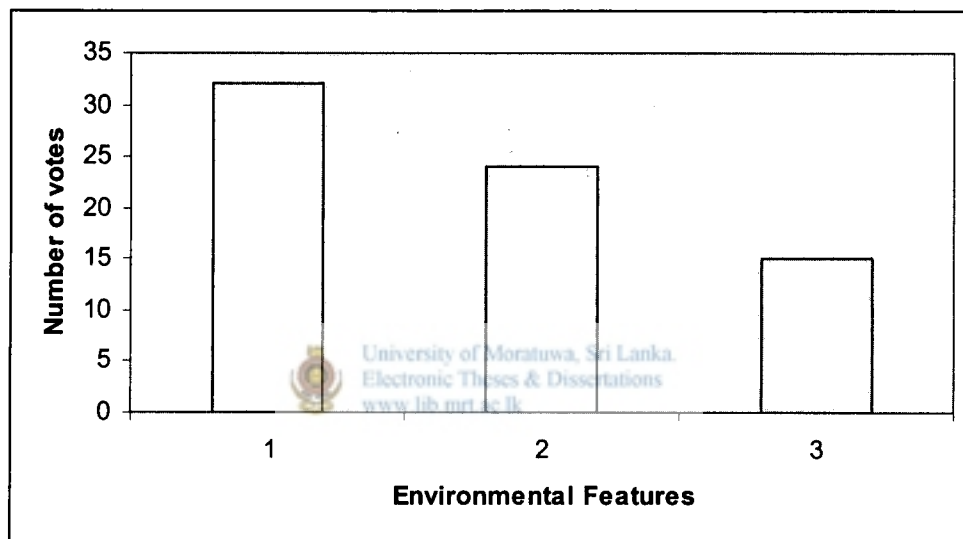


Figure 4.16: Likeable features of Bogambara Stadium as mentioned by Residents

Civility of the place seems to be the prime likeable feature of the place.

Bahirawakanda

This is a place, which situates above the city level. An image of Lord Buddha has given a special attention for the place. Many people mentioned this as another like place of them. The evaluations were based on following environmental features.

1. Religious atmosphere of the place.
2. Naturalness and beauty of the environment.

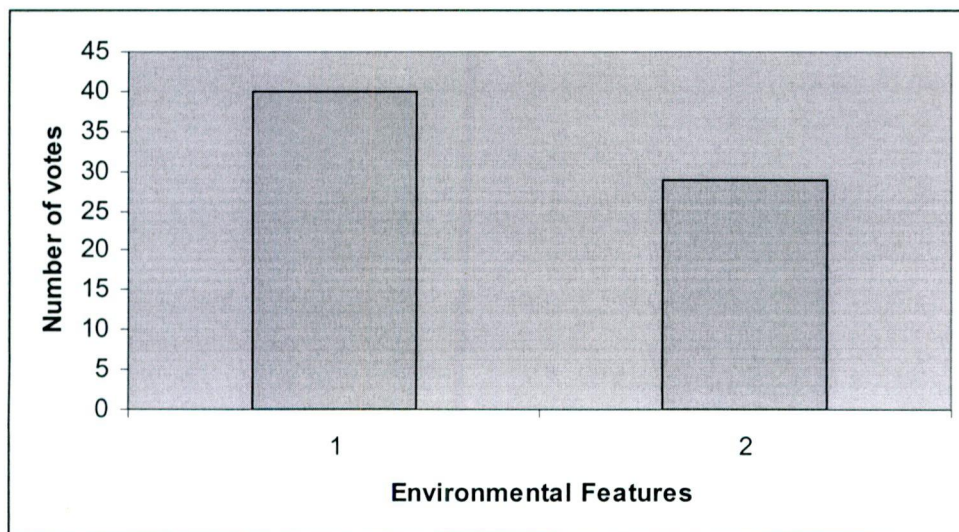


Figure 4:17: Likeable Features of Bahirawakanda as mentioned by Residents

Religiousness and natural features seem to be the main likeable features of the place.

Udawattakele



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Average residents mentioned Udawattakele as a preferable place to visit. The seeming reason was the natural features of the environment.



Figure 4:18: Udawattakele

Gatambe Temple

Considerable number of residents mentioned Gatambe Temple as one of the likeable place. The only seeming likeable feature was the Religiousness of the setting.

Hantana Premises

Similar to Udawattakele, Hantana Premises too, has become a likeable place of residents for the natural features of the environment. People mentioned Hantana premises talked much about sceneries and views of the area. They appreciated the visual linkage of the city and the premises. Reasons were quite common to all the residents who mentioned the place. It could be noticed that the likeable feature which they considered was the natural ness of the environment.

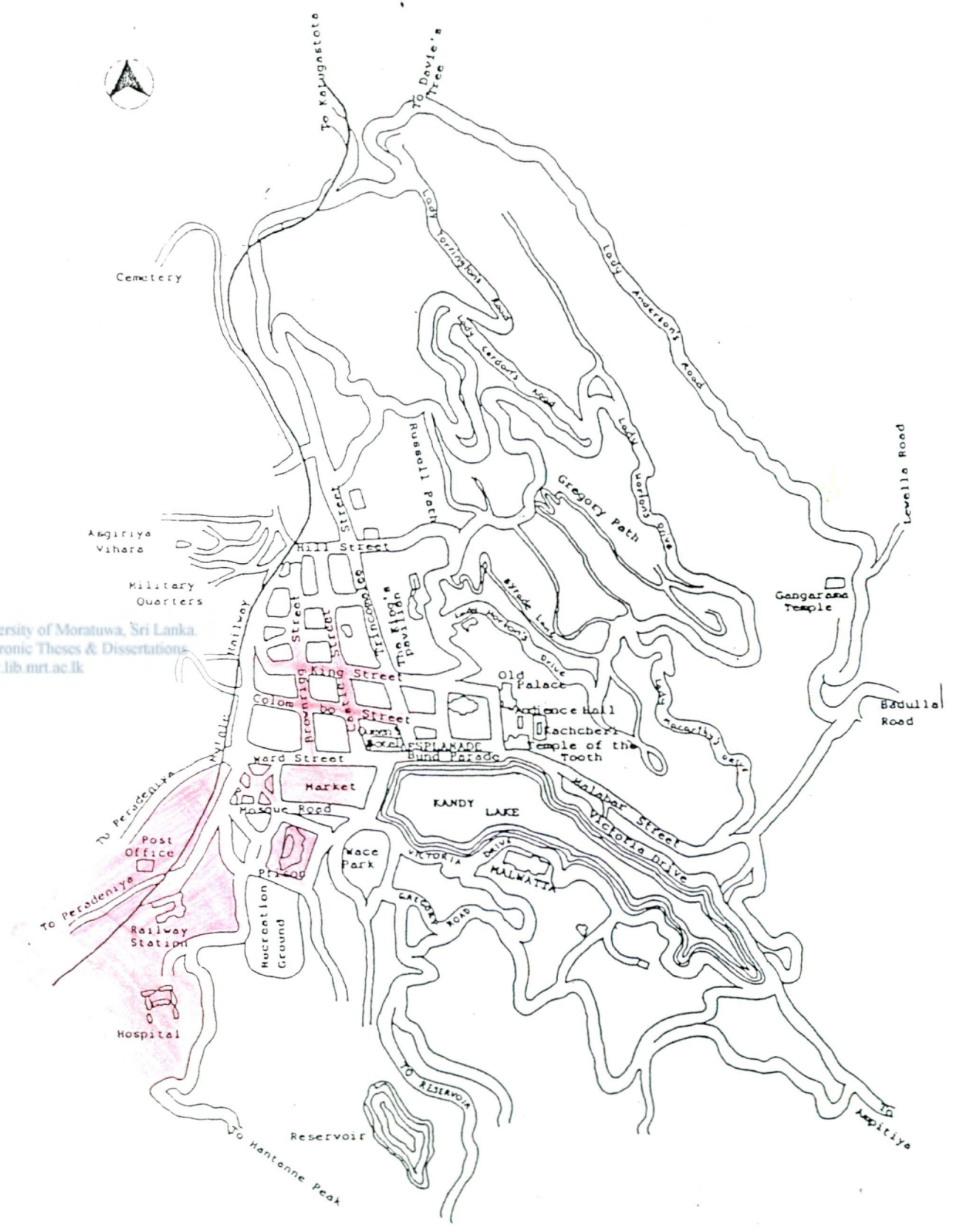
4.3 Disliked places

Answer for the third question frames the places of less interest and rejected by the majority of the residents. The reasons were quite similar to each other while most of the places of essential functions and necessary elements of the city have become the places, which the inhabitants don't like. Bus stands, supermarket, hospital premises, edges of some of the streets, etc. were such places rejected by the majority of the residents.

4.3.1 Environmental Features of Disliked places

Most of the dislikeable features were opposites of likeable features mentioned by residents when evaluating likeable places. The most important factor was that almost all the places mentioned as dislikeable places were the places that essential activities take place.

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Good Shed Bus Stand

For the most of the people interviewed the good shed bus stand which is the main bus stand of the city is the place, which they don't like most. Some of the commonly mentioned reasons for this dislike ness are as follows:

1. Because of busyness of the place
2. Because of less order and discipline
3. Poor maintenance and less facilities of the place
4. Congestion and over crowd ness.
5. Visual inappropriateness of buildings
6. Because it spoils the environment of Kandy

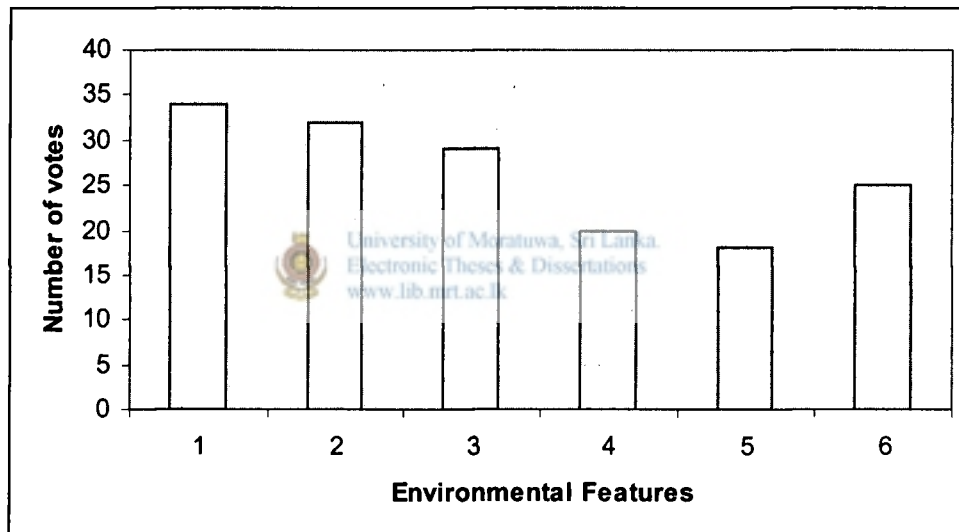


Figure 4.20: Dislikeable features of Good Shed Bus Stand as mentioned by Residents

As usual, majority have been criticized the place because of its busyness. It was appeared that they needed a more organized bus terminal with more facilities. The aesthetic appropriateness is another aspect of such environment that should be considered. Another more interesting finding is that the people have a habit of investigating whether the particular place suits to Kandy. The reason may be the highly impressed attitude towards the city.

Figure 4.21: Good shed Bus Stand – as a place that spoils the Environment of Kandy

Proper investigation of the environmental features of this particular setting revealed that visual inappropriateness has occurred through poor maintenance of buildings and it has spoiled the entire environment. The place has almost no order except the primary reservations for different bus roots and entering and exit paths. Thus, except for a person with high familiarity of the place, people face many difficulties in finding certain bus stops and other places of the setting. Thus it could be argued that people have disliked the place mainly because of the less order, poor appearance of buildings, and less civility of the place.

Railway Station

Railway station of Kandy city is a main place which links the city with the other cities. But due to various reasons people were not satisfied with that particular setting. Approximately seventy percent questioned mentioned the railway station as one of the dislike places. Some of the commonly mentioned environmental features are as follows;

1. Because of the busy setting
2. Because of the overcrowd ness of the place
3. Poor maintenance and condition of the building
4. Less order and discipline
5. Because the less suitability of the appearance to Kandy

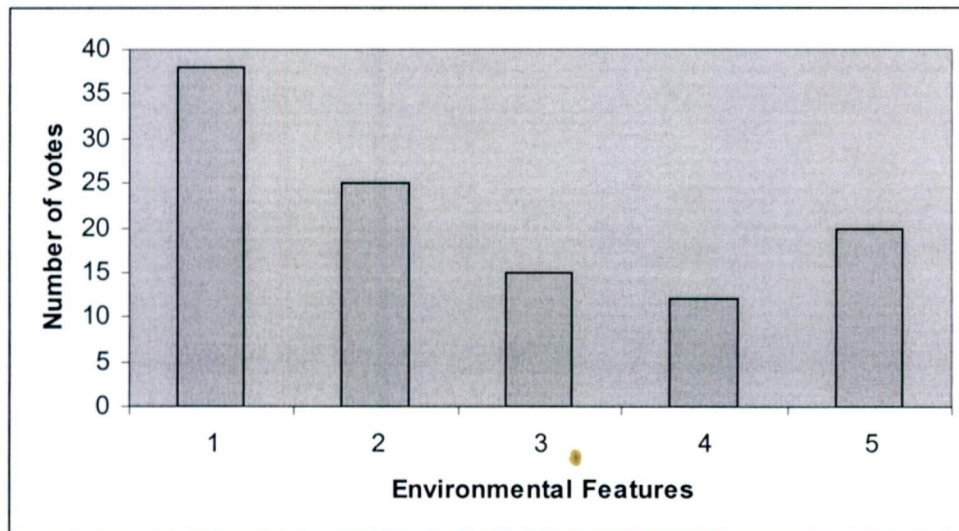


Figure 4.22: Dislikeable features of Railway Station as cited by Residents



Figure 4.23: Kandy Railway Station

Lack of order and civility seem to be the main dislikeable features of the station.

Clock Tower Premises and Adjacent Bus Stand

Overcrowd ness, less discipline, busyness, were among the dislikeable features of Kandy. Although contrast to this few residents mentioned this place as a likeable place as this was one of the meeting places of residents. How ever as mentioned earlier, clock tower is essentially an element of city image of Kandy which is commonly possess by residents.



Figure 4.24: Clock tower Premises- Sense of Overcrowd ness

Market Premises

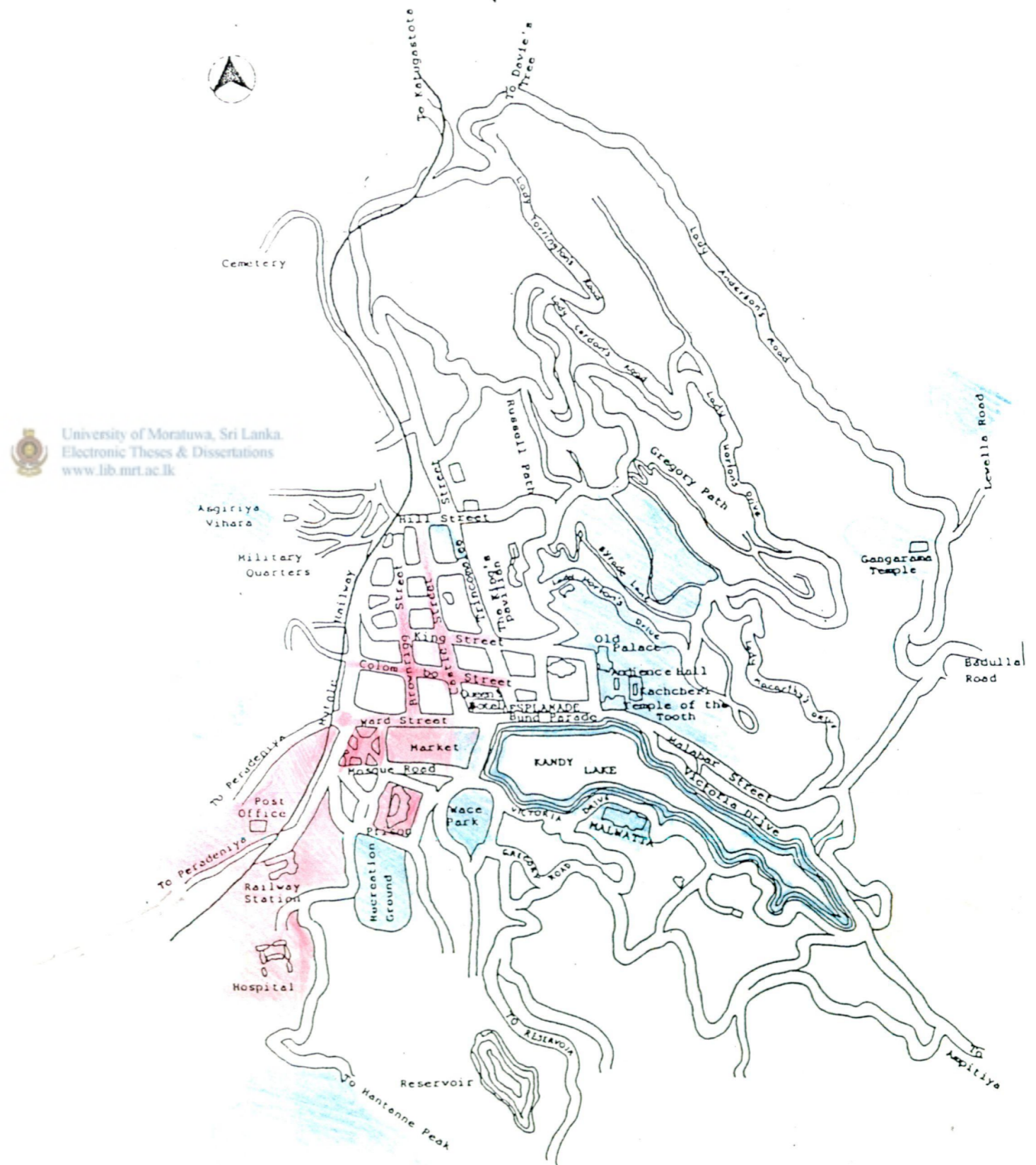
Market premises were vehemently criticized by the majority of residents for its visual inappropriateness, less order, busyness and dirtiness. The seeming reasons were less civility, order, and sense of naturalness.



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Figure 4.25: Market premises- Sense of less civility, order and naturalness

4.4 The Public Evaluative Image of Kandy



4.4.1 Analysis

Intention of this part of the discussion is to briefly examine the agreeability of the environmental features cited by residents of Kandy with that of the environmental features cited through experiencing western cities.

4.4.1.1 Historical Significance

More residents were proud of their living city for its world famous ness. They talked much about the historically memorable places and several monuments that represent various periods of history. Most of the likeable places in such cases were based on the historical values. It was revealed that the 'historical significance of the city', which was cited by Nassar (1997), as one of the likeable features that consider by residents of a city in evaluating the city image, is similar in this context.

4.4.1.2 Natural Features

For several people Kandy was a city with full of natural elements including green forests, Water bodies, sceneries, etc. Though it was evident that considerable amount of evaluations were based on a certain likeable feature of the environment, which is mentioned by Nassar (1997) as natural ness.

4.4.1.3 Civility

Some of the residents preferred the polite ness of the city and named the places, which encourage them in day-to-day and recreational activities. The talked much about public and gathering places of the city, that supports the social interaction of the community. This is similar to environmental feature cited by Nassar (1997) as 'civility'.

4.4.1.4 Order

For considerable number of residents Kandy was as assemble of facilities, which, could be easily benefited through comparatively less effort. It could be argued that

they have evaluated the city image in terms of a seeming regularity and this is similar to another environmental feature cited by Nassar (1997) which is referred to as 'Order'.

4.4.1.5 Openness

Some of the answers were based on comparisons with other local cities. They were impressed about the less density of High rise buildings, availability of open public spaces which are enriched by trees and other natural environments, compared to other local cities. Though, it is obvious that some of the residents have evaluated the city with reference to 'openness', which is another likeable feature cited by Nassar (1997).

4.4.1.6 Religiousness

Above all the factors mentioned, majority of the residents justified their like ness of the city in terms of the inherent 'religious nesses. For almost every resident questioned the city was prominently a sacred place than all the other factors. Most of them talked much about the Temple of Tooth and its premises and other religious establishments of the city.

Above all the factors mentioned, majority of the residents justified their like ness of the city in terms of the inherent 'religious nesses. For almost every resident questioned the city was prominently a sacred place than all the other factors. Most of them talked much about the Temple of Tooth and its premises and other religious establishments of the city. Though, it could be argued that the religious atmosphere created party by sacred places and their architecture and partly contributed by the unique ness of the physical form of the city have given a unique environmental feature to the city.

Though, it could be argued that the religious atmosphere created party by sacred places and their architecture and partly contributed by the unique ness of the physical form of the city have given a unique environmental feature to the city. When investigating the nature of the likeable places of the evaluative image, it was realized that people have preferably selected religious places than other places.

4.4.1.7 Dislikeable Features

Most of the dislikeable places were highly functional areas of the city. Good Shed Bus stand was a highly dislikeable place to almost every resident questioned. It could be noticed that the place possess a high movement appearance for its busyness and high congestion. Although it possesses a high visibility and high use intensity people criticized the place because of its polluted environment, busy ness and the less discipline. It is revealed that the dislike ness in this case has occurred through the less order, polite ness, and natural ness of the environment. Other disliked places had similar environmental features except in the case of Bogambara Prison. People criticized it not because of a certain environmental feature as such, but its location. The attitude of the majority was that high visibility of this element may not suitable for a sacred city like Kandy or it disturbs the 'religiousness' of the city environment.

How ever the analysis of collected data revealed that there are similarities between the environmental features that Kandyan people consider for the evaluation of their image of the city with that of established frameworks of European experiences. But the inherent 'religiousness' of the environment seems to be the prime environmental feature that people consider when evaluating the City of Kandy.

Most of the dislikeable places were highly functional areas of the city. Good Shed Bus stand was a highly dislikeable place to almost every resident questioned. It could be noticed that the place possesses a high movement appearance for its busyness and high congestion. Although it possesses a high visibility and high use intensity people criticized the place because of its polluted environment, busy ness and the less discipline. It is revealed that the dislike ness in this case has occurred through the less order, polite ness, and natural ness of the environment. Other disliked places had similar environmental features except in the case of Bogambara Prison. People criticized it not because of a certain environmental feature as such, but its location. The attitude of the majority was that high visibility of this element may not suitable for a sacred city like Kandy or it disturbs the 'religiousness' of the city environment.



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CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

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The prime aim of the study was to investigate on what environmental features the local city residents evaluate their cities. Due to the time constraint and other practical impossibilities, it was planned only to examine this aspect only of one selected city. Kandy was selected for the study by its variedness of environmental features compared to other local cities. It was assumed that the public evaluative image of a particular city reflects the likable and dislikeable environmental features that are considered by its inhabitants. The nature of the public evaluative image of Kandy was examined by investigating the likable places and dislikeable places of its inhabitants. This was done by questioning fifty selected residents who have spent more than ten years in the city and very familiar with the city environment. When selecting samples it was only considered the familiarity with the city. Their social, cultural and factors such as educational level, age, sex, ethnicity, religion of residents were not considered as deciding factors for the selection.

It was assumed that when evaluating the city, people refer to the image of the entire city as well as the images of certain places, buildings and elements of the city. Since it was mentioned by various scholars that the images are result of certain attributes of a city, as an initial step of the study, attributes of the city of Kandy, that help to make images in residents' minds of Kandy were briefly examined in terms of distinctiveness of physical form, visibility, use and significance of both city and its elements. It was revealed that similar to other cities, Kandy has a distinctive Physical form. Physical forms of most of the buildings have certain similarities as a result of the building regulations that are maintained by the Urban Development Authority. But innumerable differences were identified as a result of various intensity levels in movement, contour, size, shape, surface, quality and signs. Further various segments and elements of the city have various intensity levels in visibility, use and significance.

The next step was to conduct a research in order to identify the environmental features of Kandy city that are considered by the residents commonly in evaluating the image of the city. The first question was asked to obtain two types of data which were essential for the research study. It was firstly to identify the positive ness or the

negativeness of the overall evaluative image and then to identify the most prominent environmental feature, which they consider in evaluating the image of Kandy.

In order to further investigate the likeable and dislikeable environmental features, which the city residents are used in evaluating the city, it was planned to ask two more questions. Two questions were to name five or more places they like most and two name five or more or less dislike places. Reasons for likeness and dislike of each place were then examined. In order to obtain the public evaluative image of Kandy according to the residents questioned, the likable places and dislikeable places were marked on two separate maps. After that the two maps were combined with the intention of obtaining the public evaluative image of Kandy. Observing this map revealed that some of the places were mentioned as likable places by the majority while some of other places were just mentioned by one or two residents. Similarly some places were rejected and vehemently criticized by the majority and several places were just mentioned by few residents as dislikeable places. Contrast to this few of the places mentioned as dislikeable places were mentioned as likeable places by some other residents and vice versa.



More residents were proud of their living city for its world famousness. They talked much about the historically memorable places and several monuments that represent various periods of history. Most of the likeable places in such cases were based on the historical values. It was revealed that the 'historical significance of the city', which was cited by Nassar (1997), as one of the likeable features that considered by residents of a city in evaluating the city image, is similar in this context. For several people Kandy was a city with full of natural elements including green forests, Water bodies, sceneries, etc. Though it was evident that considerable amount of evaluations were based on a certain likeable feature of the environment, which is mentioned by Nassar (1997) as naturalness. Some of the residents preferred the politeness of the city and named the places which encourage them in day to day and recreational activities. They talked much about public and gathering places of the city, that supports the social interaction of the community. For considerable number of residents Kandy was as an assembly of facilities, which, could be easily benefited through comparatively less effort. It could be argued that they have evaluated the city image in terms of a seeming regularity and this is similar to another environmental feature cited by Nassar

(1997) which is referred to as 'Order'. Some of the answers were based on comparisons with other local cities. They were impressed about the less density of High rise buildings, availability of open public spaces which are enriched by trees and other natural environments, compared to other local cities. Though, it is obvious that some of the residents have evaluated the city with reference to 'openness', which is another likeable feature cited by Nassar (1997).

Above all the factors mentioned, majority of the residents justified their like ness of the city in terms of the inherent 'religious nesses. For almost every resident questioned the city was prominently a sacred place than all the other factors. Most of them talked much about the Temple of Tooth and its premises and other religious establishments of the city. Though, it could be argued that the religious atmosphere created partly by sacred places and their architecture and partly contributed by the unique ness of the physical form of the city have given a unique environmental feature to the city. When investigating the nature of the likeable places of the evaluative image, it was realized that people have preferably selected religious places than other places.



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Most of the dislikeable places were highly functional areas of the city. Good Shed Bus stand was a highly dislikeable place to almost every resident questioned. It could be noticed that the place possess a high movement appearance for its busyness and high congestion. Although it possesses a high visibility and high use intensity people criticized the place because of its polluted environment, busy ness and the less discipline. It is revealed that the dislike ness in this case has occurred through the less order, polite ness, and natural ness of the environment. Other disliked places had similar environmental features except in the case of Bogambara Prison. People criticized it not because of a certain environmental feature as such, but its location. The attitude of the majority was that high visibility of this element may not suitable for a sacred city like Kandy or it disturbs the 'religiousness' of the city environment.

However the analysis of collected data revealed that there are similarities between the environmental features that Kandyan people consider for the evaluation of their image of the city with that of established frameworks of European experiences. But the

inherent 'religiousness' of the environment seems to be the prime environmental feature that people consider when evaluating the City of Kandy.

The study established the broad base framework of likeable environmental features adopted specially by Nassar (1997). More importantly it proved that depending on the case there could be other likeable features that gets added to this broad base framework. For instance in Kandy the overriding likeable feature was its religiousness.

Importance of the research for Architects, planners and Decision makers

For architects, planners and decision makers, the study has given an important insight; while they could use the already established theories and principles as an initial guide, the said theories and principles should always be "testified" in the application of any given context. For that, it is necessary for architects to re align themselves to be more people centered, with the view to get the perception and thus the evaluative image of their cities. A solution based on such an approach would be much more "socially acceptable". This particularly relevant in the present architectural solutions as the rate of their rejection, by the city residents are on a significant increase.

Areas for Future Research

Through the research it was only investigated the environmental features that the residents of Kandy use when evaluating the city images. This was investigated through the observation of the public evaluative image of only fifty selected residents. The public evaluative image may vary with the number of samples. Though, possibility exists to obtain a more specific public evaluative image of Kandy by questioning more people of the city.

It is obvious that environmental evaluation has a cultural variability. Since the Kandyan society is multi cultural the degree of the consideration of several environmental features for evaluating the city image may significantly vary between different, ethnic, religious, cultural, and age groups. Though, possibility exists for a

future researcher to investigate the cultural variability of the 'Evaluative Image of Kandy city'.

Kandy is different to other local cities for its uniqueness of physical form, historical significance and other such factors. Though, the findings may not possible to generalize to other local cities. Therefore further studies may lead to investigate the nature of the public Evaluative image of other local cities. These findings may help to come to a conclusion of establishing the environmental features of which the local city resident evaluates their cities.

The study concentrated only one selected city of the local context. The aim was to identify the environmental features which the Kandyan resident consider when evaluating their living environment. It is obvious that findings of the research is not fair to generalize to all the local cities, as the City of Kandy is unique for its world heritageness, and form .One may argue that selecting Kandy for the study is in vain. But the idea was to select a local city which is an integration of all the environmental features such as historical significance, civility, order, openness, etc, which were cited by Nassar (1997). However similar studies could be carried out in order to investigate the nature of the public evaluative image of other cities of the local context.

It was found that, the residents of Kandy mainly evaluate their city in terms of religiousness of the environment. Since this finding is an outcome of the research it was impossible to investigate the attributes of the city and its elements, which give the sense of 'religiousness'. Thus possibility exists for a future researcher to conduct a research under the topic of 'The attributes of Kandy City and its elements that give the sense of Religiousness'.



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